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Cuadernos para el Diálogo

Week of protests like this one won new amnesty measures from Spanish government. See news article, p. 628.

Basque Protests Win New Concessions

By Bob Pearlman

Spartacist: Making of an American Sect

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mandel Case—New Scandal for West German Govt.

By Gerry Foley

"The minister departed because a Trotskyist came in," the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* said May 16, reporting on a crisis in the country's PEN club.

The dropout was Bonn's Minister of the Interior Werner Maihofer. The Trotskyist was Ernest Mandel, an internationally known Marxist economist and a leader of the Fourth International.

Mandel had been elected to the West German PEN (Poets, Essayists, and Novelists), an association of prominent writers.

Maihofer claimed that he could not remain in the same organization with an "enemy of democracy."

In fact, as *Der Spiegel* pointed out, PEN chairman Walter Jens had been obliged to use all his personal authority to head off an attempt to expel Maihofer for his role in attacking the fundamental democratic rights of German citizens.

Maihofer was responsible for a massive police spying operation against Dr. Hans Traube, an engineer at an atomic plant who had some chance social contacts with a person who became involved in a terrorist action and a lawyer who defended some persons accused of terrorism.

Maihofer's cops planted listening devices in Traube's home and monitored every detail of his private life. They eventually succeeded in getting him fired from his job and endangering his career, although they failed to produce any evidence that he had the slightest sympathy with a terrorist group, much less any intent to commit a crime.

Apparently what made Traube so suspicious to West German secret police was not so much his social contacts as the fact that he came from a family adhering to the Communist party. Traube himself explained that his family's attachment to the CP stemmed from the fact that the Communists were the only ones who supported his father when he was persecuted for being Jewish.

The Traube case provoked a wave of revulsion against police spying in general and Maihofer in particular. Jens had to threaten to resign to stop the liberal waiving of the PEN from throwing Maihofer out. Jens was trying to prevent a political split in the association. However, neither the right wing nor even the minister himself showed any gratitude.

Following Mandel's election, seventeen members of the PEN resigned, without even bothering to inform Jens of their intention. He first learned of their action

by reading their letter of resignation in the newspapers.

The rightists' main argument, *Der Spiegel* said, was as follows: "Mandel . . . is a Trotskyist and as such is unacceptable in a democratic club." The magazine commented: "The signers of this letter obviously wanted to carry the political blacklisting measures in force into the PEN."

The resignation of the seventeen rightists seemed particularly precipitous, *Der Spiegel* said, because Mandel had been elected only provisionally and his membership could have been challenged at the next meeting of the PEN.

The reason for the rightists' move is obvious. They know that political blacklisting in West Germany is already an international scandal and that in an association dedicated to free expression they have little hope of being able to defend this practice effectively.

As for Maihofer himself, his resignation was an attempt to save face. *Der Spiegel* pointed out:

"Maihofer told Jens he wanted to resign so as not to put him in a dilemma [owing to the Traube case]. He did not mention Mandel. But now . . . he has published a telegram giving Mandel's election as the reason for this step."

Maihofer also needed to make some sort of dramatic gesture to maintain the pretext for banning Mandel from West Germany, which was becoming more and more of an embarrassment even before his election to the PEN.

At the end of 1976, Mandel was invited to Austria by the head of the national bank, Heinz Kienzl. Austria has very close ties with West Germany.

Kienzl discussed the perspectives of the

West European economy with Mandel on a TV round-table series presided over by Gunther Nanning. A transcript of the program was published in the January-February issue of the Vienna magazine *Neues Forum*.

Nanning began: "Mr. Mandel, you are from Brussels. There you are a professor of economics. You are here in Austria, and it is a comical situation that you are considered a danger to security in many countries."

Over Austrian TV Mandel said:

This is a great scandal. . . . In 1972, I was appointed to a professorship at the Free University of Berlin. The West Berlin Senate—your Social Democratic friends [Kienzl is a leading member of the Austrian SP]—rejected this appointment, because I was supposed to be an enemy of the constitution. . . . The students organized a protest meeting and invited me. Then I was refused entry into the country. The minister of the interior at the time generalized the case and said that I should not be allowed in the Federal Republic at all, even though I was born in Frankfurt [Mandel's family is of Jewish origin and had to flee to Belgium] and my wife is a German citizen. The reason was that it was not the scholar who was being denied entry but the active revolutionist. But the active revolutionist has thrown no bombs, set no houses on fire, and built no barricades. All he has done is write and speak.

The charge against me comes dangerously close to the sort of pretext that has been used in the last forty years to suppress freedom of expression—to "incitement" in speeches and writings. Suppressing political pluralism is highly dangerous. Under a conservative or radical-right government, the same pretext could be used against Social Democrats and the unions.

Maihofer's claim that he resigned from the PEN out of "democratic" principles is not likely to have much credibility. *Der Spiegel*, West Germany's most prestigious mass-circulation magazine, published Mandel's answer to this claim:

"It is, to say the least, astonishing that Herr Maihofer, who continues to deny me entry into the Federal Republic to attend meetings of the PEN, now presents himself as defending freedom of thought *against me*." □

Argentina: Another Coup in Planning Stage?

By Judy White

The arrest of General Edgardo Adel Vilas reported May 27 is a new indication of the instability of the ruling military junta in Argentina.

Vilas was one of the leading figures in the "war against subversion" launched under Isabel Perón. A few days before his arrest, Vilas was forced into retirement.

He thereupon issued an open letter, which was published in the Argentine

dailies May 26. In it, the Associated Press reported, "he pledged that the blood of soldiers who had fought under him would 'not be used as fertilizer for another political compromise.'"

AP said that Vilas "did not elaborate on what he meant by 'another political compromise,' but it was interpreted as a criticism of the junta's plans to turn the government over to civilians at some

future date."

In excerpts published in the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, Vilas said he could not "betray" the "supreme interests of the Fatherland," which he explained he had defended during the campaign to crush "subversion" in Tucumán and the universities.

"It is one thing to resign oneself to accept the verdict of the Qualifications Board," Vilas said, "which has found me incompetent to continue in command, and it is another, quite different matter not to heed the call of the Nation."

Vilas's arrest came two days after the editors of the *New York Times* warned against a possible seizure of power by "a group of extreme right-wing generals" who would "surely further disrupt Argentina's economy, deal an even more disastrous blow to the cause of human rights and raise the chances of full-scale civil war."

The *Times* editors called for "some American help" to block a "fascist movement" led by the governor of Buenos Aires province, Gen. Ibérico Saint-Jean, whom they quoted as having said:

"First we will kill all the subversives; then we will kill their collaborators; then . . . their sympathizers; then . . . those who remain indifferent; and, finally, we will kill those who are timid."

On May 4, Gen. Alejandro Lanusse, who served as dictator of Argentina from 1971 to 1973, was arrested along with three other top functionaries of his government. Lanusse is favored by the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), the second largest political party of the country, to be the next president of Argentina.

He is described by the *New York Times* editors as one "of the country's most distinguished moderates" and one of its "more successful recent Presidents." Even Videla, in the *Times's* view, should be considered a "moderate," owing to the "perverse standards that must now be applied to Argentina."

This is utter nonsense, designed to prepare the way for support to a wing of the Argentine junta that the American capitalists believe is more capable of holding the Argentine masses in check.

On the human rights issue alone, the facts speak for themselves:

There are between 5,000 and 6,000 political prisoners rotting in Videla's jails; they have suffered systematic torture and inhuman conditions of confinement. Between 2,000 and 5,000 persons have disappeared without a trace since Videla seized power in March 1976. Most of them have probably been killed by the president's extraofficial murder gangs. Thousands more have been driven into exile to escape his bloody rule.

Lanusse's record is no better. He became famous for the degree to which he refined torture techniques and devised barbaric conditions of imprisonment for thousands of Argentines. □

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Week of Protest in Basque Area Wins New Concessions

By Gerry Foley

In an attempt to halt the rise of mass mobilizations in the Basque country, Spanish authorities launched a wave of terror against the May 9-17 amnesty demonstrations.

However, indiscriminate and murderous attacks on demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of persons participated touched off an explosion of mass anger that alarmed capitalist and moderate observers both in Spain and internationally.

In an editorial in its May 27 issue, *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* said:

In any democratic country, what happened would have brought the government crashing down. . . .

Euzkada [the Basque country] has the feeling (and only the feeling?) of being an occupied, martyred country, isolated from the rest of the Iberian peoples. The consequences of this situation may prove incalculable and unforeseeable. The political consequences may compromise not only the entire democratization process but also . . . a future of harmony and mutual understanding in the Spanish state.

A dispatch from Bilbao in the May 19 *New York Post* said:

"The signs point to a breakdown in public order in the four Basque provinces, a situation some observers are calling the 'Ulsterization' of Spain."

The week of amnesty actions began May 9, supported by a wide spectrum of Basque organizations. On May 12, a general strike took place, leading to the first death, and touching off days of violence. It happened in Rentería, a suburb of San Sebastián. *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* based its report of what happened on the account of an investigating committee set up to look into the origin of the incidents. Summarizing, the magazine said:

It all began at noon, when several Guardia Civil Land-Rovers drove without warning into the head of a peaceful demonstration of about 6,000 persons.

The commission report said:

The demonstrators were so indignant that about 500 of them went to the Guardia Civil barracks to demand to know who was responsible. They were fired on with rubber bullets and tear-gas bombs. This created greater tension and led to stone throwing.

Once the stones began to fly, the police used guns, wounding seven persons. The one person reported killed, Rafael Gómez Jáuregui, aged seventy-eight, was shot down at 9:00 p.m., when the town was

quiet. The next day, Guardia Civil units were still patrolling the streets in jeeps, machine guns at the ready. Over loud-speakers, the police threatened: "All of you stay in your houses. Don't show your faces at windows or doors or we'll shoot a tear-gas bomb in. Don't come out, or you're going to cry."

Violent Clashes in San Sebastián

During the May 12 general strike, demonstrators were also fired on in Villafranca de Ordizia and San Sebastián.

Extremely violent clashes occurred in San Sebastián, where police reinforcements were reportedly brought in from as far away as Valencia, on the opposite side of the Iberian peninsula.

The demonstrators responded to the charges of the forces of order by throwing up barricades; by overturning, piling up and burning buses, as well as by throwing stones and even Molotov cocktails. At least ten persons were gravely wounded.

The towns of Sestao, Santurce, Portugalete, and Ortuella in Viscaya province reportedly "experienced real urban guerrilla warfare lasting until late into the night."

In the province of Guipúzcoa, the radio stations went off the air and newspapers ceased publication.

In Pamplona, in the province of Navarra, José Luis Cano Pérez, twenty-eight years old, was shot in the neck by police at point-blank range. The authorities claimed that the police fired in self-defense. According to *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, eyewitnesses reported otherwise:

He was dragged by an armed policeman by the scruff of the neck from a bar . . . where he had taken refuge with some other demonstrators after some stones were thrown. Then he was brutally beaten. Another policeman shot him in the neck and then trampled on the body.

In San Sebastián, the magazine said, "an authentic state of war lasted two days."

In Pamplona, the tension escalated on May 14. "The capital of Navarra was filled with tear-gas and gunfire. Windows and sliding glass doors shattered under the impact of bullets." A seventy-two-year-old man died of heart failure after being struck in the chest by a rubber bullet.

A particularly brutal shooting occurred in the Viscayan mining town of Ortuella.

In this small town, a thousand persons gathered to demonstrate. When they were

attacked by fifteen jeeploads of Guardia Civil, "an impressive explosion" was touched off. The crowd began to build barricades while people shouted at the police from windows. The cops fired tear-gas bombs into the houses.

But by Saturday, May 14, the town was calm. The only action was that of a small group of youths, who built a barricade blocking the highway to Santander. Police drove up in Land Rovers and began firing at the houses.

Manuel Fuentes Mesa was coming out of a bar, leaving a bachelor party with some friends. He was a perfect target, framed in the light of a streetlamp. An eyewitness said:

I clearly heard someone shout, "Shoot to kill!" Then I heard a volley of machine-gun fire; the young man fell on his face. I thought he had ducked. After the police left, not before firing a volley at our windows, I yelled: "Now, get up and run." But he didn't get up. I went down with a neighbor. When I reached him, I saw that his face was covered with blood and that the top of his skull was shot off.

Barricades in Bilbao

On May 15, organizers of the amnesty actions planned marches on all four provincial capitals in the Basque country. The sharpest confrontations came in Bilbao, the capital of Viscaya. Although the police occupied the entire center of the old city, they were overwhelmed by demonstrators, *Cuadernos* reported.

Few streets in Bilbao were passable last Sunday. As soon as police jeeps passed, groups of youths, emerging from nowhere, built barricade after barricade, using the first thing that came to hand, cars, tree trunks, tires, buses with flat tires, benches, wire, street lamps. The few bystanders who dared come out—a large part of the population had left the city—commented: "We've never seen Bilbao like this."

Similar clashes occurred in many towns. Police forced passers-by to remove the barricades. In Ortuella, they forced the mayor himself to help, and his appealing to his position only got him a kick.

On May 14, all the workers unions except the CP-controlled Workers Commissions issued a call for a general strike in the Basque country, to begin on Monday, May 16.

At this point, the Communist party began openly trying to defuse the protests, arguing that the growing tensions might

threaten the parliamentary elections scheduled for June 16.

Meeting in Madrid on May 14, the Federación de Comisiones Obreras del Estado Español (FCOEE—Federation of Workers Commissions of the Spanish State), issued a statement warning of “the risks that will be run in the event of a continuation of the present climate of violence, which could be used by elements who want to block the road to democracy.” They called on the workers to “remain calm and not to support the strike” so that “the elections can proceed as freely as possible and in a climate of peace.”

However, the all-Spain leadership of the Workers Commissions could not even get all its organizations in Euzkadi to accept this position. Some Basque Workers Commissions signed the strike call.

Thirteen members of the National Coordinating Committee of the FCOEE issued a statement expressing disagreement with the position of the majority and stressing “the need for active solidarity by the workers and peoples of the Spanish state with the people of Euzkadi.”

The thirteen represented essentially the Unity Current, led by the Spanish Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International).

The strike received overwhelming support. A correspondent of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* estimated that more than 600,000 workers went out in a region where the total population is only about two and a half million.

The government was forced to permit mass assemblies in three Bilbao suburbs—Sestao, Erandio, and Basauri. Communist party speakers who appealed for “calm” drew jeers and whistles.

In San Sebastián, the May 18 *Le Monde* reported, “For two hours thousands of demonstrators—students, workers, clerks, middle-class types, young and old, took over the city.”

Demonstrators called to cops: “Why are you with the police instead of with us?” *Le Monde* reported: “The answer came in a flash: ‘Give me work, and I will be with you.’” The police are recruited from poor rural areas.

New Amnesty Measures

Facing the mobilization of virtually an entire people, the Madrid government was forced to make new concessions. On May 20, following a meeting of the Council of Ministers, it announced a new series of amnesty measures that would benefit fifteen persons still awaiting trial and five out of six persons condemned to death. The statement referred to the “peoples of Spain,” acknowledging for the first time that the Spanish state does not comprise a single nation.

However, in a meeting with the mayors



of Basque cities, Minister of the Interior Rodolfo Martín Villa said that it was out of the question that “the last prisoners would be released before the elections,” as the Basque organizations demand.

The new concessions allowed the Social Democratic and moderate Basque nationalist unions to come out against continuing the mobilizations. They issued a statement saying: “Any new general mobilization could be misinterpreted and lead to an increase in the violence.”

The treacherous retreat of the Stalinists and Social Democrats creates grave dangers, threatening to split and demoralize the Basque people. Against the opposition of all the big established workers organizations, it will be difficult to offer a perspective for the great masses of the Basque people.

One formation, Euzkadiko Ezkerra (the Basque Left) has announced that it is withdrawing its candidates and calling for a boycott of the elections. In the present conditions, such an action would have to have massive support and be well organized to be effective. Otherwise, it would threaten to open the way for the bourgeois nationalists to establish themselves as the mass alternative. □

Spain's Longest Held Basque Political Prisoner

Interview With Iñaki Sarasketa Ibañez

[The following interview with Iñaki Sarasketa Ibañez, the longest-held member of the Basque nationalist organization Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom), and the last member of this organization condemned to death, was published in the May 23 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Under what circumstances were you arrested?

Answer. I was arrested on June 8, 1968, at six-thirty a.m., on the doorstep of Regil Church. A few minutes earlier, the sexton had reported me to a group of Civil Guards who had spent the night on the village square, less than twenty meters away from where I was hiding. They had not suspected that I was so close to them.

I was lucky that my arrest took place at a time when many people were on their way to work, and so there were witnesses. Otherwise the Civil Guards would have been able to claim that there had been an “escape attempt,” know what I mean? But the presence of these witnesses did not stop them from beating me up. They hit me

with their fists and pistol butts, and kicked me. They were all in such a hurry to get at me that they were hitting each other by mistake. The only way I can describe their behavior is to compare them to a pack of wild animals.

They took me away in a jeep, with a hood over my head. The interrogations were conducted in two different barracks. The first one was located somewhere in the mountains, and the second in an urban center, but I can't give any more details than that.

During the first few hours they did not ask me any questions. Eight Civil Guards formed a circle around me and started beating me, to “soften me up.” When one of them got tired, someone else took over.

I was kept in “preventive detention” for seventy-two hours at a stretch, and the torture never let up for a minute. During those seventy-two hours, I was given nothing to eat, either. Once they brought me a salad, but it was covered with a layer of coarse salt. They hit me so much that I kept urinating in my pants. Each time I received an unexpected blow, I urinated. Counting the night I spent in the church, that made four nights without sleep. Today, when I think back on it, I wonder how I could have held out and not talked

during the interrogations. But I hung on.

When I entered Martutene prison, it was with an enormous sense of relief. From my ankles to my shoulders, I was completely covered with purple, blue, and yellow spots. I could not hold a glass in my hands, because they had swelled to twice their size. I was also unable to turn over on my mattress or stand up.

Q. How did your trial and death sentence take place?

A. In my case, they set up a very "summary" military tribunal, where I was tried a week after my arrest. Two days before the trial, they told me to select a lawyer from a list of army officers who were total strangers to me. I picked a captain, Gil Ibarrondo, because he had a Basque name. The Civil Guard submitted false evidence, bullet casings that they claimed to have found next to the corpse of the civil guard, when in fact I had not fired even once, and had not "confessed" under torture, even though my torturers had done everything possible to make me admit it.

It was so obvious that I had not fired that the officers of the tribunal did not dare sentence me to death, and only gave me thirty years for the death of the civil guard and twenty-eight years for "other crimes."

The days went by without the sentence being confirmed by the commander of the sixth military region. It was clear that there was dissatisfaction with this sentence in some quarters. In the end, they were able to get the commander to knock down the sentence on grounds of formal irregularities and call a new trial. All the officers who had presided over the previous trial were replaced.

Twelve days after my first trial, they held a second one. The new captain in charge of my "defense" had a very strange idea of how to go about it; during his entire speech he pleaded against me, using the exact same arguments as the prosecutor. The outcome was never in doubt. I was sentenced to death. The Council of Ministers, held the following day, commuted the sentence to life imprisonment.

Q. How did you hear about the sentence being commuted?

A. Two days after the second trial, on Saint Peter's Day, the warden, together with several thugs, woke me up at dawn. When I saw them come into my cell, I immediately thought, "I'm going to be rubbed out." But no, they had only come to inform me of the decision of the Council of Ministers, and to alert me to the fact that I was going to be transferred to Ocaña prison.

The van in which I was transported was more heavily guarded than a diplomatic pouch or Franco's Dodge. We went through Hernani, Andoain, Tolosa. All these

Basque villages were celebrating. I still remember a girl hanging on to the arms of two husky guys who I glimpsed between two three-cornered hats in the streets of Andoain.

During this journey, like those that followed, they kept up a steady stream of abuse, threats, and insults. At each gas station, each stop, I had to put up with a visit from the civil guards who came to "photograph" me, thinking to themselves, "If I run into him on the street one day, I'll have to draw quickly."

In Ocaña, I was the only political prisoner. I was so apprehensive, suspicious of everything, that the first time Bandres, my lawyer, came to see me, I thought, since I didn't recognize him, that he might be a Txaku (dog, the Basque term for cop) pretending to be a lawyer.

The ideas that are still generally held by workers about "common law" prisoners are wrong, and are a carry-over of the bourgeoisie's worship of sacred private property.

It's a task for the workers to do away with the conditions that drive some people to commit crimes. The proletariat should blow up the prisons, those sinister monuments to the exploitation of man by man. One of the historic tasks of the period of the transition to socialism is the struggle to abolish once and for all the institutionalized horror that goes on behind prison walls. This is one of the many problems rotting away the insides of bourgeois society, and makes us unalterably skeptical about the chances for reform as long as bourgeois rule endures.

Q. What was the nature of your political development in prison?

A. People think that, in the old ETA, we didn't look any further than the sights of our machine guns. At the time I was arrested, the first steps in what was to be the later evolution of the ETA had already been taken by some members of the leadership, as well as by small sections of the rank and file. The fact that between March 1968 and April 1969 nearly the entire leadership was arrested, and the organization decimated, on top of the theoretical and practical errors, meant that there was no way this evolution could come to fruition gradually inside the old ETA.

But this development had already begun, and no one would have dared challenge the ETA-VI's legitimacy in the slightest in 1970 and 1971. As far as I am concerned, from my earliest adolescence, I was strongly influenced by the Algerian people's war of liberation. In 1966, 1967, and 1968, the example of Che Guevara, the Vietnamese revolution, and Mao became additional reference points.

We thought at the time that Euzkadi could only be independent if it was socialist, but our ideas did not go any

further than that. In fact, in those activist years, the theoretical and ideological baggage of each activist could be summed up in two ideas: we are fighting for Euzkadi, and we are fighting in a radical way, by any means necessary.

The analogy that we saw with the struggles of the people in the Third World was easy, almost automatic.

Once I was in prison, it was obvious that for me prison should be a "revolutionary university," according to the well-known phrase. But because of the censorship, which excluded all "irreligious, liberal, or even democratic" books, I had to carefully sift through different publishers' catalogues for books whose titles seemed to have a somewhat "progressive" ring to them.

Up until 1973, when I was transferred from Ocaña to Soria, my political development had not been greatly influenced by the events taking place on the outside, in the organization, or the polemic between ETA-V and ETA-VI. I considered myself a member of ETA-VI, but my attitude toward the organization was very critical, mostly because of a lack of information.

On the subject of Trotskyism, my case is unusual. Several years before the split between the ETA-VI majority and minority occurred over this question, I had discovered Trotsky through Isaac Deutscher's book, and I became very interested at that time in his life and work. It satisfied some of my needs and intellectual uncertainties. The last chapters of Mandel's *Marxist Economic Theory* were key to winning me to Trotskyism, because they pointed to a rational type of planning completely different from the gray, dismal experiments in bureaucratized workers states.

When the "Trotskyists' letter" was published within the organization in November 1972, I immediately identified with them, because to me they represented a determination to bring the organization out of its crisis, and because I had no prejudices against Trotskyism—just the opposite. □

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'Pravda' Takes a Stand on Québec Independence

In its "Commentator's Column" May 10, the Soviet Communist party organ, *Pravda*, condemned the movement for independence in Québec.

Obviously expressing the view of the Kremlin, Ottawa correspondent Nikolai Bragin wrote:

On the pretext of seeking to improve the position of the French-speaking Canadians, the petty-bourgeois Parti Québécois, which came to power in the province as the result of parliamentary elections, is preparing to hold a referendum on declaring the independence of Québec.

Bragin seconded Canadian Premier Pierre Elliot Trudeau's views on how to solve the "Québec problem":

As the premier of Canada . . . said on television recently, the French Canadians have serious grounds for wanting to improve their situation. In Québec, in particular, there is a higher level of unemployment and higher taxes than in the other provinces. All these problems should be solved within the Pan-Canadian framework.

The real danger in Québec, *Pravda* said, is the following:

Very powerful political forces in Canada want to maintain the present situation instead of heeding the just demands of the workers, as well as the small and middle businessmen of Québec. There are even calls for using the armed forces to "maintain the present status of Québec."

The multinational corporations of the West, first of all, the U.S. monopolies, which have already deeply imbedded themselves in the Canadian economy, are trying to play a particularly active role.

Canadians who think realistically cannot help but see the danger that lies in these attempts by foreign forces to interfere in the internal problems of Canada and encourage separatist tendencies.

Pravda attributed to U.S. capitalists the opposite of their actual attitude in order to side with them while maintaining socialist pretenses. The fact is that the big U.S. corporations are not whipping up separatist sentiment in Québec; they are dead set against the independence of the Québécois people. That has been made clear enough by the American capitalists and their press.

For example, in an editorial in its February 24 issue, the *New York Times* said:

The cool reception given recently to Premier René Lévesque of Quebec by the New York financial community showed how frightened American investors can become of uncertainties to the north. . . .

The complementary national resources of the United States and Canada, and their long history of stability and friendship have made Canada our prime area for investment and our



TRUDEAU: Hailed by Stalinist commentator.

largest trading partner. Our economies have become truly interdependent. . . .

. . . it was good that Mr. Trudeau came so early in the Carter term and that the President found a prudent way to remind Canadians of our stake in their stability.

In an editorial May 2, the *New York Times* said:

The great majority of the people of Quebec and the rest of Canada want to preserve their union. Most important, the economic advancement that the French community rightly seeks requires that union—and the confidence of American, albeit English-speaking, businesses as well.

Pravda's advice to the Canadian government and the Québec people was really the same as that of the *New York Times*: Some concessions are needed to restore "mutual confidence" between Québécois and English Canadians; the breakup of the Canadian federation would be a disaster.

Bragin recommended the Canadian Communist party's solution, which in fact is the same as Trudeau's. Bragin called for:

Replacement of the British North America Act by a new constitution, which would guarantee democratic rights to the Canadian people and help to strengthen the national independence of Canada.

The statement issued by the Canadian CP on the PQ victory in November said:

Separatism is not in the interests of the French Canadian people, as it is not in the interests of all Canadians or Canada as a whole. The sole beneficiaries of separation would be U.S. imperialism and the multinational corporations in Canada.

Separatism can be defeated only by truly democratic, truly national policies.

The "need to preserve Canadian unity" must be one of the few questions in international politics on which Moscow and Peking still agree. Both claim Québec independence would weaken the national independence of Canada and give a freer hand to the U.S. monopolies. The first reason seems to be much more genuinely held than the second, since only a blind person could fail to see how the U.S. monopolies most dread what the Stalinists claim would be the greatest blessing for them.

Moscow and Peking have determined their line toward Québec purely on the basis of what they consider their own state interests. That is, they are opposed to separatism in general because each, to a different extent, is guilty of national oppression.

Also, both Moscow and Peking think that a Pan-Canadian state would be stronger vis-à-vis Washington and more likely to follow an independent foreign policy, thereby offering them more room for maneuvering internationally.

Finally, both Peking and Moscow are well aware that Washington is terrified of a breakup of the Canadian confederation and the "instability" this could create on its own backdoor. Following their policy of seeking deals with imperialism, what Moscow and Peking want precisely are happy U.S. monopolies, not the sort of "panic" in the American business world that the capitalist press warns would be touched off by Québec independence.

In fact, what may have inspired the Kremlin to make a statement on this question is the approach of the Belgrade conference on the progress of the détente. The sharpening of the Québec problem provided an opportunity for the Kremlin bosses to show the White House that they do not intend to encourage any political process that might cause Washington problems in its sphere of influence. Naturally, they would like the American capitalist rulers to reciprocate.

In the case of Québec, both Peking and Moscow have shown that they are extremely reluctant at the very least to support a national liberation struggle that threatens to disrupt the imperialist centers and thus disturb the stability of the international status quo. Those forces in Ireland and other oppressed nations in West Europe that look to the Kremlin or to Mao's heirs for inspiration and aid should take note. □

Poland—New Wave of Arrests Fails to Halt Protests

By Gerry Foley

With protests against the murder of a young fighter for democratic rights spreading throughout the country, the Polish Stalinist regime launched the most extensive wave of repression since the mass workers' rebellions in June 1976.

On May 22, sixty workers were arrested in Ursus. In the May 25 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, Sacha Blumkine wrote:

We do not know the reason for these arrests. No doubt, the "agitation" had resumed, since this factory of 5,000 workers was in the vanguard of the mobilizations last June, and a petition demanding the reinstatement of the workers fired at that time was signed by 1,100 persons.

In Radom, Lodz, Warsaw, and Cracow, thirty persons were arrested in the third week of May. Most of them were students and intellectuals who participated in the protests against the murder of Stanislaw Pyjas. In the second week of May, Pyjas, a twenty-three-year-old student active with the Committee to Defend the Worker Victims of the Repression Connected With the Events of June 25, 1976, was found in the stairwell of a Cracow apartment building with his head smashed in.

At least six leaders of the Committee to Defend the Workers and three well-known sympathizers of the group have been jailed since May 15, the date on which 5,000 students demonstrated in memory of Pyjas. On that day also, the formation of a Student Solidarity Committee was announced.

Leaders of the Committee to Defend the Workers who are in prison are Jacek Kuron, Mirosław Chojecki, Jan Jozef Lipski, Jan Lipiński, Antonin Maciere-wicz, and Piotr Naimski. Three other prominent fighters for democratic rights and supporters of the committee who have been jailed are Seweryn Blumsztajn, Adam Michnik, and Wojciech Ostrowski.

The arrests did not halt the public protests against bureaucratic repression. Instead they seemed to spark a new upsurge of opposition to the regime. The jailing of Ursus plant workers suggests that the regime feared a linkup between the reviving student movement and the most militant sections of the working class.

The few reports coming out of Poland indicate that the situation is explosive. Following the arrest of Kuron and Michnik on May 15, the Committee to Defend the Workers issued a statement saying:



L'Espresso

MICHNIK: Appeals to left to help Polish dissidents under attack from Gierek regime.

The release of those arrested is necessary also in order to maintain social peace and to prevent the development of events no one can foresee and no one can control.

Speaking in the name of those leaders of the committee still free, Professor Lipinski said that the organization had no intention of halting its work but would "replace those arrested with others who are constantly coming to work with us."

In its May 22-23 issue, *Le Monde* published a statement signed by seventeen leading Polish writers and intellectuals calling for the release of the imprisoned committee leaders. The document said:

Despite promises, some participants in the June 1976 workers revolt who were sentenced to long prison terms have not yet regained their freedom.

At present, they are arresting and indicting members and activists of the Committee to Defend the Workers, who for months have offered material, medical, and legal aid to the victims and have created the only institution in Poland on which the families of the fired and jailed workers can rely. . . .

We know that the persons arrested in recent

days are not criminals but unselfish activists ready to make any sacrifice. . . .

Other arrests are underway. We appeal to the authorities in Poland to stop the arrests and rescind these measures that have done an injustice to individuals and are increasing social tension in our country.

The statement was signed by some of the country's most prominent writers, intellectuals, and artists, such as Kazimierz Brandys and Witold Dabrowski. Other signers were Marian Brandys, Jacek Bochenski, Andrzej Drawicz, Jerzy Ficowski, Andrzej Grzegorzczak, Anna Kamińska, Andrzej Kijowski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Bogdan Kosinski, Seweryn Pollak, Julian Strykowski, Anna Trojanowska, Wanda Wilkomirska, Viktor Woroszyński, and Maria Zagorska.

Despite the scope of the latest wave of arrests, the government is still playing a cat-and-mouse game in an effort to confuse public opinion in Poland and internationally.

In the May 25 *Rouge*, Blumkine wrote:

In the last week, about a hundred persons have been arrested. Many of these were released after the forty-eight-hour period in which persons can be detained without charge. But the number of those in prison is still unknown.

At the same time, very threatening statements have been made by some official sources. For example, in the May 18 issue of *Zycie Warszawy*, the editor in chief, Rolinski, denounced the student protesters as traitors. Moreover, he compared the protests with the student movement in 1968, which was crushed by a massive witch-hunt that had aspects of an anti-Semitic pogrom.

In an article in the May 20 *Le Monde*, Manuel Lucbert noted: "Rolinski, furthermore, took a certain care to mention several 'ringleaders' whose names had a typical [Jewish] sound."

Despite the Polish government's on-again, off-again tactics, the recent arrests have begun to arouse working-class public opinion in Western Europe. The jailings have been condemned by two large Italian unions, the Federazione Impiegati e Operai Metallurgici (Federation of Workers in the Metals Industry) and the Federazione dei Lavoratori Metalmeccanici (Metalworkers Federation).

The Gierek regime is in a tight corner. It has little room left for maneuver on the economic front. It no longer has any political cover for its repression. Even the mass Stalinist parties and Communist party-controlled unions condemn its jail-

ing of fighters for democratic rights.

The Polish masses are no longer effectively cowed or totally atomized. One after another, open organizations have begun to develop, and the regime has not succeeded in crushing them, in intimidating their activists, or even in isolating them.

The regime was forced to retreat from wholesale repression. It tried to stop the growth of opposition by various types of official and unofficial intimidation, including the Brown-Shirt-style murder of a young student.

The spread of the protests against the killing of Pyjas indicate that the bureaucracy's "new" repressive tactics have only goaded the hatred of the masses for the regime.

Gierek and the other bureaucratic bosses in the Soviet Union and East Europe cannot but be acutely aware of how quickly mass protests can shatter the control of their narrow parasitic caste over these societies. This process has been seen more than once. However, if the Polish

Stalinists try to carry out a massive repression now, the consequences can be disastrous for Stalinism both in their own country and internationally.

The confrontation between the bureaucracy and the masses in Poland is sharpening. Representatives of the antibureaucratic movement such as Kuron and Michnik have issued appeals for support from the socialist and workers movement in the West.

The very fact that such appeals are being launched shows how much progress has been made in the last year in developing real solidarity between the workers movement in the capitalist countries and in those states where a bureaucracy has prevented the workers from moving ahead to socialism.

This solidarity must now be widened. The workers and socialist movement in every country, and particularly in West Europe, has a great stake in the outcome of the deepening crisis in Poland. □

Adam Michnik's Appeal From Prison

[Adam Michnik's letter from prison was published in the May 23 issue of the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*. Michnik, a well-known antibureaucratic student leader, was arrested on May 3, two days after returning to Poland from Paris, on charges of maintaining contacts with persons representing foreign organizations intent on "damaging the interests of the Polish People's Republic." He was released on bail, and jailed again on the weekend of May 14-15 in connection with a demonstration to protest the murder of a young student active with the Committee to Defend the Worker Victims of Repression. The following letter was apparently written after his first arrest. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

What many of my friends expected has happened. I have been arrested.

I do not know if I and my friends who were arrested with me will soon be released, or whether this time they intend to keep us behind bars for a longer time.

I still do not know whether, or under what pretext, they are considering bringing me to trial—for spying on behalf of Australia or for alleged collaboration with the secret service of Venezuela.

What I do know is the real reason for my arrest and the real reason why, if it comes to that, I will be tried. I must be punished because I do not agree.

I do not agree to accept the principle that people are the property of the state; and the state, the property of the ruling power elite.

I refuse to remain silent in the face of the injustice done to people in my country. I refuse to approve of slavery. I do not agree that the only kind of relations that can be permitted with those who hold power is one of an underling.

This is the moral basis for my activity. As long as the social relationships in my country are based on lies, I will not be silent.

I will cry out, because that is the only thing I can do to help make sure that defenseless people are never again subjected to brutal and arbitrary treatment by police, as they were in the times of the totalitarian dictatorships under Hitler and Stalin. I will cry out, to try to keep more young Poles who have the courage to think for themselves from turning up with smashed skulls in dark stairwells, to try to make sure that in their traditional spring festivals the students of Cracow will never again march through the streets carrying black flags of mourning.

I will cry out, because that is the only way I can show that even behind bars I remain a free man.

I will cry out, also, because I believe in the future of my country and my people. I believe that the Poles deserve freedom and national sovereignty, that they will fight for these principles against the forces of totalitarianism.

And finally, I will cry out because I believe in the future of democratic socialism, in the reality of the liberation struggle of the Polish working class, the Polish intelligentsia, and of other social strata in my country.

National sovereignty, socialist democracy, and the rule of law are principles that no one is going to grant us from on high. We have to fight for them every day and without any let-up, if we do not want to put our personal freedom and security in jeopardy.

I have been asked by many individuals whether it is worth it to cry out. Is there any sense in having to live for years in fear of every unexpected ring of the doorbell, having to be apprehensive about every stranger you meet on the street, to look at every new face with mistrust?

I think a frightening kind of logic lies hidden in this question. A kind of logic by which Christ could have avoided the cross; Socrates, the hemlock; and Giordano Bruno, the stake.

Fortunately, in all of us there is an urge to rebel, an irrepressible longing for a life of dignity and truth. For the sake of this longing, you have to fight.

I might add that crying out is not futile. It forces those in power to make concessions, as could be seen in 1956, 1970, and 1976-77.

Poland, and with it all Europe, stands at a crossroads. Either the future will bring us a social order based on democratic norms or its name will be totalitarianism—the death of such values of European culture as humanism, truth, freedom, honesty. If we fight to assure that the path of development will take a democratic direction, we are fighting to save the most important values of our culture, the culture of Europe as a whole.

Not only East Europe stands at this crossroads. The western part of our continent has also reached a point where the political and social roads to the future diverge. If the highly touted program of "socialism in freedom" is not to become a caricature of itself, if West European socialists really want to build a society of free individuals, then the totalitarian social order in East Europe could prove the greatest danger to this program.

This point alone, aside from all other moral and ideological points of view, entitles me to appeal to the members of the democratic left in Germany.

Speak out in our defense! Your protest will not be some quixotic action or a justification of quixotic action. Many times in the past such protests have opened prison doors and forced totalitarian regimes to retreat.

Do not worry that your protest may harm the cause of détente. No détente is possible as long as human rights, which are the foundation of détente, are not respected.

The words of the German writer Heinrich Böll are still fresh in my mind: "You are the ones who are fighting for a real détente in Europe."

I ask all my friends to accept my words in the spirit of friendship. □

Behind the Kidnapping in the Netherlands

By Fred Murphy

On May 23, South Moluccan nationalists halted a passenger train near the village of Onnen in the Netherlands. At the same time, other South Moluccans occupied an elementary school in Bovensmilde, ten miles away. Fifty-six of the train's passengers were held as hostages, as were 105 children and 6 teachers at the school.

All the schoolchildren were released May 27 after many of them became ill. As of May 30, the remaining hostages were still being held.

The group that carried out these actions demanded that twenty-one South Moluccans serving prison terms in the Netherlands be released. They also demanded a jet to take both the freed prisoners and themselves to an undisclosed location outside the country.

The actions at Onnen and Bovensmilde were similar to another train hijacking and the occupation of the Indonesian consulate in Amsterdam in December 1975. Most of the South Moluccan prisoners whose release was being sought were participants in those actions. In 1975, the main demand was that the Dutch government put pressure on the Indonesian regime to grant independence to the South Moluccan Islands.

What is behind this series of spectacular actions?

The South Moluccan people have a long history of colonial oppression. Their homeland consists of some 150 small islands in the eastern part of the archipelago that includes Indonesia, New Guinea, and the Philippines. The South Moluccas (which have also been known as the Spice Islands) have a population of about one million persons.

Originally colonized by Portugal in 1512, they were taken over by the Netherlands in the 1600s and incorporated into the Dutch East Indies. The South Moluccas were mainly exploited for nutmeg, cloves, and other spices.

Using the colonial tactic of divide-and-rule, the Dutch converted the natives of the island of Amboina in the Moluccas to Protestant Christianity and pressed them into service in the colonial army. In an article on the South Moluccas in *Inprecor* (February 5, 1976), Nathan Weinstock wrote:

The Christianized Amboinans, whose particularism was carefully preserved, served as the advance guard of Dutch colonialism. The indigenous shock troops for colonial repression . . . were recruited from among them. They were the



New York Times

instruments of colonial butchery throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Uprooted from their place of origin and alienated from the Muslim Indonesian masses, the Protestant Amboinans became dependent on the colonial power.

During and after World War II, the movement for national liberation in Indonesia took on the character of a guerrilla war. Loyalist South Moluccan troops participated in the Dutch army's fight against this movement, which finally wrested independence in 1949.

A brief and unsuccessful attempt was then made to found a separate Republic of the South Moluccas on the basis of the loyalist South Moluccan soldiers and with the complicity of the Dutch. But an agreement for complete Dutch withdrawal from the entire archipelago (except New Guinea) was soon secured by the Indonesian nationalists. The Dutch then forcibly disarmed the South Moluccan troops and transported 12,000 of them, including their families, to the Netherlands, where they were housed in former Nazi concentration camps. Sukarno easily put down the residual resistance to Jakarta's rule in the South Moluccas.

When they evacuated the former South Moluccan troops, the Dutch pledged that efforts would be made to restore the Republic of the South Moluccas. This proved to be an empty promise, although such aspirations on the part of the South Moluccan exiles were encouraged by the Dutch right wing for many years. The rightists hoped to destabilize the Sukarno regime by stimulating separatism among the South Moluccans and other Indonesian nationalities ruled by Jakarta. Once the Indonesian generals had ousted Sukarno in the 1965 bloodbath, the Dutch right lost all interest in South Moluccan nationalism.

For almost thirty years, the South Moluccan exiles have led a pariah-like existence in the Netherlands, segregated

into various camps and housing projects. They are "stateless persons," deprived of the rights of Dutch citizenship, and they face racist discrimination.

In the early 1970s, South Moluccan youths in the Netherlands began to rebel against this oppression, and also against what Weinstock called the "rigid and military ambience" of their family life (owing to the older generation's background as colonial soldiers). This radicalization was expressed in demonstrations, the formation of nationalist organizations, and a number of spectacular actions by small groups.

Weinstock described the reaction of the Dutch government:

The entrance of the South Moluccans onto the Dutch political scene was met by a severe repression. The police savagely clubbed demonstrators and leaflet distributors. Police raids conducted at bayonet point took place in the South Moluccan neighborhoods. . . . When 5,000 Moluccans met to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the stillborn Republic of South Moluccans, 2,650 policemen showed up and helicopters circled the assembly. The surrounding of South Moluccan communities by police accompanied by dogs and equipped with armored vehicles became a constant occurrence. . . .

In Indonesia, meanwhile, the defeat of the short-lived movement for South Moluccan independence in 1949-50 opened the way for domination of the islands by Jakarta, which continues to the present time. David Andelman of the *New York Times* reported in a May 25 dispatch from Ambon (Amboina):

With thousands of Ambonese arrested in the last two decades, feelings of bitterness toward the ruling Javanese persist, and there is animosity between the Moluccans and the officials from the principal Indonesian island of Java, who hold the best jobs and control the military, the police, the courts, and the economy.

Andelman quoted C.A. Loppies, an Ambonese assistant to the Javanese governor:

There is different justice for Ambonese in the courts, the justice system that is controlled from Jakarta. They are all suspicious of us. We are just like, for years, your blacks in America were.

The spectacular actions by small groups of South Moluccan nationalists in the Netherlands do not contribute to relieving this oppression, nor do they further a struggle against Dutch racism. They are, in fact, serving to exacerbate the problems of the South Moluccan people—both the

exiles and the islanders. Andelman reported:

"Those terrorists in Holland are stupid," a Moluccan student said, grinding a fist into his palm.

Asserting that they "will only hurt us," he voiced fears that terrorism in the Netherlands by South Moluccans . . . would lead to a new roundup in these islands by Indonesian authorities. Less than three years ago, a similar action in the Netherlands touched off such a sweep with scores detained.

News reports have also indicated that there is fear of violent reprisals against the South Moluccan exile communities in the Netherlands. On May 25 Dutch police sealed off the Moluccan community in Bovensmilde, ostensibly to "protect the Moluccans from the Dutch." And the May 25 *Washington Post* reports that "many South Moluccans travelling in the cordoned area that surrounds the school are searched for weapons before being allowed to go to their homes." □

false ideas, and divert the people from their basic tasks."

The differences within the MPLA leadership have not yet been made clear, but in his justifications for the purge, Neto has mentioned several issues. Like the MPLA's public pronouncements, the disputes within the organization have been cloaked in "socialist" rhetoric.

In his May 21 speech, Neto said that Alves and van Dunem had accused him of being opposed to Moscow. Neto denied this, stating, "We cannot forget that we gained independence because we obtained aid from countries like the Soviet Union."

Neto also charged, "Some say that whites and mestiços [those of mixed African and Portuguese ancestry] are the bourgeoisie and that Blacks are the only proletarians. But here there are also white and mestiço workers and Black bourgeois."

The May 23 issue of the Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo* reported that the dissidents had "claimed that only the working class could lead in the building of a socialist society and that farmers and other groups should subordinate themselves to it."

"In his speech, Agostinho Neto opposed the idea that only the young Angolan proletariat should guide the revolutionary process in the country."

The subsequent coup attempt by followers of Alves and van Dunem was only the most recent crisis within the MPLA. Since the early 1960s, the group has been torn by a series of factional struggles.

In 1962, Viriato da Cruz, a principal founder of the MPLA, split, taking the majority of the MPLA's membership with him. He later joined the MPLA's rival, the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front).

In mid-1974, shortly after the coup in Lisbon that overthrew the Salazarist dictatorship and opened the way for Angola's independence, another internal dispute shook the organization. Two factions—the Eastern Revolt led by Daniel Chipenda and the Active Revolt led by Joaquim Pintó de Andrade—challenged Neto's leadership. Chipenda's group was expelled and he later joined the FNLA.

In April 1976, a few weeks after the end of the Angolan civil war, Neto moved against the Active Revolt, arresting Pintó de Andrade and other dissidents within the MPLA, as well as members of the Maoist Organização Comunista de Angola (Angola Communist Organization) and other leftist groups, including "the partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin." More than 100 persons were arrested that month and taken to prison camps.

Ironically, the central figure in that purge was Nito Alves, the interior minister. Employing the same charges that were later to be used against himself, Alves had condemned the dissidents as "reactionaries" and "divisionists." □

Following Purge of Two MPLA Leaders

Dissidents Attempt Coup in Angola

By Ernest Harsch

A group of dissidents within Angola's ruling party made an abortive coup attempt on the morning of May 27, according to Angolan radio broadcasts monitored in South Africa. It was the sharpest crisis within the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) since the former Portuguese colony gained its independence in November 1975.

According to a May 27 Associated Press dispatch from Johannesburg, Angolan President Agostinho Neto charged in a radio announcement that the coup attempt had been led by Nito Alves and José van Dunem, two leaders of the MPLA who had been purged and arrested a few days earlier.

The Yugoslav press agency Tanyug reported that shootings and explosions were heard in Luanda, the capital, between 3 a.m. and 8:30 a.m. The rebels seized the Luanda radio station and reportedly attacked the presidential palace, army headquarters, and the city prison, where Alves and van Dunem were being held.

After the seizure of the radio station, an announcer said that it was under the control of "M.P.L.A. militants" who had "ended the march our country was taking to the precipice." The rebel-controlled station also broadcast a call for a mass demonstration in front of the presidential palace and demanded the release of Alves and van Dunem.

Tanyug reported that truckloads of Angolan troops were rushed to the palace and other government buildings. The Luanda radio station went off the air for about an hour, resuming broadcasts around noon under government control. "Forces faithful to Comrade President Agostinho Neto again control our station," an announcer said. "We are again on the air. Long live Comrade Agostinho Neto."

Neto announced that the attempted coup had been "totally crushed" after street fighting that had killed many persons. He warned that "drastic measures" would be taken to prevent further disorders. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed.

In a broadcast the following day, Neto said that the rebels "can expect no consideration, no pardon. We have no more tolerance in Angola. We shall proceed in a firm and tough manner." He said that troops were searching for rebels who had fled the capital and had taken several government officials with them as hostages. He made no mention of the fate of Alves and van Dunem.

There have been indications of a factional struggle within the current leadership of the MPLA for nearly a year. "There are comrades in the Popular Movement," Neto said July 18, 1976, "who create groups that meet in secrecy. They report neither to the central committee nor to the politburo."

This conflict surfaced May 21, when the MPLA Central Committee, after a two-day meeting, announced that Alves, the minister of the interior, and van Dunem, a political commissioner in the army, had been dismissed from their posts and expelled from the Central Committee. They were then arrested.

The government-controlled *Jornal de Angola* published various motions of the MPLA Central Committee condemning "divisionism" and "internal reaction." It also noted that "so-called people's assemblies" had been held, without giving any further details.

Before a rally of more than 10,000 persons the day of the arrests, Neto denounced the "factionalist" tendencies within the MPLA and charged Alves and van Dunem with leading a grouping that "aimed to divide the MPLA, propagate

Andrew Young's Tour of Africa

By Ernest Harsch

At the end of his tour of eight African countries, Andrew Young, the American representative to the United Nations, held a news conference in London May 26 to explain the purpose of the trip.

He confirmed that one of the main reasons for the tour involved the domestic political situation in the United States. Summarizing Young's remarks, *New York Times* correspondent Michael T. Kaufman reported that one of Young's objectives was "to restore to the American public the faith, lost in Vietnam, that its Government could act in an international arena in the pursuit of justice."

Kaufman continued, "Noting that in the wake of Vietnam America has undergone a certain paralysis, he said that since assuming the United Nations post he has tried to resurrect American self-confidence."

Similar points were made by Vice-President Walter Mondale May 22, shortly after his meeting with South African Prime Minister John Vorster in Vienna. Claiming that the Carter administration had "come clean" in its policy toward southern Africa, he predicted that the "new" policy would win "very broad, very deep support" among the American population.

Carter's demagogic attempts to portray himself as an ally of Black liberation are thus part of his broader goal of trying to restore popular confidence in the White House, which was severely undermined by the American aggression in Vietnam and by the Watergate scandal.

The rhetoric is also designed to enhance Carter's political image among the Black liberation movements and Black regimes of Africa. Using his credentials as the first Black American representative to the United Nations and as a former civil-rights activist, Young has been in the forefront of this effort, making headlines through his frequent denunciations of the white minority regimes.

Carter indicated his calculations when he said May 23, "There's no doubt in my mind that over a period of time, Andy Young will become a hero to the Third World."

Through this new stance, Carter is jockeying for a better position from which to derail the mounting Black freedom struggles in Africa. In particular, he hopes to engineer a negotiated transfer of power in Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) that would result in the establishment of Black neocolonial regimes willing to protect

American and other imperialist interests.

This aim was evident throughout Young's tour. He made repeated attempts to get the African liberation groups to enter into negotiations with the white minority regimes and to participate in the American and British neocolonial schemes. On May 25 he said, "I don't think I dissuaded them, nor did I try, to give up the armed struggle, but I did try to help them see that the negotiations and consultations by the [British] Foreign Office and us were certainly a viable alternative that could be even more productive than the armed struggle."

Mondale noted that the Young tour had already scored some limited gains. He said that it was a "healthy sign" that a UN-sponsored conference on Namibia and Zimbabwe that was held in Mozambique had ended "with a much more moderate tone than one would have anticipated."

Young's condemnations of white supremacy in South Africa, while good for headlines, helped cover up Washington's continued complicity with the Vorster regime. In fact, Mondale hinted at even closer ties, stating, "If we can keep the

pace and the course and be making significant progress—and it will take South Africa to help us—then our possibilities of improved relations with South Africa increase."

On May 22, the second day of his visit to South Africa, Young counseled Blacks to employ moderate forms of struggle. He suggested that the best way they could press for reforms in the racist system of apartheid was to carry out economic boycotts of white businesses. One Black in the audience rose to point out that Blacks in South Africa did not earn enough to be able to carry out a successful boycott.

Young also sought to bolster the position of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the head of the Kwazulu Bantustan, who has urged Blacks in South Africa to "work within the system." Many Blacks consider the Bantustan officials to be government stooges. At one point, Young and Buthelezi embraced and then sang *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika*, the Black nationalist anthem.

June Goodwin reported in the May 24 *Christian Science Monitor* that a couple of Blacks got up and walked out in disapproval of Buthelezi. In addition, she said, the Black People's Convention and the South African Students Organisation, two of the leading Black nationalist groups in the country, "refused to meet Mr. Young, on the ground that he should instead talk to all the black leaders—including Robert Sobukwe, who is in effect under house arrest, and Nelson Mandela, who is in prison on Robben Island. □

Castro: No Cuban Military Advisers in Ethiopia

In a television interview taped in Havana in mid-May, Cuban Premier Fidel Castro denied claims that Cuban military advisers or troops had arrived in Ethiopia to aid the ruling military junta there.

"We have sent diplomatic personnel to Ethiopia," he said, "but all of our personnel in Ethiopia are accredited as diplomatic personnel. That is, there are no military advisers or such there."

At the same time, he said, Cuba would not yield an inch in its right to send such advisers if the Ethiopian regime requested aid. "I have told the truth but I want to warn you that this does not imply that we are not willing to send instructors," he said.

Despite this denial, the State Department declared May 25 that it had received reports that about 50 Cuban military advisers had arrived in Ethiopia. It said that it had also received unconfirmed reports that several hundred Cuban troops were also being sent.

According to a dispatch from Washington by *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman, State Department

spokesman Hodding Carter III "said that the United States had learned that the 50 Cuban military advisers would help train Ethiopian forces in the use of Soviet military equipment now being sent to Ethiopia since it broke its military relationship with the United States."

Hodding Carter said that if the reports that 400 to 500 Cuban troops were being sent to Ethiopia were true, it "could be a serious development." He threatened that the movement of "a large number of Cuban troops" into Ethiopia "could impede an improvement in relations" between Havana and Washington.

The State Department spokesman also tried to use the claim that Cuban military forces were in Ethiopia as a justification for possible American arms aid to the Sudanese regime of Gen. Gaafar al-Nimeiry, who is opposed to the present Ethiopian government. "We are prepared," he said, "to give careful consideration to requests of the Sudanese Government in the context of our global arms transfer policy. We highly value good relations with the Sudan." □

Hundreds of Dissidents Killed in Addis Ababa

By Ernest Harsch

Faced with continued opposition throughout much of the country, the Ethiopian military junta has escalated its campaign of repression in recent weeks.

Although assassinations and summary executions have been common in the capital of Addis Ababa for several months, the dictatorship's crackdown on dissidents reached a new level over the May Day weekend.

According to a report in the May 20 issue of the Paris weekly *Jeune Afrique*, thousands of youth, most of them students, demonstrated in the city April 29, demanding an end to the military dictatorship and calling for the establishment of a civilian regime. The protests were called by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party (EPRP), a leftist underground group opposed to the junta.

New York Times correspondent John Darnton described what followed in a May 17 dispatch from Addis Ababa:

The rampant shooting began at 7 P.M. on a Friday night when, in an almost incomprehensible act of bravado, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party held four simultaneous demonstrations against the Government at four locations.

Witnesses reported that trucks with army troops pulled up to groups of students who were chanting and passing out leaflets and opened fire with machine guns.

In a slightly different version, a report cited in the May 5 *Le Monde* said that the youths were first rounded up by officials of the government's *kebeles* (neighborhood associations) for "distributing leaflets hostile to the government." Many of them were then reportedly shot. Other students were arrested by the military the following day.

Because of the expulsion of a number of foreign journalists from Ethiopia, it is unclear how extensive the killings were. The *Le Monde* account reported that 170 bodies had been taken to Menelik Hospital. According to a May 3 United Press International dispatch, 40 bodies were found in a ditch outside Addis Ababa on the road to the Eritrean capital of Asmara and another 20 to 30 bodies were left lying near the French embassy. Darnton estimated that a total of between 300 and 600 persons may have been killed over the weekend.

Two days after the initial massacre, head of state Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam pledged at a government-organized May Day rally to crush all

opposition "with the might of the masses." Mengistu demagogically claims that his regime is "Marxist-Leninist."

In the weeks that followed, the junta carried out a major effort to round up and eliminate even more dissidents in the city. The regime called it a "revolutionary campaign" to rid Addis Ababa of "hired assassins and counterrevolutionaries." Roadblocks were set up and house-to-house searches conducted.

In the May 23 issue of *Time* magazine, correspondent Lee Griggs reported from Addis Ababa:

Shooting broke out all over the capital late on Sunday afternoon [May 15] and continued sporadically for twelve hours. Automatic weapons chattered incessantly, and the crump of exploding grenades punctuated the firing. Cars were banned from the streets, and roadblocks set up to restrict movement by foot. Next day the government-controlled papers announced that "one anarchist" had been killed—although hundreds of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition had been confiscated. Local hospitals had been forbidden to give out body counts, but an orderly at Menelik whispered to me in Amharic, "*Bizualee*" (There are many). The best guess: 80 to 100 dead.

Among the more prominent victims of this terror campaign was Ato Markos Hagos, the last chairman of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, which has been dissolved by the junta and replaced by a new government-controlled labor federation.

Also killed was Tesfaye Debessaye, a former leader of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe. In a statement announcing his death, the junta declared that "hired assassins who ran away from their schools and working places in order to carry out reactionary activities were flushed out from their hiding places."

Darnton reported that relatives of slain "counterrevolutionaries" were required to pay up to \$50 for the return of the bodies. One funeral march of about 4,000 persons was reportedly dispersed by low-flying aircraft.

The bloodbath being carried out against government opponents has not been limited to Addis Ababa.

Besides the significant independence struggle in the northern territory of Eritrea, the junta faces guerrilla forces in several other provinces. The Tigre People's Liberation Front is fighting the regime in Tigre, Somali secessionists are active in the Ogaden desert region in the south, Oromo (Galla) forces are reportedly active

in Bale, Sidamo, and Arussi, and the rightist Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) has a base in Begemder and a few other provinces.

Recent Ethiopian radio and newspaper accounts testify to the level of the junta's crackdown in those areas. It was announced May 5 that 200 "counterrevolutionaries" had been shot by the People's Militia in the province of Hararge. According to the radio, they included members of both the EDU and the EPRP.

The English-language *Ethiopian Herald* reported that another 282 "counterrevolutionaries" were killed in Sidamo in the period of one week. The May 14 issue reported that 971 opponents had been "liquidated" the previous week in the province of Begemder alone.

There are also signs that the junta is preparing another mass "peasant march" against the Eritrean freedom fighters, who are continuing to make new gains against Ethiopian forces in that territory. Last year the Ethiopian regime sent 125,000 poorly armed and trained peasants against the Eritreans. But after the first few skirmishes, the peasant contingents fell apart and the campaign was abandoned.

Jon Swain reported in the May 1 London *Sunday Times* that this time the peasant forces would be bolstered by units of the junta's well-trained People's Militia. A training camp has been set up for the militia forces near Sigamida, twenty miles north of Addis Ababa.

At the same time that the killings escalated, dictator Mengistu was accorded a red-carpet welcome during a visit to Moscow that began May 4.

Although the Ethiopian military had been armed and trained for years by Washington, Mengistu shut down a number of American installations in Ethiopia in April and made a bid for Soviet assistance. The bureaucrats in the Kremlin have now given Mengistu their blessing, claiming that the Ethiopian regime is "progressive."

Trying to justify this support, President Nikolai V. Podgorny was quoted by Tass May 4 as saying, "It is no secret that in attempts to contain Ethiopia's progressive development, internal counterrevolution turns for support to certain imperialist and other reactionary forces that hate to see the intensification of the national-liberation movement of the peoples and their socio-economic progress."

Mengistu also had meetings with Communist party boss Leonid Brezhnev, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov. A "friendship" declaration and a protocol providing for economic aid were signed. Although there were no formal agreements on Soviet military aid signed during the visit, there have been reports that some Soviet arms have started to arrive in Ethiopia. □

Nixon Tells Why He Preferred to End Democracy in Chile

By Jon Britton

A few months before the September 4, 1970, elections in Chile, an Italian businessman called at the White House. During a meeting in the Oval Office, according to Nixon, the "Italian" said: "If Allende should win the election in Chile, and then you have Castro in Cuba, what you will in effect have in Latin America is a red sandwich and eventually it will all be red."

Nixon related this anecdote to David Frost May 25 in the fourth installment of their television interviews. It was part of his attempt to answer Frost's questions relating to the efforts of the State Department and the CIA to "destabilize" the elected government of Salvador Allende. A strange sandwich in which the bread seeps in and colors the meat!

Nixon, who won his first political awards as a leading promotor of "red scares" during the McCarthy era, couldn't resist giving the old technique one more try. Under Allende, he told Frost, Chile "was being used by some of [Cuban Premier Fidel] Castro's agents as a base to export terrorism to Argentina, to Bolivia, to Brazil."

In light of the subsequent repression in Chile carried out by General Pinochet in which thousands of trade unionist and members of left-wing organizations have been murdered, tortured, and imprisoned; in light of the "export" of the Chilean junta's terror to Argentina, where scores of Chilean refugees have been kidnapped and many killed, and to Italy and the United States, where prominent opponents of the gangster regime in Santiago such as Orlando Letelier have been murdered; and in light of the terror routinely carried out by the U.S.-backed regimes in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and other Latin American countries, Nixon's talk of "terror" emanating from Cuba and from Chile under Allende is transparently false. It could even be termed "sanctimonious" and "hypocritical"—words Nixon repeatedly applied to his critics throughout the four interviews.

A little earlier Frost had asked Nixon: "What did you have in mind, in Chile, when you said that you wanted the C.I.A., or you wanted America to make the economy scream?"

Chile, Nixon answered, was "interested in obtaining loans from international organizations where we have a vote, and I indicated that wherever we had a vote, where Chile was involved, that unless there were strong considerations on the



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

other side that we would vote against them."

Of course the Chilean economy, historically dominated by imperialism and tied to the capitalist world market, was heavily dependent on international credit to finance trade with other countries and to service past debts. When the Nixon administration put on a financial squeeze, the Chilean economy was crippled. At the same time, economic sabotage by the Chilean capitalists—the October 1972 bosses' strike, widespread hoarding and black marketeering, the sending of capital abroad, etc.—made matters worse.

Major sectors of the economy were soon paralyzed, forcing the Chilean workers to set up their own distribution system and to take over the running of many factories just to meet the most basic needs of the populace.

These profoundly democratic mass initiatives went far beyond the control of Allende's reformist government. Above all, they violated capitalist property rights. The frightened ruling class and its backers in Washington decided to use the military to overthrow Allende, behead the workers movement, and utterly destroy democracy in Chile.

Frost asked Nixon: "In retrospect, don't you think that the Chileans were a better judge of what would preserve their democracy than you were?"

Nixon's answer, in light of what he had

just admitted and what congressional committees had revealed about covert actions of the CIA, dropped below the level of a shyster lawyer:

"Allende was overthrown eventually," the former president said, "not because of anything that was done from the outside, but because his system didn't work in Chile and Chile decided to throw it out."

In answer to another question, Nixon explained his indulgent attitude toward right-wing dictatorships:

In terms of national security, in terms of our own self-interest, the right-wing dictatorship, if it is not exporting its revolution, if it is not interfering with its neighbors, if it is not taking action against the United States, it is therefore of no security concern to us. . . . A left-wing dictatorship, on the other hand, we find that they do engage in trying to export their subversion to other countries, and that does involve our security interests.

Nixon, of course, spoke here as a representative, albeit retired, of the monopolist rulers of the United States. It was their security and their self-interest that he identified with and sought to defend as president. As the events in Chile showed, "subversion" in Nixon's book is any effort to inspire, educate, or organize working people to challenge capitalist rule at home or abroad.

This installment of the Frost interviews shed new light on other aspects of Nixon's repulsive personality and reactionary political outlook. For instance, his comments on the downfall of Spiro Agnew, whom he hand-picked as his vice-president, revealed his cynical attitude toward the "common practice" of bribetaking by Democratic and Republican politicians.

Then there was his discription of the famous weeping and praying session with Henry Kissinger that was followed by a panicky phone call to the secretary of state begging him not to tell anyone of this sudden appeal from the White House and State Department for the help of god (whose powers Nixon had previously assumed went with the office).

Finally, the resignation itself, after which life became "almost unbearable"; and the "agony" of deciding whether to accept Gerald Ford's pardon, when doing so would be interpreted by everyone as a confession of guilt.

Anthony Lewis, in a column entitled "The Banality of Evil," which appeared in the May 26 *New York Times*, wrote this

about the Nixon-Frost interviews:

There can have been few such devastating pieces of self-exposure in political history: the fantasies, the contempt for law, the self-confessed "paranoia," the obliviousness to responsibility for human suffering and death. And the banality of the man, the level of his reasoning. . . .

Lewis expressed amazement that the

"American constitutional system" survived "nearly six years of such a person as President."

But the evil Lewis points to is not restricted to Nixon. It is lodged in the decaying capitalist system itself. Nixon in office did exhibit the traits Lewis attributes to him. But so did his predecessors, underneath their masks, because these are

precisely the common traits of the ruling class as a whole, needed for its self-preservation.

Nixon, in office and in these interviews, revealed the real face of capitalism to the American people. An ugly and loathsome face it is. But it's one we can't afford to forget as Jimmy Carter plays the role of a new "man of the people." □

New Israeli Chief Chooses Moshe Dayan as Kindred Soul

Palestinians Denounce Menachem Begin as 'Terrorist'

By Steve Wattenmaker

Israel's prime-minister designate, Menachem Begin, named former defense chief Moshe Dayan to serve as foreign minister May 25. The unexpected announcement provoked a howl from politicians scrambling for portfolios in a prospective coalition government, temporarily slowing negotiations aimed at forming a new government.

Comment outside Israel, however, continued to focus on the effect Begin's election victory will have on Washington's chances for establishing a Middle East settlement.

Meeting in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, May 19 and 20, three Arab heads of state said that the outcome of Israel's election made no difference in the search for peace. After conferring with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria and Saudi Arabia's King Khalid, Egyptian President Sadat told reporters that Begin's victory "does not really matter," because all Israeli prime ministers "adopt the same line."

Sadat added that Washington "has all the cards and the main influence over what will happen" in any Middle East negotiations.

Mustapha Bamiya, a spokesman for the Palestine Liberation Organization, denounced Begin as a butcher of the Palestinian people.

According to a dispatch from Beirut in the May 19 *New York Times*, he said:

"The so-called moderate line in Israel hasn't achieved its aims and so now they have brought the terrorists to power. Begin is a terrorist and should face trial as a war criminal."

Begin is known throughout the Arab world as the leader of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the Zionist terrorist organization responsible for the massacre of Deir Yassin.

Deir Yassin, a Palestinian village near Jerusalem, was invaded by Irgun gunmen on April 9, 1948. In the subsequent bloodbath, 250 Palestinian men, women, and children were murdered.



BEGIN: "World does not pity the slaughtered."

Not only does Begin take responsibility for the infamous massacre, he celebrates it in his book *The Revolt, Story of the Irgun*.

His account recalls how Deir Yassin proved valuable in helping to drive the Palestinians from their homes in 1948:

The legend of Deir Yassin helped us in particular in the saving of Tiberias and the conquest of Haifa. . . . All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting "Deir Yassin." . . . Arabs throughout the country . . . started to flee for their lives.

"The world does not pity the slaughtered," Begin reflected. "It only respects those who fight." Despite Begin's well-earned reputation as a cold-blooded executioner, efforts to single him out as decisive-

ly more racist and reactionary than his Labor party predecessors are misplaced.

Although David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, eventually broke all collaboration with the Irgun and declared Begin an outlaw, he was provoked by unfavorable reaction to the assassination of a United Nations mediator, not by Deir Yassin.

In fact, while the official Zionist armed forces, the Haganah, publicly condemned the Deir Yassin massacre, the Irgun produced a document signed by the local Haganah commander proving he knew of the attack in advance. Haganah's special commando unit even provided reinforcements to cover the Irgun's retreat from Deir Yassin after the massacre.

Four wars have been fought since the formation of the Israeli state, giving the Labor party ample opportunity to commit crimes that overshadow even the Deir Yassin massacre.

Since the May 17 election, Begin, whose Likud bloc won a plurality of 43 seats, has been negotiating with several smaller parties whose participation in a coalition government would assure him a majority in the 120-seat Knesset (parliament).

Preelection statements were quickly forgotten in the race for ministerial posts. The newly formed Democratic Movement for Change, headed by Yigael Yadin, muted its opposition to the Likud's hard-line foreign policy and began horse-trading its fourteen or fifteen Knesset seats for a choice post in Begin's cabinet.

During the campaign Yadin had condemned the Likud for its "hawkish" stand in opposition to any territorial concessions on the West Bank as part of an overall Middle East settlement.

In order to persuade Yadin to join the coalition, Begin's aides circulated a statement May 24 that the Likud would hold an election before any move to annex the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Yadin was apparently on the verge of

signing on Begin's dotted line when the appointment of Dayan stalled negotiations. Members of the Likud, Yadin, and others involved in the negotiations were reportedly upset over not being consulted by Begin.

Dayan, an army general who won acclaim in Israel as defense minister during the 1967 Six Day War, fell in popularity after being blamed for initial Israeli setbacks in the October 1973 war.

A lifetime member of the Labor party, Dayan was another figure who did not let campaign promises block his way to a top government post. The Labor party—which rejected Begin's invitation to join his government—immediately called for Dayan's resignation and he just as promptly complied by mailing in his party card. At the same time, however, he retained his seat in the Knesset.

While Dayan and Begin hold roughly compatible views on the terms of a possible Middle East settlement, the *New York Times* reported May 28 that more practical considerations were on the Likud leader's mind. "Aides to Mr. Begin said that one of the reasons for the selection of Mr. Dayan . . . was that he was well known abroad while many Likud officials are not."

With the exception of an appearance May 22 on the American news program "Issues and Answers," during which he restated his view that the West Bank was "liberated" not "occupied" territory, Begin's attention has been directed more toward piecing together a government than revealing his views on foreign policy.

Nonetheless, Begin tossed a few barbs at President Carter during the news show. These were apparently motivated by Carter's recent diplomatic references to a "homeland" for the Palestinians.

In a May 22 speech Carter answered Begin by warning of a disaster, "not only for the Middle East but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well" if the Israelis—or the Arabs—try to block a settlement.

Will Begin still strain at the leash after being jerked back in this way by his master? The answer is not likely to be long delayed in view of the Israeli terrorist's past record. □

Abortion Guide Banned in Belgium

The entire edition of the *Guide de la Belgique en lutte*, a "directory for the French-speaking Belgian left," was confiscated May 13 by order of the Brussels district attorney's office.

The publication was charged with "illicit propaganda in favor of abortion" for having printed the names and addresses of five abortion clinics.

Eyewitness Account

Behind the Mass Upsurge in Pakistan

[The following interview is with a Pakistani revolutionary socialist now living in Canada who recently visited Pakistan. It is reprinted from the May 23 issue of the Toronto socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

Question. Could you explain some of the history behind events today?

Answer. This is difficult to do in a few words. The Pakistani state was created by British imperialism in the partition [with India] in 1947. Parliamentary forms of rule existed in the midst of economic collapse until 1958, when Gen. Ayub Khan led a military coup. For ten years Khan ruled through severe political repression. The 1965 war with India was an attempt to shift the anger of the people from the internal crisis.

By 1968 all sectors of Pakistani society had risen against the dictatorship. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was one of the prominent opposition figures. In March 1969 martial law was again declared and power was transferred to Gen. Yahya Khan. His caretaker government ruled until the elections in December 1970. In the elections, the Awami League, a capitalist party that was based in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), won a large majority. When not allowed to assume power, the separatist movement in East Pakistan rose up, supported by the oppressed Bengali masses of that region, which was separated from West Pakistan by 1,000 miles of Indian territory.

The Pakistani military regime launched a bloody civil war, in which thousands of Bengalis lost their lives. India attacked East Pakistan, and soon the Pakistan army surrendered. Bangladesh gained its independence, Yahya Khan was overthrown by top generals, and Bhutto was called on to form the new government.

Influenced by Bhutto's populist demagoguery, the masses looked to his Pakistan People's party (PPP) as their own party at first, and a massive upsurge in the class struggle took place. The ruling class was thrown into disarray with the economic loss of Bangladesh and the rising demands of the workers. The crisis was aggravated by natural disasters and the new international economic recession.

Although Bhutto offered some minor concessions to the workers, their real wages and purchasing power declined and unemployment soared. Workers began to mobilize in huge antigovernment demon-

strations. But the Stalinists, with their sectarianism and bureaucratism, sabotaged attempts to unify the trade unions for struggle.

After splitting and confusing the trade union leadership through tripartite bodies, in October 1972 the government moved to physically crush the workers' struggles. Militants were thrown into jail or driven underground.

In 1975, after brutal repression of nationalist movements in the north of the country, the constitution was rewritten. The state of emergency was extended with increased press censorship and no freedom of assembly. The few democratic rights that had existed were abolished. This situation still exists.

Q. Given this situation, why did Bhutto think he could win an election?

A. He saw the unrest and, detecting confusion amongst the opposition, felt that as the most articulate politician in Pakistan he would be able to regain the support of the masses. On January 1, he called the March 7 elections. Within a few days, a rightist coalition of nine opposition parties formed the PNA [Pakistan National Alliance].

Q. Could you describe the election?

A. The election campaign itself was quite a shock to Bhutto. Despite banning the PNA from the media, shutting down transportation before PNA rallies, and arresting PNA nominees, his PPP was losing ground. It should be pointed out that a two-thirds majority is required to pass laws in the National Assembly. Bhutto therefore felt impelled to rig the elections to an unprecedented extent.

On March 22 the PNA released its "white paper" documenting extreme irregularities in the elections. It reported that even before polling started, polling agents of the PNA had been arrested by the police, abducted by henchmen of the PPP, and beaten up. PPP goons forced their entry into polling stations, snatched ballots from voters in the polling booths, stamped the ballots, and inserted them into ballot boxes. The list goes on.

Q. What has happened since the elections?

A. The PNA called for new elections and began its civil disobedience movement to oust Bhutto. Tens of thousands of workers,

students, and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie demonstrated in Karachi. The political upheaval soon spread to all major centers.

The PNA leadership was thrown into jail along with thousands of others. Within a few days, all jails were filled and the police had run out of tear gas!

Schools were closed and converted into centers of incarceration and torture. All the forces of repression were unleashed, but this merely incited thousands more to join the struggle. Even several rural areas became involved.

Curfew was imposed March 19 in Karachi and the army began to shoot people indiscriminately. More than 250 people are known to have been murdered at this time. Arrests continued—by March 22, 10,000 were in jail. Water and electricity were cut off in working class areas.

The PNA called a general strike on March 26. Dozens of demonstrations were held in every major center of Pakistan. Every day several spontaneous processions took place. The struggle has not subsided.

Within a few weeks of the elections, Bhutto had lost 80 percent of his supporters. Also, for the first time in Pakistani history, women have mobilized in the tens of thousands. This is particularly notable, given the firmly entrenched Muslim society.

Q. What is the general mood of the people?

A. Every day when you walk downtown you notice a strange feeling of tenseness in the air. Police and soldiers are everywhere—on every corner, at every major building. Ten or twenty people will start a procession, and before long dozens of others spontaneously join in and there is a large demonstration. This happens every day in all the major centers.

All ages of people are participating in these actions. They are very broad. They show a very spirited militancy.

The entire economy is at a standstill. Most of the banks have been burned, several factories have been destroyed. I would estimate that about two-thirds of the stores are closed.

Q. What demands is the PNA putting forward?

A. The PNA calls for: lifting the state of emergency; 2. freedom for all political prisoners; 3. Bhutto's resignation; and 4. new elections under army supervision. Opposition leaders have refused to talk to Bhutto until their demands are met.

Q. Is the PNA still in the leadership of the mass upsurges?

A. In the beginning it was, but the level of struggle soon went beyond its conserva-

tive objectives. It is only because the PNA is leading a fight for democratic rights that the masses relate to it. The masses are out for Bhutto's head, for establishment of full political rights, and for economic reform. The struggle will likely continue until Bhutto has been removed.

Q. What is the situation of the left?

A. Pockets of independent politically motivated workers have begun to reemerge in some major cities. Their thinking is to a certain extent independent of pro-Moscow and pro-Peking influence. These radical trade unionists are disillusioned with the many Stalinist betrayals. A fresh open dialogue is beginning amongst this layer, wherein lies the possibility of the formation of a revolutionary nucleus of Marxists.

Since 1972 conscious Trotskyists have been involved in these discussions. In spite of Stalinist hostility, they have been able to win a hearing and assemble a nucleus.

The draconian Defense of Pakistan Rules have forced our comrades to stay underground. Many are now unemployed and blacklisted. However, they are trying to begin a monthly discussion journal.

On the Healyite Frame-up Front

Ken Coates Replies to Michael Banda

[The Workers Revolutionary party, the British sect headed by Gerry Healy, is continuing its campaign of slandering Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices of the GPU."

[The declaration denouncing this "shameless frame-up" and calling upon the leaders of the WRP and their followers to "cease their scurrilous attacks" (published in the September 6, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press*) seems to have been particularly upsetting to Healy. He is still trying to persuade signers of the statement to withdraw their signatures.

[The April 2 issue of the *News Line*, for instance, featured an open letter addressed to Tamara Deutscher, Ken Coates of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and Perry Anderson, editor of the *New Left Review*.

[The letter bore the headline "Withdraw signatures." The two words appeared to state a fact but actually only expressed a hope. It was signed by Michael Banda, the general secretary of the WRP.

[The letter asked the three to "reconsider your previous position in signing a petition in support of Joseph Hansen and George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party (USA)."

[Banda argued: "All of you have reputations to protect. You have a responsibility to declare for historical truth and separate

The events of the past year have provided impetus for the formation of a layer of revolutionary independent-thinking and politically conscious workers and students all over Pakistan. Prospects are good for a revolutionary party soon developing.

Q. In conclusion, what do you see as the future course of events in Pakistan?

A. I don't like to be a crystal ball gazer but most observers agree that Bhutto will go, and soon. The PNA may form a government for three to four years before the military feels it is time to rule directly again. A PNA government formed out of the present upsurge would be under strong pressure to concede democratic rights.

A period of democratic rights, however brief, would provide an invaluable opportunity for workers to engage in active class struggle, to discuss and act more openly and freely. Socialists would be able to spread their ideas, and would probably experience rapid growth.

The current mass struggle for democratic rights offers an important opening to build the socialist revolution in Pakistan.

yourselves from Hansen and Novack who are desperately shielding a known GPU agent connected with the ring that organized Trotsky's murder."

[Ken Coates regarded the appeal as worth considering in view of the fact that the *News Line* had already shown its concern for his reputation. The January 1, 1977, issue characterized him as "the virulent anti-Marxist from the 'Peace' foundation."

[He responded to Banda's appeal with the following letter, dated May 16.]

* * *

Dear Michael Banda,

I see you have been appealing to me to "defend my reputation" in your newspaper. It is difficult to imagine a less plausible proposal. Your newspaper continues to defame Joe Hansen and George Novack, in a manner reminiscent of McCarthyism. I have seldom seen such hysteria as that displayed in your campaign on this matter.

In the circumstances, I am quite happy that you should denounce me. I should feel distinctly uncomfortable if you were to praise me.

Yours sincerely,
Ken Coates

II. Seven Decades Under an Iron Heel

By Judy White

The occupation of a ten-mile-wide strip of Panama has given American imperialism a firmer stranglehold over that country. Moreover, the nature of that occupation for more than seven decades has created special problems for the socialist revolution in Panama and the rest of Latin America.

The Canal Zone is directly administered by the government of the United States through two bodies—the Panama Canal Company and the government of the Canal Zone, with a common head appointed by Washington.

The Canal Zone has its own police force, laws, courts, schools, and postal system for the more than 40,000 U.S. and Panamanian citizens who live there.

The administration of the fourteen U.S. military bases in the enclave is directly in the hands of the Defense Department.

All land and housing in the Canal Zone belong to Washington.

Although Panamanians living or working there are privileged in comparison with their fellow citizens in the rest of the country, racism is rampant.

Canal Zone Governor David Parker bragged in an April 1974 letter to the congressional committee in charge of the area that “many of our employees are now paid at rates which are three to five times the salaries of their counterparts in Panama.” But the average Panamanian working in the Canal Zone earns less than half what an average U.S. citizen does there.

Testimony before Congress from organizations representing Panamanians working in the Canal Zone also showed discrimination in hiring, vacation time, wages for persons doing the same job, promotional opportunities, retirement benefits, and protection under labor laws.³

Until 1962 Panamanian citizens were forbidden to be postal workers or firemen in the enclave. And they are, in effect, excluded from several other job categories.

Up until June 1973 there were no Panamanian boat pilots guiding ships through the canal. When an attempt was made to introduce some, U.S. pilots staged a protest work slowdown. More than a year later, after Washington was forced to change its procedures, there were still only two Panamanians in a group of forty trainees for the job.

3. Panamanians working in the Canal Zone are not covered by either U.S. or Panamanian labor laws.

One of the issues under discussion at 1974 congressional hearings on the Canal Zone was the May 1, 1974, Minimum Wage Law. U.S. citizens living in the enclave expressed their “humanitarian” concern about the law’s application to domestic workers. On the basis of a survey conducted among approximately 1,000 U.S. households, the Pacific Civic Council reported to Congress that maids, laundresses, handymen, and gardeners were losing jobs. Whites were simply unwilling to pay an hourly wage of \$1.90—up from the average \$0.58 they were paying prior to the law’s enactment!

Discrimination in the Canal Zone also extends to education and housing. Until recently, Spanish was not even taught in the schools. This has aggravated the historical division between Black Panamanians living in the Canal Zone, who originally were brought from the West Indies to build the canal, and the rest of the population.

The Canal Zone housing policy bars Panamanians from living in the enclave unless their jobs are considered “absolutely essential” to the canal’s operation.

Governor Parker tried to justify this by saying:

These individuals must orient themselves to living in the Republic of Panama because we shall not have housing to offer them in the future. The best time for them to make the transition is at the time when they achieve financial independence through employment.

Military Octopus

The provision of the 1903 treaty giving Washington the right to provide for “the safety or protection of the Canal” opened the door for the Pentagon to install a vast military apparatus occupying 70 percent of the Zone.

More than \$5 billion has been invested in fourteen military bases stocked with arms, munitions, and other equipment. These bases also house training schools, three major airports, and approximately fifty airplanes.

Between 10,000 and 20,000 U.S. troops are stationed there.

This apparatus is used to safeguard U.S. interests in Panama and to keep a lookout on the rest of Latin America. The canal has never been attacked militarily.

The headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command, which coordinates all U.S. military and intelligence activities in

Latin America, is stationed in the Canal Zone.

Thousands of Latin American military personnel have attended the U.S. Army School of the Americas (USARSA), located at Fort Gulick.

USARSA was established to “conduct training for designated Latin American personnel to achieve higher levels of professionalism, increased capabilities for maintenance of internal security, and greater military contribution to national development.”

As of September 1975, 33,147 students had graduated from USARSA. The January 1976 issue of *NACLA's Latin America & Empire Report* noted:

In October 1973, more than 170 graduates were heads of government, cabinet ministers, commanding generals or directors of intelligence in their countries. And coups in Peru, Bolivia, Panama and Chile were carried out by officers who had attended the USARSA.

NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) pointed to Washington’s role in training more than 4,000 officers and enlisted men serving under Chilean butcher Augusto Pinochet. During the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1974—less than a year after the bloody dictator seized power—60 percent of the students sent to the USARSA were Chilean, 504 of whom were enrolled in the Combat Arms Orientation Course. This course deals with military operations against conventional and guerrilla forces in an urban environment. The cost for the Chileans was \$314,440, all but \$10,000 of which was paid by Washington.

Also located in the Canal Zone military complex is the headquarters of the notorious Green Berets. One of the functions they fill is to head up teams of U.S. specialists who travel to other countries to set up courses in counterinsurgency techniques.

Such a Mobile Training Team (MTT) traveled to Bolivia in April 1967, NACLA reported, “to train and supervise the Bolivian Army ranger battalion that was used to hunt down and kill guerrilla leader Ernesto Che Guevara.”

MTTs have also been used in Guatemala, Peru, Jordan, and Indonesia.

In an interview with *Intercontinental Press*, published in the November 22, 1976, issue, Panamanian exile Miguel Antonio Bernal said that the Canal Zone was “where, for example, the [1965] invasion of Santo Domingo was launched. . . . The

forces that went to help in one way or another in the 1973 Chile coup departed from the Canal Zone."

Moreover, Bernal stated, "Washington built several towns in the Zone to resemble Vietnamese villages, and it was there that they trained the Green Berets before sending them to Vietnam."

Student demonstrators in Panama in April 1961 protested the use of their country as a departure point for U.S. planes participating in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

The noted Nicaraguan poet and priest Ernesto Cardenal accused the United States of using 1,100 of its troops in Nicaragua to aid the Somoza government in its repression. In an article published in the June 17, 1976, issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, Cardenal said that it was possible to identify these U.S. troops as coming from the Canal Zone by the insignias on their uniforms.

The priest reported that 5,000 Nicaraguan soldiers had been trained in the Canal Zone. He named an American officer as "the torture technician" of the Nicaraguan police.

Washington has intervened militarily numerous times in Panama itself—in 1918, 1921, 1925, 1958, 1959, and 1964.

In 1918, for example, U.S. troops were sent to Chiriquí Province "to protect American property." They stayed for thirteen months.

The Panamanian armed forces—the National Guard—are trained in the Canal Zone, and they hold joint military maneuvers with the U.S. forces on Panamanian soil. The August 1975 issue of the Panamanian magazine *Diálogo Social* commented on one such exercise:

The latest joint exercise, carried out in Río Hato, was based on a hypothetical air, land, and sea invasion from Cuba. That is, the Panamanians were preparing themselves for a possible invasion from the Caribbean island. But is there any chance of the Panamanians being invaded at some time by the Cubans? . . . What was the National Guard doing in operations based on assumptions so far removed from reality? . . .

What were the Americans doing in an anti-guerrilla operation in [the province of] Darién? Is it Americans who are going to lead the struggle against some possible Panamanian guerrillas who may choose Darién as their theater of operations? What interests are in the forefront of their joint operations, Panamanian interests or American interests?

Washington Controls the Economy . . .

"Panama is set for an economic development boom if a new canal treaty with the United States is concluded and the confidence of investors restored," said Juan de Onís in the January 17, 1977, issue of the *New York Times*.

De Onís pointed to these Panamanian assets:

- It is a major banking center, with

more than seventy foreign banks holding deposits of over \$99 billion.

- It has a huge copper deposit in Chiriquí Province, which could make



TORRIJOS: A useful ally of the White House.

Panama a major mineral exporter in less than ten years. Texasgulf, a U.S. mining company, has already signed a development contract for it.

- The eastern half of the country, which is rich in forest resources, is being opened up for the first time by a highway scheduled for completion in 1979.

In the decade preceding 1973, Panama had an annual economic growth rate of 8 percent. Its annual per capita income in 1973 reached \$1,000—the highest in Central America. Per capita figures on foreign investment and U.S. aid show Panama in first place internationally.

However, over the past four years this bright picture has been dulled by the impact of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis and the growing demands for self-determination from the Panamanian masses. The January 2, 1977, issue of the *Miami Herald* estimated the economic growth rate for 1976 at a minus 1.0 percent. Inflation is up to 15-20 percent annually. Twenty percent of the people in the country's two major cities are unemployed, and the national debt has swelled to over \$1 billion.

The spectacular figures on U.S. investment and aid were in large part the result of Washington's special relationship with Panama.

The canal alone, the *New York Times* reported in a February 14, 1977, editorial, "reduces the delivery price of American exports and imports by \$1.5 billion a year and yields toll revenues of \$150 million a year, out of which the United States pays Panama \$2.3 million. . . ."

In addition, American military savings resulting from use of the facility average \$200 million a year, according to calculations made by *Diálogo Social*.

Other economic activities of Panama are highly dependent on the enclave. In fiscal year 1972, the sale of Panamanian goods and services to residents of the Canal Zone amounted to more than \$170 million. More than 40 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings were directly or indirectly attributable to the presence of the canal, according to the September 1974 issue of *NACLA's Latin America & Empire Report*. Furthermore, more than one-third of Panama's employment is related to activities in the Canal Zone.

The economic policies of the Panamanian government have been designed to deepen this dependence on Washington.

In 1953 a free zone was established in Colón. *NACLA* described how it operates:

One of the largest distribution centers in the world, the Free Zone offers numerous incentives to multinational corporations. Merchandise entering, stored, processed or leaving the Colon Free Zone (CFZ) is exempt from taxes and duties. . . . the CFZ now conducts annual transactions worth more than \$750 million⁴ for more than 600 firms. Among the major companies using the facilities of the CFZ are Coca-Cola, Colgate Palmolive, Firestone, IIT, McGraw Hill, Pfizer, Polaroid and Xerox. . . . There are no export levies or customer duties; no outbound consular fees or processing taxes; and often no capital gain assessment, personal taxes or corporate taxes. Firms operating within the CFZ are exempt from taxes on capital invested, and on dividends and remittances abroad.

Another plum offered by the Panamanian government to foreign interests was the 1970 banking law. It provided for the setting up of an international financial center in Panama in which banks do not have to pay taxes. These banks, through their control of credit, are an increasing power in the domestic economy.

This law was complemented two years later by a constitutional provision making the U.S. dollar the legal tender of Panama.

About 83 percent of the products exported by Panama in 1968 went to the United States. Sixty percent of all capital in Panamanian companies comes from U.S. sources. The Chiriquí Land Company, a subsidiary of the U.S.-based United Brands, is the largest single landowner in the country and dominates all agricultural production, which provides Panama's leading exports.

. . . and the Political Life, Too

Washington has handpicked and protected Panamanian presidents throughout the country's history.

Under Theodore Roosevelt, a U.S. com-

4. The January 17, 1977, issue of the *New York Times* reported that "\$1 billion in goods are transshipped duty-free annually."

mission oversaw the Panamanian presidential elections of 1908. The commission forced the withdrawal of Ricardo Arias from the race.

In 1910, the United States was concerned that the probable election of Carlos Mendoza as president would be "detrimental to the good interests of Panama, of the Canal Zone and of American influence," NACLA recalled in the September 1974 issue of its magazine. An official at the U.S. embassy threatened military occupation and annexation if Washington's favorite was not elected. Mendoza withdrew from the race.

During the 1918 campaign, U.S. troops marched into the cities of Panama and Colón as a result of what Washington

considered an unconstitutional decree postponing the elections.

In 1921 U.S. troops remained in Panama for two weeks to "protect" the country's president from protesters.

Since 1936 Washington has severed diplomatic relations with Panama several times to protest elections and government policies. Moreover, in 1964 when anti-American demonstrations broke out, the Canal Zone government physically cut the country in two by banning traffic across the enclave.

Perhaps Washington even had a hand in promoting the 1969 coup that brought the current Panamanian head of state, Gen. Omar Torrijos, to power. Torrijos had taken four courses at the USARSA in the

years immediately preceding the coup—in 1962 and 1963, on counterinsurgency; in 1964, on truck maintenance; and in 1966, on military administration.

Torrijos stepped into the breach when negotiations over the canal were not going well and when the Panamanian ruling class was losing credibility with the country's masses.

At the very least, Torrijos has become a useful tool of Washington during his eight-year rule. His policies have facilitated imperialist penetration of Panama and helped keep the lid on the rising struggles of the Panamanian masses to rid themselves of the U.S. presence.

[Next: The Mobilization in Panama to End U.S. Occupation]

Two Years After the Victory

Cambodia—The Nationalist Relapse of a Communist Current

By Pierre Rousset

[The following article is reprinted from the April 22 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Two years ago, the Cambodian liberation struggle triumphed. The U.S. ambassador made a sorry exit from Pnompenh, carrying the American flag under his arm.

Since then, information about developments in "democratic Cambodia" has been scarce. A polemic has developed within the far left as to the nature of the orientation guiding the new Cambodian leadership.

A good example of this is the two articles by Serge Thion and Patrick Ruel in a recent issue of *Libération* [a Paris daily that reflects various leftist currents of opinion.—IP]. Thion claims the right to "judge this regime" guilty of "cold-blooded massacres," while Ruel takes the opposite view, writing paradoxically that "the Khmer experience seems to offer the best solutions to the problems of underdevelopment and growing impoverishment of the Third World's inhabitants. However, the reality that emerges from accounts by refugees is unacceptable." (*Libération*, March 7, 1977.)

It is this question, above all, that must be taken up. Was the "Cambodian road" inevitable? Better yet, can it serve as a "model" to other neocolonial countries of how to throw off dependency and underdevelopment through a revolution—costly, to be sure, in terms of human life, but far-reaching in its impact? Is there an unresol-

vable contradiction between the compelling needs of a Third World revolution and the methods that are morally acceptable to Western revolutionists?

One problem we are confronted with in the case of Cambodia is, of course, a lack of information. But we can try to give a rough picture of the actual steps taken and the actual orientation proclaimed by the Angkor leadership—the "Organization"—in power today.

The mass executions do not seem to have been carried out on the scale that the media would have led us to believe. According to the investigations made by Ponchaud* himself, they seem to have involved chiefly the officers, troops, and administrators of the old Lon Nol regime. The executions were more numerous in some provinces than in others, and reportedly ended after a few months. On the other hand, many "stubborn elements" were reportedly killed for no reason other than the cruelty of the local leaders. However, most of the loss of life that cast a pall over the first year of the new regime was due to exhaustion, malnutrition, and disease.

Other Choices Were Possible

Many deaths were unavoidable. Famine and disease had taken their toll of Pnompenh even before the victory. The halting

of U.S. food shipments was the final blow to the inhabitants of the zones formerly controlled by the puppet government. The hospitals were unsanitary. The means for transporting provisions were inadequate. There was a desperate shortage of medicine. The responsibility for these deaths rests directly on U.S. imperialism.

However, many other deaths are ascribable to the brutality with which the evacuation of the inhabitants of the cities and zones formerly controlled by the puppet government was carried out. This must be our starting point. Was the forced evacuation of Pnompenh really necessary?

The answer is no. To be sure, Pnompenh was uninhabitable, and the Cambodians could not avail themselves of the same resources as the Vietnamese immediately after the liberation of Saigon. But an urgent appeal for international aid in the form of food and medical supplies could have been made so as to gain precious time, save the lives of as many sick persons as possible, and find ways of organizing the population.

In the tragic circumstances of the time, it is hardly likely that such an appeal would have gone unanswered. And if it had turned out that way, international responsibility for the hard decisions that had to be made would have been undeniable.

However, such an appeal was not made. On the contrary, the very idea of doing so was condemned as something that would jeopardize national independence. Here we begin to get to the heart of the problem: the orientation and ideology of the leadership

*François Ponchaud, author of *Cambodge: Année Zéro* (Cambodia: Year Zero) (Paris: Juilliard, 1977).

team, and the political power structures it created to transform the country.

Security considerations seem to have weighed heavily in the decision to rapidly empty the capital of its population. The city was considered to be uncontrollable. More important, this particular measure soon became part of a general policy. The extreme authoritarianism of this decision, made without any popular vote or any prior educational campaign, continued well beyond the first few weeks after the victory.

The bureaucratism of Cambodia's political structure is unparalleled in other Asian revolutions. It is reflected in the lack of political organization among the newly liberated citizens, the Angkor leadership's shadowy composition and ill-defined political and organizational policy, and the masses' total lack of control over the administrative apparatus.

The refusal to ask for international aid from the beginning has now proven to be part of an economic development program for the medium term. The Cambodian people must rely only on their own strength. Trade with other countries must be determined by Cambodia's actual export capacities (rice today, rubber or fish tomorrow). The plan for economic growth must be kept within the narrow confines of the country.

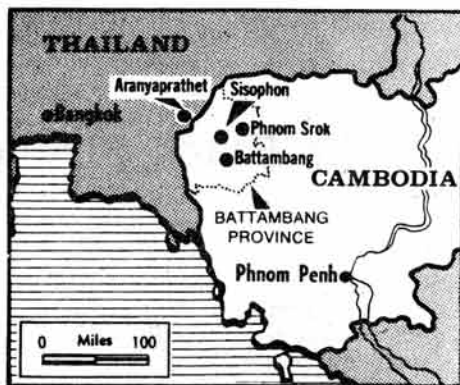
A Nationalist Retreat

What this represents is the basic elements of a general orientation. Some of its historic roots can be traced. They include Cambodia's economic backwardness, which meant that the social base of the revolution was very weak, much more so than in Vietnam, for example. There was a much greater division between the city and the countryside, because of the city's ethnic composition as well as its economic role, than in many other Third World countries.

The revolution was still relatively young; only five years of nationwide struggles had led up to the victory. The historic roots of the Cambodian workers and Communist movements were particularly shaky prior to 1970. Having been sacrificed to the 1954 Geneva accords, the Cambodian revolutionists must have been all the more tempted to fall back on nationalism.

Political divisions, perhaps deep ones, must have separated the old Communists of the period of the Indochinese Communist party and the Vietminh from the present-day central leadership, who seem for the most part to have been won to Marxism in France in the early 1950s, under the stultifying influence of the Stalinist French Communist party.

Thus it is both possible and necessary to try to explain the present course of the Khmer revolution. But in that case, it is necessary to stop using it as an example of "radicalism," despite the severity of the



Christian Science Monitor

"revolutionary" measures adopted, such as the outlawing of money. On the contrary, what characterizes it is the weakness of its social base of support, the authoritarianism of its governmental structures, the political weakness of its leadership and administrative apparatus, and its technological backwardness. These are all factors that spur the development of a bureaucracy, rather than putting a brake on it.

The Cambodian leaders can, of course, point to some major economic achievements. These include the installation of new hydroelectric machinery, the achievement of a rice "surplus" for export, and putting the country's few industries back in operation.

But these accomplishments should not be overestimated. If the peasants derive no profit from their labor, they will withhold production. If the administrative personnel are free from any control by the masses, they will hoard goods. If the population continues to be treated like an army on a campaign footing, it will become more and more disillusioned with the revolution. The political cost of the mass deportations

must already have been substantial. This is the standpoint from which the orientation adopted by the Cambodian leadership must be evaluated.

The Evacuation of Phnompenh

From this standpoint also, other choices could have been made. Cambodia's development could have been considered in the context of Indochina as a whole. This would have made it possible to take a more balanced approach, and lessen the sacrifices demanded of the Cambodian people. For that matter, how could the country be industrialized and the Mekong valley developed without close collaboration throughout the region? Would such an orientation have entailed the heavy risk that Cambodia, with its seven million inhabitants, might be dominated by Vietnam, with its fifty million people? Perhaps. But the danger of nationalism has already become a real one for the Angkor leadership. In particular, the orientation adopted in the name of the now sacred terms "independence and sovereignty" poses a threat to the future of the social revolution.

The "Cambodian road" cannot serve as a model for the development of the Third World countries. Yet it does not exhibit a "totalitarian frenzy" on the part of the Angkor leadership. It shows what consequences the nationalist retreat of a Communist current can have in a country where the objective difficulties are as great as they are in Cambodia. It highlights the historic responsibility of imperialism. But it also brings out the price that the colonial revolution continues to pay for the delay of the revolution in the imperialist countries and for the long dark night of Stalinism, with its betrayal of genuine internationalism in the name of "socialism in one country." □

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1. Why They Ran From the Black Struggle in Boston

By Bob Pearlman

[Bob Pearlman was a leader of the Spartacist League in Boston, Massachusetts, for several years. In late 1974, when racists mobilized to oppose busing to desegregate the Boston schools, Pearlman was the organizer of the Boston local of the Spartacist League and an alternate to its Central Committee.

[After an unsuccessful attempt to change what he saw as the Spartacist League's "dismal abstention" from the struggle to defend busing, Pearlman quit the organization in August 1976.

[The following article is an account of his experiences in the Spartacist League and an analysis of the inner workings and method of this classic sectarian group. Shortly after completing this article, Pearlman joined the Socialist Workers party and is now a member of its Roxbury branch in Boston.

[We are publishing his account in two parts, of which this is the first.]

* * *

The cold war and witch-hunt of the 1950s severely crippled the existing socialist and communist organizations in the United States. The massive diffusion of anticommunist ideology, plus the postwar "American prosperity" arising out of newly won world imperialist hegemony, helped to consolidate a labor bureaucracy that wiped out left-wing influence in the labor movement and buried the promise of the CIO and the postwar strike wave. By the late 1950s, the labor movement was a sleeping giant, and it remained passive in the wake of social struggles that emerged in the 1960s and early 1970s.

How existing and new revolutionary organizations oriented to and intervened in these emerging struggles—the civil-rights movement, the defense of the Cuban revolution, the antiwar movement, and the women's movement—were acid tests of their theory and practice. Their response would either develop these organizations and prepare them for the tasks of the American socialist revolution or lead them toward ineffectiveness, irrelevancy, and eventually their demise.

One big test of this kind emerged in the fall of 1974 when racists in Boston launched a massive attack against school desegregation. The responsibility of revolutionists—Black and white—was to organize a mass mobilization of the Black community and its allies to defend the rights of the Black schoolchildren, to politically isolate the racists, and to put a stop to their attacks. Every revolutionary organization in the United States, save one, flunked this test miserably. Everyone either opposed busing as some sort of capitalist plot to divide the working class or supported busing but abstained from building a mass probusing movement.¹

Only one organization fully directed itself toward this task and

1. The Maoist Revolutionary Communist party (formerly the Revolutionary Union) opposed busing as a capitalist plot to divide the working class. The CPUSA—fearful of alienating Black liberal Democratic party politicians by advocating mass action in support of busing, reluctant to forthrightly raise the issue of Black rights in the labor movement, and desirous of isolating their members from contact with other radical political currents—consciously abstained from the desegregation struggle. The October League (Maoist), while supporting busing, confined itself to small demonstrations of its own supporters and did nothing to resolve the crisis of leadership of the Black community by working to organize a coalition of forces capable of building a mass mobilization of the Black community and its allies. Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the pro-Stalinist sect headed by Sam Marcy, after helping to initiate the first mass action on December 14

helped to lead the organized resistance to the racists. That was the Socialist Workers party. As a result, the SWP is widely recognized in the Boston Black community as the revolutionary organization that fights for the rights of Black people.

Some other organizations have attempted through their press to portray themselves as playing a significant role in this struggle. The Spartacist League, which dedicates itself to the "Rebirth of the Fourth International," is one of these. During the first year of the busing struggle, which started in the fall of 1974, I was the Boston local organizer for the SL and an alternate to its Central Committee. Because of the SL's dismal abstention from this struggle, I resigned in August 1976, after one and a half years of internal struggle had failed to change the course of this organization.

The Spartacist League was one of many socialist organizations that owed their growth to the tremendous radicalization accompanying the Vietnam War. From 1971 to 1973 the organization tripled from 80 to 250 members. By 1974, just prior to the outbreak of the desegregation struggle, the SL "was approaching 300 members" (according to reports to the SL Political Bureau), and it projected expansion from a biweekly to a weekly press sometime in the next year.

Spartacist theory on the Black question recognized the "extra-class" character of Black oppression, i.e., that Blacks are exploited not just in their role as workers under capitalism, but additionally because of their race. Because of this, "special demands and special struggles" are needed to fight Black oppression. While this theory did not elucidate the character or the dynamics of that "special struggle," it did set the SL substantially apart from other, anti-Black-nationalist currents such as the Workers League and the Revolutionary Communist party. These latter groups see only a narrowly defined "class struggle," and from this vantage point disregard the special characteristics of Black oppression in this country.

Spartacist's recognition of "special oppression" enabled it to respond to the desegregation struggle at an early stage. This was related to Spartacist League history as well. James Robertson, SL founder and national chairman, always claimed that a call for active intervention into the Southern civil-rights movement in the early 1960s was one of the key planks of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in the SWP, the precursor of the SL.² Robertson claimed that the RT fought in the SWP for participation in the Freedom Rides, while the SWP abstained from this because "they

and doing some decent work in defense of Blacks in East Boston, abstained from any work in the Black community and any further serious involvement in mass actions. The Workers League (Healyites) totally abstained from the struggle (see "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective," by Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields, *Intercontinental Press*, vol. 13, no. 40, p. 1551).

Both Amiri Baraka's Congress of African People (CAP) and the African Liberation Support Committees-February First Movement (ALSC-FFM) opposed busing as harmful to Black students. Both these groups held a Maoist world view. Boston nationalist groups such as De Mau Mau adopted a similar perspective. Because of this position, none of these groups organized any *practical* work in support of students being bused. None of these groups possess any influence or support in the Boston Black community today.

2. The Revolutionary Tendency was expelled from the SWP in January 1964. After abortive negotiations with the American Committee for the Fourth International (ACFI) and the International Committee (IC), the Spartacist League was founded in September 1966.

lacked the forces."³ Robertson's pretenses on this point and the promise of SL engagement in the Black struggle were major factors in SL recruitment of a small but important layer of Black members in the early 1970s.

Also, in anticipation of opportunities for the SL in what it termed the "black arena," the SL, at its summer 1974 conference, formed a "National Consultative Fraction on Black Work."

The Boston Black community, concentrated in the Roxbury and Dorchester sections of the city, expanded significantly from the middle 1960s on. After the post-World War II migrations began, it was one of the last major Northern cities to experience a developing Black population. Today Blacks are approximately 20 percent of the population; Black students, however, constitute 42 percent of the school population. (Counting Puerto Rican students, a majority of the school population is from the oppressed nationalities.) Prior to court-ordered busing, Black students were concentrated in the worst schools in the city.

Reaction to busing emerged from white working-class sections of the city—South Boston, Charlestown, East Boston, and Hyde Park. Boston's economy is built around light manufacturing, finance, commerce, and universities. No major union with a significant Black membership that could rally prodesegregation forces exists. Only the small Meat Cutters union publicly supported desegregation. The Fire Fighters and Teamsters, bastions of white workers under the sway of the racist forces, passed antibusing motions. There were no union-sponsored organizations formed to oppose busing, like Louisville, Kentucky's so-called Union Labor Against Busing. But every city union to one degree or another capitulated to the racist sentiment and pressure from racist organizations. This was clearly reflected when the Massachusetts state AFL-CIO passed an antibusing resolution at its fall 1975 convention. This was later overturned through the intervention of AFL-CIO President George Meany.

This was the concrete context in which revolutionary organizations had to mount a defense of the rights of the Black community.

The Spartacist League reacted to the first shocks of antibusing violence in a seemingly healthy manner. It issued, on September 22, 1974, an open "Letter to Boston Trade Unions, Black and Socialist Organizations" titled "Act Now! Defend Black School Children!"⁴ The letter was a "proposal for a broad mobilization, initiated by the unions, black and socialist organizations, to build a mass popular demonstration around the common slogan, 'Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children.' The Spartacist League, a labor-socialist organization, pledges to devote all available resources and energy to aid in the building of such a demonstration." This pledge was to be put to a severe test in practice two months later.

Spartacist also understood that no socialist organization had the authority to initiate such a demonstration. It wrote: "The unions and black organizations such as the NAACP, because of their influence and resources, must take the lead in immediately calling and mobilizing for a massive public rally of all those who oppose this campaign of racist violence and harassment." And later: "Our organizations may disagree on many social, economic and political issues, but we can all agree with the need for immediate united action in defense of the black school children under attack by anti-busing forces. In the framework of joint actions against these racist attacks, all participating groups would, of course, be free to raise their own particular points of view."

For an organization that had refused to endorse and build the mass demonstrations against the Vietnam War because of their presumed "popular front" character, the above seemed to represent a remarkable adjustment to concrete needs and realities.

3. At that time the SWP was situated in Northern cities where Black activism was on the rise. It had no members and little experience in the South, and according to members of the majority, no experienced cadres available to implant there.

4. *Workers Vanguard*, no. 53, September 27, 1974.

Hidden, however, in this orientation were two fundamental assumptions that were to lead to the SL's criminal abstention from the busing struggle and the early liquidation of its prodesegregation work in Boston.

The first assumption was that a significant popular mobilization against the racists could be built only *through the unions*. In the SL's view, a mobilization of "blacks for blacks"⁵ without labor-union participation would be "hopeless."⁶ And second, the freedom of all "participating groups" in the joint action "to raise their own particular points of view" was not, in the SL's opinion, to be satisfied through leaflets and banners. In the SL's view of the united front, this meant the "freedom" of tiny socialist organizations with no mass influence (like the Spartacist League) to insist on having a speaker at every rally, *as a matter of principle*, in order to criticize other participating organizations from the podium.

This latter position, despite its prominence as an excuse for the SL's abstention from the antiwar demonstrations, was not at all clear to the SL's national leadership during this period prior to the first mass national demonstration in Boston on December 14, 1974. From late September through late November the Boston branch of the SL, reinforced by Black members from other cities, threw itself into the work of bringing about a mass demonstration. Every possible trade union, Black organization, tenant group, and student organization was contacted. A small local demonstration of Boston Blacks on October 12 accidentally catapulted Spartacist into the international press when an Associated Press photo featuring Spartacist banners was published throughout the world, including in the major European CP dailies. So the media reward those who know how to make signs and banners; other talents, however, are needed to win authority in the real mass movement.

Not much came of this early work, as the SL had little authority to earn the cooperation of these other organizations. Meanwhile, however, under the sponsorship of Black Democratic State Senator-elect William Owens, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) had quietly put together some 300 endorsements calling for a December 14 "National March and Rally Against Racism" (later titled the "Freedom March for Human Dignity"). For many of us in the Boston SL, this development seemed to be a crystallization of much that we had been working for.

Several days prior to the initial organizing meeting of the "Emergency Mobilization Committee" for December 14, which took place in Boston, I contacted Helene Brosius, the national organization secretary of the SL, to discuss the attitude of the party leadership toward this development. I raised in particular, as I had several times during the previous month, whether we could be part of a united front without having an SL speaker. She responded that in her opinion this was possible. But in the next few days she transmitted nothing to our local concerning the attitude of the national leadership toward the December 14 march.

A month earlier, in the mild euphoria of our work with an emerging coalition of Black student unions, Robertson himself had instructed me to advocate a mass rally in the Boston Garden with Coretta Scott King and the entertainer James Brown. But when the Boston Local executive committee phoned Robertson after attending the initial meeting of the Emergency Committee and advocated endorsement of the December 14 demonstration and participation in the committee, Robertson blasted, "Traitor!" and hung up. He then dispatched the two deputy national chairmen, George Foster and Reuben Samuels,⁷ to Boston to set

5. A phrase of SL Black oppositionist A. Lumumba to describe the independent movement of Blacks for Black rights.

6. James Robertson, March 1975 meeting of the SL Political Bureau. (Notes of author.)

7. Reuben Samuels is a former national secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY), former name of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the SL. Samuels is the author of the RCY's "National Bureau Document on the United Front," RCY Internal Discussion Bulletin, no. 9, July 1973.

matters straight.

(In contrast, the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance went to the meeting of the Emergency Committee and offered to build the student component of the demonstration. This student committee then began to organize a National Teach-in Against Racism for the night prior to December 14. This initiative laid the foundation for the National Student Coalition Against Racism [NSCAR], which up to the present has been the most consistent organizer of the prodesegregation forces.)

In Boston, Foster and Samuels likened the attitude of the local SL leadership in regard to December 14 to that of Stalin's famous "critical support insofar as," extended to the Russian provisional government in March 1917. That was prior to Lenin's return and his April Theses, which reoriented Bolshevik strategy. Their key criticism was that the local leadership had "refused to get us a guarantee in writing for a speaker." "Comrades should want to guard the SL," Foster said. "You wanted to sell our name away. It would have been healthier if comrades had said, 'This [December 14] is shit!'" According to Samuels, "If we don't get a speaker, it's not a united front!" (Notes of author.)

What really motivated the SL national leadership at the time was the factional work they were organizing in the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the French section of the Fourth International, and their efforts to woo the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). In both cases it was crucial for the SL to muddy the name and work of the Socialist Workers party. Critical to this effort was distortion of the SWP's call for "Federal Troops to Boston" to protect the Black schoolchildren from the racist mobs, an issue I will return to later.

In this way the SL reneged on its pledge to "devote all available resources and energy to aid in the building of such a demonstration." The SL marched in its own contingent in the demonstration but did nothing to build it or any of the subsequent mass demonstrations.

A Black comrade, A. Lumumba, who quit the SL six months later, challenging the entire Spartacist theory and record on the Black question, characterized the SL activity in this period as "raising demands, but having no program," i.e., no real program of activity to mobilize the Black community and its allies. (Author's notes.)

Edmund Samarakkody,⁸ leader of the Ceylonese Revolutionary Workers party, who held discussions with the SL in October 1974, at the time when the busing struggle was heating up, criticized the SL for "empty propagandism." (Author's notes.) This criticism, although based on a mere reading of *Workers Vanguard*, hit the mark. Samarakkody saw in the SL's self-characterization and self-conception as a "propaganda group" not the Leninist conception, indicating the SL's limited weight in the working class, but rather a group engaged in "empty propagandism" and revolutionary "phrasemongering," devoid of any real activity.

Rather than seeking to participate in and develop social struggles, the SL saw in mass activity only "popular frontism." For them this was a signal to abstain, and to use a favorite SL quote from Trotsky, "to say what is."

But the SL reserved its version of "what is" to its own Political Bureau meetings. It did not appear in its public press. In March 1975, a meeting of the Political Bureau was held, including Central Committee members and organizers from outside the New York national center, who were convened to decide organizational priorities for the coming period. I gave the report on Boston and advocated an upgrading of our intervention into the busing struggle. This viewpoint turned out to be a minority of one among the national leadership of the party. The view of everyone else was articulated by James Robertson: "Black/Labor Defense is a meaningless slogan in Boston." (This and subsequent quotes from this meeting are from notes of the author.) Robertson said that

Boston had no labor movement; the situation for Blacks was therefore hopeless. Robertson characterized Boston as "America's Eritrea," a statement further elaborated by Reuben Samuels: "Boston is the Israel of America." (Ireland, Israel, and Eritrea are places where the SL has been unable to formulate its program or make its position comprehensible to its membership. Thus these are considered "hopeless" situations by the SL.)

The SL could not conceive of the Black community along with allies, with little or no union support to begin with, organizing to defend itself and carry out desegregation. Robertson's conclusion was that the task of the SL was to organize "the Red Army in Detroit" and come back and "smash the Boston racists." This slogan became the watchword of this Political Bureau meeting, which formalized the liquidation of the SL's Black work in Boston.⁹ "No more Black comrades to Boston," Reuben Samuels stated. He added that the Black comrades would develop better in Los Angeles under a better local leadership and in a city where at that time the strains of the busing struggle did not exist!

And Robertson, forgetting his professed battle in the SWP in the early 1960s to intervene in the Southern civil-rights struggle, concluded, "Let Boston [the Boston local and its Black work] turn slowly in the wind while the ravens pick at its eyes. We have no base there."

This private summation did not appear in *Workers Vanguard*. Instead, the SL struggled, in print, for a "Labor/Black Defense." It attended NSCAR conferences and screamed about the betrayals of the SWP, whose tremendous commitment to the desegregation struggle included the demand for federal troops to protect the lives and rights of the beleaguered Black schoolchildren.

What 'Labor/Black Defense' Meant in Practice

Just as their insistence on the "right" to have a speaker at every rally was used to justify abstention from probusing actions, the Spartacist slogan of "Labor/Black Defense" became a cover for refusal to participate in the *actual* struggle that was going on in Boston.

The SL publicly asserted, in contrast to their private assessment, that the key issue revolutionists had to raise before the labor movement was the need for union-organized defense forces to protect Black children.

But the real issue, and the real debate in the labor movement, was elsewhere. This debate never reached the level of discussing *how* to defend Black schoolchildren: whether by federal troops, labor/Black defense, or Black self-defense. The issue was whether the labor movement ought to support or oppose busing. The issue was for or against desegregation, for or against the rights of Black schoolchildren. Aside from the Meat Cutters, no other union took a public stand in favor of desegregation in Boston. At no time was the call for labor defense squads for Black students anything more than empty sloganeering.

This concrete reality necessarily conditioned a revolutionary program and tactical approach, and by that I mean a program of action. Revolutionary propaganda consists not of sloganeering for a "hopeless" reality, but rather of indicating to the working class and the oppressed the tasks to be carried out. The burning task of the moment was to assemble a coalition of forces capable of building a mass mobilization in support of desegregation and the rights of the Black students. Only the development of such a solidarity movement, in Boston and nationwide, could provide the *basis* for the emergence of significant Black self-defense forces. Only winning the labor movement to *support* the rights of Black schoolchildren could provide the *basis* for labor support to Black self-defense.

This reality was not at all understood by the leaders of the SL. While they admitted privately that "Black/Labor Defense is a

8. Samarakkody, a former member of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, split with the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the FI, in 1968.

9. No formal motion was passed at this meeting which liquidated the work. But the liquidation was implicit in motions transferring some comrades out of Boston. After March 1975, the SL was out of the Black community for good.

meaningless slogan in Boston," this understanding in no way conditioned their tactical approach other than to cause them to abandon the struggle. They did not ask themselves how a "meaningless" slogan could be a slogan of action. In fact, like other Spartacist slogans, it was a cover for *inaction* and opposition to those forces that were in motion around the busing fight.

In the labor movement the SWP fought to get unions on record demanding federal troops to defend the Black schoolchildren.¹⁰ This was counterposed not to union-initiated defense guards, but rather to the union bureaucracy's refusal to call for *any* defense at all of the Black community.

Thus even Spartacist's call to activate the labor movement in defense of Blacks was empty. The struggle first of all had to be a fight to win the labor movement to support desegregation, which, despite the AFL-CIO's formal policy, was the position of no significant local union in Boston. And secondly, the struggle had to be to win the labor unions to the position that Black schoolchildren should be defended. Had the government refused to act in response to demands by labor that the schoolchildren be protected, the basis would then have been laid for a labor component in a Black-built defense.

"Super-Marxists" often recall only Engels and Lenin's dictum that the state, in the last resort, is "special bodies of armed men" and that therefore the police and army are the "arms of the ruling class." They forget that under bourgeois democracy the state also "mediates" and maneuvers between classes and does not massacre Blacks and workers in every circumstance. They also forget that there are tactical differences between sections of the bourgeoisie that revolutionists must exploit. To expose the real essence of "special bodies" and demonstrate the necessity for self-defense by the exploited requires concrete experiences out of which such forces could come into being.

The police siege of the Black housing project at Columbia Point in the fall of 1974, and the random attacks on Blacks in March-April 1976, proved to be such experiences. These led to embryonic, but episodic, Black self-defense formations. These sporadic efforts were focused on defending Black residential areas, at Columbia Point and in parts of Mattapan. They did not focus on the problem of defending the buses carrying Black schoolchildren into the white racist strongholds. The most developed mode of self-defense in this regard came from the organized Black parent volunteers who rode the buses in the hope that their presence would deter the racist attacks.

Despite the SL's claim that the SWP counterposed the demand for federal troops to Black self-defense, the SWP encouraged and supported these steps toward organized self-defense by the Black community against the racist mobs.

Spartacist Against Self-Defense

The Spartacist attitude to the expansion of these developments was that they were "hopeless." The summer 1975 Central Committee plenum of the SL took place the week of the "Black community picnic" at Carson Beach, an action to open up that South Boston public beach to Black citizens. This was one of the tensest periods of the entire busing struggle, just prior to the commencement of the second year of school desegregation. At the plenum I moved that the SL change its central slogan from "Labor/Black Defense" to "Black Self-Defense."

Joseph Seymour, one of the SL's leading theoreticians, spoke of the "adventurism of Black self-defense." (Notes of author.) Seymour could imagine Black self-defense only in the context of "punitive expeditions into white neighborhoods," as an article in *Workers Vanguard* put it two weeks later.¹¹ Seymour's formulations that "Blacks alone cannot do it" inspired WV's conclusion in

the same article that "only the social power of the trade unions and the presence of significant numbers of whites among the defenders provide a means for unlocking the intensifying racial polarization confronting Boston's black people."¹²

The spirit of "only through the labor movement" and hostility to struggle by "Blacks for Blacks" was reflected in the same issue of WV through headlines such as "Black Youths Riot Against Detroit Cops" (my emphasis—B.P.) and "Boston on the Brink of Race War" (my emphasis—B.P.).¹³ Also notable was *Young Spartacus's* characterization of the white racist assault on Blacks during the Carson Beach demonstration as a "race riot" (*Young Spartacus*, no. 35, September 1975.) The protests of Blacks against their oppression and against white *pogromist* activity were transformed by the SL into "race riots."

Was the Call for Federal Troops Unprincipled?

Disappointed by the labor movement's failure to answer its call to lead the desegregation movement and the defense of the Black schoolchildren, the SL packed its bags and left the "hopeless" struggle, content that it still had a role to play, denouncing, in print, the demand for federal troops raised by Black community leaders and supported by the SWP. But was the call for federal troops unprincipled? And was it counterposed, in reality, to the emergence of Black self-defense forces?

First, the demand for federal troops was a demand that the troops go into the *racist strongholds* to protect the buses carrying Black schoolchildren. Thus it was a demand on the federal government to *enforce* its own laws against school segregation, a law revolutionists support. Is it not inconsistent to support a law and its enforcement by the courts and the politicians and then not support its enforcement by the capitalist state's armed power when local elements of the bourgeoisie refuse to implement the law and allow the racists to resist it? Sectarians argue that enforcement by "the armed bodies" of the state is unprincipled and builds illusions. They are thus seen by the oppressed as radical dilettantes.

But does it not build illusions? In fact, the same argument can be applied to the democratic rights embodied in certain laws themselves, which surely do develop illusions. But that is no reason not to support such laws and their enforcement. Breaking the masses' illusions requires the experience by millions that the capitalist class will not grant their rights, and the dialectical development of independent action by the masses. The Spartacist League misses both these elements, refusing to go through that experience with the masses and refusing to build the mass solidarity movement for the rights of Blacks. Because of this, when motion toward self-defense did arise temporarily in March-April 1976, the SL was long gone from the Black community and the desegregation struggle.

In practice, during the entire period of the desegregation struggle, the call for federal troops was never counterposed to self-defense efforts. But the call for federal troops was counterposed, effectively in practice, to government inaction in stopping the

10. See, for instance, the account of the 1976 American Federation of Teachers convention in the *Militant*, September 10, 1976.

11. *Workers Vanguard*, no. 75, August 29, 1975.

12. Contrast Spartacist's conception of labor leading the Black struggle to SWP leader Jack Barnes's "Political Report to the February 1970 Plenum of the National Committee of the SWP" (*Towards an American Socialist Revolution* [New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971], p. 197.) Commenting on the ruling class's attempt to slow down a radicalization of the masses, Barnes said: "... something quite different results from the ruling class's attempt to use racism to reverse the radicalization. The example of struggle of those who are racially discriminated against tends to reverse the racist attitudes that exist in other sectors of the mass movement. The original racism can be turned around into an attitude of cautious respect, and then emulation."

13. These headlines were immediately condemned by the executive committee of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) for their "race-neutral" quality. The SL/US leadership, which comprises the iSt executive committee, first educated the SL/US comrades in the "race-neutral" spirit of the "hopelessness" of Black self-defense, then condemned their students for learning their lessons too well.

racists. In the labor movement it was counterposed to total labor inaction and failure to support the defense of the Black schoolchildren, by even the government. The demand was thus an effective instrument for building a mass solidarity movement in support of desegregation. In practice, the two slogans were complementary.

Spartacist and the Black Struggle

According to the main political document of the SL's 1974 National Conference, the SL "has been able to carry out most of the tasks set out in the 1971 "Transformation Memorandum,"¹⁴ but "our most singular exception over the past period has been our inability to acquire a black cadre." The document theorized that "the coming period promises to provide much more favorable conditions for the struggle of the SL to acquire a black cadre."

With the desegregation struggle, such conditions were riper than even the writers of the document hoped for. But these opportunities led not to the furtherance of SL Black work, but to its liquidation. Work in the Boston busing struggle was abandoned and vital Black cadres resigned or became demoralized. The leadership admitted that the National Consultative Fraction on Black Work was essentially dormant. Additionally, over the past period Spartacist has been unable to complete and publish Marxist Bulletin no. 5 (Revised), the long-promised revision of its fundamental theory on the Black question.

A. Lumumba, the leading Black SL cadre in Boston, who waged a political battle against Spartacist theory on the Black question,¹⁵ characterized the SL's Black work as "you fight nationalism, not racism." According to a *Young Spartacus* article, "Black nationalism is largely a negative response to the failure of the organized workers movement with its immense social power, to intervene in behalf of the black masses."¹⁶ But why negative? The struggle of "Blacks for Blacks" had profound material roots: the expulsion of the Southern Black peasantry, urban migration North and South, the rapid growth of the Black working class, and a large measure of labor movement passivity toward the struggle for Black rights. How could revolutionists characterize this Black radicalization as anything but a positive development?

From the rise of the civil-rights movement to the present, the central problem for revolutionists has been how to promote the struggle for Black rights given the fact that the labor bureaucracy has defaulted not only vis-à-vis that struggle but also vis-à-vis its own membership.

This was not always the case. In the 1940s there were notable instances of labor support to the Black struggle, such as the struggle for the Sojourner Truth Housing Project in Detroit in 1943. Nevertheless, the central question was the same: "What is the relationship of the independent Negro mass movement to the organized labor movement?"¹⁷

Unlike the SWP, Spartacist developed a "laborist" notion of the Black struggle. In theory, the SL recognizes the special oppression of Blacks; but in practice it doesn't.

During the rise of the Southern struggle for civil rights in 1966, Blacks in Lowndes County, Alabama, formed an independent

Black party, called the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, and adopted the symbol of the Black Panther. Spartacist, despite noting that this was a "step forward," insisted that "the perspective of the Black Panther Party for a federation of county-wide parties must be replaced by a perspective for a South-wide Freedom Labor Party. . . . Only by the development of a working-class program and by explicitly opening the door to support by white workers can real political independence be maintained, real gains won and the basis laid for eventual working-class political unity."¹⁸

Southern labor at this time was totally uninterested in such an idea; in large measure it was in the other camp. Spartacist's real intention in this proposal was to oppose the development of independent Black political action. To this *real* trend they counterposed an orientation that had no practical potential, a method typical of sectarians.

In the summer of 1974, in response to the murder by Boston police of two Black men, James Wilds and Walter Robey, the Spartacist League wrote: "It is only racially united labor action that can put an end to police terror because it is only the labor movement that can uncompromisingly defend the democratic rights of working people and all the oppressed, including the right to bear arms."¹⁹

The SL proposed to the People's Coalition Against Police Brutality in Roxbury, an all-Black Boston group formed to politically fight the wave of cop terror, that the "main active orientation of the committee be toward the mobilizing of active union support" around two demands. The two proposed demands were "The Murderers of Wilds and Robey Be Arrested and Tried" and "Disarm the Cops."²⁰

That such an orientation seems bizarre to the activists of the Black movement who have yet to receive a single offer of organized labor support for their struggle is a secondary point. The crux of the Spartacist method was abstract propaganda for something that could only be hoped for in the future, i.e. a "Red Army in Detroit," not propaganda for a program of action *today*, based on a serious appraisal of the forces at hand.

For the Spartacist League, despite theoretical posturing, there is no *relationship* between the "independent Negro mass movement" and the "organized labor movement," to use J. Meyer's terms. There is only the dissolving of "black" struggle into "class struggle," the transcendence of the specific course of development of the American social revolution by the theoretical beauty of "racially united labor action."

Spartacist's precursor, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, charged in 1963 that the SWP majority's support for Black nationalism constituted a radical departure from previous party resolutions. In particular the RT claimed to stand on the 1948 party resolution.

But J. Meyer (C.L.R. James), the reporter at the SWP's thirteenth national convention in 1948, differentiated the SWP's attitude from that of the current SL:

The proletariat, as we know, must lead the struggles of all the oppressed and all those who are persecuted by capitalism. But this has been interpreted in the past—and by some very good socialists too—in the following sense: The independent struggles of the Negro people have not got much more than an episodic value, and as a matter of fact, can constitute a great danger not only to the Negroes themselves, but to the organized labor movement. The real leadership of the Negro struggle must rest in the hands of organized labor and of the Marxist party. Without that the Negro struggle is not only weak, but is likely to cause difficulties for the Negroes and dangers to organized labor.²¹

The SWP, a party that was immersed in the Black struggle of the 1940's and that had recruited hundreds of Blacks in the

14. Memorandum to the Central Committee on the Transformation of the SL by the PB, August 23, 1971, in SL Internal Bulletin, no. 15, August 1972.

15. Lumumba, who was slated to head the national Black fraction, based his opposition on Trotsky's writings on Black nationalism. As part of its liquidation of Boston work, the SL wanted to transfer Lumumba out of work in the Boston Black community into trade-union work in the maritime industry. Lumumba maintained that "Boston is a principled question for me." He resigned from the SL in June 1975. He is now a leader of the Dorchester Black Panthers in Boston.

16. *Young Spartacus*, no. 32, May 1975.

17. J. Meyer (C.L.R. James), "The Revolutionary Answer to the Negro Problem in U.S.," July 1948, printed in *Fourth International*, December 1948.

18. "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom," *Spartacist*, May-June 1967.

19. *Workers Vanguard*, no. 50, August 2, 1974.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Meyer, "The Revolutionary Answer to the Negro Problem in U.S."

preceding period, had, according to Meyer, an entirely different estimate of the "Negro struggle":

We say, number 1, that the Negro struggle, the independent Negro struggle, has a vitality and a validity of its own; that it has deep historic roots in the past of America and in present struggles; it has an organic political perspective, along which it is traveling, to one degree or another, and everything shows that at the present time it is traveling with great speed and vigor.

We say, number 2, that this independent Negro movement is able to intervene with terrific force upon the general social and political life of the nation, despite the fact that it is waged under the banner of democratic rights, and is not led necessarily either by the organized labor movement or the Marxist party.

We say, number 3, and this is the most important, that it is able to exercise a powerful influence upon the revolutionary proletariat, that it has got a great contribution to make to the development of the proletariat in the United States, and that it is *in itself a constituent part* [my emphasis—B.P.] of the struggle for socialism.

In this way we challenge directly any attempt to subordinate or to push to the rear the social and political significance of the independent Negro struggle for democratic rights.

The SL is typical of the socialists referred to by Meyer as those seeing in the "independent Negro mass movement" a danger "to the Negroes themselves" and "to the organized labor movement." Not that the SL is the ideological heir of these earlier socialists but rather that the SL has been forged in the context of a labor-movement default in respect to the Black struggle and SL isolation from the mass struggles of Blacks. From this isolation arose their disparagement of the growth of nationalist consciousness among Blacks in the early 1960s.

Their only document relating to the SWP discussion on the Black struggle in 1963, "For Black Trotskyism," written by James Robertson and Shirley Stoute, states that "Negro Nationalism in ideology and origins is somewhat akin to Zionism as it was from the turn of the century until the Second World War. The large Negro ghettos of the Northern cities are the breeding grounds for this ideology among a layer of petit-bourgeois or declassed elements who vicariously imagine that segregated residential areas can be the germ sources for a new state in which *they* will exploit ('give jobs to') Black workers."²³

As its fundamental document on the Black question, the early SL published R.S. Fraser's (Kirk) "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question" (August 1955).²⁴ While appreciating the independent thrust of the "Negro movement" much more than the SL ever did later, it ends up equating self-determination with segregation:

To propose to the mass workers and Negroes the idea of self-determination would be wrong. For the decisive fact in the acceptance of white supremacy is the acceptance of segregation. *The slogan of self-determination requires the desire for segregation as its foundation.* [Emphasis in original, p. 22.]

Given this formula, Spartacist could hardly understand any of the developments in the Black struggle that appeared in the 1960s and 1970s in which Black nationalists spurred a struggle for equality. The SL leadership privately characterizes the struggle for "community control" as a "Bantustan" policy. However, the latter is the program of the oppressor South African state to deprive Blacks of democratic rights in their townships (ghettos), while the former represents a struggle for democracy by Blacks where they are.

The SWP appraised this motion differently. Its orientation, as explained in the 1963 resolution, "Freedom Now,"²⁵ written by

George Breitman, armed the party for work in the independent Black movement, particularly in the struggles to organize prodesegregation forces in the Black community and in the unions starting in 1974. The resolution stated:

... the intensification of separatist moods among Negroes in the Northern cities expresses a rejection of American class society from top to bottom and a strong desire to break free from the evils of that society. It is their verdict that the present "American Way of Life" has nothing worthwhile to offer Negroes. In the absence of a *revolutionary labor movement or powerful socialist vanguard* [my emphasis—B.P.], the radicalism of the Northern ghetto masses flows through channels of race-consciousness, repudiating U.S. society as the white man's world.

The task of the "Negro struggle" is the following:

... the mobilization and unification of the Negro masses in an independent movement to fight for their equality—an indispensable condition for an eventual revolutionary alliance of the working class and the Negro people. Negro nationalism is progressive because it contributes to the creation of such an independent Negro movement. It will remain progressive as long as it fulfills that function, whether the struggle be fought along integrationist or separatist lines.

And finally, concerning the relationship with the labor movement:

Correctly appraised, the independent course of the Negro movement, and even its essentially nationalist aspects, does not signify a permanent and principled repudiation of a labor-Negro alliance. What militant Negroes object to is any alliance based on subordination or gradualism in which Negroes are merely a junior partner supplying manpower but having little to say about the policies and tempo pursued by the team. What they want is an alliance that will include *Freedom Now* as one of its main demands and in which the Negroes will have an equal voice in setting policy.

The key test of any theory is its practical application. Despite the SL's commitment to wage a struggle against the "special oppression" of Blacks, its insistence that the struggle could only be waged by "racially united labor action" has meant, in the civil-rights movement and in the desegregation struggle, a complete abstention from practical struggle by the Black community for equality. Spartacist propaganda (injunctions) to form "Labor-Black Defense," a "Freedom-Labor Party," or "racially united labor action to stop cop terror" has been little more than ink on a printed page, not representing a program of action but merely dreams of how socialist intellectuals would like the class struggle to be.

But one cannot dream up the march of the class struggle; it must be organized, as it arises in real life, taking into account the specific history, conditions, and forces of a given society. The real class struggle is a severe examiner; it punishes those who engage only in play-acting and empty propagandism. Spartacist admits it has failed to accumulate and train a Black cadre. After two and a half years of the desegregation struggle, its "Black work" lies in shambles, its key Black cadres have either quit or become inactive, its National Consultative Fraction on Black Work has ceased to function, and the Spartacist League and the Spartacist Youth League have failed to grow and have even lost membership over this period. Thus the class struggle condemns those sects that are unable to recognize and organize the real forces set in motion against capitalist society.

A fledgling socialist organization may be founded on theoretical principles with sectarian implications. This was the case with the Spartacist League on both the Black question and the issue of the defense of the Cuban revolution. Spartacist has existed as an organized American tendency for more than a decade, and has recently become an international tendency. By examining its activity over that period, a balance sheet can be drawn. Its conduct in the desegregation struggle was no exception or accident. For a long time the Spartacist League has been characterized by systematic abstention from all important political motion in the United States, as we propose to show.

[Next: *Abstention—or How to Leave the Opportunities to Others.*]

22. Ibid.

23. SWP Discussion Bulletin, vol. 24, no. 30, July 1963.

24. Originally published as SWP Discussion Bulletin A-30, August 1955.

25. *International Socialist Review*, vol. 24, no. 4, Fall 1963.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Recycled Paper in the White House—

Taconite Wastes in Lake Superior

Jimmy Carter sent a "message on the environment" to Congress on May 23. Billed as "the sharpest shift in national policy on environmental matters since Theodore Roosevelt," the program actually contains little more than pledges to enforce environmental protection laws that are already on the books.

The message was laced with phrases like "coordinated attack," "effective implementation," and "improved protection"—capped off with a vow to "squarely face emerging environmental problems so that they can be dealt with effectively without an atmosphere of crisis."

Carter promised that laws protecting the health of industrial workers would be enforced "without repeating the excesses of the past." An effort is to be made to "exclude [toxic] chemicals from our environment." The "best available technology" will be required (in 1983) to control industrial water pollution. The "study of economic incentives to encourage recycling" is to be "accelerated." (Demonstrating his seriousness about this, Carter said the White House would begin using recycled paper.)

The president asked Congress to tighten up the clean-water laws by imposing fines on industrial polluters who don't meet the standards. This would "make pollution unprofitable as well as illegal," he said.

Carter also proposed a number of steps to increase the amount of land set aside under various federal programs for national parks, wilderness areas, scenic trails, and so on. Much of this would involve the state of Alaska, where Carter said he wants to "conserve large unspoiled areas of the American wilderness."

News reports indicated that most U.S. environmental organizations were quite pleased with Carter's message. Peter Harnik of Environmental Action called it "a breeze of fresh air after an eight-year pollution alert."

The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* applauded "the President's conviction that the environment and the economy can flourish together. . . ." They cited approvingly a sentence from a Carter campaign speech: "This is no time . . . to yield in any possible measure to the devastation or deterioration of the quality of our lives or our environment."

But in practice Carter has already yielded a great deal. In previous issues of *Intercontinental Press* we have taken up the adverse effects his efforts to step up the use of coal and nuclear power will have on the environment. (See "Carter's 'Last Resort'—More Nuclear Plants," May 2, p. 488; and "Carter's Coal Plans—More Environmental Damage," May 9, p. 526.)

How the Carter administration actually behaves when faced with a choice between the demands of big business and the needs of public health and the environment was shown in two decisions made a few days before the environment message went to Congress.

On May 19, Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus announced that his department would make no effort to stop construction of a nuclear power plant next to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore at the southern end of Lake Michigan.

This park is only five miles from Gary, Indiana, and thirty miles from Chicago. Andrus's predecessor, Thomas Kleppe, had called the siting of the nuclear station "most inappropriate," noting in particular the "visual impact and aesthetic intrusion" of the plant's 450-foot-high cooling towers, and the acid air pollution these towers will cause.

A U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago had indicated that it might order the withdrawal of the plant's license if the Interior Department intervened. In declining to do so, Andrus said: "We would have been better off if the plant had not been licensed. But the company has spent \$80 million."

This decision contrasts sharply with Carter's pledge in his energy program to "prevent siting [nuclear plants] in densely populated areas, . . . or valuable natural areas." (Gary, Indiana, has a population of 175,000.)

On May 21 officials of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Justice Department said they would not try to enforce a July 7 deadline on the dumping of taconite wastes into Lake Superior by the Reserve Mining Company.

Taconite is a byproduct of iron-ore processing. Inhalation or ingestion of microscopic taconite fibers greatly increases the risk of lung and stomach cancer. Reserve Mining has been dumping

67,000 tons of taconite wastes *daily* into Lake Superior for more than twenty years.

Environmentalists and residents of communities that draw their drinking water from the lake have been trying to halt these discharges since 1963. Last July a federal court gave the company one year to halt the dumping and construct a disposal facility several miles inland. Reserve grudgingly agreed to do so, but it now claims that its pollution of the lake must continue for three more years while the facility is being built.

Verna Miza, a leader of the citizens movement to stop the taconite dumping, called the EPA and Justice Department decisions not to enforce the deadline "a total sell-out." They demonstrated in advance the sincerity of Carter's vow in his message to Congress that "our primary objective must be to prevent [toxic substances] from entering the environment at all."

Safeguards Urged for Australian Uranium Mining

The Fox Commission, appointed by the Australian government in 1975 to study development of the country's vast uranium deposits, issued its final report May 25.

The Commission recommended that mining of uranium in Arnhem Land in northwestern Australia proceed only if the "best environmental protection technology available anywhere in the world" is employed. It also urged adoption of measures to protect the interests of the 600 surviving Black aborigines who live in the area and consider it sacred land. Establishment of a large national park surrounding the mining area and controlled jointly by the government and aboriginal councils was proposed.

The commission did not give approval of immediate development of all Australian uranium reserves, however. The report said mining in other areas should proceed in sequence, rather than simultaneously, with that in Arnhem Land. And it proposed a separate environmental study regarding the Jabiluka deposit, reportedly the world's largest.

The Fraser government disregarded a preliminary recommendation for a moratorium on uranium exports made by the Fox Commission last October. But a May 16



dispatch to the *New York Times* reports, "Some Australians believe that if Mr. Fraser goes ahead with uranium mining, the resulting protest could become a major issue for dissident groups here that have been somewhat rudderless since the end of the Vietnam War." A Uranium Moratorium campaign to stop the mining has already organized demonstrations of up to 12,000 persons, supported by Labor party organizations and many trade unions. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 2, p. 489.)

Mounting Attack on Clean Air Laws

In 1970 the U.S. Congress adopted a law called the Clean Air Act. Although inadequately enforced, it has had the effect of slowing down a rise in air pollution that had been accelerating up to 1970. Concentrations of one major pollutant, carbon monoxide, have actually been reduced. Nevertheless, 29 of the 250 "air quality regions" established in the law still do not meet the federal standards. These regions include most major urban areas and have a population of 50 million persons.

Congress began considering amendments to the 1970 law earlier this year. In late May the House of Representatives adopted two amendments that could reverse the progress so far achieved under the Clean Air Act.

On May 25 proposals were passed to allow new industrial plants built in areas with "pristine" air to violate federal standards for up to eighteen days in a year. Since average pollution levels will thus be raised, such a loophole could mean polluted air for many more days.

The amendment will allow coal-fired power plants to be built immediately next to national parks. In particular, it gives the go-ahead for construction of the Intermountain Power Project in Utah, a \$4 billion plant sited next to Capitol Reef National Park and within pollution range of Grand Canyon, Bryce Canyon, and several other parks. "If this amendment is adopted it will be difficult to tell which of our mountain ranges should be called the Great Smokies," said one representative.

The 1970 law also set standards for sharp reductions in automobile emissions. Detroit was to have met these rules by 1975, but waivers have been granted several times since then by Congress and the Environmental Protection Agency, based on auto industry claims that necessary technology had not yet been developed. The industry has been able to produce cars to meet stricter standards set by the state of California, however.

This year, the Carter administration sought to postpone the federal standards again, as well as to weaken them somewhat. But the House adopted amendments on May 26 that loosened and delayed the controls even more than Carter had proposed.

The changes were the result of an



Herblock/Washington Post

intense lobbying effort by car manufacturers and dealers, and, unfortunately, the leadership of the United Automobile Workers. The union bureaucracy refuses to fight threats from Detroit that tighter auto pollution controls would mean the loss of jobs.

Following adoption of the amendment by a vote of 326 to 49, the National Clean Air Coalition issued a statement saying: "The House today has chosen to protect the \$4-billion-a-year profits of the American automobile industry rather than the lungs of the American people."

British Victim Calls Concorde 'An Environmental Disaster'

An appeals court agreed May 25 to allow the New York Port Authority to keep the Concorde supersonic jet out of Kennedy airport until at least June 1. On that day three judges will hear the Port Authority's appeal of District Judge Milton Pollack's ruling overturning the ban on the plane (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 23, p. 566).

The Emergency Coalition to Stop the SST and the SST Concorde Alert Program announced May 24 that they will not organize any more traffic slowdowns at Kennedy. Instead, the groups' leaders said, they will concentrate on "intensified legal and political action." Other Concorde opponents, however, have suggested that the tie-ups might be extended to LaGuardia, New York's other major airport.

The Concorde completed one year of flights into Dulles airport near Washington, D.C., on May 24. The Federal Aviation Administration announced that over the year, Concorde takeoff noise levels averaged 119.4 decibels, about twice as loud as any other plane tested. This is far in excess of the 112-decibel noise limit set by the Port Authority for Kennedy airport, a regulation that was effectively set aside

by Judge Pollack's ruling.

A British victim of the Concorde registered an opinion on Pollack's decision in a May 12 letter to the editor of the *New York Times* (published May 24). I. Partington of Sessay, England, wrote:

"The recent Concorde ruling . . . is a blow not just to New Yorkers but also to many British people. . . .

"The facts—none of which are disputed by those who support Concorde—are simply that even with the most wildly optimistic sales forecast Concorde will sustain an enormous overall loss (the £1.5 billion development costs have already been written off). As well as this, Concorde is an environmental disaster, gulping vast quantities of fuel and failing totally to meet the noise-level requirements.

"May I appeal to the people of New York to forgive the British for the events of the 1770's and save us? A 'no' by New York means the end of Concorde and considerable benefit to many communities around the world."

U.S. Steel Hit for Water, Air Pollution

A federal appeals court in Chicago has ordered the United States Steel Corporation to sharply reduce the discharge of pollutants from its Gary, Indiana, plant into Lake Michigan. The court upheld a 1974 order by the Environmental Protection Agency demanding that the plant's daily flow of 75 million gallons of polluted water into the lake be cut. This discharge includes 6,000 pounds of ammonia and 7,000 pounds of cyanide each day.

U.S. Steel is expected to appeal again, this time to the Supreme Court. The corporation claims that cost and technological problems will make it impossible to comply with the ruling for four more years.

Meanwhile, U.S. Steel's South Works plant in Chicago has come under the EPA's fire for dust emissions there. The agency is threatening to put South Works on its "list of violating facilities." Such plants aren't allowed to sell directly to the U.S. government or participate in federal projects. (Kaiser Steel in California recently agreed to spend more than \$15 million to curb smoke pollution at one of its mills in order to stay off this list.)

Japan: Rising Opposition to A-Plants

The latest government survey shows an increase in Japan's "nuclear allergy," *New Asia News* reported from Tokyo May 20.

A Cabinet Information Office poll in April indicated that of the 5,000 persons questioned, 49 percent opposed the construction of nuclear power plants near their homes, with 21 percent saying they would not mind.

Among those questioned the previous year, 46 percent were opposed to nuclear power plants while 24 percent favored them.

Selections From the Left

COMBAT SOCIALISTE

"*Socialist Fight*," twice-monthly publication of the *Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire of Québec*, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Published in Montréal.

The editorial in the May 9 issue comments on the upcoming congress of the Parti Québécois, the bourgeois nationalist party that recently gained control of the government of Québec province.

"Already many disillusioned and uneasy PQ activists are demanding an accounting. What about [PQ leader René Lévesque's] trip to New York [where he tried to sell the idea of an independent Québec to U.S. big business], what about the anti-working-class Parizeau budget? It seems that 'sound finances' are a step on the road to independence! And where is the PQ's so-called prejudice in favor of the workers, when it does something that even the Bourassa government [the ousted pro-Canadian Liberal regime] did not dare to do—abolish the right to strike in the hospitals? . . .

"In the ranks, among those who have fought for the party, doubt has set in. And what about independence? Nothing is clear on this point. They are talking about more and more stages, elections, a referendum. They are dragging out the old formulas about 'sovereignty plus association with Canada.' Nonetheless, the PQ continues to grow. A recent poll showed that 51 percent of those responding said that they would vote for the PQ in the next elections. The slickness of the PQ politicians has a lot to do with this. Issuing the charter on the use of the French language at the same time the Parizeau budget was presented got people to swallow this bitter pill. . . .

"Despite this political impasse, we are seeing more and more the formation of an important layer of activists who are not interested in the PQ verbiage. Some 1,500 persons came out April 2 for free abortion on demand . . . 600 against school cutbacks . . . and, finally, more than 10,000 workers on May 1 in Montréal.

"These workers, these women in struggle, these students resisting cutbacks, have shown concretely in action that only struggle pays, that nothing can be expected from the PQ promises."

The editorial answered the question, "What is to be done?" as follows:

"Fight, trust only in our own strength. Expose the PQ's so-called prejudice in favor of the workers. Fight the illusions in the PQ everywhere, even if you have to go against the stream. Explain patiently that the PQ is a bourgeois, that is, a capitalist

party. It has never fought and it will never fight for real independence, independence for and by the workers, socialist independence, the establishment of a Québec workers republic."

SIYASAT-I-PAKISTAN

"*Politics of Pakistan*," an English-language monthly published in London.

The first issue, dated April 1977, focuses on the recent Pakistani elections and the mass protests against the Bhutto regime.

The objective of *Siyasat-i-Pakistan*, the magazine states, is to "give an opportunity to various schools of Socialist thought at all intellectual levels to come forward and to express themselves through our pages, raise the political consciousness of the citizens of Pakistan and help them carry out the Socialist Revolution in the country."

In an analysis of the current situation in Pakistan, M. Naimullah explains the background of the Bhutto regime, which came to power in 1971. "Instead of democracy," Naimullah writes, "the Prime Minister imposed dictatorship on the country, banned all political and non-political journals and newspapers critical of his actions, dismissed the elected government of Baluchistan and arrested hundreds of political leaders throughout the country.

"Instead of Socialism the Prime Minister threw open the country to the foreign capitalists, especially the Arab-Iranian Petro capitalists and ushered in the era of Bureaucrat-Capitalism.

"The Prime Minister did not provide the promised housing, clothing and food to the industrial workers. Instead, he ordered the police to kill hundreds of workers in cold blood, arrest and torture their leaders and thus kill the germs of Socialism in infancy."

In addition to Bhutto's Pakistan People's party, Naimullah also raises criticisms of the major opposition parties, the Pakistan National Alliance and the banned National Awami party: "We find that all these Parties are dominated by the rich and prosperous people, either mill owners, traders, smugglers and black marketeers or feudal lords and the like."

Naimullah concludes: "Gradually but surely, the masses will come to the conclusion that they must emancipate themselves by their own organizations and by their own efforts.

"If our masses can grasp this basic lesson then Election 77 will go down in our history as a landmark."

Siyasat-i-Pakistan also appeals for protests against Bhutto's repression:

"Today, the whole country is in the grip of terror. Those who aspired to overthrow the tyranny of Pakistan Peoples Party with the help of the ballot box are being annihilated by the private army of the Peoples Party, aided and abetted by the Federal Security Forces.

"We appeal to Pakistanis and to the World organisations to raise their voice against crimes and barbarities being committed at this very moment by the illegal and unlawful regime of Islamabad against Pakistani masses."

was tun

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

At the end of April, the German Social Democratic party leadership suspended the newly elected chairman of its youth affiliate, the Young Socialists. The youth chairman, Klaus Uwe Benneter, was charged with favoring united action with the Communist party. He was also criticized for referring to the main bourgeois party, the Christian Democrats, as "the class enemy."

The May 12 issue of *Was Tun* comments on the response of the Young Socialists to the suspension of Benneter:

"The Young Socialists' campaign in defense of their chairman Benneter has gone forward despite massive opposition from the party. Barely two weeks have passed since he was suspended and there is hardly a lower body of the Young Socialists that has not demanded that the measure be immediately rescinded. However, while this type of opposition might be expected and tolerated by the party leadership, the Baden-Württemberg Young Socialists have gone a step beyond this. Defying the orders of the SP state leadership, they held a public meeting for Benneter in Stuttgart. After this, the state and Stuttgart city organizations were suspended.

"Nonetheless, the party leadership is trying to maintain the course it set previously. The conflict is to be limited to Benneter. By this example, the Young Socialists are to be made to stay within the limits set by the party leadership. But an open confrontation, involving the danger of a split, is to be avoided. . . .

"But this course of the party leadership has been threatened by the Stuttgart events. Seven other local organizations of the Young Socialists in Baden-Württemberg have responded to the party's action by inviting Benneter to speak, and according to an announcement in the May 7 *UZ* [the CP paper], solidarity meetings are being prepared in Essen and

Düsseldorf.

"The party leadership has already begun disciplinary proceedings not only in Stuttgart, but also in Aachen, Karlsruhe and south Bavaria, Young Socialists are to be expelled. So, this conflict is bound to spread in a party that was already in the grip of a crisis."

An Phoblacht

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

The May 18 issue comments on a meeting in Dublin on human rights in Eastern Europe, organized by the Trinity College Young Socialists, a Trotskyist group. The speakers were Edmund Baluka, an exiled leader of the 1970 port workers' strike in Poland; and Jan Kavan, a leader of the Czechoslovak student movement during the Prague Spring. The article begins with a quotation from a Russian dissident poet:

"... Whatever the dirty wall I lean on,
"I will continue to sing and sing again
"Because I hate prisons whatever name they have

"Whatever they be
"In Santiago or Haifa
"or in Moscow—my hometown."

Nekipolov, USSR, poet of the resistance, surely speaks for all of us. Republicans need no reminding of what prisons are, in or near their hometown. . . .

Polish trade unionist Edmund Baluka explained that the Eastern bloc states are not Socialist but consist of a new form of state capitalism ruled by bureaucracies, not for the benefit of ordinary people. . . .

Baluka rejects a return to Western-style private ownership but believes that the future lies in the development of a genuine worker-participation democracy, to which the Strike Committee pointed the way.

Jan Kavan . . . spoke of the treatment of political prisoners in his country. . . .

Movingly, he expressed his support for the [Provisional republican] Portlaoise hunger-strikers: their struggle and ours were for the same end, human dignity, he said. . . .

Kavan also made it clear that this [opposition movement in East Europe] is no comfort at all to Western capitalism, which he finds even more unacceptable [than the rule of the bureaucracy].

He looks to a genuine grass-roots socialism, as does Baluka. . . .

The greatest help we can give to Czech and other radical dissidents is to "create a genuine socialist society in our own country."

That would mark the beginning of the end for tyrannical regimes everywhere. The struggle for a just society with human rights and dignity can have no frontiers.

Internationalen

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

The May 13 issue reports on the student union elections at the university of Umea, in the far north of Sweden:

This year's student union elections took place in the shadow of the campaign against the police occupation of Alidhem. [Alidhem is the site of a forest grove playground slated for destruction to make way for a school; young children drove away the construction team with snowballs, and police were brought in to keep the children and other protesters away. This case touched off some large mobilizations in defense of the environment.]

After a lackluster election debate on April 19, attended by half the usual number of persons, the vote was held on April 21. The low participation, only about 40% of last year's, indicates partly the low level of activity among the students and partly mistrust of student union politics. Despite this, the majority voted once again for the parties that claim to be socialist. The VPK [Left party of Communists, a Euro-Communist party whose old-line Stalinist faction split at the end of February] went from 8% to 32%. The Socialist party, which has a marked left look in Umea, maintained its vote around 15%. The Workers Communist League vote dropped from 9% to about 7%.

The self-proclaimed bourgeois parties with the same initials as those in the present government, dropped from 38% to 36%. . . . *Clarté* [the main Maoist group] dropped sharply from about 12% to about 8%.

A clearly growing tendency among the Umea students has been to vote for parties on the basis of purely student questions—instead of on the basis of national political questions that go beyond the narrow campus milieu. The struggle around Alidhem and the bourgeois government's policy has helped to increase the support for the VPK.

By dumping Stalin and Moscow on the shoulders of the Communist Workers party [the old-line Stalinist splitters], the VPK gained respectability. On the ideological level, it appeared attractive for the stray Maoists and probably for a section that previously voted for the Communist Workers League.

We in the Communist Workers League see our relative setback as a challenge to develop Trotskyist politics among the student population. In order to build and defend the student movement against the assault of the bourgeois government . . . a different kind of basis and organizational forms are needed than the passive yearly elections in parliamentary student assemblies.

FORWARD

Revolutionary socialist newspaper. Published monthly in Kingston, Jamaica, by the Revolutionary Marxist League.

The May issue features an analysis of the Manley government's Emergency Production Plan, which is described as "the latest example of the PNP [People's National party] Government's anti-working-class policies."

Jamaican capitalism is undergoing a severe crisis, the article points out, and in an attempt to solve it, "In 1976 the government put on a \$10 wage freeze. Then they put on a further six-month wage freeze this January. Now Manley has

announced in his Production Plan speech that workers will suffer more wage curbs in order that the Plan will work."

Cooperating in this plan "to forcefully cut workers' pay packets" are the trade-union bureaucrats, who "have all along supported the wage restrictions, despite resistance from the workers they claim to represent."

Another aspect of the Emergency Production Plan is the call for increased production.

"Supposedly the drive for increased production is to take advantage of new marketing opportunities abroad," the article says.

However, it notes, "the Jamaican economy is so organized that it produces very little export manufactures."

On the land question, Manley announced that the plan provided for 36,000 acres to be leased to 10,000 farmers during 1977.

"This means that from the start of the PNP's 'land reform' programme to the end of 1977, 79,000 acres of land will have been leased to 33,000 small farmers. But this is a mere drop in the bucket.

"A large percentage of the land is still idle. At the same time more than 45% of the 1.5 million acres of farm land is still owned by less than 10% of the farmers in Jamaica. Manley made it plain that the PNP government does not intend to touch these few big landowners."

To counteract Manley's plan, *Forward* states, "Workers and oppressed must make their own move"; they must organize to take control of their country and its economy and bring about a socialist transformation of Jamaica.

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Socialist Workers party.

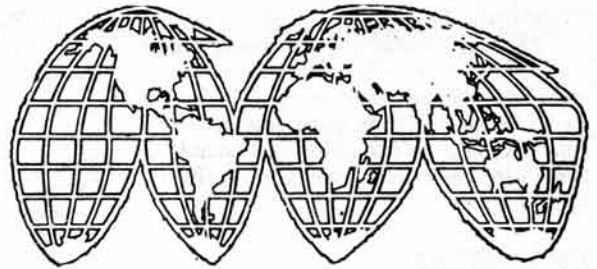
Smog blankets the air above Australia's largest city to such an extent that "on sunny days Sydney air is among the world's worst," Mary Rabbone reports in the May 19 issue.

"The number of days on which smog concentrations over Sydney have exceeded the World Health Organisation standards has more than doubled in the last two years. In 1976 Sydney experienced 129 such days. That is, Sydney residents are living in an environment which necessitates that they breathe killer air in one in every three days!"

Smog is the most serious pollution threat facing the city, Rabbone reports. Although about 80 percent of the smog is caused by exhaust emissions from cars, "the Fraser Government recently moved to drop proposed tougher restrictions on car and truck exhaust emissions. . . ."

The remaining 20 percent is caused by polluting industries.

AROUND THE WORLD



South African Journalists Vote to Desegregate

The South African Society of Journalists has been opened to all races, an Agence France-Presse dispatch reported May 20. A statement by the society's president, John Hobday, said that 74 percent of the members had voted to strike down the apartheid provision under which only whites, Asians, and persons of mixed race could be admitted to the association.

New Lawsuit Charges FBI Spying

Fifty-two antiwar activists, professionals, students, and former members of the Black Panther party in New Haven, Connecticut, filed suit May 12, against local police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The fifty-two maintain they were the victims of "illegal electronic surveillance, wiretapping, bugging, infiltration, harassment, vandalism, and terrorism" dating back more than twenty years.

Named as defendants were two former New Haven mayors and three former

police chiefs, sixteen present and former policemen, four FBI agents, and two employees of the Southern New England Telephone Company.

According to a report in the May 13 *New York Times*, Attorney General Griffin Bell and state authorities have so far refused to investigate the allegations raised in the lawsuit.

Charter 77 Spokesman Freed

Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel, a spokesman for Charter 77, was conditionally released May 20 in Prague, after four months in prison.

Havel is under indictment for "damaging the interests of the Republic," and is expected to be tried in the near future.

The Czechoslovak news agency CTK has published excerpts from a letter written by Havel to the public prosecutor on April 6. Havel is quoted as saying that he now thinks that some of his activities on behalf of Charter 77 "were not always right," and that "the interpretation given to them by the foreign press has hurt Czechoslovakia."

As a result, the Czech statement went on to say, Havel has promised to "abstain from all activities that might be considered punishable," and has "resigned as a spokesman for Charter 77."

However, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported in its May 23 issue that Havel issued a statement the same day in which he denied having said this. "Excerpts from my remarks were taken out of context and combined with phrases that I never wrote, which unfortunately distort my position fairly seriously," he said.

Havel admitted that in his letter to the public prosecutor, he had announced that he was stepping back from the role of public spokesman for Charter 77.

"However, I expressly stated that I was not withdrawing and would never withdraw my signature from Charter 77," he added.

Malian Junta Threatens Emergency Rule

The ruling military junta in the West African country of Mali warned May 19 that head of state Col. Moussa Traore had been authorized to assume emergency powers if necessary to "preserve order, discipline and the dignity of our people." The Military Committee of National Liberation said that it had met and "analyzed the prevailing situation in the country."

The day before, thousands of persons attended the funeral of Mali's first president, Modibo Keita. Youths shouting "Modibo! Modibo!" carried the coffin to a cemetery.

Keita had ruled Mali for the first eight years after its independence from France in 1960. He was overthrown in a November 1968 military coup that was organized by Colonel Traore. He was imprisoned until just three months before his death May 16.

ITT Official Admits Chile Bribe Fund

Edward Gerrity, a senior vice-president of International Telephone and Telegraph, said the company funneled \$350,000 into Chile in 1970 to bribe Chilean congressmen into voting against Salvador Allende's confirmation as president.

According to a report in the May 23 *New York Post*, Gerrity said that the funds were turned over to Harold E. Hendrix, who, Gerrity maintains, was at that time simultaneously working for ITT and the CIA.



John Sturrock/Report

More than ten thousand persons chanting "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate" marched through London May 14 to protest a bill restricting the right to obtain abortion. The Benyon Bill, pending in Parliament, would allow police scrutiny of abortion records and impose restrictions on doctors who sign consent certificates.