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NEWS ANALYSIS

Ominous Threat of Intervention in Uganda

By Ernest Harsch

Under the guise of defending "human rights" and of protecting American "hostages," the Carter administration has raised a serious threat of imperialist intervention in Uganda.

On February 25, after Ugandan President Idi Amin barred all Americans from leaving the country and asked them to meet with him a few days later, the White House expressed "the strongest possible United States concern."

According to a report by Bernard Gwertzman in the February 26 *New York Times*, "Mr. Carter also set in motion the machinery to deal with any deterioration in the situation." Carter met with Zbigniew Brzezinski, his national security affairs adviser, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and Andrew Young, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations. A "working group" was set up at the State Department to oversee the situation and the Pentagon considered possible orders to the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, which is stationed in the Indian Ocean.

The editors of the *New York Times*, one of the most influential bourgeois newspapers in the United States, threw its weight behind Carter's threat of intervention. In the February 26 issue they declared, "To us, it looks as if President Amin is holding some 200 United States citizens as hostages. . . . We wonder if Mr. Amin understands how seriously it will be regarded by an American public that last year enthusiastically acclaimed the Israeli military raid on Entebbe."

In July 1976, Israeli commandos raided Entebbe Airport in Uganda under the guise of rescuing Israeli hostages being held by Palestinian guerrillas. Seven Palestinians and twenty Ugandan soldiers were killed during the raid.

The American threats against Amin, however, began more than a week before his February 25 action, as the Carter administration joined the chorus of denunciations of him coming from imperialist capitals around the world.

The pretext was the February 16 deaths of Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwum and two cabinet ministers in Uganda. According to the government-controlled radio, the three, who had been arrested just a few hours earlier on charges of plotting a coup against Amin, were killed in an "automobile accident" while being transported to an interrogation site. Pointing to the many political killings in

Uganda in recent years, however, various church figures have suggested that the three were probably murdered.

The tight censorship imposed by Amin, as well as his regime's practice of muzzling even its mildest critics, makes it difficult to learn the full truth of the regime's brutal rule. But in a memorandum released in early February, Amnesty International identified scores of persons by name who had been arrested and killed. It also charged that torture was routine in certain police and army detention centers.

According to some estimates, which Amnesty International was unable to verify, the number of persons killed since Amin took power in 1971 ranges as high as 300,000. Since the archbishop's death, news reports, citing Ugandan refugees in Tanzania, indicated that Amin may have begun a purge of the Acholi and Lango nationalities.

Andrew Young, Carter's representative to the United Nations, denounced Amin at a February 17 news conference. He declared that the deaths of the archbishop and the two cabinet officials were "assassinations in the guise of an auto accident," and termed them "sadistic and malicious actions that need to be condemned." He warned, "Any country that finds it necessary to repress its citizens in any way is just asking for trouble."

On February 23, Carter himself launched a virulently racist attack on Amin, stating that his actions "have disgusted the entire civilized world."

The State Department issued a statement condemning "the horrible murders that have apparently taken place," and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously passed a resolution February 22 calling for a UN investigation into the deaths and declaring that Amin's actions "deserve condemnation by the world community."

London, the former colonial power in Uganda, also issued a condemnation. Prime Minister James Callaghan told Parliament February 22 that his government would demand an investigation of the deaths by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

This sudden "concern" to alleviate the misery of the Ugandan masses under Amin's rule deserves careful attention. After all, Washington finances tin-pot tyrants, torturers, and butchers like Amin in dozens of countries around the globe. As for the British imperialists, they were the



CARTER: Considering possible orders to aircraft carrier "Enterprise."

ones who ruled Uganda as a direct colony for decades, who installed a neocolonial regime in 1962, and who paved the way for Amin's rise to power.

The denunciations, moreover, have been highly selective. When Vorster's police gunned down hundreds of young Black demonstrators in Soweto and other cities, does anyone recall hearing Carter, during his election campaign, declare that the South African massacres had "disgusted the entire civilized world"?

Amin himself pointed to the hypocrisy of the American condemnations in a February 25 letter to Carter. "Regarding the U.S. Government's instruction to its Ambassador to the United Nations to investigate the violation of human rights in Uganda," Amin wrote, "the U.S. Government should instead instruct its Ambassador to ask the United Nations to investigate the crimes which the United States has committed in the name of democracy in the various parts of the world. . . ."

As examples, Amin cited the mass bombings of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Korea; the American-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961; the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and the assassination of Congolese independence leader Patrice Lumumba.

Far from advancing the cause of human rights, the intention behind the current campaign against Amin is to prepare world public opinion while the Pentagon and CIA weigh a new intervention to replace him with a regime better able to help contain the struggle for freedom which is shaking the African continent.

Such an operation would represent no gain for the peoples of Uganda, who alone

have the right to determine their own future. Its most long-lasting effect would be to reaffirm the imperialists' claim to have the final say in the internal affairs of Uganda—and ultimately of every semicolonial country on the continent. □

Carter Pressed to Revoke McCarthy-Era Travel Ban

In his press conference February 23, President Carter indicated that his government is considering elimination of the provision in the 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act barring "anarchists and Communists" from the U.S. He said:

"We have, I think, a responsibility and a legal right to express our disapproval of violations of human rights. The Helsinki Agreement, so-called Basket Three Provision, insures that some of these human rights shall be preserved. We are a signatory of the Helsinki agreement. We are ourselves culpable in some ways for not giving people adequate rights to move around our country or restricting unnecessarily, in my opinion, visitation to this country by those who disagree with us politically."

The *New York Times*, which reflects the views of the section of American capital most conscious of international public opinion, immediately backed Carter's move.

In an editorial February 24, the *Times* pointed out that the McCarran-Walter bill is a feature of witch-hunt legislation now so hopelessly discredited that most of it has been abandoned: "Yet the McCarthy Era still lives, ticking away in our laws, creating embarrassment and harm to the national interest."

The editors mentioned two recent applications of the restrictive law. One was barring the prominent Belgian economist Ernest Mandel, who is also a leading Trotskyist. The other was banning Italian Communist party foreign affairs spokesman Sergio Segre. It pointed out that both had been invited to attend scholarly conferences.

Washington's obvious embarrassment over its restrictions on the right to travel comes mainly as a result of greatly increased pressure from international public opinion on human-rights questions.

The fact that the protests of human-rights advocates in Stalinized countries have been taken up by major sections of the world workers movement that previously defended Stalinist repression has helped considerably to step up such pressure. As a result, it has become more difficult for the American government to justify laws denying human rights to sections of the workers movement itself. □

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South Africa—the Next Nuclear Power?

By Ernest Harsch

Confronted with a rising Black freedom struggle throughout southern Africa, the South African regime has begun to drop the mantle of secrecy surrounding its program to develop its own arsenal of nuclear weapons.

Although Pretoria has so far refused to officially confirm reports that it has or is close to having its own atomic bomb, Interior and Information Minister Connie Mulder has hinted as much.

According to a report by Jim Hoagland in the February 16 *Washington Post*, he answered a question about South Africa's nuclear arms capability by stating, "Let me just say that if we are attacked, no rules apply at all if it comes to a question of our existence. We will use all means at our disposal, whatever they may be. It is true that we have just completed our own [nuclear enrichment] pilot plant that uses very advanced technology, and that we have major uranium resources."

Hoagland cited a "well-informed American government source" as estimating that Pretoria could manufacture its own atomic bomb within two to four years at the most. If the Vorster regime embarked on a crash program, the source added, it might be able to cut the time to a matter of months.

"At least one British expert feels that the South Africans may have already produced an atomic weapon," Hoagland reported.

A day after Hoagland's article appeared, French Prime Minister Raymond Barre publicly confirmed that Pretoria "already has a nuclear military capability."

While nuclear weapons would be of little use to Pretoria in suppressing mass Black protests and strikes within the country, they could give it greater diplomatic leverage abroad. They could also be used to threaten Black regimes that provide aid to the South African liberation organizations.

In the mid-1960s, Andries Visser, a member of the South African Atomic Energy Board, warned that "we should have such a bomb to prevent aggression from loud mouthed Afro-Asiatic states. . . ."

Without the aid of its imperialist allies, Pretoria would not now be capable of building its own nuclear arms. Washington, Bonn, and Paris in particular have played crucial roles every step of the way in the development of the South African nuclear industry.

During a speech in Johannesburg in



MULDER: ". . . no rules apply at all if it comes to a question of our existence."

October 1976, A.J.A. Roux, the president of the South African Atomic Energy Board, paid open tribute to American assistance in the nuclear field. "We can," he said, "ascribe our degree of advancement today in large measure to the training and assistance so willingly provided by the United States of America during the early years of our nuclear program when several of the Western world's nuclear nations cooperated in initiating our scientists and engineers into nuclear science."

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) opened its facilities to South African nuclear scientists and engineers shortly after the formation of the South African Atomic Energy Board in 1949. During the Cold War, Washington used South African uranium in building its own nuclear arsenal. In 1957, Washington and Pretoria signed a fifty-year bilateral nuclear energy cooperation agreement.

The AEC trained South African technicians at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee and provided Thomas Cole, a nuclear consultant, to the South African Atomic Energy Board. Roux noted that Pretoria's research reactor at Pelindaba "is of American design" and that "much of the nuclear equipment installed at Pelindaba is of American origin, while

even our nuclear philosophy, although unmistakably our own, owes much to the thinking of [American] nuclear scientists."

In 1975 and 1976, American weapons-grade enriched uranium was sold to South Africa, ostensibly for use in the Pelindaba reactor.

The next step in Pretoria's nuclear program was the construction of its own nuclear enrichment plant. Although the enrichment of raw uranium is extremely complex and expensive and its technology is usually kept a closely guarded secret by the major nuclear powers, Vorster announced in 1970 that Pretoria had developed its "own" enrichment process. A pilot enrichment plant went into operation in April 1975 at Valindaba and a full-scale commercial plant is slated for completion by the early 1980s.

In 1971, Roux pointed out that "if a country wishes to make nuclear weapons, an enrichment plant will provide the concentrated fission material if the country possesses the necessary natural uranium to process in the plant."

According to American sources cited by Hoagland, the Valindaba plant, which can enrich uranium to weapons-grade level, can provide Pretoria with at least twenty to forty pounds of plutonium—enough to manufacture a nuclear bomb—by 1981.

Pretoria received valuable aid in perfecting its enrichment process from West Germany. It is believed that the enrichment plant is based on a West German method developed by Erwin Becker, who has admitted that Roux and other South African scientists had access to his research. Moreover, in April 1974 the Uranium Enrichment Corporation of South Africa and the West German government-controlled Steinkohlen Elektrizität signed a contract "to carry out a joint feasibility study of two uranium enrichment processes."

When it came to South Africa's first commercial nuclear reactors, Pretoria turned to the French. In May 1976 it awarded a \$1.1 billion contract to a consortium of three French companies to build two 950 megawatt reactors for its Koeberg nuclear plant at Melkbosstrand, north of Cape Town.

Both the Nixon and Ford administrations, as well as the American embassy in Pretoria, had lobbied strongly to secure the contract for General Electric. Although General Electric lost out to its competitors, American interests are still involved in the deal. Westinghouse owns 15 percent of Framatome, one of the three French companies in the consortium.

In addition, according to Hoagland, there is "a quietly arranged American commitment to supply enriched nuclear fuel between 1981 and 1984" for the Koeberg reactor. This same enriched nuclear fuel could also be used in the production of nuclear weapons. □

Flood of Denials from Politicos Caught Taking CIA \$\$\$

By Steve Wattenmaker

Indignant and embarrassed heads of state from Amman to Caracas are denying published reports they received regular payments from the Central Intelligence Agency running into the millions of dollars.

On February 18 the *Washington Post* named Jordan's King Hussein as a primary beneficiary of CIA funds. For the last two decades, the CIA station chief in Amman dropped off up to \$2 million a year in cash at Hussein's palace, according to a CIA source cited in the February 19 *New York Daily News*.

Within a day of this first revelation, the names of more than a dozen other prominent foreign political figures bankrolled by the CIA surfaced in the American press.

Responding to the allegations, a Jordanian government spokesman said the country's leaders had "not engaged in improper practices or pursued personal interests."

"The contents of the *Washington Post* article connecting Jordan with alleged C.I.A. improper activities and practices is a combination of fabrication and distortion," he said.

In Bonn, a spokesman for former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt denounced as a "slanderous insinuation" the *Post* report that Brandt had been on the CIA payoff list.

Brandt sent a personal letter to Carter to "energetically protest lies about me which have been circulated in the world."

Another vehement denial of wrongdoing came from Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez, who was named by a report in the *New York Times* as a recipient of CIA payments during the 1960s while serving as Venezuela's interior minister.

Andrés Pérez denounced the printed charges as "vile and false," saying Washington's responsibility in the matter was "undisguisable." The Venezuelan ambassador was called home for "consultation."

A spokesman for the Venezuelan government described the *New York Times* report as part of an international conspiracy by multinational corporations to punish Venezuela for nationalizing oil and steel industries and supporting the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Venezuela is a founding member of OPEC.

Cyprus President Makarios called allegations against him "unfounded and malicious." Former Chilean President Eduardo Frei Montalva called the bribe charges a "damnable lie."

Similar denials came from families and

Thought They Were Working for the CIA

Four Watergate burglars have agreed to an out-of-court settlement that will give them \$200,000 from former President Richard Nixon's campaign fund.

The four—Bernard L. Barker, Eugenio R. Martinez, Virgilio R. Gonzalez, and Frank A. Sturgis—claimed they were misled by Nixon campaign officials when they broke into the Watergate offices of the Democratic National Committee in 1972.

All of the burglars were part of Miami's anti-Castro Cuban community.

They argued in court that their CIA contact at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion, E. Howard Hunt, recruited them for the Watergate caper with assurances that the break-in was another CIA-type operation.

"We feel this proves we were right in saying the men were tricked into taking part in the break-in," said Daniel E. Schultz, an attorney for the four. "You don't agree to pay \$200,000 unless you're concerned about the outcome."

associates of others named as recipients of CIA funds: the late former Korean dictator Syngman Rhee, the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and former Philippines President Ramón Magsaysay.

Despite this storm of protest, Carter refused at a February 23 news conference to publicly deny the truth of any of the specific charges, saying only that while some of the reports had been "quite erroneous," others had "some degree of accuracy." In any event, he said, in his study of the revelations he had "not found anything illegal or improper."

Asked specifically about the payoffs to King Hussein, Carter refused to comment "directly on any specific CIA activity."

To soften the sting in some quarters, Carter sent letters of apology to Brandt and Andrés Pérez. Although Venezuelan officials said that the letter dismissed the charges against Andrés Pérez as "groundless and malicious," White House officials initially declined to make public its contents, claiming it was a "personal" communication. On February 24, Carter confirmed that the two letters had been sent.

Carter's claim that he found no impropriety in CIA actions was sharply contradicted by other revelations.

The *Washington Post* reported that as early as last year President Ford's Intelligence Oversight Board discovered the CIA payoffs and unsuccessfully urged Ford to discontinue them as improper.

When Carter found out that the payments to King Hussein were going to be disclosed in the press, he ordered them immediately halted—hardly the action to take if the secret payments were not improper in the first place.

In his news conference Carter also resurrected a favorite tactic of his Republi-

can predecessors—shifting the blame from the CIA to those who leaked news of the agency's dirty tricks to the press.

Revealing secret activities which are "legitimate and proper," the president said, "can be extremely damaging to . . . the potential security of our country even in peacetime. . . ."

Carter said he was "quite concerned" about the number of people "who have access to this kind of information."

The following day he further complained that "some of our key intelligence sources are becoming reluctant to continue their relationship with us because of the danger of being exposed in the future."

The president said he wanted sensitive information restricted to a joint congressional committee with restricted membership and to himself, the Intelligence Oversight Board, and the attorney general.

In a related development, the February 22 *Wall Street Journal* reported that the CIA "played both sides of the street in the Mideast."

While secretly paying Hussein, the CIA was also slipping large sums of money to Israel. According to the report, the purpose of the Israeli payments was to finance "foreign aid" programs in African nations.

During the 1960s Israel launched an abortive attempt to line up support on the African continent by providing military and technical assistance to several countries, including Uganda and the Central African Republic.

While the Israeli Africa operation was less than successful, the CIA prided itself on Jordan.

"We got as much for our dollars from Hussein as from anything we did in the Mideast," a high CIA official told the *New York Post*. □

Economic Crisis Heightens Social Tensions in Spain

By Gerry Foley

On the business pages of *Le Monde*, February 15, Philippe Lemaître raised the question of whether growing economic problems might prevent Spanish authorities from continuing to relax Francoist repression.

The same question was raised more indirectly by Robert L. Muller in the February 14 *Wall Street Journal*, which is written for American capitalists. The headline over Muller's story was: "Spanish Peseta Is Looking Shaky Again Due to Political Unrest, Weak Economy."

Lemaître pointed to the Spanish inflation rate of about 20%, one of the highest in Europe; record unemployment; stagnating investment; and a growing foreign trade deficit. Muller focused on another problem, one indicating the attitude of Spanish capitalists.

They [analysts] say that wealthy Spaniards, concerned over their declining influence and pessimistic about the future, have added to the nation's problems by ignoring strict exchange controls and smuggling vast amounts of capital to other lands, mainly Switzerland.

Such capital flight—literally since officials say private planes are the favored medium—totaled the equivalent of \$3.3 billion last year, according to an estimate by Spain's recently disbanded Special Court for Monetary Crimes. . . .

If the court's estimate is anywhere near correct, the total that made it across the border roughly offset the contribution of tourism, Spain's largest single source of foreign currencies.

The *Wall Street Journal* staff writer quoted David Ashby, a senior economist for Bankers Trust in London, as saying that ". . . foreign businessmen looking at the possibility of investments in Spain are being deterred by the uncertainties." Muller explained:

One of those uncertainties is control over production costs, the key to which rests with the still-illegal unions, an observer says. He says that wages rose about 26% in 1976, with recent contract settlements continuing the trend into this year. Unions say they won't accept wage restraint unless full union freedom is assured, but a government-backed bill to do that is still snagged in the Cortes [parliament]. . . .

The upsurge of mass struggles since Franco's death makes it difficult for the government and the capitalists to refuse to give wage concessions to workers without risking an explosion. It is clear that on the economic front, as well as the immediately political one, the government needs the collaboration of the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties. Lemaître quoted Secretary of State for Commerce Peña as



SPANISH PREMIER SUAREZ

saying: "Our only chance is a social and economic pact with the opposition, to introduce the economic question into the political negotiations in progress."

The reformist-led unions and parties are not at all hostile to the idea of a "social and economic pact" with the capitalist government, Lemaître indicated, but they cannot very well accept partnership with it unless it at least recognizes their right to represent the workers. And Franco's heirs are reluctant to give up the fascist vertical union apparatus entirely.

Lemaître quoted a Communist party representative to the effect that Premier Adolfo Suárez is trying to maintain a hybrid set-up in labor bargaining. The fascist structures would remain as a kind of crown over the independent unions, having an official arbitrator's role.

The fascist unions also represent a huge bureaucratic apparatus, filled with watchdogs for the capitalist system. Obviously it would be very difficult for the government to simply throw them overboard.

It would also be difficult for the Stalinists and Social Democrats to prevent the workers from demanding at least a minimum increase in their living standards. Lemaître quoted an economist close to the Communist party as saying: "There is nothing maximalist about the opposition's program." Its demands were simply

for an increase in the minimum wage and more unemployment compensation: "In June, only 250,000 unemployed, barely a third of the total, got any compensation whatever."

However, the problems of Spanish capitalism do not stem only from an upsurge of the long-suppressed labor movement. They are the result of the accumulating effects of the international capitalist economic crisis, as well as of the limitations inherent in the relative boom over the last decade of Franco's rule.

The rapid growth of the Spanish economy in the 1960s was fueled largely by heavy investment by giant foreign trusts. These corporations, Lemaître claimed, no longer have as much money to invest. And, of course, "this new reserve on the part of these companies is in particular a response to the fact that the wage differentials between Spain and its neighboring countries have markedly narrowed." These differentials, however, were bound to decrease as the country became more industrialized, to say nothing of the fact that the foreign capitalists can no longer count on an intact dictatorship to help them keep wages down.

An important factor in the boom of the 1960s was the development of a mass tourist industry. In view of the economic crisis, not so many of the moderate-income groups mass tourism depends on can still afford vacations in Spain. Another important source of foreign currency for the Spanish economy was money sent home by Spaniards working in other European countries. But these immigrant workers have been among the first to be hit by rising unemployment almost everywhere in Europe.

Tourism and emigrant remittances were especially important to the Spanish balance of payments, since the country has a chronic trade deficit. Only 50% of imports are covered by exports.

As one of the weakest capitalist powers, Spain is especially vulnerable to reviving trade warfare. Lemaître wrote:

The Common Market countries, whose steel industry is more gravely threatened than ever, want to get Madrid to "voluntarily" limit its shipments of steel.

The U.S., which has a particularly strong position as a trading partner (only 31% of Spanish imports from the U.S. are covered by exports to that country), is apparently getting ready to close its market to certain Spanish products. This is the case in particular for shoes. Since 50% of Spanish shoe exports are to the U.S., if Washington carries out its threats, entire regions will be driven to the wall.

Besides the objective difficulties of Spanish capitalism, "de-Francoization" is causing psychological trauma among the capitalists, Lemaître wrote, even though the dominant circles obviously realize the need for it. "The industrialists, many of whom were closely tied to Francoism, are apt to think that doom is on the horizon and might well stop investing." □

Victim of 1923 Abortion Law Wins Wide Support in Belgium

By Joanna Rossi

BRUSSELS—On February 19, some 500 persons held a spirited demonstration in Kortrijk, a city in West Flanders, part of the Flemish-speaking area of Belgium. The action was called by supporters of Anne Léger, a twenty-six-year-old Belgian woman who has been charged with possessing literature on abortion and contraception.

Léger is a member of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT/RAL—Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs/Revolutionnaire Arbeiders Liga), the Belgian section of the Fourth International. If found guilty, she faces a jail sentence of eight days to six months. Her trial is set for February 28.

Despite the insistence of the Kortrijk police that there be no mention of abortion, demonstrators chanted slogans calling for solidarity with Anne Léger, for free abortion on demand, and for the right of women to decide on the question of abortion. A large banner from the "Maison des Femmes" (Women's Center) in Brussels demanded: "Freedom of expression, information, contraception, abortion." A number of women's liberation groups from various parts of the country were present, as were many members of the LRT/RAL. Police did not interfere with the demonstration.

The affair began the evening of August 24, 1976, when two members of the Kortrijk police force searched Léger's parked car. Léger was not present, and the cops had no search warrant. In the trunk they found a packet of brochures on contraception and abortion published by the Gent feminist-socialist group Dolle Mina.

Charges were later brought against Léger by the Kortrijk Public Prosecutor under a seldom-applied law dating from 1923, which defines displaying, selling, or distributing any material advocating abortion as a criminal act.

During the demonstration, participants distributed copies of the Dolle Mina brochure and a leaflet signed by a number of Brussels doctors and hospital workers that printed a list of addresses in both Belgium and the Netherlands where women could obtain abortions.

Not even within the definition of the 1923 law is she guilty, says Léger. She explained that she was given the wrapped-up package to deliver to an acquaintance in Kortrijk. She did not even open the parcel, much less display or distribute the pamphlets or sell any of them.

She only discovered the parcel was missing days after it had been seized, and



Joanna Rossi/Intercontinental Press

KORTRIJK, February 19: Part of demonstration of 500. Signs read, "Decriminalize abortion"; "Free abortion."

found out the reason still later when two policemen came to search her house, garage, and car and to interrogate her neighbors about her living habits. The cops found nothing to do with abortion, but in their report they wrote: "In a room, which is completely set up as a library, we noted that Léger belongs to the far left."

This, of course, has nothing at all to do with the charges pressed against Léger. There is nothing illegal about "belonging to the far left." Obviously the remark was thrown in only to prejudice the case.

"It seems rather fantastic," commented Ida Dequeecker, the woman in charge of the LRT/RAL women's commission, "when you realize that brochures of this type are being published and handed out all over Belgium, and that a number of clinics here are openly performing abortions."

"It's a question of harassment of the left," she said, "but what is also involved is the right of freedom of expression."

Léger explained that her lawyers would first begin with the question of freedom of expression. They will petition to have the case moved to a higher court, where it would be heard by a jury. The case is at present within a court division that does not provide for trial by jury.

Léger said that the case would also be fought on the substance of the question, that is, women's right to abortion and the reactionary nature of the abortion law. "I did not distribute the material," she said, "but I fully support women's right to free abortion on demand. I fully stand behind this, and I will say so."

There will be other witnesses for the defense who will argue for dismissal of the charges and directly challenge the abortion law. One of these will be Dr. Willy Peers, the prominent Belgian gynecologist, or another one of several doctors charged under the abortion law. Also appearing will be a member of the Dolle Mina.

A solidarity committee for Anne Léger has already collected 3,000 signatures protesting the charges against her, and further activities, including a news conference, are planned to publicize and build support for Léger's case.

The charges against Léger take place in the context of a broad public debate on Belgium's extremely repressive abortion law (see "'Women's Day' Protest of Abortion Law," *Intercontinental Press*, December 6, 1976, p. 1756). In late October 1976, two Brussels hospitals which provide abortion services in spite of the law were raided by police, and four doctors, including Dr. Willy Peers, were charged with performing abortions.

In the wake of these arrests, a "Women's Day" on abortion was held in Brussels on November 11. The protest rally, which was attended by some 2,000 to 3,000 persons, called for a national demonstration on abortion to be held in Brussels on March 5.

Following the November 11 action, abortion committees have been set up in many places, and building activities for the March demonstration are taking place in most major cities. A broad range of groups and individuals are involved, including the LRT/RAL. The demonstration will strike an additional blow against the reactionary laws and all those victimized by them.

February 21, 1977

West European CPs Seek to Dispel Stalinist Taint

By Gerry Foley

The major West European Communist parties that have adopted the so-called Euro-Communist line are trying to keep their criticisms of Stalinism and bureaucratic repression within narrow limits. But opening the way for questioning of Stalinist dogma has unleashed a political process that is cutting deeper and deeper.

For example, in the February 14 issue of the French CP weekly literary-political magazine *France Nouvelle*, Pierre Roubaud, assistant professor of biology at the University of Paris, gave the following explanation of why scientifically trained members of the party defended the obvious quackery of Stalin's pet biologist Lysenko:

You were for or against Lysenko, depending on whether you were for or against the USSR, for or against socialism. . . .

In the argument over Lysenko, Communists made a snap judgment: "Look to see what side the reactionary forces are on in order to find out what side you should be on." This was forgetting that the most convincing lies are those based on truths. . . .

The credulity of Communists was based on a comforting belief in a sort of automatic process of applying socialist principles. In the context of such belief, it was impossible to understand the contradictions in Soviet society. Any difficulty, any tension, any error was interpreted as the result of the work of the imperialist countries or the former exploiting classes, that is, forces alien to socialism. (Quoted in *Le Monde*, February 15.)

The support of CP scientists, many of them prominent, for the charlatanism of Lysenko is obviously one of the most embarrassing chapters in the party's history. If the French CP is to convince voters in France that it has really laid the ghost of its Stalinist past, it has to show that it has broken from the practice of saying that black is white and vice versa on command from Moscow.

But while articles such as Roubaud's are necessary from the standpoint of the party's immediate electoral interests, the logic of what he says undercuts the fundamental defenses of Stalinism.

The French CP biologist's argument clearly shows the falsity of the theory of "camps," the idea that one is either for or against socialism, which is represented by the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Union is opposed by the capitalists, any criticism of the Kremlin or the other bureaucratic regimes gives aid and comfort to the enemy camp. Therefore, any criticism of the Stalinist bureaucracies is a "stab in the back of the working class."

The same sort of argument, for example, has been elevated into a constitutional

principle by the Czechoslovak regime in an attempt to portray as treason the demands of Charter 77 for implementation of the country's constitution. In a February 25 dispatch, *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann quoted the government's statement on this as follows:

. . . under the Constitution this right [free speech] must be exercised solely in keeping with the interests of the working people of Czechoslovakia. . . .

According to the Constitution, the citizen of Czechoslovakia furthermore has the duty to respect the interests of the Socialist state in all his activities.

This reasoning is airtight. Citizens of Czechoslovakia are guaranteed free speech. But if they protest the denial of free speech, they are contributing to antisocialist propaganda. Since public debate is thus ruled out, the "socialist state" is the sole judge of what is in keeping with the "interests of the working people."

Since Stalinism is fundamentally a set of dogmas designed to cover the role of a parasitic bureaucracy pursuing its own narrow interests at the expense of the workers movement, it cannot stand up against criticism. That is why it needs the notion of "camps." By this means, all critics can be excommunicated as agents of the "enemy camp." This is the way Stalinists have always dealt with Trotskyists, who criticize them from the standpoint of the interests of the workers movement.

But in trying to disassociate themselves from Stalinist totalitarianism, "Euro-Communist" leaders have had to take another tack toward Trotskyists.

In Spain, an interviewer for the magazine *Por Favor* pressed Spanish CP General Secretary Santiago Carrillo for his opinion of Trotsky and Trotskyism. In his reply published in the January 3 issue of the Barcelona magazine, Carrillo said:

I think Trotsky played a great role in the October Revolution, the most important after Lenin, in creating the Red Army and in the first years of Soviet power. I think Trotsky produced interesting writings and works, which I have read and I recommend. . . .

I don't think Trotskyism represents a distinct conception of how to make the revolution, and so calling yourself a Trotskyist today doesn't have much meaning. It may have had at other times, as a way of expressing opposition to Stalin and Stalinism. Today, I don't see much sense in being a Trotskyist.

Carrillo is far from being sympathetic to

Trotskyism. He knows exactly what the difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism is. He was one of the leaders of the Socialist party youth, which hesitated for some time between the CP and the Left Opposition. He made his choice forty years ago. But he is determined to prove that the Spanish CP is now a democratic and independent party. From this standpoint one of the most embarrassing chapters in its history is collaboration with the Soviet secret police during the Spanish civil war in murdering Trotskyists. So, it is good politics now for the Spanish CP chief to make conciliatory statements about Trotsky and Trotskyism.

In practice, also, the Spanish CP has taken a less hardened factional attitude toward Trotskyists. For example, it expressed solidarity with the Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League) who were arrested in November, thereby helping in the campaign for their release.

The Spanish CP remains committed to Stalinist class-collaborationist policies, as shown by its role in holding back mass strikes and protests during the crisis touched off at the end of January by murders of labor lawyers and demonstrators by police and rightists.

However, Carrillo's statements make it difficult for the CP to dismiss Trotskyists' criticisms of these policies by claiming the Trotskyists are "provocateurs," or "disguised agents of the bourgeoisie." On the basis of what Carrillo said, the Spanish CP has no argument for rejecting discussion with the Trotskyists or even common work on concrete questions.

In fact, some criticisms made by representatives of the Spanish CP against the ruling Communist parties in Eastern Europe are much harsher than Carrillo's criticism of Trotskyism. For example, according to the February 18 issue of *Le Monde*, Pilar Bravo, a member of the Spanish CP Executive Bureau, said in a lecture at Madrid University February 16: "Freedom of expression is nonexistent in most Communist countries." She described the Soviet press as "manipulated and repellent."

Bravo also said: "The Charter 77 movement in Czechoslovakia has made such an impact that it has caused a veritable uprising in East Europe that may foreshadow the development of a critical-minded movement that can play a regenerating role in the socialist camp."

Bravo's statement suggests a tendency

for the Spanish CP to link up with liberalizers in the East European CPs themselves and with the expelled members and leaders of the "Prague spring" Communist party. This is an ironic turnabout from the situation a few years ago when the Kremlin was supporting a hardline pro-Moscow faction in the Spanish party against the Carrillo leadership. In the course of this fight, in which the hardliners lost out, the February 1974 issue of the Soviet journal *Partiinaiia Zhizn* accused a Spanish CP publication of repeating "Trotskyist slanders" against the Soviet Union.

The Italian Communist party has established direct links with dissidents in the Soviet Union. It has published a book by Russian dissident Roy Medvedev. *Paese Sera*, a mass-circulation daily controlled by the party, has been publishing a series of articles on the dissidents, a number of which have been reprinted in *Avge*, the organ of the "interior" faction of the Greek CP. In one such article, reprinted in the February 11 issue of *Avge*, A. Guerra, head of the Gramsci Institute, a foundation supported by the CP, described the dissident movement as the result of the Soviet leadership's retreat from "de-Stalinization."

This phenomenon did not arise as "dissent" but in close connection with the turn of the Twentieth Congress [where Khrushchev gave his "secret speech" denouncing Stalin], with the hopes that existed at this time for renewal. Let us not forget that Solzhenitsyn's first book was published at Khrushchev's behest.

Guerra offered a general explanation for the lack of democracy in Soviet society:

This is probably the expression of Russia's backwardness. Let's not forget that the bourgeois revolution was not carried out until March 1917. But another factor is that the October revolution did not manage to link up with the revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries, which was defeated in the 1920s."

Paese Sera has also published an interview with Roy Medvedev, which was reprinted in the February 20 issue of *Avge*, filling half a page. Among other things, Medvedev told reporters from the Italian CP paper:

The views of the Czech intellectuals who signed Charter 77 are not antithetical to socialism. The fact is that in the kind of socialist society these courageous and honorable persons want to create, there would be no place for leaders such as Husak or Indra [respectively, the head of the Czechoslovak CP and state, and one of the CP leaders who appealed for Soviet intervention in 1968].

In 1968, the Kremlin chose to split the Greek CP in order to try to stop the turn toward greater independence, marked by the party's condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. This has proved not to be a very successful operation. The super-Stalinist "exterior" faction (so named because it was initially based

on exiles in Soviet bloc countries) is now substantially larger in Greece itself than the "Euro-Communist" "interior" faction. But to all intents and purposes Greek Stalinism has been split right down the middle.

The differences, which were not funda-



SPANISH CP CHIEF CARRILLO: Recommends reading Trotsky's works.

mental, have hardened, and the pressure of factional struggle between two mass parties is forcing the "interior" CP to feature criticisms of the Kremlin. The theme of democracy, the right to discuss and think for yourself, is its most effective weapon in fighting for survival against the Soviet-backed CP "exterior."

Once the Stalinist barriers to critical thinking are dropped even a little, all sorts of questions arise. CP members start asking questions about the policies and leaderships of the "Euro-Communist" parties themselves.

In Sweden, for example, a crisis has deepened in the party under the impact of members demanding that it take more consistent positions against Stalinist repression in Czechoslovakia.

In an editorial in the February 11 issue of their paper, *Internationalen*, Swedish Trotskyists commented on this:

The biggest danger is . . . the attempt by the party leadership to suppress the political debate that has begun to bubble up. . . . We saw an example of this last week when Bo Hammar in *Ny Dag* [the CP paper] took up the pamphlet on Czechoslovakia by party member Ake Eriksson. He used the same sweeping bureaucratic generalities Husak uses in Czechoslovakia against Charter 77. . . .

The Swedish CP was one of the pioneers in the "Euro-Communist" turn. It was particularly important for it to establish its credentials as a "democratic and independent" party because it was just

large enough to aspire to an important role in parliament and because of Sweden's closeness to the USSR. The fact that the party leadership has not carried this turn far enough to fulfill the hopes of those members looking for a non-Stalinist alternative has thrown the Swedish CP into a profound crisis.

In Austria, the liberalizers were driven out of the CP after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The country was too close to the scene of the crime and the liberal faction had too close ties with the Dubcek CP for the Kremlin to permit any half measures. Since the expulsions, this group has maintained close links with the Italian CP. But recently representatives of this current have begun to apply "critical-mindedness" to the class-collaborationist line of their big brother party.

In the January issue of their paper *Rotfront*, the Austrian Trotskyists commented on this development:

For the first time, in the November issue of the Free Austrian Youth—Movement for Socialism paper *Offensiv Links*, an article appeared questioning the "historic compromise" . . . in a comprehensive way. We want to take the occasion to reopen discussion of some fundamental questions of revolutionary strategy. . . .

The fascination that "Euro-Communist" exerts on sections of the workers movement, particularly those who themselves have gone through the school of Stalinism, is entirely understandable. They see it as a more flexible political system, free from the Byzantine rigidity of Stalinist orthodoxy. It is supposed to be able to respond to social and political changes and to have eliminated absolutism and terror as "normal" political methods. . . .

But the loosening of ties with Moscow has not meant a step to the left, toward reestablishing a revolutionary strategy and tactics corresponding to concrete historical conditions. . . .

It is simply untrue that flexibility and democratic functioning . . . are incompatible with revolutionary aims. Lenin and Trotsky are the classic examples of this. The Bolsheviks used all sorts of forms of struggle (from the most legalistic to armed insurrection) without using their flexibility as a pretext for alliances with the "liberal" bourgeoisie. Lenin, the sharpest critic of Menshevism . . . never stopped treating the Mensheviks as a current in the workers movement.

Stalinism liquidated both the flexibility and revolutionary aims of the movement. Its crisis is creating a possibility to reunite them. But "Euro-Communist" offers no perspective of achieving this.

It is Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Liebknecht who "offer the examples of how to achieve this," *Rotfront* concluded, "not Togliatti, Longo, and Berlinguer [leaders of the Italian CP]." □

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Alan Thornett Contests Britain's Top Union Post

By Tim Wohlforth

LONDON—Alan Thornett, a well-known Trotskyist trade unionist in Britain, is running for General Secretary of the Transport & General Workers Union (T&GWU). This is the largest union in England, with some 1.9 million members.

The current head of the T&GWU is Jack Jones. Jones, who once had a reputation for leftism, has been among the staunchest supporters of the "social contract," a capitalist scheme for keeping wages down and cutting social services while prices rise out of control.

Jones's hand-picked candidate is Moss Evans. The Communist party is supporting Alex Kitson, who has refused to come out openly against the social contract.

Thornett does not have a chance of winning the election. He sees his campaign as an important way to popularize the need to fight back against the capitalist attacks supported by the Labour government.

Alan Thornett is a former member of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary party (WRP). In 1974 he was expelled along with 200 others and formed the Workers Socialist League (WSL), which he presently heads. He has long been a leading trade unionist in the Cowley plant of British Leyland and is currently president of Branch 5/293 of the T&GWU.

Thornett's campaign has received the active support of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International. The IMG's paper, *Red Weekly*, states: "Thornett's platform calls for a sliding scale of wages and other demands which offer a clear alternative to the policies of class collaboration. As well as a consistent record of resisting all the bosses' attempts to curb workers fighting in their interests, he moved the main opposition to Jones's line on wages at the last Biennial Conference and called for 'cost of living rises.'

"It is on this basis that *Red Weekly* is supporting Thornett's candidature."

Thornett sees the wages fight as part of a campaign to achieve wage increases to keep in line with price hikes. This, he feels, requires that the trade unions themselves set up committees to monitor price rises and establish the basis for determining comparable wage increases.

Layoffs are now a major problem in declining British industry. He opposes acceptance of layoffs, demanding instead work sharing of existing jobs on the basis of full pay.

When management claims it cannot abide by the above demands without going

into bankruptcy, Thornett proposes that their books be opened and inspected by trade-union committees.

Should the books prove bankruptcy, then Thornett proposes nationalization under

British Postal Union Calls Off Ban on South Africa

By Kevin Thomas

Following a court injunction issued January 27, top leaders of the Union of Postal Workers (UPW) called off a proposed week-long ban on communication services to South Africa. The injunction, and the UPW leaders' decision to comply with it, has put into question the right of British trade unionists to take industrial action without the threat of interference from the courts.

The ban, originally due to begin on January 17, had been agreed to unanimously by the executive of the UPW. It was to involve a boycott of all operator-connected telephone calls and of all mail and all telegrams to South Africa, except for messages of a "life or death" nature.

The proposed boycott was part of an international week of action called by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. As an affiliate, the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Britain's trade-union federation, had called for action to persuade British employers involved in South Africa to recognise Black trade unions. The boycott action was attracting the support of other unions in Britain, including the National Union of Seamen, the Transport and General Workers Union, the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, and the General and Municipal Workers Union.

In response to the UPW's initial decision, however, an application for an injunction was brought by the right-wing National Association for Freedom and supported by right-wing forces throughout the country. They argued that the boycott would violate the 1953 Post Office Act, which makes it an offence to impede the delivery of mail. The application was first refused by the Labour attorney general, Sam Silkin, but was later approved by three judges in an Appeal Court.

In a statement by the Confederation of British Industries (CBI), Britain's employers federation, the motivation behind the

workers control. If the capitalists cannot run industry and provide decent wages and working conditions, the workers will show that they can do so without the aid of the capitalists.

Thornett says that these policies must be fought for not only on a union level but also politically, because it is the Labour government—put into power by the votes of the workers—which is backing up the capitalist attack. He calls on the left-wing Labour members of Parliament to openly confront the social contract and fight for leadership of the Labour party around socialist demands. □

action of the right-wing forces was clarified. The CBI statement said the week of protest "must damage our trade with one of our best markets which buys well over £600 million [about US\$1 billion] worth of goods a year from us and provides jobs for well over 70,000 Britons. Disruption of this trade can only be called totally irresponsible at a time when we ought to be doing our utmost to improve our balance of payments and reduce unemployment."

The point was reiterated by Lord Justice Lawton, one of the Appeal Court judges: "For seven days very great harm indeed will be done to the business world of this country who have business dealings in South Africa."

The Appeal Court injunction is a major threat to the right of trade unionists in Britain to take industrial action of any kind without interference from the courts. By their reluctance to stand four-square in defence of this elementary right gained over many years of struggle, not to mention their half-hearted concern with the rights of Black workers in South Africa, the conservative-minded top leadership of the UPW and the TUC have opened the trade-union movement to continuing legal action and victimisation by the courts.

In a moment of insight, Tom Jackson, general secretary of the UPW, seemed to have grasped the logic of the court ruling: "If the Appeal Court judges are right it looks as if we have just lost our right to strike."

The initial decision to support the ban on South Africa is indicative of the widespread opposition to the Labour government's collaboration with the apartheid regime. The next opportunity for this opposition to be expressed will be a mass demonstration called by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain for March 6. By all signs it will be a large turnout. □

Simmering Discontent Among Mexico's 5 Million Unemployed

By Eugenia Aranda

[The following article is taken from the March 7 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a fortnightly newsmagazine published in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On February 14, Mexican President José López Portillo began a series of meetings in Washington with U.S. President Jimmy Carter. According to press reports, the topics discussed in these talks were Mexican-U.S. trade relations, the traffic in drugs and arms, the illegal immigration of Mexican workers to the United States, and the American smugglers who are being held in Mexican jails. Also discussed were the Panama Canal and American relations with Cuba.

The main point was the reference to the Mexican workers who are in the United States without immigration papers—the so-called illegal aliens. This was no accident.

The manner in which the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service—better known as “la migra”—harasses and plagues Mexican workers who find it necessary to seek employment north of the border has been a scandal for several years. In Mexico the discontent with this situation is growing, and the government can no longer remain silent about it.

But there are other things as well that have motivated the Mexican regime to try to regulate the deportation of Mexican workers from the U.S. Of course it is not a matter of seeking to defend Mexicans; the government doesn't do this on either side of the border. Rather it wants to assure that the deportations are not so massive as to cause even more economic difficulties for the Mexican capitalists. This is not a simple problem. The Mexican rulers want to avoid exacerbating the inevitable discontent that results when more than one-third of the labor force in Mexico—more than five million persons—are either unemployed or underemployed (which amounts to the same thing). In addition, some 800,000 youths enter the work force each year, of which only a small fraction find work.

Without the escape valve provided by the American fruit and vegetable fields, the situation would soon be explosive, and neither López Portillo nor Carter wants this.

The fact that Mexicans must seek work in the United States is immensely profitable



MEXICAN PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO

ble for the American “growers” and industrialists. In this way they can count on having labor available at much lower wages than they pay to workers who are citizens or “legal.” Having immigration papers results in very different working and living conditions for the workers.

But the growers also seek to insure that the labor market is not oversaturated, and above all that “la migra” throws out the Mexican workers when this is convenient to the landlords. In this way they exercise even greater control over the Mexican workers.

So what López Portillo wants is nothing more than to *negotiate* with Washington about the number of Mexican workers to be deported.

The New York *Daily News* reported on the negotiations between Carter and López Portillo on February 16: “Lopez Portillo, who met with President Carter on Monday and again yesterday, said the flow of desperately poor Mexican ‘wetbacks’ into the U.S. was directly related to Mexico's economic problems. He said these problems resulted in part from U.S. policies which restrict imports from Mexico and help maintain low world prices for raw materials.”

This makes everything much clearer: López Portillo's proposal for resolving the

problems of the workers—contemptuously referred to as “wetbacks”—is that Washington accept increases in the prices of raw materials. But his solution has one flaw. The beneficiaries of the export of Mexican products and of price increases will not be the workers but the capitalists—Mexican or of some other nationality—who take in the profits from these exports.

The fraud of the supposed interest of the Mexican government in helping the Mexican workers who live in the United States cannot be covered up. These workers really have only one way of defending themselves against the attacks of “la migra” and the growers: basing themselves on their own strength and their own massive mobilization, independent of the Mexican and American governments.

The other interesting point brought to light by López Portillo's visit to Washington was his “third-world” attitude. He accused Washington of having “invaded the sovereignty” of Panama; he asked that a “reasonable world order” and an international system of “economic rights and responsibilities” be established; and he made other “criticisms” that seemed too strong to American commentators.

Bravado of this sort was used by Luis Echeverría, López Portillo's predecessor in the Mexican presidency, as proof of his “anti-imperialist,” “progressive,” and “nationalist” positions. Now the performance is being repeated by a figure known to be a representative of American interests in Mexico and who since taking office December 1 has demonstrated that he will utilize all the strength of his government to suppress the struggles of the masses for their rights.

Echeverría's actions were no more democratic than López Portillo's; nevertheless his “third-world” diatribes succeeded in confusing thousands of people, within and outside Mexico. López Portillo's record makes his efforts at deception more difficult, but even in this case there will still be illusions.

López Portillo may have said some things that bothered the American imperialists, but, following the tradition of other Mexican rulers, he hurried to win the favor of Washington in practice: Before beginning his visit, he telephoned Carter to tell him that he could count on Mexico to provide petroleum and natural gas, at very reasonable prices, now that there was a “shortage” of these energy supplies in the United States. □

State of Emergency—Central Issue in Indian Elections

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—Indira Gandhi's state of emergency, which is still in force, has emerged as the central issue in the Indian elections.

There have been some reports that Gandhi's Home Ministry is seriously reviewing the whole question of the emergency. But even if it is withdrawn, draconian measures like the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, the Defence of India Rules, the Prevention of Publication of Objectionable Matters Act, and other repressive laws are still in effect.

The various states have been slow in releasing political prisoners. According to S.A. Dange, the chairman of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI), about 2,000 members of his own party are still in jail. If that is the case with the CPI, which is totally servile to the Gandhi regime, the position of parties that are more critical can well be imagined. The rightist Jan Sangh has raised similar complaints. Nothing has been heard so far about the Naxalites. It is likely that they will not be treated as political prisoners at all, and will thus not be released.¹

Even if the emergency is lifted completely and the elections are allowed to be held with a complete absence of fear, the emergency imposed by Gandhi in June 1975 and its aftermath will still constitute the central question of the elections.

The Janata party, a four-party rightist combine,² for example, has made the emergency the central plank of its attack on Gandhi. Its election manifesto says that the forthcoming elections to the Lok Sabha (lower house of Parliament) "is a choice between freedom and slavery, between democracy and dictatorship. . . ."

Emphasizing that the emergency's success lay only in generating an atmosphere of fear, the Janata party manifesto says: "The question before the electorate is whether whatever might have been achieved during the past 19 months was achieved because of the emergency or whether the price in freedom, human rights and long-term economic and social



DANGE: Backs Gandhi despite fact that 2,000 in his own party are still in jail.

destabilisation that the country has had to pay was necessary for or commensurate with whatever has supposedly been achieved."

In a February 2 press statement, the Congress for Democracy, which was formed by Jagjivan Ram after he split from Gandhi's Congress party, said that the declaration of emergency has generated "the most ominous trends in our country."

R.K. Karanjia, the editor of the Bombay *Blitz*, which supports Gandhi, published a special article in the February 12 issue entitled "Withdraw Emergency." He said that the focus of the triangular election contest (between the Congress party, the Janata party, and the Congress for Democracy) has shifted from a number of political and economic controversies to the single and paramount issue of freedom and democracy.

Echoing the Janata party manifesto, Karanjia says that there is no contradiction between bread and liberty. He warns that the regime has no alternative but to withdraw the emergency. If it does not, he says, it might "even spell defeat for the Ruling party [emphasis in original]." Stressing the "enormity of suffocation"

caused by blatant abuses of the emergency, Karanjia says that it has become "irrelevant and counter productive, even cruel, destructive and demoralising."

It is becoming increasingly obvious from such statements, as well as from the thunderous and massive ovations Janata party leaders receive at mass rallies every time they mention democracy or the emergency, that the masses certainly want an end to the emergency.

It also seems that many sectors of the bourgeoisie have realised that continuation of the emergency has become politically counterproductive.

It is obvious, however, that the whole issue of democracy versus dictatorship has been posed in abstract and nonclass terms. For the liberal bourgeoisie, as well as for the Janata party, it is natural to pose the question this way. But the Communist party of India (Marxist), which represents a "left-wing" Stalinist tendency in the Indian working class, also falls into this trap.

The CPI(M), for instance, does not explain the class limitations of bourgeois democracy. It does not analyse the curbing of democratic rights of the masses or the crippling of bourgeois-democratic institutions in terms of the needs of the Indian bourgeoisie in 1975, when it faced an economic crisis "unprecedented since Independence." It does not point to the need for socialist democracy as the highest form of democracy, containing and extending all that is best in bourgeois democracy.

The CPI(M) therefore does not point out that the seeds for curbing bourgeois democracy are already contained in Articles 356 to 360 of the constitution, which authorise the regime to declare an emergency. Neither in its proposals for constitutional reform nor in its election program does it call for scrapping these provisions.

The CPI(M)'s overall approach to the central issue in the elections is to explain the emergency and its consequences in subjective non-Marxist terms, such as Gandhi's drive towards a one-party dictatorship or her desire to maintain her position at any cost. These were undoubtedly important factors determining the timing of the declaration of emergency, but by themselves do not explain the underlying causes for such sweeping antidemocratic measures.

The result is that the CPI(M)'s approach is hardly distinguishable from that of the liberal bourgeois democrats or the Janata party. In fact, in one fundamental respect,

1. The term "Naxalites" generally refers to members or supporters of the outlawed Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist), a Maoist organization.—IP

2. The Janata party is composed of the conservative Organisation Congress, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (Indian People's party), the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh, and the Socialist party.—IP

the CPI(M)'s programme is even to the right of that of the Janata party. While the Janata party, in its election manifesto, raises the demand for the removal of the right to private property from the list of fundamental rights in the constitution and its replacement by the right to work, the CPI(M) does not.

The pro-Moscow CPI has been thrown into a dilemma by the rapid political developments. Until late 1976, it unconditionally supported all of Gandhi's antidemocratic measures, including those specifically directed against the working class, on the grounds that the regime was fighting "right reaction." But when Gandhi turned her attention to the CPI itself, the party started to bemoan the "misuse" of the emergency. It claimed that the emergency had been put to good use while it was directed against "right reaction," thus providing a left cover for the repressive fist of the bourgeois state.

The Central Secretariat of the CPI, in a February 3 statement on Ram's resignation from the government published in the February 6 issue of *New Age*, continued to justify the imposition of emergency in June 1975. It said that it was "unavoidable by a grave threat, internal and external, of destabilisation." Nor did it demand the lifting of the emergency or the repeal of all antidemocratic measures. It just approvingly mentioned that Ram and others have raised certain specific demands "for normalising the situation which are undoubtedly the need of the hour."

The CPI has also supported the institutionalisation of the emergency through the 42nd Constitutional Amendment Act. Because of the repressive rule in the Soviet Union and other bureaucratised workers states, the CPI cannot hold up a model of socialist democracy.

The elections have provided revolutionary Marxists with a golden opportunity to educate and agitate amongst the masses on the question of bourgeois democracy and its class limitations and the need for socialist democracy.

February 14, 1977

Paraguayan CP Leader Freed After 18 Years

Antonio Maidana, head of the Paraguayan Communist party, was released from prison January 27. Along with two other members of the CP Central Committee—Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Romas—Maidana had been held since 1958.

Paraguay's Interior Minister Sabino Montanaro said that seventy prisoners held for shorter periods of time had also been freed since September 1976. However, the International League for the Rights of Man estimates there are 500 to 1,500 political prisoners in Paraguay, several of whom have been held for years without trial.

JVP and MVP to Run in Elections

State of Emergency Lapses in Sri Lanka



BANDARANAIKE

Der Spiegel

The state of emergency in Sri Lanka, under which the regime of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has ruled for nearly six years, lapsed February 16. By law, the president must proclaim a renewal of the emergency each month and announce it in Parliament. Since Bandaranaike recessed Parliament until mid-May, this was not done.

The state of emergency was first declared in March 1971 as the regime began a massive crackdown against young revolutionists of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front). The repression prompted the JVP to attempt an uprising the following month, which was crushed by the Bandaranaike regime only after thousands of youths were killed and about 18,000 arrested. Bandaranaike was aided in her butchery by the pro-Moscow Communist party and the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party), both of which were members of her coalition government at the time.*

According to a February 16 dispatch to the *New York Times*, the lapsing of the state of emergency means that the JVP, which was outlawed in 1971, can now function legally. However, JVP leader Rohana Wijeweera and about 2,000 JVP

* The LSSP was expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 for taking posts in Bandaranaike's capitalist government. Its leaders were dropped from her cabinet in 1975.

members and supporters still remain in Bandaranaike's jails. The *Times* reported that Wijeweera, who is serving a twenty-year sentence, announced a meeting of the JVP and said the JVP planned to run candidates in the elections, which are expected to be called in May.

Five days before the lapsing of the state of emergency, Mahinda Wijesekera, a former leader of the JVP who has served a term in prison on charges of participating in the 1971 uprising, announced the formation of a new party. The party, to be called the Mahajana Vimukthi Pakshaya (MVP—People's Liberation party), also plans to field candidates in the elections.

Wijesekera, who was chosen as general secretary of the MVP, explained the party's program February 11. According to the February 12 *Ceylon Daily News*, "Wijesekera said the MVP is an independent but a revolutionary party of the oppressed class committed to Marxism-Leninism. A revolutionary party is necessary to establish a socialist regime in place of a capitalist one. But that change cannot be made without a correct leadership. . . .

"The MVP will expose and eliminate the distorted version of Marxism-Leninism so profoundly resorted to by Russia and China, he added."

Wijesekera explained that the MVP was not a revival of the JVP, which was still illegal when the new party was formed. He said that the MVP would correct the errors that the JVP had committed during the April 1971 uprising.

The *News* quoted him as saying, "Nobody could deny that the April uprising is the greatest struggle in the history of Sri Lanka. But there were mistakes made by us as well as the government, spearheaded by the SLFP [Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom party], the LSSP and CP. But that struggle cannot and should not be forgotten. We must learn lessons from that struggle even at the cost of so many lives—and also we must learn lessons from Allende in Chile, the revolutions of Cuba and the Soviet Union or the abortive revolution of Che Guevara in Bolivia."

Wijesekera also explained the MVP's decision to participate in the elections. According to the *News*, "the MVP will make maximum use of the freedoms permitted under the present democratic state machinery to consolidate the Party although it opposed the limited liberties available under the present capitalist system of government. The MVP did not believe Parliament was a medium through which a socialist state could be created but will utilise that as a political platform to further the policies of the Party." □

Pentagon's Real Reason for Stepping Up the Arms Race

By David Frankel

About 9,000 strategic nuclear warheads have been placed by the Pentagon ready to be fired at Soviet cities and military installations. In addition, 7,000 "tactical" nuclear weapons have been stockpiled in Western Europe, and thousands more in South Korea and other major U.S. military bases abroad.

The tactical nuclear weapons in Europe alone—about 10,000 of them if those of the Warsaw Pact countries are included—have the explosive power of 50,000 Hiroshima-size bombs. "Bombardment of Europe by only a tiny fraction of these weapons could easily eliminate the entire urban population by blast alone," the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute says. Those who escaped the blast would be killed by radioactive fallout.

Overall, world nuclear stockpiles represent the equivalent of 30,000 pounds of TNT—or about sixty 500-pound bombs—for every human being on the earth. This, of course, does not include the conventional munitions and napalm used to devastate countries like Vietnam, nor does it include the deadly nerve gases and biological weapons developed in secret military laboratories.

The Pentagon, however, is not satisfied. Outgoing Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, presenting his department's annual report to Congress January 18, sounded the theme in what has become a major campaign for greater war spending.

"To a degree unprecedented in its history," Rumsfeld declared, "the U.S. has become directly vulnerable to devastating attack" from the Soviet Union.

'Reds' Always a Menace at Budget Time

"Soviet Seeking Lead in Weapons," "NATO's Battlefield Strategy Outdated," "Russ Could Drive to Rhine in 2 Days," "Pentagon Chief Bids U.S. Reverse Trend Toward Soviet Superiority"—such have been the headlines in the United States in recent weeks.

A typical example of the propaganda is a February 7 article by *Newsweek* editor Arnaud de Borchgrave. Under the headline "Nightmare for NATO," de Borchgrave said he was told by "one of Europe's highest-ranking officials" that NATO is so badly outgunned by Warsaw Pact forces that "if the facts were generally known, they might 'provoke widespread panic.'"

Fear, if not panic, is exactly what de Borchgrave attempted to whip up. He reeled off authoritative-sounding statistics intended to convince the reader that

Western Europe stands virtually helpless before the Russian bear. For instance:

In the last decade, the Soviet Union added 130,000 men to its Central European front. Its tank force has increased by 40 per cent and artillery by nearly 100 per cent. The new T-72 tank is being shipped to armored units at the rate of 2,000 a year, and large numbers of Scud and Scalegard short-range missiles have been deployed. A major buildup on the Kola Peninsula has put new pressure—so far unanswered—on Norway's northern border. In the same area, according to intelligence sources in Brussels, the Soviets have built underwater launching platforms for the SS-NX-18 missile, which with a 4,600-mile range can hit targets throughout Western Europe and in parts of North America.

Continuing in this style, de Borchgrave assured his readers that "if war breaks out, NATO's mobilization will be a shambles." Moreover, "Soviet arms factories are now outproducing the U.S. by ratios ranging from 3 to 1 in tanks all the way up to 9 to 1 in artillery."

Dire warnings about the Soviet military threat appear every year when the Pentagon's requests for astronomical quantities of dollars go to Congress for approval. This time the Pentagon had to take into consideration Carter's election promise to try to reduce the world's nuclear stockpiles and the effect of this promise on public thinking.

Late in December, news of a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) study arguing that the Soviet regime is seeking military superiority over the United States was leaked to the press. Previous estimates of Soviet strategic intentions by the American intelligence establishment had always concluded that the Kremlin sought rough parity.

Unlike the earlier studies, this one was done with the help of analysts outside the intelligence apparatus known for their belligerent views.

The next step was not long in coming. Maj. Gen. George J. Keegan Jr., who retired January 1 as the Air Force's chief of intelligence, charged in an interview published in the January 3 *New York Times* that the Soviet regime was not only seeking nuclear superiority over the United States, but had already attained it.

"By every criterion used to measure strategic balance—that is, damage expectancy, throw-weight, equivalent megatonnage or technology—I am unaware of a single important category in which the Soviets have not established a significant

lead over the United States," Keegan declared.

Pointing to Soviet civil-defense shelters and emergency food stocks, Keegan claimed, "What it all means is that the Soviets believe that they can survive a nuclear war. . . ."

Keegan, who has been arguing for the last twenty-two years that the USSR is bent on war, was soon joined by others with similar views. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, former Undersecretary of State Eugene Rostow, and former Undersecretary of Defense Paul Nitze have announced the formation of a lobby—the Committee on the Present Danger—to publicize the supposed threat.

On January 8, the Congressional Budget Office joined the act with a report warning that "U.S. nuclear weapons on European soil are based at about 100 sites that are easily locatable and identifiable. A well-designed and executed Soviet attack could destroy a large number of them."

The report urged the strengthening of NATO's conventional forces in Europe.

Meanwhile, Maj. Gen. Robert Close of Belgium added his voice to the clamor. He charged that "in certain circumstances . . . the Soviets could launch an attack [against West Germany] and be on the Rhine in 48 hours."

On January 12, President Ford himself took the field. In his State of the Union message to Congress, he denounced "the dangerous antimilitary sentiment" that has "discouraged defense spending." He added: "The United States can never tolerate a shift in the strategic balance against us, or even a situation where the American people or our allies believe the balance is shifting against us."

The Pentagon's Shopping List

Six days after Ford's speech condemning antimilitary sentiment, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld presented the Pentagon's shopping list to Congress. The \$123 billion military budget—the biggest in history—called for a 25 percent increase in weapons allocations.

Rumsfeld argued that this was necessary because Soviet "actions indicate that they take nuclear war seriously. The United States must do no less." U.S. forces, Rumsfeld said, should be able "to retard significantly the ability of the U.S.S.R. to recover from a nuclear exchange and regain the status of a 20th century military and industrial power

more rapidly than the United States."

In order to carry out its tasks, Rumsfeld said, the Pentagon would need \$728 billion over the next five years.

Two days later, the Carter team took over. Carter and his aides made clear that they agreed that military spending had to rise. Vice President Walter Mondale was sent to Europe, where he told the NATO Council in Brussels: "The growth of Soviet military power makes us keenly aware of the need for the NATO alliance to modernize and improve its defenses."

Mondale went on to pledge that Carter would increase American expenditures on NATO. These are currently running at \$11.7 billion a year.

Is the American military establishment really slipping behind in the arms race? The answer is no.

Since 1972 the Pentagon has added about 4,000 strategic warheads to its missile system—more than the entire number deployed by the Kremlin, which has 3,500. Half of the strategic missiles deployed by the Pentagon are carried in submarines, virtually invulnerable to attack.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, who calls for increased military spending, told the Senate Armed Services Committee January 11: "At present the Soviet Union could not attack the United States without our being able to deliver a crushing retaliatory blow that would destroy the Soviet Union as a functioning society."

Nevertheless, the Dr. Strangeloves in the Pentagon are calling for bigger and better nuclear weapons. Their programs in this regard include:

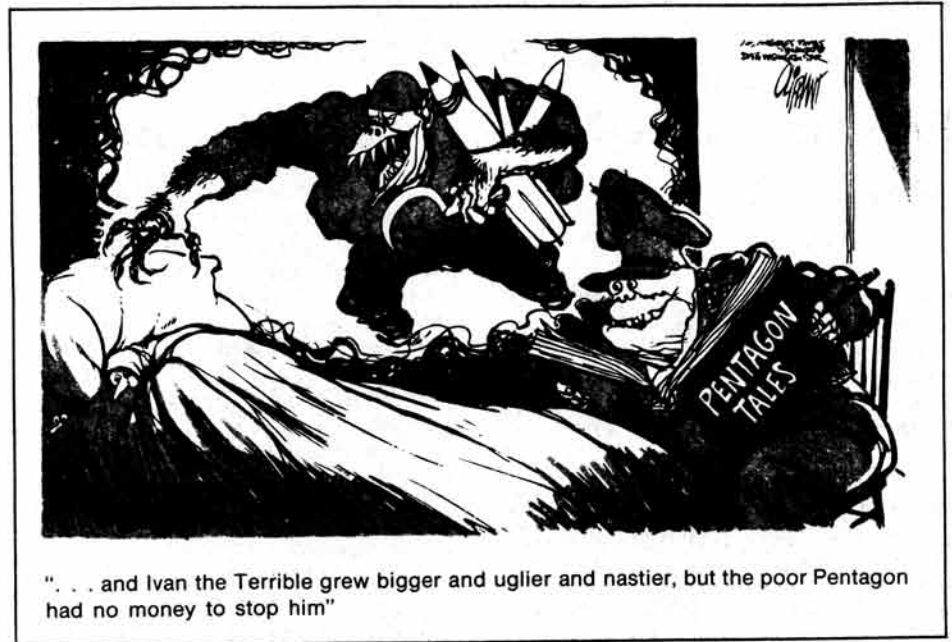
- Plans for building and arming eleven Trident nuclear submarines at a cost of \$15.4 billion. Each submarine would carry twenty-four missiles with a range of 4,600 miles. Each of the missiles would carry 10 hydrogen bombs, for a total of 240 bombs on each submarine. Each multiple warhead would be about seventy times as powerful as the nuclear device that devastated Hiroshima, killing nearly a quarter of a million persons.

The 1978 budget includes \$1.7 billion for two Trident submarines, plus \$1.1 billion for missiles to arm them.

- Building a fleet of 244 B-1 bombers. The B-1, the Air Force's replacement for the B-52s that rained death on Vietnam, can fly at speeds of up to 1,350 miles an hour at high altitudes and then drop to about 200 feet above the ground and maintain a speed of more than 600 miles an hour. Designed to penetrate radar and missile defenses, it will carry nuclear bombs plus short-range and long-range nuclear missiles.

Overall cost of the B-1 fleet is expected to be at least \$22.9 billion, according to the Pentagon. Only \$1.7 billion of that is represented in the 1978 budget.

- Pentagon planners also intend to go ahead with the development of "Missile X." This giant new intercontinental ballis-



Oliphant/Washington Star

tic missile (ICBM) will be designed to give the American military "counterforce capability"—the ability to launch a nuclear first strike that would supposedly destroy Soviet missiles on the ground.

Unlike the current Minuteman ICBMs, Missile X will be mobile. John W. Finney reported in the October 10 *New York Times* that it "will be twice as heavy as the Minuteman, have several times the payload, carry several times more multiple warheads and have at least twice the accuracy."

The cost? It may be as high as \$30 billion, according to an article in the September issue of *Air Force* magazine.

- Another new weapon slated for development is the cruise missile. Actually a small, jet-powered pilotless plane, the cruise missile would have a range of about 2,000 miles. They can be launched from land, sea, or air.

Because of new technological advances, the cruise missiles could fly low enough and fast enough to render existing radar and missile defenses ineffective. They could deliver either a nuclear or conventional warhead to within thirty feet of their target after a 2,000 mile-trip.

- Finally, the Air Force plans to increase the number of F-16 fighters. Instead of 650, it will order 1,388. The Pentagon announced in October that it was modifying the F-16 to enable it to carry nuclear bombs. Although the F-16 is primarily a fighter plane, one Air Force general boasted that with atomic bombs, "you can carry one helluva explosive yield with just 1,000 pounds strapped under your wings" (*New York Times*, November 1).

A Conventional Weapons Gap?

However, the Pentagon publicists insist

on supremacy in conventional weapons as well. "Conventional muscle and the will to use it in what the U.S. or Russia perceive to be their vital interests are the real keys to the balance of power," de Borchgrave declared in his *Newsweek* article.

On this front, the cold warriors point to the number of troops in Warsaw Pact armies compared to those in NATO armies. Similar comparisons are made in regard to the number of tanks, planes, artillery pieces, etc.

Such numerical comparisons, however, are worth little. When they are used in the Middle East, for example, they give the impression of an Israeli dwarf facing an Arab giant—until a war actually breaks out.

In fact, a wide technological gap exists between many Soviet and American weapons. This was confirmed by Pentagon officials in October after they had examined a MIG-25—the most advanced Soviet fighter. They said that the plane, flown to Japan by a Soviet defector, was ineffective against low-flying U.S. bombers because it lacked the sophisticated "look-down" radar needed to spot them. The MIG was powered by engines designed fifteen years ago.

On January 25, with the Pentagon scare campaign in full swing, Air Force specialists suddenly announced they had reevaluated the equipment found on the MIG-25 and decided it was not as backward as they had originally said. They argued that the radar was less vulnerable to jamming because of its power—although they did not deny it was still ineffective against low-flying bombers.

The real view of American military and intelligence circles on the technological aspect of the arms race was given by CIA

'I See Battlefields'



GENERAL WESTMORELAND

[The following article is reprinted from the November 24, 1969, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the chief of staff of the U.S. army, admitted October 14 in Washington that Vietnam may not go down as "the most glorious chapter in American combat history." He argued, however, that the war was productive in other ways. The lessons were, in his opinion, of extraordinary importance.

"No more than ten years," he said,

"should separate us from the automated battlefield."

He predicted sensors in the automated battlefield to keep track of "enemy" movement, tactical computers to "evaluate" the flood of reports, and "heavy firepower" to act quickly on this "intelligence."

"I see battlefields or combat areas that are under 24-hour real or near-real time surveillance of all types," said the general.

"I see battlefields on which we can destroy anything we locate through instant communications and almost instantaneous application of highly lethal firepower."

With mounting enthusiasm for the world of the future, General Westmoreland continued: "On the battlefield of the future, enemy forces will be located, tracked and targeted almost instantaneously through the use of data-links, computer-assisted intelligence evaluation and automated fire-control. With first-round kill probabilities approaching certainty, and, with surveillance devices that can continually track the enemy, the need for large forces to fix the opposition physically will be less important."

Mentioning the radar, infrared, laser, and night-vision devices in use in Vietnam, Westmoreland said that the military had hundreds of new devices in hand or under development. "Our problem now is to further our knowledge, exploit our technology and—equally important—to incorporate all these devices into an integrated land combat system."

Will there be any humans on a planet converted into an automated battlefield? Westmoreland did not say. That question does not compute in the skulls of the Pentagon's robots. □

item the Pentagon would pay \$1,000 for. Thus, the supposed 35 percent lead of the Kremlin in military spending probably represents an American lead in real terms.

One thing is certain: the American imperialists have not allowed and will not allow their military establishment to fall behind that of the Soviet Union. For example, even though the U.S. Navy has nearly twice the tonnage of the Soviet Navy and the average age of American ships is lower than that of their Soviet counterparts, the Pentagon plans to expand its naval strength from 476 vessels to 600 over the next five years. The cost will be \$48 billion.

Also planned is an expansion of American ground forces. The U.S. Army is being increased from thirteen to sixteen divisions. At the same time, it is going ahead with plans to build more than 3,300 XM-1 tanks, at a price of \$4.9 billion.

The fifty-eight-ton tank, developed for the army by Chrysler Corporation, was hailed by outgoing Army Secretary Martin R. Hoffmann at a recent news conference. The XM-1, Hoffman said, "should be two to two-and-a-half times more effective than the present main U.S. battle tank, the M-60.

"It is and should continue to be . . . superior to anything that we've seen, superior to anything that I believe our adversaries have at the present time or will have in the reasonable future" (*Washington Post*, November 13).

Hoffman claimed that the XM-1's armor, made of laminated materials that are stronger than steel, could withstand a hit from any known antitank missile.

In all, the new Pentagon budget provides for the purchase of 106 new weapons systems, including 26 types of aircraft and 22 missile systems. An additional 31 weapons systems are under development.

This enormous arms budget was called "sound and austere" by Rumsfeld. Noting that outer space might become a new battleground, Rumsfeld recommended a number of programs to deal with "hunter-killer satellites."

A Profitable Enterprise

As was noted previously, this is not the first time that scare stories about Soviet military might have been used by the Pentagon and its backers to campaign for increased military spending. G.B. Kistiakowsky, a presidential science adviser in 1957-63, recounted one example in a column in the January 17 *Christian Science Monitor*. According to Kistiakowsky:

The columnist Joseph Alsop confided to me "positive information" in the spring of 1959 that the Soviets had 150 ICBMs ready to strike the United States. I knew that actually our information (from U-2 flights, etc.) was totally negative, no deployment having been detected, but I could not discuss it. Later Mr. Alsop went public with his "information." Sen. John F. Kennedy used

Director George Bush when he testified in secret before two congressional committees last May. Robert G. Kaiser reported in an October 6 article in the *Washington Post* that Bush told the lawmakers "the Soviet Union does not have a single weapons system that demonstrates technological superiority to the United States.

"On the other hand, Bush said, the United States has many weapons systems that the Russians cannot duplicate."

In the same testimony, Bush reported the CIA's estimate that the Kremlin has been spending from 11 to 13 percent of the Soviet gross national product on military programs. In comparison, the Pentagon eats up about 6 percent of the much larger U.S. gross national product.

This figure, along with the estimate that the Kremlin is now spending 35 percent more than the Pentagon on arms, has been used in arguing the need for big increases in the U.S. arms budget. The argument, however, is fraudulent.

The trick used by the Pentagon is to assume that the same amount of money would buy the same amount of arms in either the American or Soviet economy. But this is false. The productivity of labor in American industry is far higher than in Soviet industry in general, and the difference is even more marked in advanced technology. Because of this, it is more expensive for the Soviet economy to produce weapons. It could easily cost the Kremlin \$1,500 or \$2,000 to build the same

the "missile gap" in his 1960 campaign and in 1961 the strategic missiles program was greatly expanded, although the missile gap was turning out to be a myth.

Military spending, although it is pure waste from the point of view of the population as a whole, does benefit powerful sectors of American society. To begin with, the swollen military bureaucracy depends on it for its existence. Moreover, the military budget provides crucial profits for many of the giants of American industry.

During 1976, for example, the McDonnell Douglas company was awarded \$2.5 billion in military contracts. Lockheed gained \$1.5 billion worth of business, Northrop \$1.48 billion, and General Electric \$1.3 billion.

Profits from these contracts averaged only 4.7 percent on sales during the period 1970-74. But when it came to profit return on investment, war contractors averaged 13.5 percent before taxes, compared to 10.7 percent for producers of durable goods for the commercial market. In many cases, arms manufacturers are able to rely on government-owned equipment and plants, instead of using their own.

Finally, the American trade-union bureaucracy has also been drawn into the alliance between the Pentagon and the arms manufacturers. This reflects both the narrow interests of the skilled workers in the arms industry and the ties between the labor bureaucrats and the Democratic party.

There are additional reasons for the latest scare campaign. One is public sentiment favoring cutbacks in military spending as an alternative to slashing social services. The editors of the *Washington Post* took this up in a January 14 editorial that argued for guns, not butter.

You do not have to be Dr. Strangelove to see . . . that the defense budget can no longer be regarded as a kind of untapped fiscal reservoir. . . . At some point those who have cherished it are going to have to abandon the illusion that the resolution of our domestic ills awaits only that fabled "reordering of priorities" which will buy peace and progress at home with funds that would otherwise have been spent on an arsenal of exotic weapons which we don't, in any case, need. . . . Only loons and terns would deny that the Russians *have* been making an extraordinary effort and it is not necessary to know its every detail to see that it is precisely the possibility of this kind of development that makes the defense budget such an unreliable prospective source of money to meet urgent domestic needs. [Emphasis in original.]

American war spending is invariably justified by the ruling class as a response to Soviet arms build-ups, whether real or imaginary. But where does the threat of war really come from?

The Real Warmakers

It was the American imperialists, after all, who built the first atomic bomb. They were the ones who used it against human



Pierotti/New York Post

beings the first time—and then went on to use it a second time.

It was the Pentagon that built and deployed the first hydrogen bombs and the first ICBMs as well.

Right-wing politicians and publicists openly called for the use of atomic weapons against the Soviet Union during the late 1940s and during the Korean War. Any Soviet regime, regardless of its character, would have had to build up its own nuclear force in self-defense.

In Defense of the Signers of Charter 77

[The following appeal, issued in January by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation,* has been signed by scores of prominent figures in the labor and socialist movement. These include more than seventy Labour party members of Parliament; Tamara Deutscher; and Monty Johnstone, a leader of the British Communist party.]

* * *

With great courage, 257 Czechoslovak citizens launched the manifesto "Charter 77" on the 1st of January this year. This Charter states the plain truth that democratic rights in Czechoslovakia exist only on paper, even though Czechoslovakia has ratified the Helsinki Declaration and the United Nations Convention on Human Rights. The manifesto gives renewed

*Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Ltd., Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England.

Despite their hypocritical rhetoric, the American imperialists are well aware that they need have no fear of a Soviet attack. But they have other fears that are real. In this regard, they use the "Red menace" in the same way as in Vietnam—as a code-word for the danger of social revolution.

This came through clearly in a survey of the world military situation by Drew Middleton that appeared in the January 4 *New York Times*. Among the "areas of vital American interest" Middleton pointed to were Europe, the Middle East, the northwestern Pacific around Korea, Japan, China, and eastern Siberia, and the Indian Ocean.

Nor was this all. "American analysts are concerned as well over the possible consequences of further Soviet military support and, perhaps, intervention on behalf of the black nations or rebel groups of southern Africa."

Middleton's informants were especially worried about "the supply of chrome from South Africa and Rhodesia. High quality steel cannot be made without chrome, and the bulk of American imports of this metal come from the two countries. Will that supply continue, analysts ask, if these countries are governed by black majorities indebted to the Russians for help in attaining power?"

Here is where the real danger of war lies: in the counterrevolutionary drive of American imperialism, which must attempt to maintain control of its markets and sources of raw materials at all costs. It will be in pursuit of this end, not the protection of the American people, that Washington may some day loose its hellish weapons. □

evidence that tens of thousands of people have been denied the right to work in their professions because they hold opinions of which the present Government disapproves. It points out that children are being deprived of educational opportunities because of the views of their parents, and that artists are subject to censorship. The Charter has the support of Professor Jiri Hajek, Foreign Minister in the Dubcek administration, together with that of many other distinguished spokesmen of authentic Czechoslovak communism.

The grotesque situation in Czechoslovakia is a permanent reproach to socialists throughout Europe. It is impossible to defend the repressive actions of the present Czechoslovak Government, which are aimed against the hopes of the Czechoslovak people, but which also constitute an attack upon the socialist ideal as it is understood throughout all Europe.

We, the undersigned, declare our support for Charter 77, and our solidarity with its authors and signatories. □

Why There Are Fewer Strikes in Britain Today

By Alan Jones

[*Second of two parts*]

The three economic elements we have analyzed—unemployment, incomes policy, and inflation—are, of course, only part of the explanation for the decline in trade-union struggles during the past two years. What is decisive is the combination of the economic cycle and the blocking of political perspectives created by the betrayals of the Labour government. Disillusionment with Labour is spreading rapidly, but this is not reflected primarily in a shift to the left, and this fact, combined with the present unemployment, much higher than ever before during the postwar period, and the present decline in struggle, much sharper than in any other period, makes it dangerous to try to predict the exact development of the trade-union struggle in the coming period. Nevertheless, a number of signs indicate that what has occurred is a *temporary* setback and defeat for the working class, that no qualitative defeat has taken place which would bring the situation back to its pre-1968 conditions, and that an upturn in struggle, even if a slow one at the outset, should be expected. In particular, we may note four factors.

The Bourgeoisie's Estimate of the Relationship of Forces

While this is not a decisive index, it is nonetheless significant that despite all the gains of the past year, and despite the serious defeats of the Labour party in by-elections, the bourgeoisie is still not confident that it can defeat any major struggle by a well-organized group of workers. This has been shown time and again. When the seamen threatened to strike during the summer of 1976, no significant section of the ruling class expressed any desire for a serious fight to defeat the seamen, in sharp contrast to the bourgeoisie's reaction to threatened struggles by almost any group of workers during the period before the first miners strike of 1972. Without exception, bourgeois leaders urged reliance on the trade-union bureaucracy and insisted on avoiding provocations. Although the threatened strike was eventually called off, it did gain certain small concessions for the workers involved—gains which represented the first achievements on the wages front in one year and which therefore had a small stimulating effect on other sections of workers.

Even clearer has been the bourgeois response to the action threatened by the miners over the lowering of the retirement age. Although on the surface the issue here did not involve wages, it still represented a much sharper threat to the incomes policy than did the action of the seamen. Not surprisingly, after the experiences of 1972 and 1974, the bourgeoisie is convinced that it cannot defeat a miners struggle, and the degree to which the exchange value of the pound followed the state of the negotiations with the miners was almost laughable: When union president Joe Gormley said that the majority of miners did not want a confrontation with the government, the pound rose; when left-wing leader Arthur Scargill called for a ballot on industrial action, the pound fell; when the Coal Board's latest offer was rejected by the miners union and a ballot was called, the pound immediately fell further. (London *Times*, November 24, 1976.) This ballot produced a massive vote of 78% to 22% to reject the offer of the Coal Board and in favor of industrial action. There is every likelihood that the miners will extract concessions from the government which will further undermine the incomes policy, something which will in turn affect other groups of workers.

Finally, and most significant politically, the bourgeoisie

continues to be uncertain and fearful of the possible effects of the return of a Tory government, which the ruling class could probably secure at any time. The major fear is that such a government would meet a major struggle by the working class that would render it incapable of governing even more rapidly than was the case with the Heath government. This fear is undoubtedly one of the major factors now keeping Labour in office, which is why the government's action in urging dockers not to strike over the defeat of the Labour-sponsored dock bill was not merely class treachery, but even suicidal from the standpoint of the bureaucracy itself. Despite the gains it has made in the past period, including the lack of any action against the defeat of the dock bill, the ruling class is still not confident it would not face a repeat of the struggles that first defeated and then brought down Heath.

Combativity of the Masses

Turning from the political judgments of the bourgeoisie to the objective features of the development of the workers movement, we find equally good reason to reject any idea that there has been a qualitative defeat resulting in a complete reversal of the relationship of class forces established since 1968.

The combativity of the masses continues to be shown in the very broad response received by any call from the leadership of the working class. In spite of the downturn in strike struggles, it is clear that demoralization and apathy do not reign, as is demonstrated by the response to any call to action issued by the bureaucrats. In addition to mobilizations on more specifically political issues (the large turnout, some 20,000, at the Labour party demonstration against racism on November 21 is an example), the most important development pointing to the temper of significant layers of the masses was the November 17 demonstration against cuts in public spending. This came on the heels of more limited but nonetheless important actions, notably the 20,000 who marched on the November 30, 1975, demonstration against unemployment and the one-day general strike against cuts in Dundee. The November 17 demonstration surpassed even the most optimistic predictions, mobilizing 60,000 in the largest demonstration of the labor movement since the 1971 action against the Industrial Relations Bill. It is clear that very broad layers of workers in the public sector were drawn into this action, despite regional unevenness. In particular, there was massive participation by women workers, black workers, and a number of sectors (school cafeteria workers, cleaning departments, direct works departments) which had no previous record of struggle.

Given the present situation in the public sector, where the union leaderships not only must deal with pressure from the ranks but also stand to suffer real losses in membership if the cuts go through, the openings created by the small left turn made by the leadership are meeting a real response from militants. In Scotland in particular, two or three strikes or lobbies a week take place over the issue of cuts. The Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA), with 220,000 members, has imposed an overtime ban in areas where additional work would disguise the need to fill a staff vacancy, has banned certain types of statistical work, and is opposing moves to pay unemployment compensation on a fortnightly instead of weekly basis. The executive of the National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO) is to ask its members for an overtime ban and to refuse to perform duties that would have been carried out by employees who have been laid off.

In London about twenty-five schools are refusing to cover for teachers absent for more than three days.

There are, of course, severe limits to this situation. At best, the leaderships of the unions in the public sector are pursuing the classic left bureaucratic tactic of not mobilizing forces in a centralized way, but leaving it to individual militant sectors to fight it out alone. For example, NALGO has left it to the individual branches to ban overtime, the National Union of Public Employees' position on the cuts is to fight on a hospital by hospital basis, and the National Union of Teachers has done nothing to implement its formal position against cuts; even the massive turnout on November 17 was secured essentially by vigorous campaigns of rank-and-file militants taking advantage of the leeway given by the bureaucracy. Furthermore, in a number of cases the bureaucracy still resorts to methods of direct repression. NALGO, for example, sent out a "scabs charter" stating that no action could be taken against any member for not participating in the November 17 action, and the NUT has attempted to victimize the teachers involved in the most isolated "no cover" struggle at Little Ilford school in London.

The role of the bureaucracy in these actions highlights the necessity of demands that overcome the fragmentation being imposed on struggles, but the very big response with which even the smallest calls from the leadership are greeted reveals the continuing underlying combativity of the workers and indicates that there has been no qualitative defeat.

Local Leaderships Created Before 1974 Remain Intact

Given that the furthest the bureaucracy has gone in the current period is to leave the door open to action led by militants on the local level, it is especially important that the local leaderships created in the pre-1974 period remain essentially intact, with certain exceptions, such as the Midlands factories of Chrysler, construction, and, to a certain extent, the docks. Furthermore, in a number of areas, notably the public sector and to a limited extent among women workers in industry, there has been a new development of shop steward and local organization. This has a dual significance. First, as already noted, it means that whenever some room for action is created by the union leadership, a large enough number of militants are organized to take advantage of it. This was shown above all on November 17, but it has also been seen in the 3,000 delegates who attended the National Assembly on Unemployment called by the Communist party and in the forces attracted by the "Right to Work" initiatives of the International Socialists.

Second, it means that wherever there is an upturn in industrial production and thus more favorable objective conditions for struggle, local militants are able to take advantage of the situation to relaunch struggles in defense of their interests. Especially significant here has been the motor industry, one of the strongholds of shop steward organization, which was severely hit by the recession, massive layoffs, and undoubted defeats in some sectors. With the turn in the economic situation of this sector, a new wave of struggles is unfolding. The week ending November 20 alone saw no less than six strike struggles in this industry. Generally, they were relatively small, but they were nonetheless significant—not only in comparison to the apathy that had prevailed for the previous six to nine months, but also in that three of them were waged against official instructions by the union leadership to return to work, a clear instance of shop stewards and local leaderships again taking up the struggle and gaining some new confidence. In addition, these small struggles have recently been joined by more widespread actions with greater potential—most notably the factory occupations at Jaguar Coventry to defeat a threatened lockout, and the important struggle at Ford Dagenham, where nightshift workers seized control of the body plant, built barricades, and turned fire hoses on the police. It would be wrong to exaggerate this trend, for these struggles are almost all defensive, but it is a clear turn in the situation compared to that which has prevailed for the past year and after such major defeats as the one suffered at Chrysler. The

important thing is that the workers are beginning to fight back against the attacks.

Spread of Struggle and Some Victories

Particularly significant in light of the generalized attacks on the working class, and itself a sign of the beginning of more important resistance and struggle, new layers of workers are now moving into action. This is particularly noticeable in the public sector. Groups of workers with no historical record of struggle have been involved in fights in health, education, and other sectors, as was shown on November 17 when layers such as cleaners and dinner servers mobilized and when women and black workers made up a very large section of the demonstration. The mobilization of women workers has also extended to other sectors. A series of equal pay strikes, culminating in the Trico* struggle, took place throughout the summer as it was increasingly revealed that the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 cannot grant even the limited economic gains that were promised. (Despite government promises and legislation, the equal pay situation has continued to deteriorate. By April 1976 the gap in hourly wage averages between male and female workers stood at 40 pence, compared with 32.2 pence in October 1972.)

Even more important, some of these struggles are now bringing at least limited partial victories. Most are still defensive, waged on limited fields, such as the blocking of the use of scab labor at Ford Dagenham, the factory occupations that defeated an attempted lockout at Jaguar Coventry (management was forced to pay wages for most of the period of the sit-in), the successful struggle for unionization at Greenings in Warrington. Nevertheless, after a period in which virtually every struggle ended in defeat, the winning of a number of victories, even if small ones, is important in stimulating the combativity of the working class.

It is also clear that a slight turn has occurred in the struggle over wages during the immediate past period. The small gains made by the seamen were the first sign.

The second was the twenty-one-week strike for equal pay at Trico. This victory—won against police harassment, the decision of a state tribunal, and lukewarm support from the official trade unions—was the first major vindication in quite some time of the proposition that struggle can actually bring results. Finally, the fact that the miners are in a position to extract at least some concessions going beyond the limits of the incomes policy will represent another stimulus to struggle.

Taking all these indices together—the bourgeoisie's estimate of the relationship of forces, the significant response by the working class to any call for action by the leadership, the continued existence of the local leaderships created prior to 1974, and the extension of struggle into new sectors, combined with the winning of some partial victories—we may confidently reject the view that there has been a qualitative defeat of the working class taking us back to the pre-1968 situation. The continued increase in union membership reflects a still undefeated underlying combativity. Further, the November 17 action, the small gains won by the seamen, the rise of struggles in the motor industry, the victory at Trico, and the current moves of the miners constitute the beginning of a slow but definite turn in the situation.

In view of the setbacks of the past year and the many major political obstacles confronting the rise in combativity of the working class, even on the purely trade-union level, it would be lightminded and unrealistic to expect a new upturn in struggle to be rapid. Furthermore, these political elements mean that economic determinants are less crucial than they were previously. Nevertheless, British revolutionaries, while not anticipating spectacular developments at the outset, have a perspective of a

* This was a successful strike by 300 women which lasted 21 weeks. It was the largest and longest running equal-pay dispute in Britain, and one of the most significant because the women boycotted the state-run Tribunals created under the EPA & SDA legislation, which ruled against their claim for equal pay.

new rise of workers struggle. The next steps to be taken if this turn is to be consolidated are to step up the fight against cuts, begin serious struggle against layoffs in Courtaulds and other sectors, and relaunch at least partial struggles against the incomes policy. Many social and political problems remain to be overcome. The bourgeoisie still holds many cards, from racism to a campaign for a "national coalition government," to increased pressure on the Labour government. But there are no underlying economic reasons to justify the conclusion that the combativity the working class has evidenced during the past eight years has been basically broken. A new upswing in trade-union struggles will in turn help

to create improved conditions for revolutionary intervention aimed at resolving the political crisis confronting the working class. An extension of the struggle into heavy industry would mark a qualitative turn here. Today, after a period of undoubted setbacks, British revolutionaries have more reason than for some time to feel guarded confidence in the prospects for the unfolding of the class struggle in Britain. To prepare for a new upturn in trade-union struggles, to extend their demands and methods of organization, and to overcome the political obstacles that will confront them is a crucial part of the activity of revolutionaries today. □

Outlines Strategy to Counter Capitalist Offensive

Australian SWP Holds Fifth National Conference

By Jim McIlroy

[The February 10 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia, reported on the Fifth National Conference of the Socialist Workers party, from which the following has been excerpted.]

* * *

In the biggest-ever attendance at a Socialist Workers Party conference, more than 170 people gathered for the fifth national conference of the party, held near Sydney from January 27-31.

The conference recorded significant advances for the party in 1976. One major advance consolidated by the January conference was the fusion with the SWP late last year of former leading members of the Communist League (like the SWP, a sympathising organisation of the Fourth International in Australia). The success of this fusion process was demonstrated by the close involvement of the former CL members in every aspect of the conference and the general atmosphere of unity and confidence generated throughout.

A major task of the conference was to analyse the new period entered by the labor movement in 1976 with the launching of grave attacks on living and working conditions by the Fraser Government, and to assess the impact of a growing movement for a fightback among important sections of the working people. Conference delegates unanimously adopted a political resolution setting out this analysis and pointing towards the formation of a new class-struggle left wing in the labor movement to lead this fightback.

This political resolution was one of four documents submitted by the outgoing leadership of the SWP to the membership for discussion and vote. In addition to the document entitled *The Fraser Offensive: How the Labor Movement Can Fight Back*, there was a discussion around three

other documents: *The Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation*, *The Socialist Revolution in the Arab East*, and *Organisational Principles of the SWP*.

All four resolutions were adopted unanimously. So too was a tasks and perspectives report outlining the work of the SWP for the coming year, presented by the party's national secretary, Jim Percy. There were also sessions devoted to a report on work among youth presented by Dave Deutschmann, the national secretary of the Socialist Youth Alliance (the youth organisation in political solidarity with the SWP); a report on relations with the Communist League; and a discussion on questions being debated within the Fourth International—the world Trotskyist movement.

Discussion and voting by conference delegates followed a period in which the entire national membership of the SWP had the opportunity to discuss the various resolutions, to propose alternatives or amendments, and to contribute to the process of orienting the party for the next year through verbal discussion in the branches or written contributions to the party's internal bulletin on any question. Delegates were then elected on a democratic basis, reflecting the views of the membership as a whole.

Thus the conference was able to play its key role in determining the course of the party in 1977 on the basis of participation by the entire membership of the organisation. It is this kind of democracy in practice which provides the impetus for uniting the SWP in carrying out the many important tasks facing the party in the coming year.

Workshops held during the conference period focused on a number of the key areas of party concern and activity in 1976 and again this year. Topics dealt with in these workshops included: the labor move-

ment, the Black movement, producing and distributing the socialist press, work among Asian students, the international situation and a specific panel on New Zealand. This last workshop was conducted by leading members of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International. A total of eight New Zealand Trotskyists attended the SWP conference. Keith Locke presented greetings to the conference on behalf of the national executive of the SAL.

Other greetings were received from French, American, Indian, Greek, British, Chinese, Japanese and Colombian Trotskyist organisations and from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Greetings from the Vanuaaku Party (formerly National Party) of the New Hebrides were presented by Chris Plant, information officer for the party, who attended the conference.

Members of almost 40 trade unions were present at the conference, reflecting the beginnings of the SWP's drive to implant itself more deeply into the working class movement. So too, there were considerable numbers of students in attendance, representing the strong and increasing intervention of the revolutionary-socialist movement into the student movement during the current period of attacks on student rights and living conditions.

A notable feature of the fifth SWP national conference was the increased proportion of women attending in comparison with the past. Overall representation of women at the conference was 40 per cent, compared with 33 per cent at the last conference. While this is still an inadequate ratio, it marks a step forward and is a consequence of the SWP's continuing high priority given to support for the demands of the women's liberation movement.

While the ages of conference-goers

ranged considerably, the average age was about 25. In addition, there were 13 different countries of origin apart from Australia included among those at the conference. To a considerable extent, this fact flowed from the strong internationalist outlook of the SWP and the concern of the party to ground itself among migrants in this country.

The educational impact of the conference for members and observers alike was enhanced by two special talks on topics of immediate relevance to socialists today. The first was given by John McCarthy (a former leading member of the Communist League, now a leader of the SWP), entitled: *The Struggle for Workers Democracy in Eastern Europe*. The talk stressed the explosive character of the anti-bureaucratic upsurges in Eastern Europe and the importance of this growing opposition to Stalinist repression for the world revolutionary movement.

The second special talk was on the topic: *Alliances and the Revolutionary Party*, and was presented by Dave Holmes, national organisation secretary of the SWP. Holmes outlined the tragic history of class-collaborationist policies within the international workers movement and, in particular, its most advanced form in a period of mass upsurge, the Popular-Front policy advanced by Stalinist parties since the 1930s. He contrasted such policies to the Leninist tactic of the united front aimed at strengthening and advancing the aims of the workers movement.

The high point of the entire conference was reached with a party-building rally held around the theme: *For a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement! Build the united revolutionary party!* Part of the earlier preparation for the rally involved a special SWP expansion presentation, led by *Direct Action* editor John Percy, based on a slide-show outlining past achievements and future projections for party development.

Such was the enthusiasm generated by the conference as a whole, that the rally achieved a record party-building fund-drive pledge total by SWP members and supporters of nearly \$31,000—compared to \$14,000 at the similar rally last conference. With this send-off, the SWP's work for 1977 has received a tremendous boost which sets the party on a firm course for the coming year.

"1976 was our busiest year ever," said SWP national secretary Jim Percy in opening the report on tasks and perspectives of the SWP for 1977.

Percy went on to list a number of the important campaigns and achievements of that year: successful election campaigns in Victoria, NSW [New South Wales] and Tasmania; a fund drive of \$25,000; a *Direct Action* subscription drive of 1000; a new Sydney branch headquarters downtown; activity in the abortion rights defence movement and other women's campaigns; education conferences, forums and dinner

rallies; involvement in strike support efforts and other union actions in several States; backing for the Timor, Brisbane Black embassy, and Dayan demonstrations; the tour of US SWP vice-presidential candidate, Willie Mae Reid; and support with SYA for the September 30 national student strike. And that's just a beginning of the list.

"But two things were up front for our work last year," Percy stressed. "And the first was: Build the weekly *Direct Action!* And we've done it!" He explained that the increased tempo of the class struggle which was estimated at the last SWP conference had occurred and had completely justified the move to a weekly newspaper in 1976.

"The other slogan adopted a year ago was: Build the party! And that too has been a great success," Percy said. The most telling result of this party-building effort had been the "qualitative leap" represented by the fusion with leading members of the Communist League after four years separation—a fusion which was working well, Percy pointed out.

Turning to the future, he explained that the Fraser offensive and the early signs of a labor response created new conditions and new possibilities for the work of the SWP in the next period. 1977 promised to be a year of stepped-up class battles, and the party had to look for openings in which it could show leadership in action of radicalising forces, wherever it had the strength to do so.

This meant activity aimed at *politicising* the labor movement, introducing the demands of women and other oppressed layers into the labor movement, Percy explained. He proposed that the party take up a *campaign around the right to work*, to be pursued through whatever organisational forms and kinds of action which seemed appropriate and possible. The need for such a campaign was widely apparent with unemployment so high, and the SWP could play a role in any developing movement of the jobless.

Support for the women's liberation movement and its campaigns continued to be a major task of the SWP, Percy emphasised. In the present situation, there would be a variety of different issues which would emerge which needed support, but the campaign in defence of a woman's right to abortion remained an important priority.

Percy projected other international defence campaigns around Palestine, Southern Africa, and, as a stepped-up area of work, the South-East Asian region. Further campaigns were foreshadowed around Black land rights, against the Queensland Acts and other racist legislation such as the Government's Councils and Associations Bill, and in support of the SYA, for the rights of students and other youth.

Moving on to the need for an increased propaganda offensive, Percy emphasised that the party's "theoretical strength is

very important." He pointed to the necessity to expand the coverage in *Direct Action* in a number of areas, including international and cultural features, party-building and campaign news. This required a minimum increase of the paper's size to a regular 16 pages.

"But the biggest new project in this field is our plan to launch a theoretical journal. We are proposing the name: *Socialist Worker* to identify it with our party." Such a journal, Percy explained, would supplement the role of *Direct Action* and add a new dimension to the SWP's theoretical work.

Percy also announced plans for a publishing program from Pathfinder Press. To achieve these goals, new typesetting and printing equipment would be needed. This meant two fund drives: A drive for \$15,000 to support the weekly *Direct Action* in 1977 and a drive for \$25,000 for the party's major expansion plans.

Drawing together the new period now being entered by the labor movement and the needs and potential of the SWP at this time, Percy pointed out that "we are trying to get set for a quicker pace. We need to begin to involve ourselves more closely in the labor movement and particular communities, and to develop the full abilities of our membership."

For these reasons, he explained, the SWP planned to set up *new branches*, where practicable, in the major cities, to more closely involve the party in labor and community work in selected regions. This will be related to a key campaign for the next period: recruitment to the party and education.

Percy concluded: "We've set ourselves a lot of big goals. I've heard it said that revolutionaries are patient. That's not entirely true. We're awful damn impatient to get done with this capitalist system. So we set big tasks that reflect our impatience and sense of urgency, and we can get them done if we really want." □

More Oil, And a Little Smoke

Between 5 and 30 million gallons of oil have been added to the 5.5 million gallons already dumped in the Pacific since mid-January (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 7, p. 114). The latest spill came February 24 when the *Hawaiian Patriot* exploded 360 miles west of Honolulu, Hawaii.

The 846-foot tanker, sailing under Liberian registry, blew up after reporting a huge hole in its hull that had already leaked 5 million of its 30-million-gallon cargo. The Coast Guard said the hole may have resulted from the loss of an entire hull plate.

Thirty-eight crew members were rescued after leaping from the flaming vessel, and one died in the explosion. The ship burned fiercely for hours, producing an enormous cloud of black smoke.

The spill created a slick fifty miles long in the western Pacific.

Behind Growing Political Instability in Japan

[The following is the concluding portion of an interview with Jiro Kurosawa, obtained in Tokyo on December 29, 1976. The first part, which focuses on the results of the December 5 elections in Japan, appeared in *Intercontinental press*, February 21, p. 172. Here Kurosawa discusses the longer-term trends in Japanese politics and the role of the Trotskyists.]

[Kurosawa is a member of the Political Bureau of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), the Japanese section of the Fourth International. The interview and translation were done by Hideo Yamamoto.]

* * *

Question. What are the factors that have brought on this crisis of the Liberal Democrats' one-party rule in Japan?

Answer. There are two main factors. The first is the bankruptcy of the economic boom that continued throughout the decade of the 1960s. This bankruptcy was already apparent, in a way, at the time of the explosive outbreak of the youth radicalization in 1968, because that movement of radical youth was clearly a reaction to the contradictions of rapid economic growth.

But the generalized economic recession that began after 1972 transformed this youth radicalization into a generalized radicalization of Japanese society as a whole. Or to put it another way, the alienation from Japanese capitalism was transferred from a purely intellectual level to the level of the masses' daily life, from the disenchantment of youth with capitalist society to a more generalized, mass disenchantment directed increasingly against the capitalist LDP government.

Simultaneously with this has come the second factor: the advance of the East Asian sector of the world revolution. But the tremendous impulse from the advance of the Asian revolution, which spurred on mass alienation from the LDP and swung the masses' energy to the left, toward support for the Socialist party and the Communist party, has come to an end in the past two years. Needless to say, this is due to the détente between the United States and China.

This is reflected in one important difference between the 1972 and 1976 general election campaigns: the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty ceased to be a key issue. In all the elections prior to 1976, the Security Treaty emerged as a central issue. Masses of people who weren't necessarily opposed to the Security Treaty as such, neverthe-

less supported the SP or the CP as the political currents which would prevent Japan from being drawn into a war. These votes represented not so much a desire to put the SP and CP into power as just the hope that if the anti-Security Treaty parties were strengthened, Japan would be less likely to go to war. This time, however, the Security Treaty was not a focal point of the election campaign, clearly because of the détente between China and the United States. In other words, because Peking now accepts the Japan-U.S. military alliance.

Mass opposition to the Security Treaty had been increasing ever since the start of the Vietnamese revolution. But that opposition was defused, and the Security Treaty issue was completely pushed into the background, when Peking gave its approval to the treaty. In this way, the present advance of the Asian revolution has guaranteed the expansion of the influence of the "moderate" political currents internationally. That is, the political moderates in Japan have become the "pro-China" current. The Komeito,¹ for example, began actively raising the call for peaceful coexistence with China at the time the U.S.-Chinese détente was initiated.

Today, the figures in Japanese politics who are most popular with Peking are first of all former Prime Minister Tanaka of the LDP; secondly, Chairman Takeiri of Komeito; and thirdly, Saburo Eda, a leader of the right wing of the SP. These three were the first major Japanese political figures invited to visit China, and since their return they have all been depicted in China as very important persons. They have acted as exponents of the Chinese position in policy debates in Japan. They obtain mass support within Japan because they have become identified as supporters of China. They benefit from the Japanese masses' traditional sympathy for China, or at least from the masses' fear of a war with China.

By virtue of the fact that they are the ones who can act as go-between on questions of Sino-Japanese relations, it has been these moderate politicians whose political influence has been bolstered by Peking. In keeping with its hostility toward the Soviet Union, Peking has assumed a hostile attitude toward the CP and toward the left wing of the SP, which favors joint action with the CP. In this

way too, it is the moderates who are bolstered by Peking's position.

In this political context, the advance of the Asian revolution has had a contradictory effect on Japanese politics. It has strengthened the moderate currents, though it had spurred on the rise of the New Left in the latter half of the 1960s. But the relationship of forces between Japanese "moderates" and "radicals" has objectively swung in favor of the moderates as a result of the détente.

Q. Could you explain this point a little more concretely? For example, you have often referred to the LDP governmental crisis as a consequence of the victory of the Vietnamese. Concretely, how did that victory contribute to the governmental crisis in Japan?

A. It used to be said that in the elections one-third of the voters opposed the Security Treaty, and two-thirds supported it. But nowadays, as a result of the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, one-third support the Security Treaty, one-third don't favor revising the treaty but don't support it either, and one-third oppose it. Consequently, the LDP, whose entire policy is predicated on the alliance with the United States, has become unable to win a majority in support of its line. The sentiment now is that Japan should no longer decide its policies fundamentally in relation to the United States, but rather in relation to China. This is a direct effect of the Vietnamese revolution on the structure of Japanese politics.

Q. How is the political situation in Japan likely to develop in the near future? What can we expect from the new cabinet under Prime Minister Fukuda?

A. Well, in the area of foreign policy, Fukuda's biggest problem is Korea. In a sense we can say that we're entering a third period in the relationship between the Asian revolution and the governmental crisis in Japan. The first period was from about 1968 to 1972, when China and Vietnam acted as a single element affecting Japanese imperialism and the Japan-U.S. alliance. It was then that the LDP began to lose many Diet seats, began to collapse.

From 1972 to about 1975, we had a period during which the advance of the governmental crisis was partially blocked. That is, the rise of the moderate currents and the maintenance of the LDP government expressed a widespread attitude not

1. Komeito (Clean Government party), the political arm of the Soka Gakkai Buddhist sect.—IP

of opposition to the Security Treaty, but of accepting the treaty so long as Peking approves, accepting the alliance with the United States so long as it doesn't lead to war with China. This period is now coming to an end.

In that sense, the recent election results reflected the mood of this past period. The effect of the new situation that has arisen in Korea this year was hardly reflected at all in this election. But the situation in Korea is evolving rapidly right now.

The joint North-South Korean Declaration was issued in 1972. That was clearly done in an attempt to establish a system of peaceful coexistence on the Korean peninsula like the U.S.—China and Japan—China detentes. But just at the moment when the Park regime had put forward a joint declaration and North Korea had agreed to it, the relationship between Park and the South Korean masses changed abruptly. In Korea the onset of the detente was linked to an upsurge of the masses which immediately accelerated the crisis of the Park regime.

Consequently, Park was forced to quickly change his line. Even though a detente had been established between the United States and China, it proved impossible to do the same on the Korean Peninsula. As a result, the Yushin Constitution,² the state of emergency, and the whole augmented repressive system in South Korea were established within the framework of the detente.

Today, the crisis in Korea once again calls into question the moderating effect of the U.S.—China detente on Japanese politics. That is, the Security Treaty may be acceptable in relation to China, but for the Japanese masses it once again appears as a dangerous factor in view of the crisis in Korea. The Japan—U.S. alliance has now become a system for reacting to events on the Korean Peninsula, and the Japan Self Defense Forces have also become part of this joint U.S.—Japanese—South Korean military system. The fact that the United States can no longer act single-handedly in Korea, that any moves in Korea will involve this whole military system, means that the Japan—U.S. Security Treaty will once again become a key issue in Japan.

With South Korea fitting into this sort of structure, we've begun to see a new movement around the problem of Korea. In June 1976, the "New Current" was formed by the moderates in Japan, mainly leaders of the right wing of the SP. Their aim is to establish a mass movement, further to the right than the SP's old Voice for Peace, whose mass support has been declining. These elements have begun to actively take up the problem of Korea.

The Korean problem is clearly the Achilles' heel of the moderates' line. If the

Park regime continues to exist and events in Korea take a sudden violent turn, the whole moderate line would be wrecked. Therefore it is urgently necessary for them to integrate Korea into the structure of the detente. We can see this in the attempts to organize a mass movement in Japan—and in America as well—to pressure the Park regime to make the necessary changes to bring Korea into the framework of the detente. This implies, in fact, replacing Park by another regime in South Korea.

The "popular frontists" in Japan—primarily the SP left—have also started to campaign around the Korean question in essentially the same way.

In this sense, the struggle here in Japan in solidarity with the Korean people has grown in importance, spreading rapidly beyond the narrow milieu of groups like ours based on the youth radicalization. The formation by the New Current of the Korean Problems Research Council shows that concern over Korea is reaching into the mass trade unions and political parties. The success of the recent campaign by the Korean Youth League in Japan, which gathered over one million signatures on petitions demanding the release of political prisoners in South Korea, is also evidence of this spreading concern.

In the final analysis, Vietnam had only half the effect on Japan that it might have had, thanks to Peking. Vietnam didn't strike a direct blow at Japanese politics. The Vietnamese revolution was just beginning to have an effect when Peking interfered. Hence the victory of the Indochinese people was not able to play an active role in promoting opposition to the Japan—U.S. Security Treaty. Vietnam is also geographically farther from Japan than Korea is. But the present problem of Korea is one which China cannot intervene to solve, and one which is tightly, inseparably linked with the political and economic situation in Japan. In this sense, Korea is the axis of the new situation.

We now see the Japanese government carrying out a very active diplomatic policy in regard to Korea. Prime Minister Fukuda is so far postponing action on other major foreign policy questions such as Sino-Japanese relations, treating Korea as the top priority. We saw that three

Japanese who had been held as political prisoners in South Korea were recently freed. That was President Park's gift to Fukuda.

So the Korean question is intimately linked with the whole political situation in Japan. One of the perennial themes of certain LDP politicians has been the "Red Flag over Pusan" theory. Pusan is a South Korean seaport across the straits from Japan. They say that "if the day ever comes when the red flag flies over Pusan, it won't be more than a week or two before Japan will go red, too." We're hearing that more often these days.

Q. What about the economic policies of the new cabinet?

A. During 1976 the Japanese economy recovered a little bit from the 1974-75 recession. But much of that recovery was due to a rapid expansion of exports, which means it was at the expense of Japan's imperialist competitors. This kind of situation can't last for long—even now the Fukuda cabinet is working hard to persuade West European governments not to



2. The undemocratic constitution imposed by the Park regime in 1972.—IP

enact retaliatory import restrictions. In the long run the LDP will be forced to carry out much more severe anti-working-class measures at home, to make Japanese workers pay for the long-term crisis of the capitalist economy. And Fukuda will have a lot harder time putting over new attacks on the workers here than he will reaching agreements with his European counterparts.

The bourgeoisie and the LDP tried to enforce a massive program of speedup and rationalization against public-sector workers in 1973—that was the Marusei “productivity program.” That attack was defeated by the resistance of the unions. The experience of that successful struggle, and the effects of the recession, have deepened the radicalization of public-sector workers. Today not only the youngest layers, but even middle-aged workers, are more and more coming into motion, in spite of attempts by the leadership of Sohyo³ to tighten up bureaucratic control.

Fukuda and the government have no choice but to launch a new round of attacks against these workers. The precarious state of the economy leaves the LDP very little room for compromise, or even for postponing the confrontation.

The first main target of the Fukuda regime’s economic policies will be the workers of Japan National Railways (JNR). This is partly because the JNR workers have the strongest union organization in the country. The fiscal crisis of the JNR is also a concentrated expression of problems that affect all sectors of the economy. The LDP will try to politically isolate the JNR workers from mass support by linking the workers’ demands to the question of raising railway fares.

We saw this happen in 1976. The government demanded a 50% increase in JNR fares as a precondition for paying the 7% wage raise won by JNR workers in the 1976 *shunto*.⁴ The union took a position against any fare increase, and the SP carried out parliamentary maneuvers to stall passage of the legislation to raise fares. The union threatened to go on strike again to get the pay raise, but the SP reversed its position just before the strike deadline and allowed the fares to be raised. But even with that 50% fare increase, the crisis of JNR finances has not been solved, and a major confrontation with the JNR workers union was only postponed. One of the first acts of the new cabinet was to

announce plans to eliminate over 100,000 jobs in a massive rationalization of the freight division of JNR.

So, as I said, at this stage the JNR workers are Fukuda’s main target. If the government can defeat these workers, it



JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA

will succeed in forcing the burden of inflation onto the masses through further fare increases, it will be able to break up a powerful workers organization, and it can resolve the most acute contradictions in the transportation industry. For us too, this struggle is a key test of how well the workers movement can stand up to the attacks that are being prepared.

Q. Can you tell us about the intervention of the Japanese Trotskyists during the Lockheed scandal and the elections?

A. OK, but first I should make a point about the difference between the class struggle in Japan and in Western Europe, because it has a lot to do with our tasks. There are important historical reasons why the radicalization of the Japanese working class is not expressed at this stage in a growth of support for the mass reformist parties.

The distinction between the European and Japanese workers movements results partly from the defeat of the potentially revolutionary upsurge following the surrender in 1945. The Japanese workers movement had been completely smashed prior to the war. Also during the war there was no large-scale resistance movement. The tremendous upsurge of 1945-47, which saw the formation of industrial unions and the explosive growth of the Communist party, was completely smashed. Industrial unions were replaced by company unions

and the CP suffered heavy repression by the American occupation forces. This is in contrast to what happened in Europe, where real trade unions continued to exist, providing a mass base for the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties.

The Japanese working class had no tradition. And lacking tradition it was unable to build lasting mass organizations during the post-surrender upsurge. The present union movement, in which some of the Sohyo unions come closest to being real trade unions, took shape during the struggles against economic rationalization in the 1950s. As a result of the defeat of workers in private industry during those struggles, even today only the public-sector workers have effective union organizations. This is why working-class militancy has developed for the most part in the public sector and not in the key sectors of heavy industry. In the private sector we have “enterprise unions” that collaborate with management on the shop floor and are politically pro-imperialist.

In the 1950s the Communist party had no organized base whatsoever in the union movement. Beginning in the 1960s the CP acquired important influence within some Sohyo unions—especially among teachers and local government employees—but that’s all.

This means that the working class has been unable to confront the capitalists and the government as a class even on the trade-union level. There has been no experience of any sort of SP-CP united front on that level. Half of the working class is left with nothing but these pro-imperialist company unions. Therefore, when the process of radicalization begins again, there is a lack of class-struggle tradition, and the radicalization is expressed in an extremely dispersed and confused form rather than a rapid polarization reflected in votes for the SP and CP. The recent working-class struggles in Japan aren’t part of a continuity of accumulated experience. This is a big difference between the West European and Japanese workers movements.

This is a key aspect of the political situation, and the essential nature of our tasks flows from this. The working class in Western Europe has the experience and the tradition of joint action by the SP and CP at both the trade-union and parliamentary levels—although it has always been class-collaborationist, not a genuine united front. There hasn’t been that experience in Japan, not on any level. As a result, when you talk about a workers government, it’s more difficult for a Japanese worker to visualize what you mean. Even the term “workers government” doesn’t have the same meaning—or convey the same nuance—that it would to a European worker.

Q. Now about the JRCL’s intervention

3. Sohyo is short for Nihon Rodo Kumiai Sohyogikai (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), the largest union federation in Japan, led by the Socialist party.—IP

4. *Shunto* (Spring Labor Offensive). It has become traditional each spring for major unions to stage mass rallies, strikes, and other actions to press their demands. The wage settlements won then generally set the pattern for the rest of industry.—IP

A. OK. Without going into the previous history of our movement, the situation created by the Lockheed scandal meant that the JRCL had to make an important turn in our work.

The Eighth National Congress of the JRCL was held in January 1976. At that time we analyzed the development of the objective conditions in East Asia and within Japan, and concluded that the political situation was entering a period when the question of a workers government would be posed. This was the theme that ran through all our discussions at the congress. But we didn't carry the discussion through to the point of becoming concrete, to the point of discussing specifically the question of how we would respond in practice to the new situation that was opening up.

That was in January. Less than two months later the Lockheed scandal broke, and we ran right up against that very concrete question. For us the problem revolved around formulating a slogan demanding that the SP and CP form a workers and farmers government. But at that stage the JRCL wasn't really up to the tasks posed by the situation. During March and April, the initial period of mass actions protesting the scandal, we responded mainly on the level of carrying on an internal discussion whose main purpose was to get a real understanding of the situation itself.

But we came out of that discussion as the only current in the Japanese left that grasped the real significance of the Lockheed scandal. We were the only ones who sought to link the scandal to the question of power for the working class, with emphasis on the need for a workers government and workers control of industry. We propagandized for bringing down the corrupt LDP government, and for nationalizing under workers control all the corporations involved in the scandal. In all of this we emphasized the necessity of a workers united front.

We were the only current that tried to respond to the scandal this way, and we took the initiative in trying to organize united actions. We initiated a series of actions involving those left groups whom we could draw into a united front. The first of these were during the *shunto*. In Sendai and in Osaka we worked among young union activists carrying out actions that projected the Lockheed scandal as a key theme of Sohyo's struggle. And building on that momentum, we initiated a united demonstration in Tokyo on June 20 that drew about three thousand participants.

Another task facing us is to reach the rank and file of the CP and SP. The reformists' capitulation to the LDP on the JNR fares issue sealed the fate of the working-class parties in the election. Of course a whole series of factors have demoralized SP and CP supporters, but that defeat—coming just before the elec-

tion campaign opened—was decisive. And of course that demoralization and confusion is continuing beyond the elections—in fact, the poor showing of the SP and the CP has only made it worse.

We now have to try again to politically win over those layers of activists by helping them draw the lessons of these defeats, explaining our governmental slogan and our call for a united front. It's basically the same thing we were trying to accomplish last spring and summer, but now under different conditions. This is our first task right now, to speed the process of political differentiation that's going on within the unions, and to build our own influence among those workers.

Our second major task is to help mobilize the working class to support the Buraku liberation struggle⁵ and the struggles in solidarity with the Korean people. Objectively these struggles are linked with the interests of the labor movement, but they have always been isolated from the unions. We try to take these questions into the unions, to link the movements in action.

For example, we propose that local

5. The Buraku people are descendants of the "untouchable" caste in precapitalist Japan. They suffer severe discrimination in employment, housing, education, marriage, etc.—IP

unions carry out strikes in solidarity with the Buraku Liberation League. Also, as I mentioned before, the whole problem of Korea is being discussed more and more by sections of the SP and the Sohyo leadership. We want to pose solidarity with the South Korean people's struggle as a key task of the unions.

Q. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

A. These experiences of the past year sort of illustrate where we're at in the development of the JRCL. We established the party and built up our apparatus in the youth radicalization, and from about 1972 to 1975 our main activity has aimed at building up our influence within the working class. That is, educating ourselves, accumulating cadres, and establishing some strongholds—or if not strongholds at least a certain influence in some places.

We're now preparing a big rally that we'll hold on February 5 to mark the twentieth anniversary of our movement in Japan. That rally will also mark the beginning of the JRCL's advance into the working class, of our direct challenge to the hegemony of the SP and CP, of a new stage in the struggle to organize the vanguard of the Japanese socialist revolution under the banner of the Fourth International. □

SWP Suit in the News

[The following article appeared in the January 19 issue of *Morning Star*, the daily newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist party of Great Britain.

[It is to be hoped that this factual reporting of the gains scored in the Socialist Workers party's suit against the FBI and CIA will be emulated by the American CP, which continues to slander the SWP as a tool "utilized" by the FBI as a "cover for attacks on the Communist party" (*Daily World*, January 26).]

* * *

The Socialist Workers Party of the US, a Trotskyist organisation associated with the Fourth International, has just released copies of a massive wedge of CIA documents which have been turned over to it in the course of its long-running law suit against the CIA, the FBI and other government bodies.

The SWP is claiming about £20 million [US \$40 million—IP] damages for systematic harassment by police which, it says, has taken the form of everything from persecution of election candidates to bur-

glaries, to wire-tapping to bomb attacks on party offices.

Of special interest in Britain, especially at the time of the Agee-Hosenball hearings, is an affidavit signed on July 1, 1976, by CIA director George Bush, who says:

"The files of the CIA do contain information indicating that conversations of certain of the individual plaintiffs . . . were overheard by means of electronic surveillance conducted abroad; and that certain other information . . . was acquired as a result of several surreptitious entries that were made into premises abroad. . . ."

A further deposition made by Paul F. Haefner, another CIA official, not only says that the CIA was asked for information about the SWP by "a foreign intelligence service," but that:

"The senior CIA officer in any country abroad is always obligated to use his best judgment as to whether specific operational actions or methods can be initiated and carried out securely, without adverse problems for either the host country or the United States government and consistent with the authority given to the CIA by law." □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



70 Tons of Toxic Chemical in Ohio River

High concentrations of a toxic cleaning fluid, carbon tetrachloride, were found in the tap water used by residents of Cincinnati, Ohio, February 6. But news of the discovery was withheld by Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) officials for two weeks.

The likely source of the contamination was quickly discovered: "On February 7 . . . it had been determined by the Federal agency that only four plants could have released any carbon tetrachloride into the Ohio [River] system," William K. Stevens reported in the February 21 *New York Times*, citing a "source close to the investigation." All four were located on the Kanawha River, which flows into the Ohio some 200 miles upstream from Cincinnati. According to the unnamed source, each was asked to monitor its discharges into the river or allow the EPA to do so; three complied, and one, the FMC Corporation, refused.

Four days later, on February 11, EPA investigators discovered a 75-mile-long slick of carbon tetrachloride in the Kanawha River. Although it was now clear that the contamination was massive, affecting communities throughout the Ohio River

Valley, the EPA chose to remain silent on the danger.

Another week went by before people in the affected areas learned of the poison in their tap water and were urged to take precautions. The Associated Press reported February 18 that the EPA had announced that "about 70 tons" of carbon tetrachloride "flowed into the Ohio River from West Virginia's Kanawha River today, contaminating drinking water downstream."

Even at this late date agency officials made no mention of the February 6 discovery, nor of the fact that the EPA knew that a plant of the FMC Corporation was the likely culprit. In fact, according to the Associated Press, EPA official Gordon Robeck claimed that "investigators were still attempting to pinpoint the exact source."

EPA officials did recommend that water treatment plants drawing from the river increase their purification steps and that "municipalities" without these capabilities contact local health commissioners, who will issue 'boil water' orders, which entail boiling water for five minutes in an open vessel."

Joseph Harrison, chief of the water supply branch of the EPA's regional office in Chicago, said carbon tetrachloride "has a detrimental effect on the liver and it causes cancer in laboratory animals. If you drink it, you probably won't be acutely affected right away," he said. "There is a risk it could cause cancer eventually. It's a high risk."

The facts of what had happened finally leaked out February 20, the day federal officials announced that water taken from the Ohio River had again become safe to drink. For example, EPA official Daniel Snyder admitted that carbon tetrachloride had been found in quantities "in excess of 50 parts per billion" in Cincinnati's tap water February 6. Concentrations as high as 190 parts per billion in the river and 130 parts per billion in treated drinking water were found at Huntington, West Virginia, February 11.

Snyder said there is "no unanimity" among scientists as to what levels of carbon tetrachloride are harmful to health. "You hear the number 50 [parts per billion]

talked about, and the number 100 talked about," he said.

What happened to the polluting company? Apparently it got off scot-free: "When FMC refused to monitor its Kanawha River effluent, or to allow the E.P.A. to do so," Stevens reported, "the Federal agency went to court. Last Friday [February 18], FMC agreed in court to sample its river discharges voluntarily."

A Chlorine Cloud 1,000 Feet High

A cloud of poisonous chlorine gas leaked out of a Dow Chemical Company plant in Plaquemine, Louisiana, February 20.

A Dow spokesman said that a tank had ruptured at a chlorine production unit, leaking all of its approximately 200 pounds of gas.

An Iberville Parish deputy sheriff described the leak at one point as a green cloud "a thousand feet high."

Sheriff's officers said that a few houses had been evacuated in the St. Gabriel area, but residents were allowed to return after about an hour. The state police said that five persons had been treated at a local hospital for chlorine burns, inhalation, or both.

The Dow plant is about 20 miles south of Baton Rouge, where on December 10 about 10,000 persons were evacuated when a 42-mile-long cloud of chlorine leaked from tanks at the Allied Chemical Company.

Oiling the Golden Gate

Twenty thousand gallons of gooey marine fuel oil spilled from the container ship *Hawaiian Progress* into San Francisco Bay on February 10.

The oil dirtied beaches and endangered wildlife along the Pacific coast north of San Francisco. More than 130 oil-soaked seabirds were picked up and treated at a bird rescue center.

The vessel was undergoing repairs at the Bethlehem Shipyard when the spill occurred. According to the U.S. Coast Guard the shipyard management was not admitting legal responsibility, but had hired 200 persons to help clean up the fouled beaches.



Stayskal/Chicago Tribune

Selections From the Left

Independência Operária

"Working-class Independence," a monthly socialist information bulletin for the workers and student movements. Published in Brazil.

Analyzing the result of the November 15, 1976, municipal elections, the editors write in the December issue:

"Arena [Alliance for National Renewal] made a report to the dictator, Geisel, assessing the results of the elections. Predictably, it was a positive balance sheet, stating that they represented a victory for the government.

"The truth is that the MDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement] won the elections; it succeeded in increasing the number of municipalities and city councils it controls throughout the country, mainly in the states with the heaviest industrial concentration. Naturally, in one way or another, the results are a victory for the government, since both parties are bourgeois parties."

However, in a country where the vote is obligatory and where no workers parties are allowed to field candidates, almost 500,000 persons cast invalid or blank ballots in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. This was "the only valid, consistent form of protest to show that neither Arena nor the MDB have any meaning for us," the editorial stated.

"In greater São Paulo it is interesting to note what happened in the working-class neighborhoods and cities. In Vila Maria, Osasco, Santo André, Diadema, and Guarulhos the invalid and blank ballots came to nearly 20 percent. In most cases, this was half the vote total of Arena and one-third the total of the MDB.

"All this shows very well that we were correct, that a good number of workers have already understood that the MDB is not the solution."

Independência Operária calls on class-conscious workers to take the next logical step beyond rejecting the bourgeois parties in the elections.

"We must unite to defend our interests . . . building our trade-union and political organizations" independent of the bourgeois parties.



Journal of Irishwomen United. Published in Dublin.

An editorial in Issue No. 6 comments on recent proposals by capitalist politicians for solving the problem of unemployment in Ireland.

"Under the guise of a deep concern for job opportunities for school leavers," the editorial states, "they imply that if married women, (who are only 3% of the total workforce) return to the kitchen sink, then job opportunities will abound. The present rate of unemployment is approximately 11%. . . ."

The editorial charges that women are being made "the scapegoat for the lack of economic planning in this country."

VOZ SOCIALISTA

"Socialist Voice," weekly journal of the Socialist (Workers) party, Venezuelan sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

The January 26 issue assesses the political course of a sizable centrist party in Venezuela, the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS), on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the group's formation.

"Is the MAS aiding the process of socialist revolution in Venezuela?" Fernando Sánchez asks. He points out the positive contribution made by the MAS in popularizing the ideas of socialism. It also broke with the Stalinist notion that the struggle in Venezuela was simply antifeudal and anti-imperialist in character. The Communist party "forgot the essence of the question, that the struggle against the landowners, the bourgeoisie, and the imperialists is an anticapitalist struggle and that therefore the character of the Venezuelan revolution (and the revolution throughout the world) is obviously socialist."

However, Sánchez points out, when the MAS rejected Stalinism, it also "rejected the international character of the revolution and the need for a Leninist combat party."

This led the organization to adopt the perspective of a special "socialism Venezuelan-style" and organizational norms that the current MAS leadership itself describes as "a pressure toward social-democratization" of the party. Moreover, Sánchez says, the MAS's unwillingness to stand firm on questions of principle has led the organization to oppose some workers' struggles in Venezuela.

On the other hand, Sánchez writes, some sectors of the MAS are today seeking a principled course of action in the student movement and against the government's austerity program.

"We hail this effort," he says, and "on any concrete point of agreement we reach, we will make every effort to achieve unity in the struggle against capitalism, because despite everything, we agree on something

basic—socialism is the solution for Venezuela."

old mole

Paper of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Published twice monthly in Toronto.

In the January 26 issue, Alex Dwight and Ed Miller report on the Dene and Inuit peoples' fight to regain control over their land in Canada's Northwest Territories.

"Confronting plunderous projects of governments and resource 'development' firms, native organizations here have mounted a growing and increasingly militant opposition to these projects in the courts and on the land. While the majority of natives do not live on the ancestral territories, the fight for the land has deepened native self-awareness and sparked a wave of struggles."

To benefit the construction and oil companies and meet the energy needs of urban centers, the federal government wants to build a pipeline through the Mackenzie Valley, where the Dene and Inuit constitute 82 percent of the population. This pipeline poses a threat to the ecological balance of the area and to Dene and Inuit ways of life.

The Dene and Inuit are demanding political control over a total of 700,000 square miles. The Inuit are willing to surrender an additional 500,000 square miles in return for a financial settlement and guaranteed exclusive fishing and hunting rights.

Despite a recent setback in the courts, the land-claim movement has succeeded in forcing negotiations on the government.

"Other land-claim fights have erupted from Ontario to British Columbia. In central BC, Nazko Indians demand participation in decisions over extension of logging and use of other resources in their lands. . . ."

"In a similar dispute, the Lower Nicola band in south-central BC has gone to court to halt roadbuilding and logging. In the same part of the province native concern is growing over the environmental and social impact of a proposed mining and thermal power project in the coal-rich Upper Hat Creek area. . . ."

"In northwestern Ontario a native protest against mercury pollution has grown into a major fight over a proposed massive logging operation by the culprit polluter, Reed Pulp and Paper Co. Treaty 9 Indians, backed by the Ontario Federation of Labor and the NDP [New Democratic party, Canada's labor party], have launched a challenge to the project, which

involves Treaty 9 lands, and threatens the very existence of Ontario's last 19,000 square miles of uncut forest."

rouge

"Red," revolutionary communist daily, published in Paris.

In the February 12 issue, Michel Rovere calls for a broader and more active movement in France in solidarity with Basque political prisoners. He points out that Basque nationalists are imprisoned on both the Spanish and French sides of the Pyrenees:

"In Puerto de Santa Maria [a prison hundreds of miles from the Spanish Basque country] and in Port Joinville on the Ile d'Yeu [a penal island hundreds of miles from the French Basque area], Basques are being held captive. On one side of the Pyrenees, 104 Basque prisoners are slowly rotting in the post-Francoist jails. On the other, fifteen refugees from south Euzkadi [the Spanish Basque country], who thought they could find asylum on French soil, have found themselves isolated, exiled, and imprisoned here."

The occasion for Rovere's article was a meeting organized in the Paris Mutualité February 10 in defense of the Basque prisoners. In a news conference before the meeting, the sponsors explained how severe the repression still is in the Spanish Basque country. Rovere summarizes the points made by Manuel Castells, who was a lawyer for the defense in the 1970 Burgos trial of Basque nationalists:

"Since Franco's death, an average of four persons have been killed every month in Euzkadi, four lives cut short by the bullets of the cops or of the ultraright groups. In this same period, the terrorist actions carried out with impunity by the ultraright have accelerated strikingly.

"The Tribunals of Public Order have been abolished, but they have created the National Court of Sessions for political cases, with the same judges sitting on it as on the old tribunals. The sinister Political-Social Brigade, which became a little too well known for its extensive use of torture, was abolished. But they have set up a brigade assigned to political crimes, the Second Section, made up of the same people as the old Political-Social Brigade.

"Although it has been in office more than a year, the new regime has not granted permission for a single amnesty demonstration in the Basque country."

In view of these facts, Rovere says, it was unfortunate that the Mutualité meeting drew only 1,500 persons, a crowd that far from filled the hall. The smaller activist left groups could have done more, and the organizers could have done more to get them involved. But the main responsibility for the relative failure of the meeting fell on large organizations such as

the Socialist party and the League for the Rights of Man, Rovere says; they were too involved in the current electoral maneuvering in France to do more than give lip service to the cause of the imprisoned Basques.

Rovere concludes: "Such a poor showing must not be allowed to happen again."

UNFREE CITIZEN

Newspaper of the Peoples Democracy group. Published monthly in Belfast, Northern Ireland.

The February issue reports that the British government is beginning to turn part of the job of repressing the nationalist communities in Northern Ireland over to the proimperialist Protestant police and militia. These forces were driven out of the Catholic ghettos in 1969, but the British authorities have been introducing them in stages since August 1972.

"Last month the government announced that the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] were to be armed with M1 carbines. At the same time, it emerged that they already have several Shortland armoured cars and are soon to get 120 armour plated vehicles. It's a far cry from the days of the Hunt Report [issued by the British government after the 1969 ghetto uprisings], which recommended that the RUC be completely disarmed and even their old Land-Rovers removed because they were too military-looking.

"In January as well it was announced that British Army administrative areas in the North were to be brought into line with the 16 RUC Divisional areas—a step to facilitate a smooth hand-over of power from one force to the other. At the same time, people in the fringe areas of the Catholic ghettos like Twinbrook in West Belfast have noticed a steady replacement of the British Army by the RUC.

"This is the reality behind the rumours of British withdrawal. Westminster [London] is steadily handing over control of security in the North to the RUC-UDR [Ulster Defense Regiment, the militia] and trying to withdraw British troops to a supporting role. It's not a new policy, we first pointed out this trend in 1973, but under Mason [British minister for Northern Ireland] it's being pushed further and faster and the RUC and UDR are stronger than ever before. The full-time RUC is nearly 6,000 strong (twice its 1968 strength) with 5,000 part-time reserves and heavily armed. The UDR has nearly 2,000 full-time members, a quarter of the entire force.

"The hand-over to the RUC and UDR has been greatly helped by [Catholic] Bishop Philbin and the SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour party, the Catholic communalist party], who have called for support for the RUC, but most of all by the

so-called Peace Movement with Betty Williams calling for the return of the 'friendly local bobbies' to the Falls Road. But Ulsterisation of security is no gain for the anti-imperialist movement. The RUC haven't changed; 'Betty's bobbies' are the same RUC who invaded the Falls Road and the Bogside in 1969 and who are still torturing prisoners in Castlereagh to-day. The UDR showed their real face when a whole platoon organised the murder of the Miami show-band [folksingers from the Catholic community] one and a half years ago."

QUÉ HACER?

"What Is To Be Done?" organ of the Socialist Workers Organization, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Published monthly in San José, Costa Rica.

The February issue comments: "We enthusiastically welcome the move by the Costa Rican Socialist party and the Revolutionary Movement of the People to form a broad working-class bloc, one of whose principles would be class independence. This initiative will be a very important step forward for the entire Costa Rican working class and oppressed masses. Such a united front has excellent chances to develop and become a valuable instrument in the coming battles between the working class and its allies and the capitalists. . . .

"The analytical bases for this united front were set forth in a document published under the joint auspices of these two parties in the cultural supplement of the February 5 issue of *Excelsior*. . . .

"In the first place, these parties call for uniting working-class forces. The basis for this is their common working-class character, that is, the only condition for joining is belonging to the working class and defending its interests. . . .

"These parties clearly defend class independence. . . . Along with this, they understand how ineffective and disorienting it is for the workers to fight for a democratic stage prior to the stage of fighting for socialism. They even criticize those working-class organizations that sow illusions in alleged possibilities of making deals with 'progressive sectors' of the bourgeoisie. Specifically, they criticize the People's Vanguard [the CP] for calling on the masses to put their trust in sectors of the bourgeoisie."

Qué Hacer makes some criticisms of the document: "It does not offer a concrete program of struggles, of key demands for the workers at this time; nor does it offer a list of objectives the workers should fight for in the upcoming election campaign."

Qué Hacer also criticizes the fact that it does not explicitly call on all working-class tendencies to join the proposed front.

AROUND THE WORLD



Gang of Four Blamed for 'Noxious' Verbiage in Press

Jenmin Jih Pao, the official Chinese Communist party newspaper, has promised its readers a number of improvements.

The January 30 issue contained an editorial pledging to do away with the paper's "stereotyped, noxious, long-winded and monotonous" style of writing, and to replace it with "short, good stories."

The front page featured letters from readers indicating that such a change would be welcome. A metalworker wrote in to say that articles were so "long-winded and pretentious" that most workers read only the headlines.

The editorial blamed the paper's sleep-inducing quality on control of the media by the "gang of four."

Brazilians Demand End to Censorship

A petition circulating in Brazil demands that the military regime revoke its censorship laws and warns that otherwise "Brazil will soon be turned into a country that doesn't have much to say."

More than a thousand artists, writers, and other intellectuals have signed the petition. Among these are the well-known novelists Jorge Amado and Antonio Callado and composers Antonio Carlos Jobim



JUSTICE MINISTER FALCAO: Claims censorship eased last year.

and Chico Buarque de Holanda.

Reflecting increasing concern among Brazilian capitalists about this pressure for democratic rights, Jose Papa, Jr., head of the São Paulo Federation of Commerce, issued a statement recently saying "the country must begin a move toward full democratic government."

But the Geisel dictatorship shows no signs of giving in. Justice Minister Armando Falcão responded to the censorship petition by pointing out that only 74 books, 292 song lyrics, 6 movies, and 29 plays were banned in 1976.

Playwright Ias Vomes retorted: "He says he banned only 29 plays. Well, that's approximately the number of plays Shakespeare wrote."

Haitian Political Refugees Still Fighting for U.S. Asylum

Since December 1972, some 2,000 Haitians who fled the political repression of the Duvalier regime have been living on religious charities and "illegal" subsistence wages as farm workers in Florida. They have faced a constant effort by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport them on grounds that they really left Haiti for "economic" reasons.

A partial victory was won February 15 when a federal judge in Miami ordered a halt to the deportation of 280 Haitians. The INS had refused to allow them to present their pleas for asylum during "exclusion hearings."

According to the February 17 *New York Times*, the INS "has not determined whether this group of Haitians, coming illegally by boat and landing in Florida, are 'political refugees' . . . or 'economic refugees' seeking employment. If they are found to be job-seekers, they can be returned immediately to Haiti."

This treatment of the victims of a right-wing dictatorship contrasts sharply with the warm welcome accorded by Washington to the thousands of rich Cubans who went to Florida for "economic" reasons after the Cuban revolution.

Scandals, Strikes Plague Israeli Labor Party

Scandals involving several top leaders of Israel's ruling Labor party, and an increase in worker militancy are dominating

the headlines as the country moves toward elections in May.

The scandals surfaced last October when Asher Yadlin, the Labor government's nominee for governor of the Bank of Israel, was indicted on fraud, tax evasion, and bribery charges. Then in early January Minister of Housing and former Labor party Campaign Manager Abraham Ofer shot himself to death after newspaper articles implicated him in kickback schemes that diverted \$476,000 into Labor party campaign funds from the state construction company he headed.

The controversy deepened in mid-February when Yadlin was convicted after pleading guilty. In his confession Yadlin charged that several other top government officials were involved in his shady dealings, including his cousin Aharon Yadlin, the minister of education; Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinovich; and Labor party Election Committee Chairman David Calderon.

The Zionists' difficulties are compounded by a deteriorating economic situation and rising discontent among workers. Inflation ran 35 percent in 1976. The government ordered a wage freeze on February 14, but three days later 35,000 engineers and teachers went on strike to demand pay hikes of up to 38 percent. Some 200,000 of Israel's 1.1 million workers are currently involved in labor disputes.

Interchangeable Parts

Malcolm R. Currie has a new job.

Until recently Currie was director of defense research and engineering in the U.S. Department of Defense, where he supervised a project to "Americanize" the Roland ground-to-air missile system first developed by the French and West German arms industries. He was "instrumental in pushing the . . . program over the opposition of the Army and the House Armed Services Committee," according to the February 15 *New York Times*.

The project is being carried out under a \$104 million contract by the Hughes Aircraft Company. Currie worked for Hughes for fifteen years, including five as a vice-president, before holding the Pentagon post.

His new job? With the Hughes Aircraft Company, as vice-president and group executive in charge of the Roland missile project.

IRSP Stand on Irish 'Peace Movement'

[The following article was published in issue No. 19 of the *Starry Plough*, the monthly newspaper of the Irish Republican Socialist party, published in Dublin.]

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From the *Daily Express* [a British gutter newspaper] to the *United Irishman* [the monthly paper of the "Official" republican movement], from the UDA [Ulster Defense Association, an ultraright Protestant terrorist group] to the catholic hierarchy, opinion is unanimous. The "peace" movement is portrayed as the spontaneous popular upheaval against the Provos. Bishops say it is proof of God's intervention, the Officials and other reformists delude themselves that it is somehow a sign of working class unity while the Right wing politicians and media use it to claim that there is no support for republicans.

Like every other slogan, "peace" means different things to different people. To the nationalist working class in the Six Counties it means an end to the daily attacks by the British Army and Loyalists [ultraright proimperialists]; an end to 50 years of sectarian discrimination, unemployment and bad housing. To the British government and the Loyalists it means a defeated and passive nationalist population which accepts their role as second class citizens.

Which of these definitions does the 'peace' movement support? Who is behind it? Where does it draw its support from?

It first emerged in a blaze of publicity after the tragic deaths of the Maguire children in August. In the beginning there is no doubt that the self-proclaimed leaders of the 'peace' movement were able to win some support in the nationalist areas by pretending to steer a neutral course. But their credibility was quickly diminished when on their march up the Shankill Rd. [a Loyalist area], with UDA support, they carried banners saying "Falls [a nationalist area] Says Sorry." The message was clear, it was the nationalist population that should be sorry for breaking the peace by revolting against a brutal apartheid-style regime. No wonder the UDA was prepared to join the peace march the morning after they had burned a catholic family to death.

Inevitably once the "peace" movement was forced to clarify its real policies it began to crumble. Enraged at the hypocrisy of the "peace" movement's leaders (especially their failure to condemn the British Army's murder of a local boy) residents of Turf Lodge chased them from

Origins of the IRSP

The IRSP was formed at the end of 1974, as the result of a split in the "Official" republican movement. The new organization was denounced by the "Officials" as consisting of "gangsters" and "Catholic sectarians." A conflict developed between the two groups, in which a number of activists on both sides were shot, and some were killed. The IRSP leadership called for an end to these hostilities and for unity of the anti-imperialist forces. The "Officials" portrayed the IRSP as the most immediate threat to the Northern Irish workers, suggesting that against it anything was justified.

The "Officials" made conciliating the Protestant workers the keystone of their policy. Anything that might frighten the Protestants became, for them, the most immediate threat to the Irish people. The IRSP started from the premise that since the Protestant population in general was totally opposed to freedom for the oppressed Catholics, the "Official" leaders' position meant in

effect abandoning the fight for liberation.

Since 1974, the "Officials" have lined up closely with the pro-Moscow Stalinist movement, both in Ireland and internationally. In the recent period, the "Official" leadership has supported the "peace movement" led by Mairead Corrigan and Betty Williams, and in Britain and the U.S. representatives of the "Official" republican movement have strongly opposed raising demands for the withdrawal of British troops.

At the time of the split from the "Officials," ultraleft and adventurist attitudes were very widespread among IRSP activists. In large part, this was a result of the fact that the "Official" leaders, who talked about the need for mass, political struggle, had proven to be in the tow of the Stalinists, who have a miserable record as regards the Irish national struggle. The following article is interesting as a reflection of the evolution in the thinking of the IRSP since the split.

—Gerry Foley

the area. When the movement's P.R.O. [Public Relations Officer], Ciaran McKeown, was forced to make some criticism of the British Army the Loyalists were outraged and began to withdraw their support. To counterbalance this, McKeown immediately declared his support for the security forces and his willingness to encourage informers. Unfortunately for his image, the British Army were caught burning social clubs within a few hours of his speech and others were charged with planting evidence.

It is worth noting that none of the peace movement's leaders are the starry-eyed non-political peace lovers the media try to make them out to be. Betty Williams is a member of the pro-Brit Alliance Party. Mairead Corrigan is a member of the right-wing Legion of Mary, who have consistently opposed the nationalist population. Ciaran McKeown is a first rate political opportunist who has in turn been a "republican," a "socialist," a student politician, a member of Fianna Fáil [the historically more nationalist of the Irish bourgeois parties], supporter of Official Sinn Fein and an SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour party, the Catholic commu-

nalist party in Northern Ireland] supporter.

But a knowledge of the hypocrisy behind the so-called peace movement should not blind us to the political danger they represent and, more importantly, to the need for a political response to its activities. Mass participation in resistance to the British Army and popular support for the struggle in the South probably reached a height during the "no-go" areas [the Catholic ghettos from which the police were driven out by massive rebellions in August 1969 and August 1971; they were reoccupied by British troops in 1972]. Since then the armed struggle has tended to develop *instead of* rather than *alongside* a mass movement. This left the people in the republican areas in the role of passive bystanders supporting armed groups who were to liberate them.

The problem with this is that when the people feel they have no influence over the struggle, the republican groups are in danger of losing support.

The successful Peace with Justice march organised by republicans in Belfast is a step in the right direction. A particularly welcome development is the decision by local people to keep British troops out of

Turf Lodge. It must be constantly pointed out that the only way to bring peace is the complete withdrawal of the British military and political presence. The republican groups must also strengthen their links with the people by listening to any genuine criticism, by handing over property they own to local groups, and agreeing that there should never again be violence between anti-imperialist groups.

In the south, the problems are complex. It is fair to say that the feeling of the majority towards the national struggle is indifferent rather than hostile or enthusiastic. The "peace" march in Dublin brought out the largest parade of middle class reactionaries ever seen in Ireland since the days of the Blueshirts [an embryonic fascist movement organized in the mid-1930s]. Their definition of peace was well demonstrated by their reaction to a small picket against hanging: "Hang the lot of you."

And this is the crux of the problem. In 1972, the southern middle class were hostile to the republicans but unable to do anything, while republicans were able to bring tens of thousands onto the streets to protest against repression. Since then the media, church and politicians have carried out a massive propaganda campaign against republicans. Unlike the case of nationalist population in the 6 counties, this propaganda is not balanced by seeing the brutal reality of British occupation.

The danger in this is that small groups will be diverted into military action with no popular support. However long it takes, the only way to combat repression is by mass action and a propaganda campaign to put the blame for violence where it really lies—with the British government.

North and south, it is only mass action against repression and British occupation that can bring a lasting peace through the withdrawal of the British military and political presence, and the establishment of a united socialist Ireland. □

Drift to the Right in Portuguese SP

By Jukka Paastela

[In recent years, left wings have developed in a number of West European Socialist parties. Some leading Social Democratic politicians such as Willy Brandt have come out in favor of an "opening to the left" so as to make the SPs more attractive to youth and radicalizing workers. The aim is to give these parties a greater capacity for maneuver in an increasingly crisis-ridden Europe.

[Many left-wing Social Democrats regarded the Portuguese SP as a model "left" Social Democratic party before it assumed the main governmental responsibility. Since then it has become more and more of an embarrassment to the SPs that need a left image. The Finnish SP is one of these, and so it is interesting to see the way the left wing of this party is explaining the evolution of the Portuguese Social Democracy to its own supporters.

[The following article by a leading figure in the Finnish SP left is from issue number 14 (published in December 1976) of *Lippu*, the paper of the Sosialidemokratisen Nuorisoin Keskusliitto (Social Democratic Youth League). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The Portuguese Socialist party held its congress in Lisbon at the end of October. The congress was preceded by a sharp internal struggle, in which the main issue was the "emergency policy" practiced by the government of Mário Soares.

Voices were heard in left-wing circles in the party calling for the ouster of the government.

In the congress itself, the government's policy gained the support of a large majority of the delegates. Nonetheless, what marked this congress was a struggle between a left wing comprising 25% of the delegates and the supporters of the party leadership.

No compromise was reached in the congress. Two separate slates were put up in the elections for the National Committee. The left got 25% of the votes. It was subsequently excluded from the Executive Committee and from the Secretariat, that is, from the party leadership.

The Portuguese SP youth held their congress somewhat later. The same situation developed as in the party congress. Soares's supporters won a narrow victory, with 152 votes as against 147.

The Portuguese Communist party also held its congress recently.

In the Portuguese Socialist party there have always been ideologically and politically quite diverse elements. However, when the threat came from the "left," when the MFA [Armed Forces Movement]

led by Vasco Gonçalves, which backed the Communist party's positions, appeared to want to carry out a coup, the party remained relatively united. At least, the differences did not visibly sharpen. A change in this relationship occurred recently when the party decided to support General Ramalho Eanes in the presidential elections, together with the right-wing parties. This decision aroused broad discontent in the SP camp.

The differences were not so much over personalities as over issues. Among the most important of these was the question of extending the agrarian reform and many "emergency" measures, such as a sharp cut in the appropriation for education. The left wing of the party could notice that the right-wing press was more and more coming out in support of the government's positions, which, according to it, were based on "reality" and not "ideological fantasy." The party's left wing, on the other hand, was being damned by the right-wing press to the deepest pit in hell. The SP left wing was also worried by the fact that although the right was clearly on the offensive in various spheres of the society, no notice of this was taken in the party.

At the SP congress, there were a total of 1,500 participants. In his keynote speech, Mário Soares said that the unions and the workers commissions had to understand that there was "a time for making demands and a time for strengthening the economy." Soares expressed support for Minister of the Interior Sottomayor Cardia, who is considered right wing. But he did not say a word about the work of Minister of Agriculture Lopes Cardoso, the most prominent figure on the party's left.

Lopes Cardoso was ousted from the party leadership, and subsequently resigned from his cabinet post. But this does not mean that the left was entirely gotten out of the way. The 151-member National Committee elected must be considered politically and ideologically more diverse than ever.

In the election for the National Committee, two slates were presented, one representing the party leadership, and one the left wing, in particular the labor commissions and unionists. In the Portuguese SP congresses, elections are by proportional representation (and by the way, the use of such a system in the Finnish SP, and in the Finnish CP too, would represent a substantial increase in internal democracy), and since the respective vote for both slates was 610 and 210, the opposition got a fourth of the representatives on the National Committee.

According to *Le Monde's* Portuguese correspondent, the party leadership's

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slates included diverse elements, some quite right wing but also forces that can be considered progressive.

In the National Committee meeting held after the party congress, however, all left-wing elements were ousted from the top party leadership. The party leadership also started up a campaign against the SP's labor commissions. It is from these forces, which stand close to the trade unions, that the left has drawn its support. The leaders elected by the labor commissions themselves were removed and "reliable" persons appointed in their place. It has been reported that at the meeting of one such commission, security forces were ordered in and tear gas was used.

At the Portuguese SP congress, the speech by the leader of the French Socialist party aroused attention, and of course speculation. Pointing out that the reforms (nationalizations, etc.) carried out in Portugal since 1974 go considerably beyond those included in the Common Program of the French SP and CP, Mitterrand admonished the Portuguese Socialists not to give way to the pressure from the right. He said: "I hope you have no intention of yielding. . . . You have to prove that your deeds correspond to your ideas."

Mitterrand's speech has generally been interpreted as tactical support for the left. It is, of course, possible to speculate about the reasons for this support. Probably the causes lie less in the Portuguese context than in the internal life of the French Socialist party. There is undoubtedly concern in the French SP about Portugal and the development of its Socialist party, and Mitterrand may have used his speech to reassure the left forces in his own party.

The American press has speculated that the moves in the Portuguese SP congress to oust the left were intended to improve Portugal's chances for getting big loans from Washington. And it is clear that the U.S. imperialists do not grant loans without political guarantees. The policy Soares outlined by saying that "the party is consolidated by purging itself of bad elements" is threatening to cost the Portuguese SP its independence and its working-class support. This policy is leading the party irresistibly to the right and into an alliance with the right-wing parties.

So, it is hard to judge what the left should do next. It is clear that it is by no means a homogeneous and organized political force with a clear political line. What is involved is probably more a protest movement against the government's policy.

Lopes Cardoso's letter to Soares offering his resignation as minister of agriculture was quite moderate. He acknowledged that it was essential for the government to be united, although there are various currents in the party. But Cardoso pointed out that while it had been promised that the land reform would continue, nothing had been done about this. So, Cardoso asked in his

letter, "in what way is the reform going to continue, what direction is it going to take?"

In the resolution adopted at its congress, the Portuguese Communist party was content simply to denounce the government's policy in generalities. An interesting feature was Alvaro Cunhal's emphatic assurance that the CP would "strictly" obey the law. But although 500,000 hectares of land remain unnationalized,

Cunhal assured that there would be no seizures such as those in recent years.

The CP also expressed its desire for as "close an alliance as possible" with the SP. According to Cunhal, "a politically progressive regime cannot be built without an alliance with the Socialist party."

The CP made it clear that it intends to maintain its international political line. Ingles Abouin, who is considered the leader of the "Italian tendency," was not elected to the party leadership. □

Hold Conference Despite Ban by Soares

Dissidents in Portuguese SP Condemn Expulsions



MARIO SOARES

The National Coordinating Committee of Socialist Labor Commissions, a body ordered dissolved by the Soares leadership, held a conference February 6. Three days later, representatives of the banned committee—José Luís Mendes, Joaquim Pagarete, Maria da Paz Lima, and Henriques da Costa—met with the press.

The leaders of the Coordinating Committee, whom the Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo* described as "persons considered to be Trotskyist infiltrators in the SP," told reporters that they still have the support of the majority of the SP factory organizations.

Excerpts from some of the resolutions of the conference were given in the February 9 *Jornal Novo*. The conference pledged to fight "for the defense of the program of the SP, for the defense of the interests of the workers, and the gains of the Portuguese revolution on the road to socialism, for restoring the unity of the party on the

basis of defending the interests of the workers and the program of the SP. This unity is gravely threatened by the policy of the leadership, which contradicts the inspiration, the program, and the tradition of the Socialist party."

Another resolution said: "At a time when the SP in the government represents the focus of all the hopes and aspirations of millions of workers, of all the problems of national life, at a time when a free and fraternal debate should be extended throughout the party, how can we understand the fact that instead of stepping up discussion and debate, which is the basis of the party's unity and cohesion, the leadership is applying sanctions, carrying out arbitrary suspensions and expulsions, trying to weaken and annihilate the party's factory committees, the coordinating committees. . . ?

"We members who built the SP as the largest workers party, as the main Portuguese party; we members who in the most difficult conditions, at the cost of the greatest sacrifices, built the SP in the offices, in the plants, in the work places, in the fields, in the localities, throughout the country from north to south, we have to ask the question: Can we accept what the leadership is doing?" □

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