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Jornal do B

RIO DE JANEIRO: Students at mass meeting May 19 vote for a "Week of Action for Amnesty." Banner

overhead reads: "For democratic rights and a general amnesty." See report on wave of protests, page 660.

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The Case of Anatoly Shcharansky

By Marilyn Vogt

Anatoly Shcharansky, a prominent Moscow dissident, has been charged with treason. News of the charge was contained in a letter from the prosecutor's office to Shcharansky's mother received June 1, according to the *New York Times*.

Shcharansky, a leading figure in the movement for the right of Jews to emigrate, was also one of the founding members of the Moscow Helsinki monitoring group formed in May 1976 to check the compliance of the Kremlin rulers with the clauses on human rights in the Helsinki accords.

The Helsinki monitoring groups were able to gain support during 1976 when international sentiment against the political repression in the USSR forced leaders of the mass Stalinist parties and CP-led trade unions in Europe to voice protests. This in turn compelled the Kremlin rulers to release two prominent dissidents, Leonid Plyushch and Vladimir Bukovsky.

However, the Kremlin rulers were able to regain the initiative against the political dissidents after January 1977 when the U.S. State Department and President Jimmy Carter issued statements of "concern" for human rights in the Soviet Union.

Following initial arrests of Helsinki monitoring group members in February, the Kremlin launched a propaganda campaign to try to make it appear that the dissidents are agents of Washington. On March 4, Izvestia printed articles purporting to prove that prominent figures like Shcharansky in the Jewish emigration. movement and the Helsinki monitoring group were CIA informants. Although the articles contained no proof of the charges, the intent was to equate the dissidents' conversations with foreigners, particularly foreign correspondents, and their passing of uncensored reports on repression to foreign correspondents, with giving military secrets to foreign intelligence agents.

Since February, nine members of Helsinki monitoring groups in the USSR have been arrested and a tenth has been sentenced to two years in Siberia.

Shcharansky, arrested on March 15, has been charged with treason under Article 64 of the Russian Criminal Code, which carries a minimum of ten years imprisonment with confiscation of property and a maximum of death with confiscation of property.

It is important to note, however, that Article 64 defines a variety of acts as

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treason. "Treason" is not only "transmission of military secrets to a foreign state," but "flight abroad or refusal to return from abroad to the USSR," "rendering aid to a foreign state in carrying on hostile activity against the USSR," and activity "to the detriment of the independence, territorial inviolability, or the military power of the USSR."

This article has been used by the rulers frequently against lesser-known dissidents, especially Jews and non-Russians. For example, in the early 1960s, three Ukrainians were shot under the corresponding article of the Ukrainian Criminal Code because they had been involved in trying to organize for an independent Ukraine. While the right of a republic to secede from the USSR is guaranteed by Article 17 of the 1936 Soviet Constitution, Article 64 of the Stalinists' Criminal Code makes attempts to agitate for such secession punishable by death.

Thus the Kremlin need not have cooked up CIA links to charge Shcharansky with "treason" under Article 64, whose broad definition of treason makes it applicable against dissidents who pass samizdat abroad through foreign correspondents. The bureaucrats have, after all, repeatedly characterized this as "anti-Soviet activity" or the equivalent of "rendering aid to a foreign state in carrying on hostile activity against the USSR."

However, by raising a hue and cry about "CIA links," the Stalinist rulers have hoped to blacken the dissidents' image within the USSR and abroad and undercut support for them, while intensifying the crackdown and raising the possibility of a death sentence for those who send uncensored writings abroad.

In addition, the Kremlin hopes to intimidate the opposition and force dissidents to stop meeting with foreign correspondents. Joseph Kraft reported in his June 4 column that the rulers have had some success. Since the campaign about the CIA links was launched and Shcharansky was arrested, an atmosphere of fear has replaced the previous bold defiance displayed by dissidents in Moscow in their contact with foreign correspondents.

The creation of an atmosphere of fear is precisely what the Kremlin seeks. But this tactic may well backfire.

The Helsinki groups had broad support from widespread areas in the Soviet Union. A single fact proves this—the number of people who risked retaliation in sending in testimony. This new phase of the repression could result in a much stronger movement just as the repression in the late 1960s did. As in the late 1960s, there is a rise of political opposition in the Soviet bloc countries with the growth of powerful opposition currents in such places as Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the ruling Stalinists have also denounced protesters as traitors.

In distinction from the 1960s, these dissident movements not only know more about one another, but have issued statements of mutual support. Of critical importance will be the response of the trade unions and the left in Western Europe to whom the dissidents have repeatedly appealed for support.

Just as the new crackdown in Poland brought protests from large metalworkers unions in Italy, this new campaign against those fighting for democratic rights in the Soviet Union can lead to a mobilization of student and labor union forces throughout Western Europe which can force the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin to back down.

Such a mobilization can turn the tide in favor of the fight for socialist democracy in the USSR. It is the mobilization of these forces, not hypocritical statements from Washington, that can open the prison doors and move the struggle forward. \Box

Support Appeal by Soweto Students!

Four leaders of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) have issued an appeal for international demonstrations and other actions to commemorate the first anniversary of the massive Black protests that began in South Africa on June 16, 1976.

The signers of the appeal are Tsietsi Mashinini, first president of the SSRC; Barney Mokgatle, secretary of the SSRC; Selby Semela, treasurer of the SSRC; and Khotso Seatlholo, second president of the SSRC. All of them are now living in exile. The text of the appeal reads:

"June 16, 1977, will be the first anniversary of the Soweto demonstrations which were the first of a series of protests by the oppressed Black people of South Africa and which continue until today.

"Thousands of people have suffered at the hands of the brutal South African repressive forces since then. Hundreds have been shot dead, thousands injured and driven into exile, and a countless number languish in jail.

"We members of the Soweto Students Representative Council Executive Committee, which organised the original demonstration, call upon the progressive peoples of the world to mark this anniversary by demonstrating their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and against all forms of support for the brutal Vorster Apartheid regime."

A significant number of organizations and prominent individuals have endorsed the appeal in Britain.

Among the endorsing organizations are: African Students Union, Anti-Apartheid Movement, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Ethiopian Students Union, Institute of Race Relations, International Marxist Group, National Union of Students National Executive, and the South Wales National Union of Mineworkers.

At least twelve members of Parliament have also added their names to the endorsers list. They include Joan Lestor, chairperson of the Labour party, and Frank Allaun, a member of the Labour party's National Executive.

Other endorsers in Britain include Africa scholar Basil Davidson; Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Electrical Workers; Tariq Ali, a leader of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International; Emlyn Williams, president of the South Wales National Union of Mineworkers; Sue Slipman, president of the National Union of Students; and actress Glenda Jackson.

June 16 has been called as a Day of Action in Britain, to be marked by local meetings and picket lines. A demonstration, to be held in Hyde Park, has been called for June 18. Among the featured speakers at the demonstration will be Tsietsi Mashinini and Sue Slipman.

At a press conference in London in May, a representative of the African Students Union explained that the best form of solidarity with the Black struggle in South Africa was to "isolate the Vorster regime, politically, militarily, economically and in every way.

"The British Government's provision of arms to South Africa through NATO must be ended. Its investments must be removed immediately. The Labour Government in Britain must be forced to break all links with Vorster."

Among the endorsers in other countries are French scholar Daniel Guerin; Irish activist Bernadette (Devlin) McAliskey; Drake Koka, general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union in South Africa; the Swedish Africa Committees; and the Basel Africa Committee in Switzerland.

In the United States, the National Student Coalition Against Racism, which organized speaking tours for Mashinini and Seatlholo earlier this year, has called a commemorative rally in New York City on June 17.

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Brazil Swept by Student Demonstrations

By Judy White

On May 5, thousands of students in São Paulo marched in the streets, demanding the restoration of democratic rights in Brazil and the immediate release of eight workers and students arrested in that city on April 28. The Geisel regime responded with stepped-up repression. However, the student protest movement continued to build in open defiance of the dictatorship. On May 19 demonstrations took place in sixteen cities in a National Day of Action against the repressiveness of the regime.

The outpouring was the biggest protest in Brazil since 1968, when the student movement spearheaded mobilizations involving large sectors of the working class and petty bourgeoisie. That upsurge was met with a series of repressive decrees barring all political and trade-union activity, imposing strict censorship on the mass media, and opening the way to a bloodbath that decapitated all sectors of the opposition.

The current wave of protests was sparked by the arrest of eight persons who were leafletting on April 28 in preparation for a May Day action. A week later, São Paulo students flooded into the city's São Francisco Square. They demanded the release of the eight: Celso Brambilla, Márcia Basseto Paes, José Maria de Almeida, Adamir Marini, Fernando Antonio de Oliveira Lopes, Anita Maria Fabri, Fortuna Dwek, and Cláudio Júlio Gravina.

A wide range of university organizations and departments supported the demonstration. The rector of the São Paulo law school, Rui Barbosa Nogueira, addressed the crowd, saying, "The right to free speech is sacred, especially in the public square."

As they marched from the square to Viaduto do Chá following the rally, the demonstrators were greeted with applause from onlookers. They ignored police orders to disperse, and when attacked with tear gas, they sat down in the street, chanting slogans demanding democratic rights and shouting the text of an "Open Letter to the Brazilian People" (see facing page). After about thirty minutes, the marchers retreated to the law school, which adjoins São Francisco Square.

In the days following the May 5 action, the Geisel regime stepped up attempts to intimidate the protesters. Arrests and harassment of activists took place in several cities. University buildings were closed down to prevent planning meetings.

On May 17, Education Minister Nei Amintar Braga went on national televi-



GEISEL: Deploys cops against students.

sion to appeal to university students to work with the government "to build the Brazil of the future."

"We will not permit agitators to upset the tranquil, orderly life of the educational institutions of this nation," he said.

Paulo Egidio Martins, governor of the state of São Paulo, told the press the following day that he "hoped very much that they [the students] would understand the situation and would take the time to meditate on the difficult times the country is going through." The demands presented by the students at the University of São Paulo were "just and legitimate," he continued, but that did not mean that the government was capable of "solving all the problems."

Moreover, he said, referring to the order banning future demonstrations in public places, "the instructions received from the Ministry of Justice will have to be followed and they will be followed."

The secretary of public security, Antonio Erasmo Dias, was more blunt. Orders from the Justice Ministry would be obeyed "whatever the cost," he said.

And Rui Barbosa Nogueira, who defended freedom of speech on May 5, closed down the São Paulo law school thirteen days later on the pretext that he "feared for the physical safety" of the students because he had received "information that foreign elements could disturb the order" of a follow-up demonstration called for May 19.

In São Paulo on the National Day of Action, riot troops intervened "with a violence that had not been seen since 1968," according to a report in the May 20 issue of the Brazilian daily *Folha de São Paulo*. The government used tear and nausea gas, firehoses, clubs, dogs, and mounted police to crush demonstrations by those who defied an official ban on protests outside the university campus.

More than 77,000 police and troops—the city's entire repressive force—were mobilized to prevent a rally scheduled for São Francisco Square.

The Geisel dictatorship also issued an order forbidding radio or television coverage of the protests.

Despite the police mobilization, however, more than 1,500 persons managed to carry out a march scheduled for the downtown area.

The massive array of repressive force also failed to halt about 8,000 students, workers, professors, and officials of the bourgeois opposition party—the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB— Brazilian Democratic Movement)—from assembling later that day in the gardens of the University of São Paulo medical school. There the demonstrators heard speeches from academic figures, student leaders, legislators, and trade-union activists.

Several motions were passed, among them one in support of Bishop Pedro Casaldáliga, who has been accused of "subversion" and may face deportation from Brazil. A list of thirty persons who have disappeared since 1974 was read to chants of "Free our prisoners" and "Down with the repression."

The crowd recited in unison a "Manifesto for Amnesty," drawn up in preparation for the demonstration. The manifesto repeated the demands of the open letter and reported the repressive actions taken by the Geisel regime since May 5.

Toward the end of the meeting, the participants voted to call another series of public rallies throughout the country on June 15. The aim is to mobilize supporters of democratic rights for a national gathering, which will draw up a statement to be sent to Amnesty International.

In Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, demonstrations May 19 drew 5,000 persons each. More than 2,000 demonstrated in Porto Alegre and 1,000 in São Carlos that same day and universities at Curtiba, Campinas, Presidente Prudente, Barretos, Ribeirão Preto, Piracicaba, Limeira, and Bauru were shut down by student strikes.

The rally and march at the University of Brasília was "the biggest on the campus since 1971," *Folha de São Paulo* reported. Demonstrations were also reported at universities in Florianópolis and Manaus. Repressive measures prevented announced protests from taking place in Pernambuco, Alagoas, Goiás, Piauí, and Pará, the daily said.

The Brazilian ruling class is far from unanimous on how to proceed in face of the protests. Not only did MDB representatives officially participate in several of the actions, but the dictatorship's ban on the publication of news critical of the regime was largely ignored.

The daily *O Estado de São Paulo* had a five-column headline, "Salvador, repression of the press." The accompanying article condemned the police attack on journalists who were covering the demonstration in that city.

Folha de São Paulo has devoted page after page to covering the protests, its May 20 edition featuring the São Paulo demonstration on the front page.

"Yesterday the students who gathered on the campus of the medical school issued a clear message, which those who hold power must certainly be thinking over," the lead editorial in the paper's May 20 issue began.

It was not a message that concerned them alone: Yesterday the student youth served as a focus of the tension that has built up in the country as a whole.

Those youths offered an example of maturity and moderation, and not just of passing enthusiasm. Their approach indicates a very clear definition of goals and a thought-out estimate of the possibilities now before us. In addition, it was reassuring that the police did not go to greater extremes to stifle the demonstrators.

Nonetheless, it could not help but be disturbing that where there were excesses, it was the police who committed them. It gave a sinister impression to see the armed forces beating up near children who were shouting "Long live liberty" and who, after all, were only reciting a lesson learned from school and from our history.

The editors concluded with a warning to the Geisel dictatorship:

"There is no reason to believe that the expectations of the nation, as expressed by the students, can be dissipated through intimidation. The student discontent is obviously in tune with the impatience of the population. Almost all of us can feel the wind of history stirring. And it is ridiculous to beat at such a wind with fists or billyclubs."

Open Letter to the Brazilian People

[The following is the text of the open letter distributed at the May 5 actions and used as the basis to mobilize support for the May 19 demonstrations. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press.*]

Today, anyone who is silent is complicit. There have been enough arrests, enough violence. We will no longer accept deaths like those of Wladimir Herzog (journalist and professor), Manuel Fiel Filho (worker), and Alexandre Vanucchi Leme (student, after whom the Diretório Central de Estudantes-Livre¹ of the University of São Paulo [USP] has been named).² We will not allow the authorities to mistreat and mutilate our comrades. We don't want heroes like Manuel da Conceição³ crippled.

Today we came out into the streets to demand the immediate release of our worker comrades—Celso Brambilla, Márcia Basseto Paes, José Maria de Almeida, and Adamir Marini—and our student comrades—Fernando Antonio de Oliveria Lopes, Anita Maria Fabri, Fortuna Dwek, and Cláudio Júlio Gravina—who are being held, allegedly for subversion.

In this country today everyone who demands his rights, or who does not accept economic exploitation, the wage squeeze, the high cost of living, and the horrible living and working conditions is considered subversive, as are all those who protest against the constant police violence.

Finally, people who violate the National Security Law, the judicial tool that justifies repression of the population's most legitimate movements, are considered subversives.

We will not tolerate this situation any longer. We demand that the authorities respect the freedom to demonstrate and the right of expression and organization of all oppressed sectors of the population.

We want to speak out against those who oppress us. And we understand that the best way to speak out and to fight against those who oppress us through economic exploitation and political and police violence is through the trade unions and the free groups that we organize independently.

At the University of São Paulo and the Pontifical Catholic University [PUC] of São Paulo the students created their own free groups (the Diretórios Centrais de Estudiantes, free DCEs of the USP and the PUC). They are free because we do not abide by the laws imposed by the authorities that do not permit direct, free elections and that restrict our freedom to demonstrate and organize.

Because we no longer accept being gagged, today we demand the immediate release of our comrades who are being held not for the reasons alleged, of subversion, but because they are fighting for the interests of the majority of the exploited population—against poverty, for an end to the wage squeeze, for freedom of organization and expression to demand their rights.

That is why we call on everyone at this time to join this public demonstration under one and the same banner: For an end to torture, arrests, and political persecution. For the immediate release of the imprisoned comrades. For a broad, unrestricted amnesty for all political prisoners, banned individuals, and exiles. For democratic freedoms. \Box

Rubber-Eating Sludge Slows Louisville Sewer Cleanup

Discovery of six tons of the highly toxic chemicals HCP and OCTA in the sewer system of Louisville, Kentucky, in late March forced the closure of the city's sewage treatment plant (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 23, p. 590).

The result has been that 100 million gallons of raw sewage are being dumped into the Ohio River each day. As of May 28, more than 5 billion gallons of wastes had entered the river, threatening aquatic life and the water supplies of downstream communities.

Cleanup efforts have been slowed by a number of unforeseen difficulties. The HCP-OCTA mixture forms a gummy, gluelike sludge. Cleaning some of the plant's equipment has required the use of special hoses to generate water pressure of 6,400 pounds per square inch. (Ordinary fire hoses with 450-pound pressure had no effect.)

When workers entered the sewer pipes to scrape away the sludge, it "almost sucked the boots off their feet," the May 28 *Washington Post* reports. So miniature earth-moving equipment had to be employed. The sludge also "has an appetite for rubber boots and tires. The rubber workboots wore away after 10 or 12 hours of contact with the material. Since the cleanup began, 36 rubber tires have blown out."

Blue clouds of toxic gas rising from the chemical mixture have penetrated the workers' safety masks and force them to leave the sewer line time and again. "Nobody to my knowledge has ever had a problem of this magnitude," said a Louisville official.

^{1.} Free Central Student Council.

^{2.} All of these persons died while under arrest.

^{3.} Leader of a mass peasant movement in the Northeast of Brazil who was tortured so badly he lost a leg.

Hundreds Arrested After Angolan Coup Attempt

By Ernest Harsch

In the wake of an abortive coup attempt in Angola May 27, the regime of President Agostinho Neto has launched a major crackdown against suspected dissidents. The extent of this new wave of repression testifies to the depth of the internal crisis that has shaken the ruling Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA— People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

In a speech broadcast over Luanda radio May 31, Neto announced that "hundreds of factionalists" had been arrested, including members of the army's women's section, of the youth wings of the armed forces and military police, and of the Organization of Angolan Women. He said that "some members of the political commission of the FAPLA¹ have likewise been detained in Luanda."

The day before, Neto declared that several MPLA leaders, including two highranking military officers, had been implicated in the coup attempt. Neto has charged that the leaders of the coup were Nito Alves and José van Dunem, two members of the MPLA Central Committee who had been expelled and arrested May 21.

Neto has accused Alves of leading a "black racist faction" within the MPLA. Resorting to some of the MPLA's standard slanders, Neto denounced the rebels for employing "violence, racism, tribalism, and regionalism." In addition, he condemned Alves and van Dunem as "agents of international imperialism and internal reaction and lackeys of the FNLA."²

The dissidents, Neto said, would be punished "with utmost severity." He warned that "in the following days, other elements will be arrested for having participated actively in this factionalist activity.... A serious battle against factionalism is necessary. In every neighborhood, in every village, we will search out the factionalists and see that justice is done."

Neto indicated the kind of "justice" he had in mind when he said, "We don't want to waste time on trials, we want to get this over with as quickly as possible."

The regime has tried to convey the

impression that things in Luanda have returned to "normal," but a May 29 Reuters dispatch reported that strategic points in the city were still heavily guarded and police were searching vehicles and passersby. The regime has forbidden foreign journalists from transmitting anything but "official" news.

Shortly after suppressing the coup attempt, the government-controlled radio urged the population to get back to their jobs. It broadcast a song that went, "Let's go to work, let's go to the production line. Blacks, whites and mestizos [those of mixed African and Portuguese ancestry], let's go to work. Whites, blacks and mestizos, let's go to the production line."

The factors behind the factional conflict in the MPLA have not yet been made clear.

According to a report in the May 29-30 Le Monde by René Lefort, Alves had built up a base of support among the 400,000 inhabitants of Luanda's *muceques*, the poverty-ridden shantytowns that surround the city on three sides. He also reportedly had some support in the Dembos region northeast of Luanda, where he served as an MPLA guerrilla leader during the struggle against Portuguese colonial rule. Moreover, as minister of internal administration, he was in a position to place his supporters in key posts in the administration, secret police, and army.

Alves, a member of the Mbundu nationality, tried to portray himself as a champion of Black slum dwellers and denounced the inclusion of whites and mestiços in the MPLA regime. In particular, he attacked Neto's three main aides, MPLA General Secretary Lucio Lara, Economics Minister Carlos Rocha, and Defense Minister Iko Carreira, all of whom are mestiços.

Although Alves relied heavily on "socialist" rhetoric, he played a central role in the MPLA's crackdown against leftist forces in late 1975 and early 1976, which included a campaign against "the partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin."

In October 1976, Alves was dropped from the MPLA's Political Bureau, and the ministry of internal administration was abolished. The secret police was purged and some of Alves's supporters were arrested. Finally, on May 21, Alves himself was purged and arrested, leading to the coup attempt by his followers.

On the morning of May 27, the rebels seized the Luanda radio station for a few hours and attacked the presidential palace, army headquarters, and São Paulo prison. According to some unconfirmed reports, Alves was freed by the rebels. The June 1 *Le Monde* reported that the 9th Armored Brigade had mutinied.

Heavy fighting reportedly took place in several parts of the city, including in some of the muçeques. Neto later admitted that fighting also occurred in the town of Malange, east of Luanda. After progovernment troops suppressed the coup attempt, the regime charged that six MPLA leaders, including Finance Minister Saydi Mingas, had been killed by the rebel forces.

The crisis in the MPLA comes at a time of growing discontent with the Neto regime. Most industries are operating at about one-third of their capacity. There are frequent food shortages in Luanda. Despite its anti-imperialist rhetoric, the MPLA regime has nationalized only those companies abandoned by the Portuguese. The biggest imperialist interests, the Gulf Oil concession in Cabinda and the diamond fields in northeastern Angola, remain untouched.

Lefort noted that "the inhabitants of the muceques, in their vast majority, believed that the proclamation of independence would open the doors to an Eldorado. Their illusions have quickly soured."

According to Lefort, part of this bitterness and discontent has been directed against mestiços:

The mesticos community, which has a cultural level far above the average, seems to have been in a position to fill the vacancies left by the departure of the Portuguese, in the state apparatus as well as in business. The Black "common people" have become frustrated by seeing the jobs they had hoped to occupy go to men who often have little concern for the public welfare.

At a time when the MPLA leadership has run into immense difficulties, the contrast between the misery into which the shantytowns have been plunged and the growing affluence of a class of "nouveaux riches" becomes more pronounced.

It was these sentiments that the Alves grouping apparently sought to take advantage of in its factional struggle with the rest of the MPLA

Lefort noted that the MPLA's crackdown on leftist critics and its dissolution of the neighborhood self-defense committees that had arisen spontaneously after the 1974 coup in Lisbon has further undercut the MPLA's base of support in Luanda. \Box

110 Sentenced in South Africa

The South African Institute of Race Relations has reported that since July 1976, 110 persons have been sentenced to a total of 666 years in prison by the Vorster regime under the country's security laws. These political prisoners, many of whom are teen-agers, were charged with offenses connected with the massive Black protests that swept the country last year.

^{1.} Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola (Angolan People's Liberation Armed Forces), the Angolan army.

^{2.} Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front), one of the MPLA's principal adversaries in the civil war.

Rhodesian Troops Compelled to Withdraw From Mozambique

By Ernest Harsch

In another brutal attack against the Black freedom struggle, troops of the Rhodesian white minority regime invaded the neighboring country of Mozambique May 29. Four days later Salisbury announced that its forces had withdrawn.

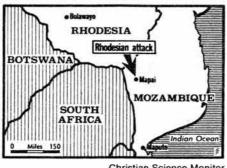
Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith declared that the operation had been "very successful." He claimed that the invasion was purely a "defensive exercise." "There was nothing aggressive about it," he said.

Gen. Peter Walls announced May 31 that the purpose of the raid was to strike at Zimbabwean guerrilla camps. The Mozambican regime provides aid and sanctuary to the Zimbabwean liberation forces, which are fighting to oust the Smith regime and establish Black majority rule in their country. The region in southern Mozambique attacked by Rhodesian units is an important staging area for actions carried out by freedom fighters in southeastern Zimbabwe.

According to Rhodesian military officials, about 700 troops were flown into Mozambique by helicopter May 29. They were supported by jet fighters. The next day, Rhodesian forces occupied the town of Mapai, which is about 50 miles inside Mozambique. Walls declared that his troops would continue to hold the town "until terrorists have been eliminated from the area."

During the five days of the operation, the Smith regime in Salisbury claimed to have killed thirty-two "terrorists" and seized "large quantities of arms, ammunition, explosives, and equipment." It also claimed to have destroyed four guerrilla camps belonging to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the military wing of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Besides the ZANLA camp at Mapai, which the Rhodesians called "the controlling center for all incursions into the southeast of Rhodesia," the other camps that were attacked were near Rio, Madulo-Pan, and Jorge-Do-Limpopo.

In line with its policy of "hot pursuit," the Smith regime claimed that it was only after Zimbabwean guerrillas. However, the Mozambican regime charged that the Rhodesians had also attacked Mozambican targets. Defense Minister Joaquim Chipande said May 30 that the invading troops had struck at Mozambican bases at Chicualacuala, Chitanga, and the Nuanetsi River. Radio Mozambique accused the Rhodesians June 2 of bombing "railway



Christian Science Monitor

stations, farms, schools and the population of the region."

The latest Rhodesian terror raid was widely condemned around the world. United Nations General Secretary Kurt Waldheim denounced the invasion June 1, stating, "The illegal regime must immediately and unconditionally withdraw its forces from Mozambican territory."

Robert Mugabe, a leader of ZANU, charged the American, British, and South African governments with complicity in the raid.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who has also provided some sanctuary for the Zimbabwean freedom fighters, declared that his forces would retaliate against the Smith regime if attacked.

Both Washington and London issued statements protesting the raid. Ted Rowlands, an official of the British Foreign Office, termed the operation "extremely provocative." U.S. State Department spokesman John Trattner said June 1, "We made it clear to the Rhodesians that we disapprove of their cross-border operations." He said that it could only "hinder" efforts to reach a negotiated settlement of the Zimbabwe conflict.

What the imperialists are concerned about is not the Rhodesian aggression itself, but the possibility that it could further widen the military conflict in southern Africa or upset the British and American plans to defuse the Zimbabwean freedom struggle through drawn-out negotiations. They are seeking to avoid a mass Black upsurge that could threaten their interests in the region.

Since the breakdown of the Geneva talks between Smith and the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders in December, both London and Washington have tried to get negotiations started again. In fact, the Rhodesian raid into Mozambique began just a few hours after American and British officials left Salisbury after five days of talks. They were on their way to meet Mugabe in Mozambique.

The State Department noted the danger that the Smith regime's continued intransigence posed to these imperialist plans when it said that the aggression against Mozambique could have "extremely serious consequences."

The imperialist powers are also worried that continued Rhodesian attacks on neighboring countries could prompt the Black regimes to ask for assistance from Moscow or Havana. "To prevent such a move," Bernard Gwertzman reported in the June 2 New York Times, "the United States and Britain were said to be in close touch with key African states, urging them to take the lead in keeping outside powers out of the situation."

In addition, Washington sent a message through the South African regime urging Smith to withdraw his forces from Mozambique.

The Rhodesian attack into Mozambique was the third such operation Salisbury has acknowledged in the past year. In August 1976 Rhodesian forces massacred more than 600 Zimbabwean refugees near Nyazonia and in late October carried out another invasion, in which it claimed to have killed hundreds of guerrillas.

Besides the immediate military objectives, these operations may be designed to help strengthen Smith's hand in any negotiations that may get under way. The attack into Mozambique in October 1976, for instance, began just three days after the opening of the Geneva talks.

The editors of the *New York Times* commented June 2, "The tactic seeks to inflame an already tense situation and to bid for military advantage. The strategy is to concede nothing to the blacks who seek political power in Rhodesia in the hope that the Western nations will in the end help to preserve the regime of the minority whites."

Geoffrey Godsell, an editor of the Christian Science Monitor, suggested June 2 that the raid into Mozambique may also have been partly aimed at bolstering the sagging morale of the white settler population. According to the latest Rhodesian figures, there was a net total of nearly 3,600 whites who emigrated from the country in the first four months of this year, compared to 880 during the same period in 1976.

Basque Protests—How Spanish CP Helped Suárez Curb Them

[The following statement was issued May 19 by the Political Bureau of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain. We have taken the text from the May 26 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

More than 800,000 workers in Euskadi were on strike at the end of last week and the beginning of this week. Hundreds of thousands participated in assemblies, rallies, and demonstrations. It was in this way that an entire people expressed its protest against the crimes of the monarchy, its firm will to struggle and to win its freedom through struggle.

On Thursday, May 12, there were many strikes throughout Guipúzcoa demanding total and immediate amnesty. Many rallies and demonstrations were held. The police (the antiriot corps and the Guardia Civil) responded harshly: in Rentería they murdered Rafael Gómez Jauregui, and many were wounded by gunfire. A wave of indignation surged through Euskadi, the strike grew rapidly, and there were new clashes with the repressive forces. They shot, wounded, and killed. The fight for amnesty was turned into a struggle for the dissolution of the repressive corps, for the full exercise of democratic rights, for exacting responsibility for crimes against the people, into a general strike against the government of the monarchy, against the "democracy" of Suárez and Martín Villa.

The Basque people were not alone. Struggles began to break out in Barcelona, Vigo, Salamanca, Valencia, Madrid, and many other places. There were strikes and demonstrations. It was possible to extend the struggle of Euskadi. Solidarity with the Basque people in struggle for their objectives was necessary. This extension of the struggle throughout the territory of the Spanish state could have triggered a process leading toward a general strike, which would have brought total amnesty and freedom within reach.

But the Communist party of Spain (PCE) and the majority current in the Workers Commissions, who had great responsibility in this extension of the struggle, once again came to the aid of the Suárez government, boycotting solidarity with Euskadi. The PCE, the PSUC (the Communist party in Catalonia), and the General Coordinating Body of the Workers Commissions exerted their forces to demobilize, to reduce solidarity with the Basque people to mere verbal protest. This is the major reason why the fight did not spread throughout the whole state, why the Suárez government pulled through, why Martín Villa continues to administrate the criminal repressive forces, why the government has been able to delay amnesty at its whim. Throughout these days the PCE endlessly repeated that "since we want free elections in peace, we cannot call for a mobilization of solidarity with Euskadi."

We want free elections too, but where are they? Didn't all the people of Euskadi struggle for amnesty and against the government precisely to demonstrate that these elections are not free? The attitude of the leadership of the PCE openly clashes with the freedom for which the people are struggling. The PCE claims that the "Suárez elections," "Suárez democracy," and the "strong state of the monarchy" have been accepted by the workers and people as constituting conditions of freedom. Solidarity with Euskadi threatened to expose the falsity of this, to convert solidarity into a fight against these elections and for free elections. This is why the PCE boycotted solidarity.

Who can defend democracy by relying on a "constitutional pact" with the bourgeoisie and the government? In order "to prevent the advance of the right," they say, they have placed themselves on the field the government desires against the mobilizations and aspirations of the workers and people. This is the price the reformist organizations, the PCE and the PSOE (the largest Social Democratic formation—*Inprecor*), are paying for their many pacts with the bourgeoisie. But collaboration with the bourgeoisie, bowing down before Suárez and the monarchy, absolutely do not lead to democracy.

During all the mobilizations of recent months, from Aberri Eguna (the Basque national holiday—*Inprecor*), to May 2, and now to Euskadi, the government and the repressive corps have clearly shown what they mean by "freedom." Their reform is an attempt to consolidate a strong state under which they will try to channel the workers and people's movement through parliamentary caucuses, attempting to negotiate a "social pact" with the reformist organizations that would enable capitalism to be saved, maximally limiting through repression the activity of the workers in the factories, neighborhoods, countryside, and streets.

The PCE, holding up the bogeyman of a "coup," claims that the "destabilization"

of the electoral process would only serve the right. The danger of a coup, which is becoming less real day by day, cannot be fought by capitulation and demobilization. Salvador Allende did just that in Chile in order to prevent Pinochet from coming to power. But he did come to power, along with all his army. The best weapon with which to combat this supposed danger is precisely to press forward the struggle for the complete dismantling of the repressive institutions inherited from Francoism, for the dissolution of the repressive corps, to endow the mass movement with the capacity to respond with determination and unity to any attempted coup through its own organization and mobilization, through realizing its capacity for selfdefense, following the road of Euskadi. And the "destabilization" of the Suárez reform must be accompanied by greater unity, combativity, and organization of the workers; a clear program of struggle presented to all the exploited and oppressed sectors of the population cannot favor the right. The "destabilization" of the Francoist dictatorship through the extension of the mass struggle is what achieved the "opening" and the reform. The "destabilization" of the government of Arias and Fraga in Madrid, Vitoria, and Euskadi brought about the Suárez reform and important gains for the workers movement. The general strike against Suárez can bring about the conquest of full freedom.

The struggle for total amnesty, for full freedom, cannot be postponed. What we can expect on June 15 are not free elections, not elections to a Constituent Assembly. The electoral laws favor the bourgeois formations; the major means of communication-television, radio, the official press-are under the exclusive control of the government apparatus; the future Cortes (parliament) will in any case be limited in its possibilities for producing any important constitutional reform, which will have to pass through a legal labyrinth in the two chambers. Themes such as the monarchy, "national unity," the army, and so on cannot be mentioned in electoral propaganda. We can expect nothing from these elections. Whoever tries to center all the attention of the workers on the elections, to the detriment of their mobilization, falls into illusions that have been proven false by daily experience during the past several months.

For us, participation in the election campaign by the workers parties must offer an opportunity to stimulate the struggle for freedom, to propose to millions and millions of workers a program with clear objectives and a road to achieving them. There must be a campaign that organizes the struggle against these fraudulent elections themselves, against the June 15 Cortes, a campaign based on the mobilization of the workers and the oppressed peoples.

In the assemblies of workers and the zonal assemblies in Euskadi many political and trade-union forces once again called for a general strike for next Monday (May 23) if the government does not declare total amnesty. This call offers a new opportunity to extend the fight on all fronts throughout the territory of the Spanish state.

The struggle for total amnesty, for the legalization of all the parties, for the free exercise of democratic rights, for the right of self-determination of the nationalities, requires this general strike throughout the state. This is how the struggle for the dismantling of all the Francoist institutions, for the dissolution of the repressive corps, for punishing those responsible for the crimes against the people must be waged. In sum, this is how the struggle against the Juan Carlos monarchy, supreme institution of the state the bourgeoisie is trying to consolidate, the struggle for the Republic, must be waged.

With Euskadi, all in struggle on May 23 if the government does not decree total amnesty!

For total and immediate amnesty!

For the legalization of all the parties!

For the free election of national Constituent Assemblies among the nationalities to guarantee the exercise of the right of self-determination.

For the dissolution of the repressive corps!

For the punishment of those responsible for crimes against the people!

Down with the Suárez government! Down with the monarchy!

For the convocation of free elections to a Constituent Assembly!

For the Republic!

The united action of the workers and people's movement for democratic rights and against the capitalists' plans to make the workers bear the burden of the effects of the economic crisis must lead to the formation of a government of workers parties responsible to the organizations of the workers and based on their mobilization in order to advance toward the objectives of the movement.

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Uproar in Costa Rica Over CIA Revelations

By Adolfo Esteva

[The following article appeared in the June 6 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a revolutionary-socialist newsmagazine published fortnightly in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In the last few weeks, Costa Rican politics have been rocked by scandal. This is both a part and a consequence of the campaign leading up to the February 1978 elections.

The crisis was touched off by an article in the April 23 issue of *The New Republic* about former President José (Pepe) Figueres, entitled "Don Pepe." Figueres, founder of the ruling National Liberation party and president twice, is the most prominent bourgeois politician in Costa Rica in the last quarter of a century, and a central figure in the Latin American "democratic left."

Ken Bode of *The New Republic* interviewed him in March. Bode summarized Figueres's disclosures as follows:

I was closer to the CIA than most, I suppose, and with their help, we financed a labor center in Costa Rica, a center for democratic leadership training and a social democratic magazine, which was edited by Luis Alberto Monge [the presidential nominee of the Liberación party for 1978].

During my first presidency [1953-1957] the top representative of the CIA in Costa Rica enjoyed all the confidence of my government—so much so that sometimes he was even present at cabinet meetings.

He also said:

Many members of the congress in this country as well as the current president were elected with Vesco's money. [President Daniel] Oduber had a large part of his campaign paid for by Vesco.

Robert Vesco is an American financier who was tried in federal court in New York in 1972 for having made a secret \$200,000 contribution to ex-President Nixon's election campaign. The contribution was aimed at scuttling charges by the U.S. Securities Exchange Commission that Vesco had embezzled \$224 million from the Investors Overseas Services, Ltd.

With Figueres's help, Vesco fled to Costa Rica and, in return, invested heavily in companies owned by the former president.

In 1973, while Nixon was still in office, the U.S. Justice Department tried to have Vesco extradited on charges of attempted fraud and obstruction of justice with respect to the Nixon campaign contribution. They did not succeed in extraditing him, but most Costa Ricans, including President Oduber, did not believe that a genuine attempt was made, because Vesco's conviction would have put Nixon in jeopardy. Later, in 1974, the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly passed a law specifically designed to prevent Vesco's extradition, under prompting from then-President Figueres.

Figueres's revelations have provoked an uproar in Costa Rica. Those incriminated by Figueres deny the charges, while in turn making counteraccusations.

On May 17, the Legislative Assembly formed a commission to investigate the matter. The parliamentary opposition is demanding that Oduber resign from the presidency if he is found guilty. On May 18, the twenty-seven deputies from the National Liberation party asked that Vesco be expelled from the country.

It is clear that the Costa Rican politicians are raising the hullabaloo about Vesco's alleged contributions to help cover up what everyone knows—that it is big capital, both national and foreign, that finances the enormous expenditures involved in election campaigns.

Concretely, for the presidential primary elections held in March 1977, the political parties spent about \$6 per voter. And a single capitalist—Miguel Barzuna, an industrialist who threw his hat into the ring—spent around \$800,000.

In reality, charges and countercharges of fraud, theft, corruption, and so forth, are the basis of all Costa Rican election campaigns. By means of these smokescreens, the bourgeois candidates avoid having to take a stand on the rapid decline in workers' real wages, the brutal repression of strikes, and the poor peasants' demands for land.

Last but not least, all of these charges merely confirm once more the deep involvement of the CIA in the political life of semicolonial countries, especially in Latin America. Furthermore, they show that imperialism uses a variety of tactics. Sometimes its pawns are bloodthirsty dictators like Pinochet, sometimes bourgeois "democratic leftists" like Figueres or Frei. They all serve imperialism's purposes and are chosen to fit the circumstances. \Box

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Behind Podgorny's Downfall

By Sacha Blumkine

[The following article appeared in the May 26 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

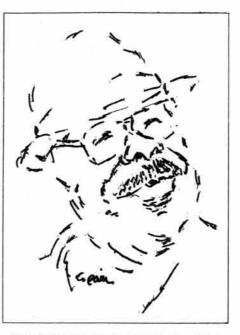
"Mr. Podgorny has been relieved of his functions as a member of the Political Bureau."

By means of this very curt statement, millions of Soviet citizens learned May 24 that the Soviet chief of state had lost all power now that he was no longer a member of the only genuine decisionmaking body in the Soviet Union, the only body where votes have any meaning—the Political Bureau of the single party.

In theory, the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (i.e., Nikolai V. Podgorny, the chief of state), who is elected by the soviets, which are supposed to be organs of popular sovereignty, should have been the most "powerful" man in the country. In reality, his functions were purely formal. It can be assumed that the next session of the Supreme Soviet (the Soviet parliament) will ratify Podgorny's eclipse and divest him of the chairmanship.

No Soviet citizen will be surprised by a turn of events that seems paradoxical for a regime claiming to be based on the "soviets." Everyone knows that the soviets—theoretically organs of people's power—have long been nothing but organs of bureaucratic administration and a rubber stamp for the decisions of the party at all levels. [French Communist party head Georges] Marchais made a very revealing slip in this respect, when he said on television that "the soviets are . . . the municipal governments."

Still, Podgorny's mandate as chief of state was supposed to come from the people alone, through the medium of socalled free elections. No problem-sham elections will be organized so that no one can say that the constitution was not respected. Similarly, we will soon see those who unanimously elected Podgorny to office divest him of it with the same degree of unanimity, though no one will be exactly sure of the reason. It will probably be only much later that the people will be informed, not surprisingly, that Podgorny had suddenly revealed himself to be an "antiparty element," or that he suffered from "subjectivism" or "voluntarism"take your choice-unless, of course, they say he "violated the norms of collective



PODGORNY: Loser in Kremlin dog fight.

labor." Or perhaps they will not give any explanation whatever. After all, this is a lot easier, and does not risk sowing confusion in the people's minds. After a while, Podgorny will die, in some remote retirement home for minor officials, forgotten by everyone, since all traces of his political career will have been erased.

The Problem of Brezhnev's Succession

However, if in the Byzantine atmosphere of the Kremlin this type of ouster reflects a change in the relationship of forces between rival factions, it also reveals the existence of different responses by the bureaucracy to real political problems.

All the commentators will observe that, from the standpoint of selecting the successors of the current leadership which will soon be disabled by senility, since the average age of members of the Political Bureau is 68—Brezhnev has taken a new step forward in consolidating his power.

In a regime in which a small ruling caste exercises an absolute dictatorship, the matter of "individuals" unquestionably plays a certain independent role in politics that can affect the stability of the bureaucratic government itself. Moreover, such questions arise with special acuteness as the time approaches when the problem of "succession" will have to be solved. The personal image of individuals, their respective positions, and their conflicts not only reveal the internal struggles for power, but also the acuteness of political problems, behind which loom the fundamental forces that move society, as well as the international relationship of forces.

The case of the ouster of Pyotr Shelest, the Ukrainian representative to the Political Bureau, in 1973 is typical. At the time, Shelest was opposed to the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic and the United States. He is even said to have protested Nixon's visit to Moscow in the middle of the bombing of Hanoi in 1972. But he was ousted for "Ukrainian nationalism," for having opposed concentrating on the development of Siberia.

Shelest's ouster enabled Brezhnev to complete the purge of the Ukrainian party, and thus discourage the local bureaucracy from being tempted to try to assume the slightest autonomy. In fact such inclinations only reflected the strong popular opposition to the policy of Russification of the Ukraine, and the explosiveness of the national question in the Soviet Union.

Brezhnev Head of State?

An early hypothesis offered to explain Podgorny's ouster was that Brezhnev wanted to do away with the "abnormal" situation that arose because the party general secretary has held no important position in the state bodies. It is plausible that Brezhnev, following the example of his cohorts in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, sought to combine the functions of party head and head of state, which would greatly simplify matters when Brezhnev makes official visits abroad, receives foreign heads of state, or signs international treaties. However, while this hypothesis appears plausible, it does not account for the real divisions that existed between the party head and the head of state. These conflicts surfaced with the presentation of the draft for a new constitution at the last Central Committee plenum.

The New Constitution

The new legal system that is going to be adopted to replace the "world's most democratic" constitution of 1936 is an old idea that was first proposed by Khrushchev and later taken up by Brezhnev. The draft has been in preparation for more than ten years under Brezhnev's personal supervision, but it has not yet seen the light of day because of the political resistance the general secretary encountered within the state apparatus and the governments of the various republics.

What the new constitution actually involves, to judge from what is known about the draft, the full text of which has not been made public, is officially proclaiming a transition from the "dictatorship of the proletariat" to the "stage of advanced socialism." Since the previous stage was simply referred to as "socialism," it is purely for reasons of modesty that they have not presumed to characterize the latest stage as the "stage of communism," but the "logical" consequences drawn are the same as if they had.

As the great Marxist theoretical genius Leonid Brezhnev himself says: "The differences between the various social layers are disappearing. The course of life itself is bringing all the nations and ethnic groups in our country closer together." The new constitution should therefore consummate the "systematic coming together of all the nations and nationalities in the land of the soviets."

The two problems that are masked by this doubletalk-and which were solved at Podgorny's expense-are the expanded powers of the central government relative to those of the federal republics, and the expanded powers of party bodies at all levels relative to the state bodies (the soviets). For Brezhnev, as the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the revolution approaches, what is involved is the crowning achievement of his careerproviding a legal basis for the policy of redoubled Russification, total centralization, and repression, which has been applied in all spheres since the failure of the 1965 economic reform.

In the economic sphere, the intention is to increase the prerogatives of the central ministries at the expense of the corresponding ministries in the various republics. Needless to say, this policy met with fierce opposition from the local bureaucrats who stand to lose some of their power. This problem has been solved by carrying out vast purges in the apparatuses of the most troublesome republics, such as the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

In the area of "national rights," the article of the constitution that grants each republic the right to independence seems to have been withdrawn. It never had much effect anyway, but the fact of withdrawing it from the new text helps legitimize the policy of forced Russification used by the bureaucrats to combat the nationalist demands of the various peoples, which the local authorities were forced to take into account if they wished to base their power on the slightest degree of credibility.

Finally, the new constitution provides for an expanded role of the party at all levels of the state executive bodies, of which Podgorny was a representative.

The new constitution will promote Brezhnev's concept of "socialist democracy." In any case, it has sealed Podgorny's doom in the true Stalinist tradition. There are now only fourteen old men on the Political Bureau, including one Ukrainian, one Byelorussian, Brezhnev, and a few pretenders to the throne. \Box

Polish Bureaucrats in a Tight Corner

By Gerry Foley

Polish Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz gave a report to parliament May 30 that was marked by a combination of lamentations and threats.

Despite increased imports of meat and bigger investment in the consumer goods indústries, he said, the supply of these products is still far below demand.

The reason for the imbalance, he continued, is that workers' incomes have increased by 14 percent in the past period instead of the 6.3 percent provided for in the plan.

Jaroszewicz did not go into the origin of the imbalance. The fact is that the projections were upset by massive working-class rebellions in June 1976. The regime was forced to yield to this pressure. But it has not been able to reorganize the economy so as to meet the workers' demands.

The regime has failed even to carry out its big public works projects. In the June 2 *Le Monde*, Manuel Lucbert wrote:

The head of government's second main worry has to do with the construction industry. According to Jaroszewicz, the building plan has lagged far behind its goals since the start of the year. This admission is all the more embarrassing since faster housing construction has been a big part of the regime's promises for higher living standards.

Jaroszewicz complained that the regime's hopes for profitable trade with the Western countries had been largely disappointed. He mentioned tariffs and other obstacles to Polish exports. In addition, he noted, the economic crisis in the West has reduced the potential market for Poland's products.

The premier said that unless the Western capitalist countries made more of an effort to absorb Polish exports, his government would have to cut back imports from these countries. He said that "rationalization" of imports would begin immediately. It was not clear what this meant, but it implies restrictions. Nor is Jaroszewicz reported to have explained how, if his government cuts imports from the capitalist world, it intends to meet the "excess" demand for meat and consumer goods.

Obviously, the Polish bureaucracy is in a tight corner. The plans for solving the economic problems of the bureaucratic regime that were adopted after the 1970 revolts have clearly failed. In particular, increased economic relations with the capitalist world have not provided the solutions hoped for. Moreover, in view of the increasing scope of the Polish economic problems, it is not likely that the Soviet Union will continue to bail out the Gierek regime.

Two alternatives remain. One is to move away from the bureaucratic methods of organizing the economy. Obviously a ruling bureaucracy cannot go far in that direction. In fact, it is now clear that the Polish regime's attempts at reform have only entangled it deeper in contradictions. The other alternative is increasing repression. The results of this in the short run cannot be predicted. But the bureaucracy has good reason to fear the consequences.

With less possibilities for making concessions, the bureaucracy is trying to turn toward more repression. But it does this on a more precarious basis than ever before.

In his speech, Jaroszewicz indicated that the government is having difficulty even in controlling its own lower echelons. He said that one of the reasons for the disruptive rise in incomes was "irregularities in employment policy and in managing wage funds."

In his own way, Jaroszewicz referred to the threat to the bureaucratic regime from below. Lucbert reported: "He noted the existence of certain attempts to 'tear apart the society." This apparently meant the continuation of protests against bureaucratic repression, despite the arrest and jailing of most of the prominent leaders of the fight for democratic rights.

Fourteen persons held a hunger strike from May 24 to May 31 in St. Martin's Church in Warsaw demanding the release of the workers still imprisoned as a result of the suppression of last June's worker revolts, as well as of the jailed fighters for democratic rights.

The fact that the Catholic church extended its protection to the protesters seems to reflect the growing strength of the opposition to the regime. The hierarchy had tried to work closely with the rulers. But despite its conservatism, the church has learned not to put all its bets on the established authorities.

The Polish writers union, no more known for its altruism than the church and more dependent on the regime, "let it be known," according to Lucbert, that it had appealed to the government to release one of the leaders of the Committee to Defend the Worker Victims, Jan-Jozef Lipski.

At the same time, protests are growing in the international socialist and workers movement, as well as among progressive intellectuals who oppose anti-Communism in their own countries, against the repression of the Polish Stalinist regime. \Box

'The Polish Working Class Is Counting on Solidarity of Workers Movement in West'

[The following interview and accompanying box appeared in the April 30 issue of *La Brèche*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Lausanne, Switzerland. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. Is there a parallel between the Baltic seaport strikes in 1970-71 and the Radom and Ursus revolts in the summer of 1976? Was there a line of development from the earlier movement to the later one?

Answer. In the first place, it is important to recall the historic conditions out of which the Polish working class has emerged.

Prior to 1939, Poland was not very industrialized; therefore, the working class was only a small percentage of the population. By 1938, Stalin had already ordered the execution of many Communist leaders. Under the Nazi occupation, the vast majority of activists were murdered.

It was not until after World War II that large-scale industrialization began, and with it the restructuring of the working class.

Peasants flocked to the cities by the thousands, forming a very unpoliticized working class. They went into the factories without any experience of struggle, with no traditions. Furthermore, one of the main goals adopted by the bureaucratic regime was to atomize the working class, preventing it from gaining consciousness and becoming politicized, blocking its unification and the development of its natural forms of expression. The proletariat represents a threat to these regimes.

This explains why, up until 1970 in Szczecin, Gdynia, and Gdansk, there was never any real working-class upsurge, but only a slow buildup.

The events of December 1970 and January 1971 represented a major victory. They enabled the working class to become conscious of its strength. However, while the government upgraded the workers' living conditions, it did not hesitate to

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resort to selective repression against the leading activists in the movement through imprisonment, dismissal, forced exile, and so on—to undercut the hopes that these concessions might have aroused. In addition, in the months that followed the shake-up, the government little by little reverted to all of the bureaucratic characteristics of the previous government, particularly by reinforcing the centralization of power.

However, the Polish working class will never willingly accept a bureaucratic regime. The proof of this lies in the events in Radom and Ursus in 1976.

How did Gierek manage to achieve this upgrading of living standards? By taking out loans totaling \$9 billion from the capitalist countries. It should be noted here that a sounder investment policy, one not distorted by bureaucratic planning, would have made it possible to avoid the longterm negative effects of these loans on the Polish economy, thereby contributing to economic recovery. The reason why this was not done is that investment policy is tied to the tribute paid to the Soviet bureaucracy by its Polish counterpart. It was the workers who were asked to pay the price of the government's bad management, with the 45 percent increase in food prices in June 1976. It was precisely in 1976 that the first repayments fell due on the Polish bureaucracy's loans!

Nowadays in Poland, the bureaucratic regime is just going through the motions. The workers, intellectuals, and students are on the offensive. The Polish working class knows that an understanding exists between the Brezhnev doctrine and the Western bourgeoisies, and that in case of an uprising in Eastern Europe, these bourgeoisies would lend their support to the bureaucratic regime. Maintaining the status quo is as much of a vital necessity for the bourgeoisie as for the bureaucracy.

In Eastern Europe, the relationship of forces between the working class and the bureaucracy is like a poker game, where the player watches his opponent's facial expressions to try and guess what he might do next.

The working class knows that every bureaucratic regime has Brezhnev behind it, but that it too has an ace up its sleeve unity in action—even before all the cards are on the table. When will the game begin? The working class and parties on the left in the West have an important role to play because of the support they can give. The Polish working class is no longer counting on anything from the capitalist governments. It is counting on the solidarity of the workers movement in the West.

On June 24, 1976, the decree announcing the price increases was published. The Polish workers, with the 1970 experience under their belts, responded forcefully. On June 25, workers in the city of Radom-40,000 of them-stopped work and gathered in front of the party headquarters, setting fire to it. That same day, workers at the Ursus plant-25,000 of them-went on strike. They tore up the railroad tracks, completely halting rail transport in Poland. Among other examples, let me mention the strike by 20,000 workers at Polski Fiat. June 25 was a day of struggle for the entire Polish working class. On the morning of the twenty-sixth, Premier Jaroszewicz canceled the price increases.

Q. What changes in the Eastern European bureaucracies in general have been brought about by the existence of established opposition groups, such as the Committee to Defend the Workers, Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, and the Committee to Supervise Compliance With the Helsinki Accords in the USSR?

A. Up until around 1970, the bureaucratic regime held unchecked power over the working class. Workers' revolts were nipped in the bud. In 1976, the workers showed that they were capable of opposing this system in a determined way. Charter 77 represents a similar type of response in Czechoslovakia, the country where opposition has been the most stifled and held in check since August 1968.

In 1970, the Polish workers took to the streets of the Baltic port towns. The students and intellectuals did not respond to their call, saying that in 1968, the workers had not responded to the student rebellion. In this way, no links were forged between the students and the working class.

But in June 1976, for the first time in Poland and in the USSR, a convergence took place between the struggles of the working class, the intellectuals, and the students, who had played an important role.

Q. In view of the significance of this new organized opposition, which enjoys widespread popular support, don't you think that the bureaucracy will cling with redoubled determination to the maintenance of the status quo in Europe? What is your opinion of the upcoming Belgrade conference?

A. As I see it, the Helsinki conference or the Belgrade conference is playing the same role as the Holy Alliance, which united Austria, Prussia, and Russia before 1914. It's nothing but a gang of cops in charge of maintaining law and order.

To be more specific, it should not be

forgotten that it was the Brezhnev regime that initiated the Helsinki conference. It is precisely this regime that represses the opposition most harshly. It was trying to give a legitimate veneer to its repression with this maneuver. The reason why the capitalist regimes, headed by the Ford administration in the United States, rushed to respond to this initiative is that they saw in it a way to maintain the status quo in Europe.

Q. What sort of perspective does the Committee to Defend the Workers offer the Polish workers today, in particular in view of the formation of a group to defend democratic rights about which there has been talk recently?

A. First of all, let me explain that the Committee to Defend Human Rights got its start inside the Committee to Defend the Workers, on the initiative of a certain number of its members. The Committee to Defend the Workers was formed to obtain the release and rehabilitation of all the workers arrested in the wake of the June events.

When these goals are achieved, it will have to discontinue its activities. The Committee to Defend Human Rights seeks to carry on this work. In addition, the formation of this group today represents an extension of activity of the grouping of oppositionists that made it possible to found the Committee to Defend the Workers. This new committee only includes a portion of the members of the Committee to Defend the Workers at present.

Q. We feel it is essential to support the struggles of the Polish, Czech, and Russian workers and oppositionists, because the distorted picture of socialism given by these regimes is a millstone around the neck of the entire world working class. What, in your opinion, are the tasks of the workers movement in relation to this?

A. This question sums up the entire interview.

After spending five years in the capitalist countries, I have realized the immense harm done to the working class in general, and to its chances for unity, by the distorted information about the situation in Eastern Europe. The struggle of the working class in the West against the bourgeoisie requires a clear understanding of the nature of the regimes in these countries. Similarly, it is important for workers in the Eastern European countries to be familiar with the current state of struggles in the West.

Our activity—mine as well as yours should help develop this movement. Each time contact is made, from either direction, it is a step forward. The working class in the capitalist countries must understand that the workers in Eastern Europe are

An Exiled Leader of Polish Workers Movement

Edmund Baluka, aged forty-five, worked at the Adolf Warski naval shipyard for twelve years, until the end of 1972.

In December 1970, he led the strike committee there. The significance of this strike movement, touched off by an increase in food prices, should be noted. It was the struggles of the Baltic seaport towns—Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin, and others—that unseated the government and the Gomulka leadership of the Communist party, both products of the post-1956 "de-Stalinization" period.

In January 1971, Baluka was the main leader of a second strike then confronting the newly appointed Gierek regime. Once again, he played a central role in the strike committee.

In ousting the Gomulka leadership, the "new" party and state leadership made a certain number of concessions, hoping to isolate and co-opt the Baltic port workers battling the bureaucratic regime, so as to make it easier to crush them later on.

Seeing the trap that was laid for them, Baluka and his comrades resumed their strike and occupation of the shipyards, forcing Gierek to negotiate with them on the spot. The strike leaders were also faced with the need to prevent spontaneous reprisals by the workers, who were subjected to numerous provocations.

Conscious of the danger that the movement might burn itself out, Edmund Baluka fought to convert the strike committee into an ongoing committee for workers control over the implementation of the twelve demands raised by the movement.

This body was widely looked to at the time by the workers in Baluka's shipyard and in the entire area. Its authority was so great that the party, state, and union bureaucratic leaderships preferred to try to integrate the movement into the union structures, rather than attempting to crush it.

In September 1972, Baluka was elected president of the regional metalworkers union, with a membership of 250,000 workers. In this capacity, he served as a delegate to the Seventh Congress of Polish Trade Unions, held October 15-18, 1972.

He was then summoned to the office of one of the officials whom he had treated unceremoniously at the Adolf Warski naval shipyard. An attempt was made to bribe him. As a skilled worker, he earned 3,500 zlotys a month; he was offered 10,000 zlotys a month, a bonus of 4,000 zlotys four times a year, and another 50,000 zlotys a year for recreational expenses.

So much for wages; a few privileges would be thrown in also—an apartment, an automobile and chauffeur, female companionship, and so on. As a worker militant, Baluka turned down these offers with revulsion.

The scheduling of the Seventh Congress had been postponed eighteen months because of the Baltic port conflict. The incident cited above sheds light on the current leadership's intentions. What sort of political content is suggested by such intrigues?

At the congress, as a union member, Gierek took the floor. The first secretary of the Polish United Workers party called on the delegates present to vote an amendment to the statutes, explicitly giving the party control over the union.

Of the 2,820 delegates present, only Baluka refused to capitulate. He spoke from the podium, arguing that, having been mandated by the workers to represent them on the basis of a program of struggle, he could not agree to submission to the party, whose antiworking-class policies had touched off the conflict. Elected by his comrades as a union representative, he would not bow to the dictates of the party leadership over their heads.

Baluka was summarily dismissed from the union and from his job, and was left without any means of subsistence. With the help and support of his comrades, he was able to flee the country on February 28, 1973.

Since then, this worker militant has spent his years in exile as a factory worker in various European countries.

fighting for socialism, because the regime they are living under is not socialism—it's a system based on terror!

It seems to me that a central goal should be for the workers to tear down the iron curtain. This is the only thing that will make possible a free flow of information as well as free travel by individuals. It must be understood that if our work can develop working-class solidarity in the capitalist countries, the repression that workers in Eastern Europe suffer makes work of this type almost impossible in these countries today.

For this reason, everything that can be done here is essential. Any information that can get across the iron curtain is valuable! \Box

Dzhemilev Still Alive in Soviet Labor Camp

The most recent issue of the Russian language underground journal, A Chronicle of Current Events,* reports that imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev was finally allowed to meet with his relatives. But not without difficulty.

Dzhemilev, sentenced to his fourth term of imprisonment in April 1976, on charges of anti-Soviet fabrications, was sent to the Far Eastern Area of the USSR to serve his labor-camp term.

He had been arrested in June 1975, just three days before his third term of imprisonment was to have ended, and had protested against the injustice of the new arrest and charge by going on a hunger strike that lasted ten months, until his trial. By that time Dzhemilev weighed only seventy-seven pounds and was extremely weak.

Although the prosecution's chief witness retracted his pretrial testimony, Dzhemilev was convicted and sentenced to two and one-half years forced labor.

The real reason for Dzhemilev's arrest and conviction is his commitment to the struggle of his people, the Crimean Tatars, for the right to return to their homeland in the Crimea from which they were deported by Stalin thirty-three years ago.

In mid-September 1976, Mustafa's relatives received a letter from him requesting that they come to see him as soon as possible as his health was very poor.

However, the place where Mustafa is being held in the Far Eastern Area is more than 3,500 miles from Tashkent where his relatives live. One can go there only with a pass issued by the local police. This is obtainable only upon presentation of a summons from the appropriate Far Eastern authority.

After Mustafa's relatives received the letter from him, they received a summons from the labor-camp administration formalizing Dzhemilev's request. The Tashkent police, however, would not issue Dzhemilev's relatives the necessary pass, maintaining that one of the points in the summons had been incorrectly formulated.

On September 29, Moscow dissidents intervened in behalf of Mustafa's relatives. Elena Bonner, Tatyana Velikanova, Aleksandr Lavut, and physicist Andrei Sakharov sent a telegram to Minister of Internal Affairs Shchelokov outlining Dzhemilev's case and asking Shchelokov to intervene and insure that Dhzemilev's relatives be allowed to visit him.

On September 30, Dzhemilev's relatives received assurances from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Uzbek SSR that they would very soon receive the necessary pass to travel to see Dzhemilev. However, immediately thereafter, the Tashkent police declared that the Uzbek minister of internal affairs had no business getting involved in the matter (although Tashkent is located in the Uzbek Republic).

"He doesn't know everything," the Tashkent police official stated. "It is not at all obligatory that Dzhemilev have a meeting" with his relatives.

That same day, Andrei Sakharov escalated the pressure on the Stalinist authorities by addressing an appeal to Amnesty International, the United Nations, heads of governments, political parties, and to all who fight for human rights, calling upon them to "demand the Soviet authorities immediately release Dzhemilev for medical treatment in conditions of freedom, which is the only thing that will save him."

Only after these protests were Dzhemilev's relatives issued the pass.

The *Chronicle* reports that in early October, Dzhemilev's brother and sister were allowed to meet with him at the labor camp. They reported that the state of his health was somewhat improved.

Dzhemilev's address, according to the *Chronicle*, is: 692710, Primorsky Krai, Khasansky Raion, St. Primorsk, p/ya 267/26.

Bus Workers Strike in Southern India

On March 26, just five days after the outgoing regime of Indira Gandhi lifted the state of emergency, bus workers in the southern city of Madras, the capital of Tamil Nadu, walked off their jobs.

According to the April 30 issue of the Bombay *Economic and Political Weekly*, "On March 26, the City's bus traffic stood paralysed. The employees of the express and district bus routes, the Pallavan Printing Press, the body building workshop at Chrompet and the busmen of another corporation of a neighboring district, all stood by the bus workers."

The issue that sparked the strike was the transfer of an employee. But some of the other grievances raised by the workers go back a number of years. The bus employees have been subjected to repeated interference in their unions by various state governments. Shortly before the state of emergency was imposed by Gandhi in June 1975, about 2,000 striking bus workers were arrested and hundreds of activists of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU), a labor federation led by the Communist party of India (Marxist), CPI(M), were transferred to other districts.

During the state of emergency, various wage bonuses were cut and arbitrary fines and punishments were imposed for even minor infractions.

Although the governor of Tamil Nadu agreed, after the first day of the strike, to cancel transferring the bus employee, the workers decided to continue the strike to press some of their other grievances. The CITU supported continuation of the strike and some of its leaders were arrested for a few hours.

A union official of the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) was also arrested. But the AIADMK, which has the largest representation in the central government of any party in the state, later dissociated itself from the strike.

The local Janata party claimed that the CPI(M) was using the strike to embarrass Morarji Desai's Janata party regime in New Delhi.

According to the *Economic and Political Weekly*, "Much to the chagrin of the management, the government and the union bosses, the CITU had emerged, at least temporarily, as the dominant force among the bus workers. Its membership swelled."

The report concluded, "As an off-shoot of this incident, workers have started demanding election of a single union by secret ballot which would then have to be recognised by the management. . . . The fight for trade union democracy has begun and one can predict a long and arduous struggle ahead for the bus workers." \Box

Sour Grapes?

Twenty-nine U.S., British, and other oil companies are allegedly violating the United Nations sanctions on trade with Rhodesia.

This charge was made in a lawsuit filed in High Court in London on June 1 by Lonrho Trading Company. Lonrho claims it once had an exclusive contract to supply oil to Rhodesia but cut its pipeline through Mozambique when the U.N. sanctions were imposed. The company is asking \$170 million in damages.

Lonrho, once the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company, was itself accused of bribery and violations of the Rhodesia embargo in a British government report last year.

^{*}Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytii, No. 42, dated October 8, 1976. (Obtainable in Russian from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018.) pp. 30-31.

III. The Mobilization in Panama to End U.S. Occupation

By Judy White

During the 1930s, pressure against the occupation built up to such an extent that Washington felt forced to renegotiate the terms of the canal treaty. In 1936 some of the most detested provisions of the 1903 Hay-Bunau-Varilla agreement were removed.

The events leading up to the treaty revision began January 2, 1931, when a putsch removed Florencio Arosemena from the presidency of Panama. Ricardo Alfaro replaced him.

A central issue was U.S. interference in Panamanian affairs.

The putsch was carried out by an organization called Acción Comunal, which had 500 to 600 members, mostly young professionals and students. The coup had been preceded by a three-year campaign in Acción Comunal's weekly publication and in the local dailies.

The January 5, 1931, issue of the *New York Times* reported on the politics of the putschists:

The revolution was not a case of the "outs" getting in. The Accion Cumunal [sic], which accomplished the revolution, is not a partisan political organization nor a political party. Neither is it radical or communistic as might be inferred from the name which in English is Community Action.

The members are opposed to United States supervision of Panama's elections, believing Panama as an independent nation must keep her own house in order....

Roscoe Patterson, a senator from Missouri who was in Panama at the time of the coup, also noticed the anti-American sentiment:

Had the American troops taken part in the affair on the side of the Panaman [sic] Government, every official [of the Arosemena regime] would have been murdered. . . .

By the time the 1932 presidential elections came around in Panama, all political parties were stating their opposition to U.S. intervention or supervision of the voting.

A dispatch published in the New York Times May 15, 1931, reported on the aftermath of a clash between Panamanian police and U.S. troops stationed in the Canal Zone. The bourgeois daily Diario de Panamá published a picture of Major Gen. Preston Brown, the commander of the U.S. troops, with a caption that said, "General Brown, who has ordered that Yankee soldiers shall not enter Colon [a Panamanian city bordering the Canal Zone] as long as there is danger of disorder. We must ask the good man whether his soldiers are not sufficient danger of disorder."

The *Times* noted that U.S. soldiers entering Colón were being met with barrages of bottles and stones.

By 1934, negotiations to revise the canal agreement were underway. An article in the November 18, 1934, issue of the *New York Times* indicated the central concerns of the Panamanians:

Two questions . . . may be settled by the new treaty between the United States and Panama now being considered in Washington. . . .

One of the questions concerns the sovereignty of the United States in the Canal Zone. The other has to do with the intervention of the United States in the Republic of Panama.

Panamanian President Juan Arosemena confirmed the *New York Times*'s assessment in a July 25, 1937, statement: "We particularly want the new treaty's elimination of the old clause granting the United States use and control of lands and waters outside the ten-mile Canal Zone."

Despite the fact that the 1939 ratification of the revised treaty had curtailed Washington's right to intervene outside the Canal Zone, the Pentagon—under the patriotic mantle of special defense needs during the Second World War—vastly expanded its military apparatus beyond the boundaries of the enclave.

The lease on these sites ran out in 1947. When officials of the U.S. and Panamanian governments signed an agreement December 10 of that year to renew the lease, demonstrations broke out in Panama City.

"Protesting crowds of students battled police in the center of the city today," reported a *New York Times* dispatch dated December 12, "as the National Assembly [the Panamanian legislature] received from President Enrique Adolfo Jimenez the newly signed agreement for Panama's lease of canal defense bases to the United States."

The dispatch continued:

Police used tear gas in Santa Ana Plaza to break up attempts of the students to march on the Palace of Justice and present objections to the agreement directly to the National Assembly. Motorcycle, mounted and foot police blocked off the marchers

The demonstrators defied a prohibition by Mayor Mauricio Diaz. Students under anti-United States leadership have been for some time building up opposition to the granting of any defense sites to the United States.

An Associated Press dispatch reported

that twenty-five persons were injured when the police opened fire on the crowd of protesters and onlookers.

"Down with Yankee imperialism" was the chant of the students.

Many of the demonstrators reached the Assembly building "despite police action," AP reported.

A strong police guard outside held back several hundred, but some got into the gallery of the Assembly Chamber, where 2 shouted that police were attacking them.

The crowd outside hooted the arrival of Cabinet Ministers.

Three days later, the *New York Times* reported that teachers and students were conducting a general strike to protest against the arrest of twenty-five persons during the march to the National Assembly.

"The newspaper the Nacion reported that many students were opposed to the strike," said the *Times*, "but a report from interior towns to The Panama American said the strike was spreading there."

By December 16, the protest had spread to another sector.

"Four thousand demonstrators, mostly women," the Associated Press reported, "paraded in front of the National Assembly today urging rejection of an agreement with the United States for Panama Canal defense bases."

Students also continued to demonstrate in front of the legislature, until the Panamanian government was forced to cancel its agreement with Washington.

The Pentagon withdrew from its bases outside the Canal Zone by the end of 1947.

But a new, militant anti-imperialist movement had been born in the course of the struggle. Led by students and reflecting the impact of the revolutionary upsurge that was sweeping the world, it was to become more and more prominent in the struggle to end the U.S. presence in Panama.

During the 1950s, the question of the Panamanian people's sovereign claim to the Canal Zone itself became the center of the protest. The right to fly the Panamanian flag came to symbolize this claim; and marches were organized into the Canal Zone to plant the national colors alongside the stars and stripes.

On May 2, 1958, when a group of students from the University of Panama flew seventy-five flags in the Canal Zone, "order was restored" by the Panamanian National Guard. The regime declared a state of siege, suspended civil liberties, instituted censorship, and decreed a curfew. A number of students were arrested.

Six months later, during the celebration of Panamanian Independence Day, several students were injured when the National Guard attacked those demanding sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

Independence Day celebrations in 1959 were also marked by violence. On November 3, demonstrators led by members of the National Assembly entered the Canal Zone, planted their national emblem, and sang the Panamanian anthem. They were driven out of the enclave by U.S. troops.

"Only after severe rioting, in which eighty persons were injured," said Jane Majeski in the July 24, 1976, issue of *Saturday Review*, "... did President Eisenhower allow the flags to be flown at one place in the Zone."

The right to fly the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone continued to be the central focus of anti-U.S. demonstrations in the 1960s. But the decade was also marked by the first reported protest around a theme that has come increasingly to the fore in the struggle for self-determination by the Panamanian people—the demand for an end to the Pentagon's use of their country as a base for counterrevolutionary military operations.

On April 18, 1961, about 500 Panamanians marched into the Canal Zone, charging that planes that had attacked Cuba during the Bay of Pigs invasion had been taking off from an airstrip in Panama used by the U.S. government. One demonstrator was injured when Panamanian National Guardsmen attacked the march with tear-gas grenades.

The bloodiest clash in Panamanian history occurred on January 9, 1964. More than twenty Panamanians died and about 500 were injured when Canal Zone police and U.S. troops fired on a demonstration of thousands of unarmed Panamanians.

The right to fly the Panamanian flag was at issue.

On December 30, 1963, Canal Zone Governor Gen. Robert Fleming had announced that starting January 1 the Panamanian flag would be flown along with the stars and stripes in specific places throughout the Canal Zone. He also said that the stars and stripes would no longer be flown in front of Canal Zone schools reserved for U.S. citizens or in several other public places.

However, U.S. residents refused to comply with the governor's order. They raised the U.S. flag and stood guard to protect it.

On January 9, a group of 200 Panamanian students visited Canal Zone authorities and received permission to fly the Panamanian colors alongside a U.S. flag that had been raised in front of Balboa High School.

What happened next was described in Mexico City daily *El Día* of January 14, 1964. *Intercontinental Press* translated and published excerpts from the article in its January 24, 1964, issue:

The North American police of the Canal Zone intercepted them and the boys agreed that a delegation of five of them should go up to the flag pole of the school to sing their national anthem and display their ensign. While they were singing, the North American students poked fun at them and began singing their anthem. The Panamanian students were then invited by the police to get going. They had a discussion with the police, as can be seen in newsreels, and the North American students then surrounded the delegation of five.

The newsreel shows how the police proceeded to push the Panamanian youths and the menacing gestures of the Yankee students. The two hundred ran to join their comrades and then the police attacked the whole group, throwing tear gas. Their feelings aroused, the boys broke lamps and threw chunks of garbage, spreading out in various directions, trying to plant small Panamanian flags. Then the police began shooting, wounding several.

When the retreating students were joined by other Panamanians, bringing the number of demonstrators up into the thousands, "the armed forces of the Canal Zone went into action with heavy, longrange weaponry," reported the August 1975 issue of the Panamanian magazine *Diálogo Social.* "Rifles, machine guns, and tanks stretched along the border from one end to the other. They fired without interruption at the unarmed crowd."

The attack continued through the next day, and there were new clashes between Panamanians and U.S. troops on January 11, when the troops left the Canal Zone and invaded the city of Colón in pursuit of demonstrators.

The article in *El Día* estimated that 20,000 Panamanians participated in the protests.

Demonstrations demanding sovereignty over the Canal Zone have taken place regularly ever since on the anniversary of the 1964 massacre.

At the 1967 action some 200 students, teachers, and trade-union delegates marched from the National University to the cemetery where fifteen of the 1964 victims are buried. A representative of the National Movement for the Martyrs of January 1964 addressed a crowd of several hundred persons attending a memorial mass for the victims, pledging to continue the struggle they had died for.

With the seizure of power by the demagogic Gen. Omar Torrijos in 1969, the independent dynamic of the movement for self-determination was temporarily blunted.

On October 11, 1971, for instance, the biggest demonstration in the history of the country took place around the theme of opposition to the U.S. presence. The *New York Times* estimated that about 200,000 persons attended a celebration called by the regime to mark the third anniversary of the coup that later brought Torrijos to power.

However, by 1974, there were clear signs that Torrijos needed more than mere rhetoric to keep the lid on the dissatisfaction.

When Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went to Panama in February of that year to sign an agreement with Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Antonio Tack outlining the "principles" for negotiation of a new treaty, he was met by students and trade unionists carrying banners that said "One Country Under One Flag," "End Colonialism," "We Fight for Our Dignity," and "Sovereignty Yes, Colonialism No."

A dispatch by David Binder in the February 12, 1974, issue of the *New York Times* reported:

General Torrijos had authorized the demonstration by activists of the 22,000-member Federation of Students of Panama the night before Mr. Kissinger's visit. But he did not authorize violence nor the radical slogans— "Nixon—Assassin" and "Get tough with the American, Omar"—that accompanied it.

He was on the scene and at first relished the cheers for him. But then he beaded with sweat as he saw the jouncing youths move on the automobiles. He and Mr. Kissinger drove off in a cacophony of police sirens and epithets about imperialism.

Binder commented perspicaciously, "... the militant leftists gave General Torrijos a taste of what he might face if he got 'too soft' in the canal negotiations with the Americans."

During 1974 and 1975, Panamanians working in the Canal Zone had also been waging a struggle against the racist discrimination they suffer in employment working for the U.S. government.

When Americans living in the Canal Zone told them that if they did not like the system, why didn't they go work in Panama, the commission of trade-union leaders, attorneys, and workers responded that the Canal Zone was Panamanian territory and it was the Americans who should leave and go back to the United States if they wouldn't agree to end the job discrimination.

The 1975 commemoration of the 1964 massacre gave an indication of the breadth the movement for selfdetermination was attaining in the student movement. Statements calling for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. military bases from Panama and for the recovery of the Canal Zone and the canal were published in the August 1975 issue of *Diálogo Social*.

They were issued by the Asociación Federada del Instituto Nacional; Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario; Movimiento de Unidad Estudiantil; Círculo Camilo Torres; Guaykucho; Frente Obrero Socialista; Asociación Femenina de Derecho; Centro de Estudiantes de Derecho; Associación de Estudiantes de Agronomía; Frente Unido de Agronomía; Unión de Estudiantes de Ciencias; Círculo Estudi-



PANAMA, November 1959: U.S. troops prevent demonstrators from placing Panamanian flag in Canal Zone.

antes de Comercio; Comandos Camilistas Secundarios; Frente Estudiantil Combativo, Crítico e Independiente; Frente de Liberación Guaymi; and the Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá.⁵

In September of 1975 transport workers blocked all access routes to the Canal Zone for forty-five minutes while students blocked the Panama Railroad to protest Kissinger's statement that the Pentagon wanted to retain its unilateral right to defend the canal and the Canal Zone under the new treaty being negotiated.

Less than a week later, more than 5,000 Panamanian students demonstrated against the U.S. military bases. The protest, which took place in front of the U.S. Embassy in Panama City, was broken up by National Guardsmen using tear gas.

The Washington Post reported in its September 24, 1975, issue that the students "denounced both the U.S. and Panamanian governments for agreeing to defend the Panama Canal jointly. . . ."

Such open criticism of Torrijos has become increasingly common in the movement to end the U.S. presence in Panama.

Exiled Panamanian revolutionist Miguel Antonio Bernal is a prominent spokesman for this sentiment. In an interview published in the October 4, 1976, issue of *Intercontinental Press* he said: attacking the basic essence of the problem or respecting the evident historical aspirations of the Panamanian people.

The Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League), the Panamanian Trotskyist organization, evaluated the importance of the fight for self-determination in a November 1976 resolution:

"The struggle for the recovery of the canal is a key task for all revolutionists in Panama. For this reason it is important to look at how this struggle has developed and how it is being carried out today. Historically, the struggle for the Canal Zone has been seen as part of the fight for national liberation, and not linked up with a program for social revolution. This is still the case today. But for revolutionists, the struggle for national selfdetermination has to be combined with the task of social liberation. The two are dialectically combined; we cannot overlook this when defining our program for struggle within Panama."

[Next: Carter's Stance in the Current Talks]

^{5.} Federated Association of the National Institute; Revolutionary Student Front; Movement for Student Unity; Camilo Torres Circle; Guaykucho; Workers Socialist Front; Women's Law Association; Law Students Center; Agronomy Students Association; Agronomy United Front; Union of Science Students; Commerce Students Circle; High School Camilist Commandos; Fighting, Critical, Independent Student Front; Guaymi Liberation Front; Panamanian Student Federation.

^{...} the Panamian government presents itself to the public domestically and abroad as a "revolutionary nationalist" government. It has managed to visibly create confusion on the true content of its policy in this way. Its policy revolves around modernizing the dependent capitalism that rules in our country, renegotiating the terms of imperialist rule, and smoothing over the roughest edges of the North American presence in the so-called "Canal Zone," without

2. Abstention—or How to Leave the Opportunities to Others

By Bob Pearlman

[Second of two parts]

The busing struggle developed just after the Spartacist League's fourth national conference in the summer of 1974 declared that the SL was "no longer a nationally-isolated, sub-propaganda group insulated from the American proletariat."²⁶ The selfcharacterization as a sub-propaganda group and the SL's small size had long been the leadership's explanation for its scant involvement in mass work. But with the onset of the busing struggle and under the pressure of criticism by Edmund Samarakkody, the SL internally rechristened itself a "fighting propaganda group." It then went on to decide that the fight was not in Boston and liquidated its work there, presumably to "organize the Red Army in Detroit" to come back and "smash the Boston racists."

This behavior had its roots in a decade of abstention in relation to the social struggles taking place in the United States. A. Lumumba's characterization of SL Black work—"you fight nationalism, not racism"—fits the entire corpus of SL activity. Spartacist fought the antiwar movement, not the war; it fought feminism, not women's oppression; it centered its fire on the leadership of the Cuban revolution and the NLF in Vietnam, not American imperialism. In its brand of "solidarity" work, it aims its blows at the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and African nationalists and not U.S. and South African imperialism.

The SL on the United Front

The antiwar movement had a profound impact on American politics. It touched millions of people and organized hundreds of thousands in mass actions against the war. It exposed the deceits of American imperialism and demanded the United States get out of Vietnam. When even 500,000 American troops were stalled by the tremendous resistance of the Vietnamese people, it was the power and success of the antiwar movement in turning the American people against the war that cautioned the ruling class against any further escalation and forced it to retreat. The antiwar movement played a decisive role in making possible the victory of the Vietnamese people over American imperialism. The central role the SWP played in this movement was the deepest expression of proletarian internationalism.

Just as in the desegregation struggle, Spartacist was absent from this process. It neither endorsed nor built a single mass antiwar action. Its only activity on the question, just as in the desegregation struggle, was to go to conferences of those doing the real organizing activity against the war and accuse them of "class betrayal."

The linchpin of Spartacist abstention from building mass civilrights, antiwar, prodesegregation, pro-ERA, proabortion-rights, and other demonstrations has been its concept of the "united front." In all these developments, the SL has seen nothing but "popular frontism." Noting the participation of certain bourgeois elements or individuals in these actions, the SL concludes that they represent blocs with the bourgeoisie around the program of the bourgeoisie. In the antiwar movement and the women's movement, the cardinal tactic of the SL was to advocate the exclusion of bourgeois individuals from the podium of rallies organized to build these movements. In the antiwar movement, Spartacist wanted "class action against the war." The lack of large-scale participation of unions in the antiwar movement was ascribed not to the default of the labor movement's bureaucratic misleadership, but to the SWP's inveterate "popular frontism." "To the extent that sections of the working class do remain imbued with the ideology of the bourgeoisie, groups like the SWP have only themselves to blame. Workers see their most sophisticated enemies (McCarthy, Lindsay, Hartke) lauded by the supposed 'Marxists,' cheered on by the labor parasites who serve the bourgeoisie within the workers' own organizations."²⁷

Political reality in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s has been characterized by the absence of reformist parties, mass Stalinist or Socialist parties, and by a union movement that has defaulted on every serious social struggle by oppressed minorities and women, defaulted in its own right, and remained completely tied to the Democratic party. Given these concrete realities, the problem for revolutionary socialists becomes how to advance social struggles by the oppressed and the working class against capitalism. The antiwar movement invited all those opposed to the war to join its ranks.

To sectarians the problem lies elsewhere. To struggle against capitalism, nothing less then "class action" is needed. These actions may take the form of a *united front*. Knowing communist history, the sectarian discovers that the united-front tactic was developed by the Comintern in 1922 and involved agreements between mass parties of the working class for specific actions. The guiding principle of these actions was "freedom of criticism, unity of action." Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League (now Workers Revolutionary party) of Britain concluded in 1967 that the SLL could not involve itself in united fronts against the war because it was not a mass party.²⁸ The Spartacist League of the U.S. has concluded that a demonstration without an SL speaker is not a united front and therefore the SL cannot endorse or build such actions. Freedom of slogans and distribution of literature is not sufficient for the SL at this stage.

For the sectarian, "finding no replica of the past in present day reality he washes his hands of the whole mess and takes refuge in the limbo of infantile leftism there to await the day when history finally catches up with doctrinaire prescription."²⁹ Thus the SL proposed as the way to bring about class action against the war, the slogans "No Liberal Bourgeois Speakers at Anti-War Rallies!" and "Labor Political Strikes Against the War!" This orientation simply meant that there would be no such speakers at tiny SLinitiated rallies (if there were to be such) and that a few union locals would allow an SL trade unionist to stand up at union meetings and "make the record" by proposing labor strikes

^{26. &}quot;Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League of the U.S. (Political Bureau Draft)," Spartacist League Internal Discussion Bulletin, whole no. 22, August 1974.

^{27.} Spartacist Supplement, July 1971.

^{28.} See "Some Comments on Party Policy and Tactics in the Antiwar Movement," by Tom Kerry (from SWP Discussion Bulletin, vol. 26, no. 12, October 1967) in *United Front vs. People's Front* (enlarged edition), Education for Socialists bulletin, December 1972.

^{29.} Ibid.

against the war to unions that had not even been won to oppose the war.

The Spartacist formula of the exclusion of bourgeois speakers from antiwar rallies was not at all a formula for independent working-class action agains't the war. Instead, such a formula would have led only to a few, tiny "red rallies"—"independent" of the working class and the millions of Americans mobilizing to oppose the war. Independent working-class action against the war was achieved, however, by those activists, including the SWP, who organized millions around the principled working-class demand, "Out Now!"

In 1973 Spartacist organized a rally in New York City in support of the British miners' strike. It sought and achieved the endorsement of Democratic party politician Paul O'Dwyer. Confusion developed in the SL ranks. "As a result of polemical simplification, particularly in combatting the SWP, many comrades have adopted the definition of a 'popular front' as a 'united front with the bourgeoisie,'" Joseph Seymour wrote.³⁰ Seymour then went on to articulate the new "complex and subtle" line in which he admitted that "the definitive expulsion of the bourgeoisie from the workers movement will be the result of a lengthy and complex struggle in which united fronts with bourgeois politicians and groups are a necessary part." Thus the ultradefenders of sectarian abstention from the antiwar movement came full circle to advocate in this case what they termed a united front with bourgeois politicians!

Since Seymour's aim was to justify rather than polemicize against Spartacist work, he concluded that the problem with the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), was that it "was a bloc (not a united front) between the SWP and certain bourgeois politicians on a program and tactics congruent with bourgeois liberalism in the 1969-71 period."³¹ The contention that immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam and mass demonstrations around this demand were the program of bourgeois liberalism in the 1969-71 period requires little comment here.

Even the matter of SL speakers in united fronts, a hallmark of Spartacist method in the desegregation struggle, came into question when the Spartacus Youth League, in the course of attempting a polemic against the SWP on antifascist work, published Murry Weiss's excellent 1945 "Report on the Los Angeles Anti-Fascist Campaign." The united-front work the SWP carried out, despite its exclusion from a podium made up of CPers and bourgeois politicians, elicited this comment from Bill Logan, chairman of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SLANZ):

The futile search for the Ten Commandments of Temporary Alliances, Blocs and United Fronts has recently been dealt a heavy blow by the arrival of the SYL's bulletin including material on the SWP's anti-Fascist work. In the small united fronts with which we've been involved we have made democratic platforms at all meetings, demonstrations, etc, a condition of our participation. The challenge to the eternal verity of this principle posed by the SWP's obviously sensible support for a closedplatform united front meeting in other circumstances has had a salutary effect.³²

As yet, this salutary effect has been unnoticed in the work of the SL/US.

Fighting Feminism, Not Women's Oppression

While the Spartacist League's misconception of the united front is the basis of its abstentionist policy, refusal to build each particular struggle has its own unique dogmatic foundation. In

31. Ibid.

the battle for Black rights it is the SL's hostility to an independent Black struggle movement. The Spartacist League has taken a similar attitude toward the struggle for women's rights.

For the SL to begin any work on the "women question," a major struggle had to be fought against Joseph Seymour, the SL's leading theorist. In his "Theses on the Women's Liberation Movement,"³³ Seymour belittled the rising women's liberation movement as "transitory" and "fleeting":

2. Significant political movements directed at women's oppression have been exceptional. Those that existed were either fleeting movements directed against particularly apparent forms of women's inequality (e.g. the right to vote) or have been produced by transitional organizations established by mass left-wing parties. . . .

6. The existing women's liberation movement is transitory because it is isolated as a current within the petty-bourgeois left-liberal milieu, having a foundation neither in the sympathy of the female population nor in concrete struggles against the ruling class.

At the SL's third national conference, in the winter of 1972, leading women comrades of the SL demolished Seymour's theses. These comrades unearthed the work of the Bolshevik party among women and showed how that mass party of the working class strove to mobilize the masses of worker and peasant women against their special oppression as women. But what these comrades failed to do, despite their victory, was to study and analyze the rising women's liberation movement in the United States and put forward a program of action against women's oppression.

In fact, the spirit of Seymour won out. Spartacist work in the women's arena has been confined to the publishing of *Women and Revolution* (Journal of Spartacist League Central Committee Commission for Work Among Women) and to a few interventions into organized women's struggles based on "barring the class enemy from the platform."³⁴ *W&R* has published article after article on Bolshevik and German SPD (Social Democratic party of Germany) work among women to indicate how earlier mass parties of the proletariat sponsored special work among women. Their cumulative impact, however, underscores the enormous disdain the Spartacist League holds for what it calls the "pettybourgeois women's movement," which arose independently of the nonexistent mass parties of the American proletariat. Such a view is apparent in the SL theses on the women's liberation movement:

In our experience in the women's arena we were forced pragmatically to rediscover the position of the Communist International, which strongly opposed the initiation of women's organizations not organizationally linked to the proletarian vanguard, not only when the revolutionary organization is a mass party—in which case "independence" would in fact constitute counterposition to the revolutionary party—but also when the vanguard is weak and struggling to increase its contact with and influence among the masses. Our strategic perspective should be the development of a *women's section* of the SL³⁵

Spartacist's attempts to construct a women's section of the SL, or women's organizations linked to the party, or even to carry out practical work in the women's movement, have all failed miserably. Most of the women comrades who led the fight against Seymour had been recruited out of the women's movement prior to 1972. They were the last of their kind.

Spartacist's disorientation is typical of how historical analogy is utilized by the SL in an ahistorical manner on all questions. In

^{30.} Joseph Seymour, "On the United Front Question," Spartacist League Internal Discussion Bulletin, whole no. 23, August 1974.

^{32.} Bill Logan, SLANZ chairman, Letter to John Sharpe, 1st secretary, September 25, 1975.

^{33.} Joseph Seymour, "Theses on the Women's Liberation Movement," September 3, 1971, in Spartacist League Internal Discussion Bulletin, whole no. 15, August 1972.

^{34.} See "WONAAC Sponsors Bourgeoisie, Ousts Communists," Workers Vanguard, no. 6, March 1972.

^{35. &}quot;The SL and the Woman Question," by Liz Gordon, October 28, 1972; with endorsing motion by Political Bureau #58, October 28-29, 1972, in Spartacist League Internal Discussion Bulletin, whole no. 17, October 1972.

maintaining that the "Communist International . . . strongly opposed the initiation of women's organizations not organizationally linked to the proletarian vanguard," it forgets that mass parties, and also mass parties having state power, can sponsor special methods of work on a mass scale. Today it is a problem of communists organizing a movement that has arisen independently of the labor movement and the organized left, a movement with its own vitality whose roots in the character of advanced capitalist society propel it in the direction of anticapitalist struggle.

In publishing the documents of the period of the Communist International and quoting often from Clara Zetkin's "Reminiscences of Lenin," Spartacist got fixated only on the question of how communists organize themselves (sections, transitional organizations). The SL failed to understand how Lenin and Zetkin approached the problems of winning the masses of women on a world scale in their discussions prior to the Third World Congress of the Comintern:

Zetkin proposed that the communist women from various countries should take the initiative in calling and organizing an international congress of women to help promote the tremendous new ferment and radicalization of women of all classes and sections of society in the post-World War I period. She suggested that they contact "... the leaders of the organised female workers in each country, the proletarian political women's movement, bourgeois women's organisations of every trend and description, and finally the prominent female physicians, teachers, writers, etc., and to form national nonpartisan preparatory committees....

Lenin's reaction was one of wholehearted approval. But he questioned whether the Communist fraction at such a congress on an international scale would be strong enough to win the leadership of the delegates, whether the bourgeois and reformist women might not be stronger. Zetkin responded that she thought it was not a great danger because the communist women would have the best program and proposals for action. And even if they did lose, it would be no disaster. Lenin agreed. "Even defeat after a stubborn struggle would be a gain," he commented.

On further reflection, Lenin pointed out that this congress of women "would foment and increase unrest, uncertainty, contradictions and conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie and its reformist friends.... The congress would add to the division and thereby weaken the forces of the counter-revolution. Every weakening of the enemy is tantamount to a strengthening of our forces."

With Lenin's backing for the proposal, Zetkin set out to convince the sections of the International of its value, but due to the sectarian opposition of the German and Bulgarian parties, the two parties with the largest women's organizations, the whole project fell through.

--"Feminism and the Marxist Movement," Mary-Alice Waters, October, 1972, International Socialist Review. Lenin and Zetkin quotes from Zetkin's Recollection of Lenin reprinted in Lenin on the Emancipation of Women (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968).

With their sectarian opposition to the feminist movement, the Spartacist League was ill-prepared to participate in the mass activity of the women's movement. Unlike Lenin, they fought at the February 11-13, 1972, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) Conference to bar "the class enemy from the platform." They fought against and later completely abstained from a mass campaign to "repeal all anti-abortion laws." To this they counterposed the fight for "free abortion on demand," a good proposition that simply was not the issue at the time. SL preferred a pure propaganda campaign for free abortion on demand, rather than participation in the real motion and confrontation over legalizing abortion. In a country such as the United States, since the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, this has meant that abortion costs are covered by government social insurance and welfare programs and by many of the private medical plans that most U.S. workers and their families possess. This is not exactly free and there are currently reactionary attempts to eliminate abortions from Medicaid coverage, but legalization was a tremendous gain, nonetheless.

The fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment was stalled by defeats of state ERAs in New York and New Jersey in 1975. W&R, Spring 1976, notes this in the article, "Reactionary Backlash Targets Women's Rights." What are women and their allies to do to fight this backlash? W&R counsels that armed with

the transitional program "of Trotsky and the Spartacist League" masses of women "will take up positions in the front lines of the class struggle." Meanwhile, what about actual struggles for the ERA and abortion rights, which revolutionists must participate in to win women to class-struggle politics? Spartacist neither participated nor called on women to march in the national demonstration in support of the ERA called by the National Organization for Women on May 16, 1976. Spartacist advocated no practical action by women to win the passage of state ERAs, such as in Massachusetts in November 1976.

Despite protestations, Spartacist throws the Transitional Program and the method of Lenin out the window. "Women's Liberation through Proletarian Revolution," says the Spartacist League. True, but general declarations such as this are not programs of action for women and their allies fighting for women's rights. In the United States these words have served as nothing other than the Spartacist excuse for abstention from the ongoing mass struggle for women's rights.

While Spartacist justifies most of its practice by a dogmatic rendering of previous practice in the communist movement, nowhere is its departure from previous practice so striking, or its policy so childish, as in its trade-union work. Based on its growth in the 1971-73 period, Spartacist "colonized" its comrades into a number of basic U.S. industries. There, over a period of time, these comrades established caucuses based on nothing less than the Transitional Program in full.

The construction of such "political caucuses" represents a complete break with the work of the SWP of the 1930s and 1940s, which the SL considers to have been revolutionary at that time. The SWP fractions in the unions sometimes made blocs with tendencies led by "progressive" bureaucrats. The goal of the SWP trade unionists was to create a broad class-struggle wing in the unions.

To explain this departure, SL Trade-Union Secretary Chris Knox in 1973 wrote a four-part series on "Trotskyist Work in the Trade Unions" (Workers Vanguard, nos. 25-28). Knox saw Cannon's position on trade-union work as insufficient. The SWP "called for principled united fronts and blocs around the immediate burning issues, together with vigorous party-building and maintenance of the party as an independent force, free to criticize its bloc partners, and always striving to play a leading role."36 But, according to Knox, Cannon lacked any "conception of an organized pole for the recruitment of militants to the full party program for the trade unions, i.e., what the TUEL [Trade Union Educational League] had been during its period of greatest success (and before the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International set in). It is not surprising, then, that the Trotskyists [including Trotsky-B. P.] never attempted to create anything like the TUEL, such as caucuses based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program, in the course of their trade-union work. What caucuses they did create had the character of temporary blocs, usually based on immediate, trade-union issues. This meant that the party itself, able to function openly only outside the unions, was the only organized pole for recruitment to the full program."

Thus Knox implies that Trotskyist recruitment was forestalled by not having a "political caucus" based on the complete Transitional Program operating in the unions. More serious, though, he argues that the sharp political questions of war and elections in the late 1930s could have been solved by full program caucuses! "When Tobin [head of the Teamsters] began to line up behind the war effort," says Knox, "the Trotskyists in Minneapolis opposed the war and won over the Central Labor Union, but they lacked the basis for a factional struggle in the union as a whole that a *political caucus orientation might have provided*."³⁷ (My emphasis—B.P.)

^{36.} Workers Vanguard, no. 25, July 20, 1973.

^{37.} Workers Vanguard, no. 27, August 31, 1973.

One must remember in reading these words that they are written by the leader of trade-union work for a group that began to colonize its members in the unions only two years before! These childish suppositions of what might have been done by the gimmick of full-program caucuses have no basis in real work. (To see how real revolutionists carried on their union activity in good times and bad, read the four volumes on Teamster history by Farrell Dobbs. [Available from Pathfinder Press.])

What Full-Program Caucuses Have Meant in Practice

Knox presented his conceptions of how to implement the SL's modest trade-union work as follows: "Especially in the initial phases of struggle when the revolutionary forces are weak, it is necessary to make an independent pole as politically distinct as possible, so that the basis for future growth is clear. To this end, the SL calls for the building of caucuses based on the revolutionary transitional program."³⁸

So "distinct" were these caucuses over the past five years that the SL managed to recruit—nationwide—three people into these caucuses, one of them being a former member of the SL. This was easily matched by the loss of colonized cadres who became demoralized over the isolated nature of SL activity.

Despite bureaucratic domination of the trade unions, the American labor movement is still democratic enough to allow isolated leftists to get up in union meetings and "make the record" on their favorite issues, so long as these declarations represent no real motion or threat to the officialdom. So the SL trade unionists have specialized in sterile "denunciations" of the bureaucrats and "making the record" by advocating "general strikes," and "Oust the bureaucrats—Build a workers party based on the trade unions," and other slogans.

Thus through tactics of denunciation, the SL avoids all the problems of activating the rank-and-file workers in struggle against the employers. After a quarter-century of bureaucratic domination in the unions, few rank-and-filers have any experience of struggle, strike activity, and labor solidarity. SL proposals for action, as with their "third period" version of the labor party slogan, often demand that the rank and file oppose the union's official leadership as a precondition of action against the employers. As a result, SL proposals go nowhere. For internal consumption, the SL explains its difficulties by saying, "This is a bad period." But to serious militants, this is the best period in twenty-five years for activating the ranks of U.S. labor.

Sensible tactics, however, take the real problems of the labor movement into account. Revolutionists do not enter the unions to "make the record." The purpose of union activity is to educate the working class and organize it around its real tasks. Sterile denunciation of labor bureaucrats, when the forces for a head-on confrontation have not yet matured, do not aid this process.

While they are increasingly prepared to engage in struggle against the employers, most U.S. workers do not yet see the real role of the labor fakers. Making denunciation of or removal of the labor fakers a condition for struggle, as Spartacist does ("Oust the Bureaucrats—Build a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions"), is nothing but a formula for self-isolation. In the process of real struggle against the employers, however, the procapitalist policies of the labor bureaucrats will be revealed reliance on the promises of the Democratic party "friends of labor," willingness to sacrifice the needs of minorities, women, and youth, etc.

Sectarians like Spartacist do not understand this simple dialectic of real struggle and the way in which a new classstruggle leadership of the unions can be formed. The SL believes in the mystical power of denunciation. They raise demands in such a way that they are effectively isolated from the ranks and relegated to the status of mindless slogan-mongerers.

Typical of SL slogan-mongering is its attitude toward the

challenge of Steelworkers Fight Back candidate Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Sadlowski's challenge to the I. W. Abel regime reflects the radicalization of the ranks against the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) and the union's present "ratification" procedure, which deprives the membership of the right to reject a contract.

Sadlowski opposed the ENA, demanded the right of members to ratify all contracts, called for a shorter workweek, and denounced the bureaucracy's attempts to blame unemployment on imports and "illegal aliens." Yet with fine disregard for reality, the February 4, 1977, issue of Workers Vanguard said: "On not one single issue does Sadlowski break from the class collaborationism of the mainstream labor bureaucracy." (Emphasis in original.)

Previously, Workers Vanguard wrote approvingly of a leaflet distributed at a Sadlowski campaign meeting in Chicago by several Local 1014 "rank-and-file militants."³⁹ This leaflet charged that Sadlowski's program of union democracy was "borrowed chapter and verse from I. W. Abel's 1965 campaign against then-president McDonald!" WV then reported that instead of supporting the Steelworkers Fight Back challenge to the Abel regime, "these militants called for a class-struggle union leadership which would fight for a workers government."

The Spartacist League sees Sadlowski only as an individual and roundly denounces him as a faker. The SL fails, in grand "third period" style, to see the movement of workers that Sadlowski reflects and to develop an orientation toward these workers. For the SL, strident denunciation and the "fight for a workers government" are enough.

The SL ostensibly called for a boycott of the steel election: "Neither Sadlowski Nor McBride!" But as the campaign progressed, the SL position more and more dovetailed with that of the Meany-Abel-McBride bureaucracy. Like McBride, they attacked Sadlowski as the tool of "outsiders," "employers," and "establishment liberal warhorses." Like McBride, they shamelessly distorted Sadlowski's call for using technological advances to benefit the workers and charged him with seeking to eliminate jobs. Like McBride, the SL vehemently opposed Sadlowski's use of the courts to wrest democratic concessions from the bureaucracy as "undermining . . . the class independence of the trade unions."

It must have been a source of embarrassment to at least some SL trade unionists when the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* came out with a virtually identical stand—"neutral" for McBride by attacking Sadlowski's acceptance of outside contributions.

While some decent SL work in mobilizing the rank and file for action has been done in a hard-hit West Coast union, mainly owing to the unique capacities of the comrades involved, the balance sheet of five years of SL trade-union work is deplorable. The "caucuses" remain nothing but party fractions composed of the handful of comrades in a given plant. *Workers Vanguard* is filled with stories of fired and harassed union militants who most often have to wage a defensive campaign against the company without official union backing. Since the work of these militants too often confronted the bureaucracy headlong when the forces necessary for a head-on confrontation had not yet matured, SL trade-union comrades have become demoralized by years of sectarian posturing and have drifted toward committing, according to the SL leadership, "serious opportunist errors."

The balance of these five years of implantation was drawn by a special "Laterally Expanded West Coast CC Group" meeting in July 1976, which included the key national and international leadership of the SL. Under a report by James Robertson, titled "Drifting/Driving to Disaster in North America," the following motions were passed:

Motion: Noting the incapacity of the North American and Mid-Atlantic II^{40} fractions and the retrograde character of the Midwest II Fraction, that

^{38.} Workers Vanguard, no. 28, September 14, 1973.

^{39.} Workers Vanguard, no. 132, November 5, 1976.

^{40.} Intermediate Industry. Refers to SL fraction in a particular industry.

these comrades are absolutely banned from issuing written material over the next period on local issues and that their friends will only issue written propaganda on general questions that has originated elsewhere and passed through the TUC [Trade Union Commission]. . . . that given the weaknesses of our fractions only general passive propagandism be exhibited by us from inside the industry.

Motion: Given the failure and/or indiscipline of some of the recent operational leadership of our II fractions we not only hope the above motion embarrasses and damages them in their intended plant work but that it does in fact give them the necessary setback in their personal connections such that they may re-emerge at some date as better communists, and so that perhaps within the fractions a new and more stable, principled and balanced leadership will be facilitated in emerging.

Typical of bureaucrats, the SL leaders blamed their own failures on those who carried out the work, and initiated no evaluation of the policy the ranks were to carry out. Foremost among these are Knox's "full program" caucuses and the SL's tactic of "straightout denunciation and completely independent struggle."⁴¹

This same meeting reduced the SL's Los Angeles local to the status of an organizing committee (OC), which means that all its activities must first be cleared through the national office. The same action had been taken against the Detroit local at the previous Political Bureau meeting. These actions were the first of their kind for the SL/US. More clearly than anything else they point up the balance sheet of the SL's "transformation" inaugurated in 1971.

'Class Struggle Defense': The PDC

Despite its years of sectarian practice, when the Spartacist League launched the Partisan Defense Committee in 1975, it asserted that the work of the PDC would be *non-sectarian*: "We champion *all* causes and defend *all* cases whose victorious outcome is in the interest of working people, irrespective of particular political views."⁴² And "we are for the solidarity of all workers and their allies around defense issues." The PDC stood, it said, on the "heritage" of the "International Labor Defense under its founder and first Secretary, James P. Cannon (1925-28)."

"Partisan" in the name of the PDC was intended to mean partisan "on the side of working people and their allies in their struggle against their exploiters and oppressors." But "Partisan" also had a different meaning. The PDC initially described itself as "the legal defense arm of the Spartacist League," then later corrected the formulation to read "The Partisan Defense Commit tee, in accordance with the political aims of the Spartacist League." For internal consumption the message was even clearer: "We want the PDC increasingly to behave like a party section in presenting an independent organizational face in the framework of complete solidarity with the SL."⁴³

In fact what the SL created in the PDC was an arm of the party in the defense arena, in the same spirit in which it creates tradeunion caucuses. The PDC, in its brief history, has carried out that task par excellence. In its first major work, the Philip Allen defense case,⁴⁴ the PDC made the profound sectarian error, later acknowledged by the SL and PDC leadership, of tying support to Philip Allen with defense of the Spartacus Youth League, which was being victimized by the Los Angeles Community College (LACC) administration for its defense work on the Allen case. Next the SL's PDC fraction intervened in the National Lawyers Guild convention, February 13-16, 1976, in Houston. The purpose of the intervention was not to seek collaborative activities but rather to recruit to the PDC. WV writes: "Surely it is time for some members of the National Lawyers Guild to stop being the 'legal arm' of some class-collaborationist 'movement' and enter the struggle unequivocally on the side of the working class. Build the PDC, anti-sectarian class-struggle defense organization!"⁴⁵

In its self-characterization as a "class-struggle defense organization" the PDC objected to the slogan, "Free All Political Prisoners." To this it counterposed the slogan, "Free All Class War Prisoners." Because of the confusion this created, during the campaign to free Chilean revolutionist Mario Muñoz, it was altered to "Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression." Still, the new formula has its problems. Does the SL defend the victims of Stalinist repression? Some, the SL would answer. We wish them luck in encapsulating that distinction into their slogan.

When the SL launched the Mario Muñoz Defense Campaign, it violated its pledge to be "for the solidarity of all workers and their allies around defense issues." Instead of constituting a unitedfront defense committee of all those concerned with the rightist repression in Argentina, groups and individuals were merely asked to endorse the activities of the defense committee. This committee was a bloc between the PDC and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, a group of Chileans who were mainly supporters of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). Since the PDC defined itself as a committee "whose policies are in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League," there was no way to endorse the Muñoz campaign without supporting the SL. When challenged internally as to why they did not initiate a united-front campaign involving all opponents of political repression in Latin America, Spartacist leaders argued that "Mario Muñoz may be one of our own, and we aren't going to trust decisions over his life to USLA or anyone else."46

(Because the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) was founded in 1966 on what the SL characterized as the "class-neutral" demand, "Free All Political Prisoners," the SL refused to join USLA, even though in the ten years of its existence USLA never seemed to get confused about which side of the class line it was on in defending the victims of repression in Latin America.)

While the campaign to save Mario Muñoz is commendable, the sectarian posture of the SL and the PDC has inhibited its development into a broad united-front campaign for all the victims of the Argentine repression—Chileans, Uruguayans, Bolivians, Brazilians, and Argentinians. The PDC-sponsored demonstrations for Muñoz were sectarian flops. A key rally at the Argentine Mission to the United Nations in New York on June 19, 1976, drew seventy supporters, most of them members of the Spartacist League and tiny radical groups in New York smaller than the SL. These "red rallies," which often ended with the singing of the "Internationale" and speeches by SL representatives on the need for Trotskyist parties in Chile and Argentina, were hardly conducive to the construction of a broad, nonsectarian defense.

In an article on "lessons of the campaign," published after Muñoz won his freedom, and subtitled "USLA Redbaiting: Sectarian Sabotage Fails," the SL charged that USLA "adamantly opposes militant protests because of its exclusive reliance on

^{41.} This is how James P. Cannon characterized the CP's third-period trade union work in "The Communists and the Progressives," the *Militant*, March 1, 1929.

^{42.} Statement of PDC, July 15, 1975. Published in Workers Vanguard, no 74, August 1975.

^{43. &}quot;PDC and Local Defense and Legal Work," by Samuels, for the PDC, Party Builder, no. 1, published by the Central Office of the SL/US, August 1975.

^{44.} Philip Allen is a Black youth who was framed up for killing a cop in Los Angeles in 1975.

^{45. &}quot;Identity Crisis in the Lawyers Guild," Workers Vanguard, no. 96, February 13, 1976.

^{46.} George Foster, deputy national chairman, Boston local meeting. Notes of author.

^{47.} Workers Vanguard, no. 123, September 3, 1976.

'different' channels."⁴⁷ In fact, the PDC in the Muñoz campaign had to rely on "different" channels, such as the UN High Commission on Refugees and the European Social Democracy. This was far from its cherished vision of "militant" protest. What USLA opposes is not protest, but tiny sectarian rallies that do not lead in the direction of broadening the defense effort. USLA and others were unable to collaborate with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz because the SL wanted not collaboration through a united-front committee, but a blank-check endorsement for the SL/PDC activity.

Spartacist's claim that the PDC stands on the heritage of the International Labor Defense and James P. Cannon is completely belied by the activities and statements of those in the Trotskyist movement who carried out the party defense work of the 1930s and 1940s under Cannon's direction. George Novack summed up the lessons of that work in his lecture, "Traditions and Guiding Ideas of the Socialist Workers Party in Defense Activity":

6. It is crippling and self-defeating for a defense case, committee and campaign to be conducted in a sectarian or exclusive manner. Appeals for support should be based, not upon agreement with the ideas or approval of the real or alleged acts of the defendants, but upon general civil liberties grounds. Care should be taken to point out how the issues at stake concern and affect the rights of others. Support should be solicited and welcomed from anyone willing to aid the defense on such a broad basis, regardless of their positions on other matters. The defense committee should stand ready to collaborate with other groups which have similar purposes in opposing violations of legal or human rights.

Spartacist originated as the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP in 1961 "as a left opposition to the SWP Majority's uncritical line toward the course of the Cuban Revolution."48 The RT saw as the central task of the SWP that "the Trotskyists should urge the workers [the Cuban workers-B.P.] to consciously struggle for democratic control over the government apparatus. . . . "⁴⁹ In its conception of the tasks of revolutionists in "defense" of the Cuban revolution, the RT made a bloc with the British SLL of Gerry Healy, which believes to this day that Cuba is a capitalist state. In a statement dated November 30, 1962,50 the RT endorsed the line of "Defend the Cuban Revolution," a statement by the International Committee. This statement opposed "the setting up of Soviet missile bases [in Cuba-B.P.] as a substitute for international working-class struggle. . . ." Defense of the Cuban revolution means, according to the IC statement, "determined opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy and its methods."51

How were revolutionists in the United States and in other imperialist countries to defend the Cuban revolution? The RT indicates that the IC statement "should be the starting point of a campaign for international working-class solidarity with the Cuban revolution based on the establishment of workers' democracy in Cuba and full, open collaboration of the Cuban revolution with the international working-class movement in all phases, military as well as political, of revolutionary defense."

In other words, while the Cuban revolution was engaged in a life-and-death struggle against U.S. imperialism's attempts to overthrow it, the focus of solidarity work in the United States was to be not only a campaign to win the American people to the side of the Cuban revolution, it was to be a campagin to agitate for workers democracy in Cuba as well. What the RT would have liked is not just revolutionary criticism transmitted through the publications and activity of a revolutionary international, an essential task, but the incorporation of this criticism into the program and activity of the Fair Play for Cuba Committees that were set up throughout the United States.

Lenin saw the tasks of revolutionists in the "oppressor" countries much differently than the RT:

Every party which wishes to join the Communist International is obliged to expose the tricks and dodges of "its" imperialists in the colonies, to support every colonial liberation movement not merely in words but in deeds, to demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from these colonies, to inculcate among the workers of their country a genuinely fraternal attitude to the working people of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and to carry on systematic agitation among the troops of their country against any oppression of the colonial peoples.⁵²

The tasks that Lenin cited are those aimed against the "imperialist" nation; Lenin cited no obligation of the revolutionists in imperialist countries to "expose" the national movement and its leadership in the colonial countries. The tasks of revolutionists in the oppressor country and revolutionists in the oppressed country are different:

Is the position of the proletariat with regard to national oppression the same in oppressing and oppressed nations? No, it is not the same, not the same economically, politically, ideologically, spiritually, etc.⁵³

Spartacist thinks otherwise. The SL raises the slogan of "Military Victory to the NLF (MPLA, ANC, etc.)" as the correct basis for solidarity movements in the United States in support of national-democratic movements struggling against imperialism. The formulation of "military victory to ...," which the Trotskyist movement has never used historically, is intended by the SL to indicate some support to, but predominantly political criticism of, the leadership of the national liberation movements. Thus the SL wishes to merge the struggle against imperialism in the oppressor country with the struggle for the independence of the proletariat vis-à-vis bourgeois-nationalist and Stalinist leaderships in the oppressed nation. For Trotskyists, however, "military victory to . . ." is a policy, not a slogan of action, by revolutionists fighting alongside national movements against imperialism regardless of their leaderships. Of course, a world party would orient its section in the "oppressed" country toward correct methods of struggle, while demanding that its section in the "oppressor" country "expose the tricks and dodges of 'its' imperialists."

Spartacist, on Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, and now South Africa, tries to merge these distinct tasks in the work of a tiny "subpropaganda" group in the United States. In practice, it forgets about the tasks the Communist International considered obligatory and focuses exclusively on criticism of the "national movement" struggling against U.S. imperialism.

The struggle by the MPLA in Angola against the imperialistbacked forces of the FNLA, UNITA, and South Africa opened up tremendous opportunities for solidarity work in the United States. African revolutionists, students, and workers resident in the United States were anxious to launch a solidarity campaign educating Americans about the manuevers of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa. The American Maoist movement, which has traditionally collaborated with some of the African students and workers in the United States, defaulted completely, opening the way for solidarity work by Trotskyists. The Spartacist League approached these forces with proposals for united-front actions around the slogan, "Military Victory to the MPLA." Having seen

^{48.} Preface to Marxist Bulletin no. 1, "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective" by the Revolutionary Tendency. Originally published in SWP Discussion Bulletin, vol. 23, no.4, July 1962.

^{49.} Ibid, p. 13.

^{50. &}quot;Declaration on the Cuban Crisis," by Robertson, Mage, & Others, SWP Discussion Bulletin, vol. 24, no. 18, May 1963.

^{51. &}quot;Defend the Cuban Revolution," Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International, *Newsletter*, November 3, 1962. Reprinted in SWP Discussion Bulletin, vol. 24, no. 18, May 1963.

^{52.} Excerpt from conditions of admission to the Communist International, which Lenin drafted and the second congress of the Comintern approved in August 1920. Printed in *The Communist International, 1919-1943*, Jane Degras, ed. (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1956), p. 170.

^{53.} Lenin, "The Nascent Trend of Imperialist Economy," August-September 1916, *Collected Works*, vol. 23 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), p. 19.

the SL in action at conferences, they knew exactly what this meant: a solidarity campaign with an objective not of educating the American people about the imperialist designs of their own government, but rather a pubic forum criticizing the MPLA and other African national movements. The Africans approached by the SL rejected this approach and then carried on, after the SL excluded themselves.

With the upsurge in South Africa and the obvious tremendous impact that struggle will have on the Black population in the United States, the sectarianism of the SL becomes even more criminal. At a conference of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) in Boston, November 19-21, 1976, the Spartacist League was the only organization present to vote *against* the calling of international demonstrations against apartheid. When Tsietsi Mashinini, a leader of the student struggle in Soweto, received a standing ovation, Spartacists remained conspiciously seated and refrained from clapping, demonstrating in action that their criticism of the nationaldemocratic movement drives them to abstain from the struggle against their own imperialist ruling class.

Why does the SL refuse to participate in and build these international demonstrations against apartheid? According to Young Spartacus (November 1976), they do not like the slogan, "No to apartheid, Black majority rule now." They want the solidarity movement in the United States to organize around "the necessity for the construction of a Trotskyist party in South Africa and for proletarian revolution." They do not like the call to "Boycott South Africa," because they "do not advocate an unlimited and total boycott of South Africa," which "would tend to increase black unemployment and consequently retribulization, thereby further crippling the capacity of black people to struggle.' And finally, they do not like the demand to "Free all South African political prisoners." The SL counterposed to this the call for "freedom of all victims of apartheid repression," since there are "undoubtedly fascist political prisoners in Vorster's prisons," whom the SL would not like to see set free as a result of an international campaign to "free all political prisoners."

These are not just the arguments of a tendency disoriented about its tasks; these are the arguments of a sect consciously seeking justifications to keep itself out of participation in any real struggle against imperialism.

The International Spartacist Tendency

Spartacist's recent transformation into the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was based on an international transplant of its fundamental methodology: an inability to comprehend the difference between the general *revolutionary perspective* and the political program and slogans for action today.

For its inaugural venture in Europe, Spartacist adopted the position of never, as a matter of *principle*, calling for a vote for mass reformist parties if they are engaged in electoral blocs with capitalist or petty-bourgeois parties:

Normally, reformist workers' parties, such as the Socialist and Communist Party, have a dual character. Namely, on the one hand, they function as the political representatives of the working class, while on the other, they represent the political interests of the bourgeoisie. . . . However, when the CP or SP enter into an electoral bloc with a section of the bourgeoisie, this duality is suppressed formally and in practice, because the reformist parties then campaign and promise to govern on a common platform within the purely capitalist limits set by their overtly liberal-bourgeois allies. Thus in this situation there is no basis for the Leninist tactic of critical support to social-democratic and Stalinist parties.⁵⁴

Why is this contradiction between the policy of the reformist party and the interests of its working-class base "suppressed"? Because Spartacist says so, that's all. In fact, an electoral victory of reformist parties pursuing a popular-front line can heighten these contradictions to the extreme and make possible the growth of a revolutionary party through the struggle to break the reformist parties from their alliance with a section of the bourgeoisie. Spartacist admits such a development in the same article: "Thus the electoral victory of the Popular Front [France, 1936—B.P.] set off a tremendous expansion of the trade unions and an unprecedented wave of strikes, culminating in the general strike of May-June 1936." This was precisely why Trotsky recommended as a program for the working class in such a period, "Ask everything of your leaders."

When Lenin advised the British Communists to use the tactic of critical support to the Labour party, he did not bother to add the SL's qualifications, even though the British Labour party had been in and out of coalition governments with the bourgeoisie the entire previous decade. When the Groupe Bolchevik-Léniniste, one of several Trotskyist groups in France that merged in 1936 to form the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste (POI), called for a vote to the CP and the SP in the May 1936 elections, Trotsky, who was in France at the time, did not condemn this tactic, or write a polemic later against it. Spartacist thus throws away a vital tactic in the arsenal of Marxism. The only thing Spartacist learned from Trotsky was that popular fronts are roadblocks to the proletarian revolution; how they are to be removed, by what tactics and strategy, are hardly considered by the SL, which believes in the magical power of the tactic of "denunciation."

The pages of Workers Vunguard are filled with horror stories about the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. WV speaks of "scotch-tape unity," "rotten-bloc-ism," "federalism." Spartacist's call for the "Rebirth of the Fourth International" seems to imply that the only problem is birth. The SL does not expect the creature to grow up, to have growing pains, and to have problems of maturation. Despite its keen interest in the history of the Fourth International, Spartacist approaches the problem of the Fourth International ahistorically, as if all the Trotskyists had to do was read the SL's version of Trotsky's writings to figure everything out. In fact, the tremendous developments taking place in Europe and elsewhere raise not only all the old problems, many of which were not worked out in life by Trotskyist parties in the 1930s (none of which developed into mass parties), but new problems as well. It is only in the Fourth International that a serious worldwide discussion of the problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics is being carried out today.

And the fledgling iSt? Despite its historic "birth" in July 1974, this international formation had as of late 1976 not yet held either an international discussion or a delegated international conference. The iSt remains a *bloc* of the Central Committees of the Spartacist League of the U.S., the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, and the Trotskyist League of Germany (TLD), with small groups in Canada, France, and Austria holding sympathizing status. The International Secretariat is made up of three Americans. Surely the iSt is learning some of the problems of constructing an international party. Its criticisms of the structure and problems of the Fourth International, however, are nothing but the remarks of a tiny international sect able to retain a superficial homogeneity because nowhere do its small national groups suffer the strains and endure the tests of real activity in the class struggle.

Spartacist: An American Sect

But the difference must be clearly understood between the general revolutionary perspective which we must tirelessly develop in articles and in theoretical and propaganda speeches and the current political slogan under which we can, beginning today, mobilize the masses by actually organizing them in opposition to the regime of the military dictatorship. Such a central political slogan is the slogan of the constituent assembly. -Trotsky, "A Reply to the Chinese Oppositionists," December 22, 1929⁵⁵

"People accuse us of being sectarians," James Robertson reported proudly to a London audience in October 1976. "It is

^{54. &}quot;New Pop Frontism in France," Workers Vanguard, no. 17, March 1973.

^{55.} Leon Trotsky on China, (New York: Monad Press, 1976), p. 427.

because we are committed to what we believe are the necessary, decisive principles of Trotskyism. . . .^{"56} Spartacist's commitment to a dogmatic rendering of Trotskyist principles goes so far that the SL, contrary to Trotsky, sloganized these principles into its program of action today. The result is that Spartacist, in its twelve years of existence, has maintained a consistent record of abstention from all mass activity in the Untied States.

Sectarianism can take many forms and can derive from different roots. There was the sectarianism of "third period" Stalinism with its opposition to united fronts and its policies of dual unionism. There was the sectarianism of some Trotskyists in the 1930s who opposed the policy of entry into mass Socialist parties with developing left wings.

The sectarianism of the Spartacist League has different roots. Spartacist emerged in the early 1960s when the Cuban revolution and the civil-rights struggle brought growing opportunities for political intervention by Marxists in the United States for the first time since the 1940s. Spartacist's founder, James Robertson, is a

56. Workers Vanguard, no. 133, November 12, 1976.

product of this earlier period. Most of the rest of the SL's leading cadre are products of the radicalization of the Vietnam War-period after 1965. But all are people who were won to the SL's position of abstention from the antiwar movement because of its presumed "popular front" character. Thus Spartacist not only lacks continuity with those Trotskyists who engaged in mass activity in the 1930s and 1940s. Its leading members themselves have no practical experience whatsoever, and its membership was recruited to policies of abstention and revolutionary phrasemongering.

The construction of mass Trotskyist parties in the United States and around the world requires, as Trotsky explained, a practice that is shaped to "mobilize the masses by *actually* [my emphasis—B.P.] organizing them in opposition to the regime," and not a policy of sectarian abstention that sees in all mass activity only the specter of "popular frontism." Fortunately for revolutionists, the Socialist Workers party in the United States and the parties of the Fourth International around the world have begun that work. The transformation of these sections into mass revolutionary parties is the major task ahead.

February 6, 1977

López Portillo Tightens Muzzle on Protest

Mexico—Troops Take Over University of Oaxaca

A long-simmering conflict between university students and governmental authorities erupted in violence at the end of April, when the Benito Juárez Autonomous University of Oaxaca (UABJO) was taken over by troops for the second time this year. Police and army units broke into the buildings where the Movimiento Democrático Universitario (MDU-Democratic University Movement) was on guard, removing students and professors by force, Francisco Ramírez reported in the May 7-21 issue of the Mexican revolutionarysocialist fortnightly *Clave*.

"The toll from this new attack was one dead, five wounded, dozens beaten up, and eighty-six arrested, among them Martínez Soriano, the rector heading the MDU."

Most of those arrested were later released, Ramírez said, "but not before being harassed and beaten up." Moreover, troops continued to occupy university buildings and patrol the streets of the city more than a week later.

The conflict at the UABJO dates back to the end of 1974, when then-rector Guillermo García Manzano appointed heads to five of the university's schools in opposition to the wishes of the teachers and the student body. His action sparked strong protests and he was forced to resign.

During the following months, a series of rectors served in the UABJO until in November 1976 the university council named Felipe Martínez Soriano to fill the post. The authorities refused to recognize Martínez Soriano, appointing Jaime Tenorio Sandoval instead, a move that had the full support of the state governor, Manuel Zárate Aquino. Tenorio Sandoval took office January 8, 1977—through a forcible occupation of the rectory.

This attack on university autonomy was followed in February and March by other repressive measures ordered by Zárate Aquino:

• On February 22 the police fired on demonstrators in Juchitán who were demanding the release of thirty-eight prisoners. Five persons were killed.

• On February 27 the police fired on peasants in Montenegro, killing twentynine and injuring fifteen.

• On March 2 armed police broke up a demonstration in the city of Oaxaca.

The following day, a state of siege was declared throughout the state, the army was sent in to occupy it, and the governor resigned.

Commenting on the meaning of the April 24 assault on the UABJO, Ramírez said that "even with the fall of Zárate Aquino, the problems in Oaxaca have not been solved, since Provisional Governor General Jiménez Ruiz and his policy of repression are the solution the López Portillo government has offered to the problems of students, professors, and peasants."

Moreover, Ramírez pointed out:

The intervention of the federal government with the army shows that the problem of Oaxaca is not simply a problem of a division at the UABJO. It has gone beyond that framework to become a deep social and political conflict, which cannot be buried by silencing people through force of arms...

The intervention of the army in Oaxaca has

clearly shown the situation that is beginning to prevail on a national level. . . .

That situation is one of economic, social, and political crisis for the Mexican ruling class, Ramírez said, and "the López Portillo regime is trying to make the workers and the most oppressed sectors of the population bear the brunt of the crisis.

"To accomplish this, the government has launched an offensive against democratic freedoms. The attacks on the unions of university workers and the universities make this clear."

But López Portillo has not limited his attacks to the university community:

In other cases, López Portillo's position vis-àvis those unions like the telephone workers, which are independent of the government, has been openly threatening. Thus, it was not at all accidental that the army's invasion of the UABJO took place simultaneously with the negotiations between the telephone workers union and the telephone company.

The most important lesson to be learned from the government's action in Oaxaca, Ramírez said, "is that the government has begun to use repression more and more. It uses the army to reply to those sectors that do not go along with its plans."

The only way to respond to López Portillo's offensive is "to form a body capable of coordinating and driving forward mobilizations of as many sectors as possible in support of a struggle," he said. Otherwise, the regime will continue to defeat these struggles one by one, as it has been able to do up to now. $\hfill \Box$

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Carter's Energy Plan: For 'Coal,' Read 'Nuclear'



In a dispatch from Washington to the April 26 *Financial Review*, an Australian big-business daily, Robert Haupt took note of something the American press has, for the most part, kept very quiet about. "The nuclear-energy industry," he said, "has reason to be pleased with President Jimmy Carter's energy policy statement—for the number of times it mentions coal." He explains:

The wiser advocates of nuclear energy realise that it was politically impossible for President Carter to endorse nuclear power.

But they believe that in many places where the President's statement says "coal," the market place and the Government's own environmental regulations will write in "nuclear."

Haupt notes Carter's call for an increase in U.S. coal consumption of 400 million tons by 1985. This, Haupt says, would require a vast increase in the strip-mining of coal deposits in the western states, which may already be effectively ruled out by pressure for Carter to take action on his announced support for "tough uniform national strip mine legislation." Strict enforcement of clean air laws, another Carter commitment, would make coal less economically competitive with nuclear power.

Transportation of coal is another diffi-



Herblock/Washington Post

culty Haupt cites. There is not enough water available in the West for slurry pipelines, the least expensive means of moving coal. And huge sums would have to be invested to upgrade the present poor state of U.S railroads before much more coal could be shipped.

In the eastern coal fields, Haupt says, high labor costs and the growing outrage at mining disasters and "black lung" (*simple pneumoconiosis*, an illness caused by breathing soft-coal dust), will make increasing production difficult.

Haupt contrasts all this with Carter's promise in his energy message to reform the licensing procedures for nuclear power plants. "The President . . . pledged his support against what the industry perceives as its true problem: 'Even with the most thorough safeguards, it should not take ten years to licence a plant.'" Haupt continued:

To some experienced observers here, the President gave nuclear energy a big pat on the back last week while appearing to do the opposite—encourage coal.

The fact that the presidential embrace of the nuclear option was so disguised is a guide to its present and future political problems.

But by the end of the week the coal industry had had a reaffirmation of the Clean Air Act and the nuclear industry a pledge of support to curtail the licensing procedures.

Barry Commoner, a leading American environmentalist, sees in Carter's policies "a long-term commitment to breedersupported nuclear power." (Breeder reactors produce more fuel, usually in the form of plutonium, than they consume. They are considered the most dangerous kind of nuclear plants.)

In an article in the May 29 Washington Post, Commoner calls Carter's plan "a deception, an exercise in political sleightof-hand."

Commoner sees an irreversible choice being made behind the backs of the American people to forego any serious development of solar power—a nonpolluting, inexhaustible energy source—in favor of nuclear power. These two options, he says, are "mutually exclusive":

Nuclear power requires a highly centralized energy system, based on a relatively few very large and extremely expensive installations; it would produce only electricity for power-grid distribution. An energy system based on solar energy would be highly decentralized, consisting of numerous relatively small units; at present, it would produce only direct heat, and later, when solar electric power becomes economic, much of it will be produced directly where it is being used. . . .

[Carter's] plan mandates the massive introduction of light water nuclear reactors at a rate far exceeding the pace achieved in the last few years... By the turn of the century, nuclear power plants would generate a major part of the nation's power, and since we would then heavily depend on electricity, there would be no choice but to continue the nuclear fission systems. With uranium supplies depleting and rapidly rising in price, it would then be necessary to extend the supply of fissionable fuels—by adding breeders to the system.

Commoner cites the decision to suspend construction of the commercial, plutoniumbased breeder reactor at Clinch River, Tennessee, as in reality a sly indication of Carter's long-term *commitment* to breederbased nuclear power. Although most commentators have interpreted the action as a step away from breeder reactors, Commoner points out that just the opposite is the case. He quotes from the "National Energy Plan," a 103-page volume recently released by the White House:

The President has proposed to reduce the funding for the existing breeder program, and to direct it toward evaluation of alternative breeders, advanced converter reactors and other fuel cycles. [Emphasis added by Commoner]

The reality of this move was substantiated in a May 14 article in the New York Times. Walter Sullivan reported that top officials of the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) told the international nuclear power conference in Salzburg, Austria, that "a wide range of untried methods are to be explored in a United States program as a consequence of President Carter's new energy policy."

Dr. Robert Fri, acting head of ERDA, "said the American breeder program was not being abandoned. For example, he said, construction will proceed on the fastflux test facility in Richland, Wash., designed to resolve problems . . . encountered in breeder reactors as well as other advanced reactors."

Although Carter proposed some token

steps in the direction of solar power, Commoner explains how any real development of this energy source will be cut off.

... as anticipated by the National Energy Plan, electricity would heavily replace oil and natural gas in the residential/commercial sector—where the largest, unsaturated market for electrical appliances is in space heat, hot water, and air-conditioning. This would effective ly block solar energy from the one market that is presently open to it, which, as it happens, is also space heat, hot water and (shortly) air conditioning.

"The decision," Commoner says, "is portentous."

The nuclear route would saddle the country with the risks of radiation for thousands of years... The enormous damage that could be inflicted by even a few handfuls of stolen nuclear fuel—turned into homemade bombs, or even used deliberately to contaminate the environment would ... place nuclear installations under military control.

The development of solar power, on the other hand, would pose no such difficulties. The only threat sunshine poses to health is a bad sunburn, and as far as anyone knows, fabricating bombs out of it is just not possible.

Carter's plan, Commoner concludes, "would commit the country, without its consent, to an ominous nuclear future and deprive the people of the United States of their democratic right to direct the only step that can solve the energy crisis rather than delay it—the transition to renewable energy. The answer is to begin an open public debate on these, the real issues of the energy crisis."

504 French Scientists Urge Halt to 'Superphénix' Breeder Reactor

On May 28 the French government published a decree signed by Premier Raymond Barre giving permission for construction of the "Superphénix"—a 1,200 megawatt fast breeder nuclear reactor being developed jointly by Italy, West Germany, and France.

Creys-Malville, near Lyons, the proposed location of the Superphénix, has been the scene of a number of antinuclear demonstrations and sit-ins. More opposition to the French breeder program emerged two days after the government decree was published. Five hundred and four scientists from the Grenoble region issued an open letter to President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing demanding suspension of the Superphénix project. The signers opposed the plant on technical and ecological grounds and asked that an independent body investigate arguments for and against it.

Britain and the Soviet Union also have large-scale fast breeder reactors in the planning stage, but neither are as far along as the Superphénix. Plans for Britain's breeder, the Commercial Fast Reactor, were slowed considerably May 27 when Environment Minister Peter Shore announced that a broad public inquiry would be held before any further steps in the CFR program are taken. Citing problems of an "exceptional character" having implications "far into the future," Shore said the government will publish a "Green Book" on energy policies later this year to stimulate public discussion.

Is Concorde Even Noisier Than Washington Admits?

The U.S. Court of Appeals has held up until at least late July flights of the Concorde supersonic jetliner at New York's Kennedy airport. The court is considering the New York Port Authority's appeal of a district court ruling that overturned the authority's ban on the SST. The delay will allow time for the U.S. State Department and Department of Transportation to file briefs outlining their positions on the Concorde ban. In requesting a delay, the two federal departments cited "the delicate questions of foreign and domestic affairs involved."

Meanwhile, tests conducted in May by New York City's Environmental Protection Administration showed that even conventional jet aircraft regularly exceed the noise limits set for Kennedy and La Guardia airports.

Engineers metered one Boeing 707 jetliner landing at Kennedy with a "perceived noise level" (PNL) of 122 decibels. This is 40 percent *louder* than the average figure claimed for Concorde takeoffs from Dulles airport in Washington, D.C. In all, one out of every four planes monitored violated Port Authority or Federal Aviation Administration noise limits.

The testing "casts doubt on the accuracy of the tests on the Concorde at Dulles and raises new questions about how the Concorde would affect communities around Kennedy if the same tests were conducted on the SST here," William Sherman reported in the May 31 New York Daily News.

"One thing is certain," he continued. "Right now the hundreds of thousands of residents of the areas around La Guardia and Kennedy airports are subject to extremely loud noises, much louder than previously reported."

David Anable of the Christian Science Monitor asked one such resident, "What if the courts decide finally that the federal trial period must be honored?"

"I figure they'll have to have martial law around JFK; they'll have to call out the National Guard," was the reply.

1,000 Cyclists Protest Australian Uranium Mining

About 1,000 persons from all over southeastern Australia converged on Canberra by bicycle May 18. The aim was to focus public attention on the Fraser government's intentions to develop the



Brown/Wall Street Journal

country's uranium deposits.

The bicycle ride is an annual event organized by Friends of the Earth. Cyclists in groups of about fifty persons took various routes to the capital, stopping in towns along the way to distribute literature and talk about the dangers inherent in the use of uranium.

The cyclists gathered outside Canberra and rode into the city en masse. The ride was temporarily halted by a police provocation in which several riders were arrested and quite a number of bicycles damaged. Half the riders sat down and demanded that the detainees be released.

After the cops let three persons go, the cyclists proceeded to the grounds of Parliament House, where they set up tents and exhibitions of alternative energy sources.

Japan Fishermen Fight Detergents

A campaign by environmentalists and fishermen against water pollution caused by synthetic detergents is gaining widespread support in Japan.

The Fishermen's Association on the small island of Kamishima, near Osaka, unanimously adopted a resolution in February to eliminate all detergents from the island. Teams of four or five fishermen then went to every residence on Kamishima during March and confiscated every box or bottle of synthetic detergent they could discover, replacing them with soap or soap powder.

"We thought we couldn't wait any longer for others to make a move," said Hyoichi Fujiwara, chairman of the association. According to the *New York Times*, Fujiwara explained that "everyone cooperated willingly, because the action clearly expressed the sense of the community."

All 1,000 residents of the island are dependent, directly or indirectly, on the fishing industry. The fishermen are convinced that synthetic detergents are killing the fish and abalone from which they earn their living.

Selections From the Left

was tun

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

The May 19 issue comments on the campaign that is developing to oppose the Social Democratic party leadership's purge of the recently elected chairman of the party's youth organization, the Young Socialists. The ousted chairman, Klaus-Uwe Benneter, has been accused by the Social Democratic leaders of favoring joint action with the Communist party and of viewing the bourgeois Christian Democratic party as "the class enemy":

The conflict between the Young Socialists and the Social Democratic party has developed into the different wings of the party openly mobilizing against each other. The challenging series of meetings where Benneter has spoken and the spread of the solidarity campaign on his behalf to some important sections of the Social Democratic party have forced not only the right wing but the party leadership to return to a plan that has been kept veiled in lofty silence. Through assemblies of local functionaries and factory councils and the unmistakable threats about a "radical break," a kind of countermobilization has been launched. The number of disciplinary cases is increasing in step with the rallies for Benneter.

According to Benneter, this policy is part of a "softening up campaign for a great coalition [between the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats]." On the path to a great coalition, the Young Socialists would be the least obstacle in the way of the Socialist party.

No doubt, there are forces in the Social Democratic party that want a great coalition. Most recently in energy policy and in trying to limit the right of lawyers to consult freely with their clients, Schmidt has gone over his own party's head and gotten a majority in parliament with the help of Christian Democratic votes. These latest moves point in the direction of a great coalition.

But on the road to such a coalition, the Social Democratic party would face not only tactical problems. . . . It would also be pulled up short by its ties to the working class and the unions, which would be hostile to such a government.

A great coalition is not on the agenda. What is on the agenda is the party leadership's unambiguous determination to continue to support the Schmidt government and its policy, which are no less antilabor, and thus to permit no serious mobilization against this policy in the party.

What is on the agenda for the Young Socialists, therefore, is the question—pressed more and more forcefully by the new disciplinary proceedings—of whether they are going to give up their claimed intention to carry out a consistent socialist policy to save their membership in the Social Democratic party. Because, if the Young Socialists yield in this conflict, they will have to accept the limits the party leadership imposes on their activity.

In this conflict, the Young Socialists are put in

the worst possible position by the way in which this confrontation has been focused on personalities and abstractions. . . .

If the Young Socialists fought on substantive issues, such as youth unemployment. . . . political blacklisting, or nuclear power plants, then they would not only be in a stronger position in this dispute but if it came to a break with the Social Democratic party the sympathy would be on their side. They would have the basis for beginning to carry out a consistent socialist policy outside the Social Democratic party. The best way for them to take the leadership of this conflict out of the hands of the unrepresentative rump leadership of the Young Socialists and out of Benneter's as well is to support the demand raised by the Hamburg Young Socialists for an immediate special congress.

BRUD NEVEZ

"New Noise," Breton nationalist cultural magazine published monthly in Brest, Brittany.

This magazine, written in a dialect different from standard unified Breton, and one that the editors consider closer to the actual speech of the Breton-speaking population, has been devoted almost exclusively to publishing literary work, including some folk materials. However, the April issue featured a study of the shift to the left in Brittany. The author noted:

"Of the 1,500 municipalities in Brittany, many were governed by Socialists or Communists before the elections that took place on March 13 and 20 [the two rounds of the municipal elections]. Nantes, Saint-Nazaire, and Rezé were already in the hands of the left. In other big towns such as Saint-Brieuc and Lorient, as well as smaller places such as Morlaix and Pontivy, the left gained a lead six years or more ago. . . .

"But it is true that Brittany, like other regions in this part of France, has a reputation for being rightist and the progovernment parties are supposed to be able to count on its votes. There was more of a basis for this in the past, since up to the present not many left deputies have been elected in Brittany. It was not easy to rhyme 'Brittany' and 'left' [in Breton these words respectively are "Breizh" and "kleiz"].

"So it was a big surprise for most people to see the left parties making an enormous leap forward in Brittany, a bigger leap forward perhaps than in France as a whole... This time, the left slates won in all the big towns except two and in many small towns as well."

The author listed a number of causes for the left victory, such as very high unemployment in the region, especially among the youth, and the loss of the old anti-Communist reflexes on the part of the section of the population that formerly voted for the left Catholic party.

Ironically, the decline in anti-Communist prejudice mainly benefited the Socialist party, which is allied with the CP. The municipal elections indicated that it is becoming the biggest party in Brittany.

The author concluded by saying that a victory for the Communist and Socialist parties looked likely in the legislative elections scheduled for 1978. He raised the question of what changes this would mean for Brittany, but did not answer it. The fact that the new SP government in Brest has begun to use the Breton language, at least in a token way, cannot but have some impact on the Breton nationalist circles. It will be interesting to see if *Brud Nevez* has more articles about politics in its future issues.



Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

The May 27 issue reports on a series of actions organized by women's groups and civil-liberties organizations to protest the restrictive recommendations of the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion.

If the report's recommendations are put into effect, women will be unable to obtain abortions unless their lives or health are seriously endangered by pregnancy.

"On Friday, May 13, perhaps the largest women's rights demonstration ever seen in New Zealand took place in Auckland's Queen St. 1,200 people, mainly women, marched in opposition to the findings of the Royal Commission," Janet Roth writes.

"The demonstration ended at the Town Hall where the numbers swelled to over 2,000...

"Donna Awatere of Nga Tamatoa pointed out how Maori women would be hardest hit if the Commission's recommendations were put into effect."

Francese Holloway reports from Hamilton:

"A campaign is being mounted here to bring together all kinds of organisations in opposition to the Royal Commission doctors, social workers, Maori and women's groups, associations for the handicapped, lawyers, and political parties....

"Regular planning meetings are being held and a public meeting is planned for June 13."

In Wellington, Joan Shields writes, "Over 600 people took part in a rally in opposition to the Commission's proposals at the opening of Parliament on May 19, organised by WONAAC [Women's National Abortion Action Campaign].

"... Placards calling for repeal of the abortion laws and condemning the antiwoman and racist nature of the Commission's report reflected the militant feelings of the demonstrators."

The article concludes:

"The next stage in the protest campaign ... is a nationwide weekend of action, to take place from July 8 to 10."

India Forum

Journal of discussion and analysis of the Indian subcontinent. Published in Oakland, California.

The April issue reprints the draft manifesto of the Progressive Organization of Women, which describes the situation of women in India:

"Eighty-seven out of every hundred women cannot read or write. The horrible practices of prostitution, child marriage, pardah [the custom of women remaining in seclusion under the veil], and dowry have cut at the very root of the dignity of women. Feudal culture preaches to women seclusion at home and restriction from active participation in public life."

The manifesto also reports: "About 72 percent of Indian women are economically dependent. Even if they work outside, it is only as a secondary source of income for the family."

In the home, women have been "forced to carry out work that is considered unskilled," work that "cannot be valued."

"The problem of oppression of women is universal" in Indian society, the manifesto points out, "and women of all classes face it. Take, for example, the young girls in school and college. Their education is either neglected totally or treated as secondary. Mostly from a middle class background, they are cloistered in the home and classroom. There is hardly any freedom of movement. Cafeterias, cinemas, and walks are prohibited unless adequately chaperoned. For them, the day closes by 5:30 pm. Even though education has opened new horizons for them, even these horizons are limited."

Such oppression has not always existed, the manifesto says. "In the stage of society called primitive communal, men hunted and fished, while women cared for the sprawling households and the handicrafts. At that time women had equal status..."

The manifesto calls for economic independence for women, the socialization of housework, and legal and political equality for women.

"Women's struggle for emancipation is ... a very important component of the general struggles of the people for emancipation and towards socialism. Hence, the women have a direct leading role to play in educating, organizing, and mobilizing women on their own demands whether they be those of middle class women, college students, or working women."



A monthly magazine supplement to the Militant, a socialist weekly published in the interests of the working people. Published in New York City, New York.

The June issue features an article by Steve Clark, entitled "Should Pornography Be Censored?"

Clark examines the "decency campaign" currently being waged by right-wing forces, with the aid of the capitalist courts and politicians. He warns those committed to ending oppression and exploitation against falling into the trap of supporting tighter censorship laws as a weapon in the fight for liberation.

"Although pornography certainly insults and degrades women, censorship will in no way advance the goals of the feminist movement.

"... The aim of the capitalist courts and politicians and the right-wing groups pushing for stricter censorship laws is not to combat the oppression, exploitation, and degradation of women....

"The censors' real aim is to use every opportunity to extend their control and monopoly of ideas in schools, in literature, on television, in newspapers, in movie houses, and everywhere else.

"Each time they score a victory, a blow is dealt to the rights of socialist groups, women's organizations, trade unionists, Black groups, artists, and anyone else whose ideas don't square with those of the wealthy minority who rule this country and the politicians and Bible-thumpers who serve their interests.

"To advocate tighter censorship is to ignore the real causes of pornography and other cultural and social ills in capitalist society....

"The goal of socialists, feminists, and other opponents of oppression must be to create a new, classless society based on different human and social relationships."



Newspaper published in Wellington, New Zealand. Presents the views of the Young Socialists.

The May-June issue reports that the New Zealand University Students Association has set June 15 as a national day of protest against government cuts in student bursaries (stipends), which are down to less than \$25 a week.

"Through building these protests as large as possible, a strong challenge can be issued to the government to halt its cuts in education spending, and pressure be brought to bear for an improved bursary," Ian Westbrooke writes.

He points out that bursary cuts are "just part of the attacks" the government is making on the education system:

"Last year saw a number of direct attacks on education financing: the relief teaching scheme in primary and secondary schools was cut; many of the back-up services to schools like visiting teachers have been hamstrung through lack of funds; universities had their funds eroded by inflation, so that libraries have to cut book and magazine purchases, their research funds were severely cut, and staff allocations fixed while rolls grew."

This year has seen more of the same— 160 teacher trainees were refused entry to training college, "a major reduction on last year's numbers," Westbrooke notes.

"Only continued protests by the groups involved," he continues, "students, teachers, and parents, have prevented the Muldoon axe coming down even harder."

DIRECT ACTION

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

In the May 26 issue, Mary Rabbone reports on the seventh national conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance, held at Melbourne University on May 21-23.

The conference was attended by more than 150 SYA members and supporters from all over Australia, including highschool and university students, young workers, and unemployed youth.

The delegates discussed a report on the draft political resolution, "Youth and the Crisis of Capitalism: A Strategy to Fight Back," presented by SYA National Secretary David Deutschmann.

"[Prime Minister Malcolm] Fraser has dealt many blows to youth since coming to power," Deutschmann pointed out, "but perhaps the two most outstanding features of his offensive against our generation have been the drive for record unemployment and the cutbacks in education spending."

The resolution maps out a mass campaign strategy needed to win the demands of the unemployed: Guaranteed jobs for school leavers, raising of the dole to the minimum wage, no harassment—stop the attacks on unemployed, shorten the work week to 35 hours with no loss in pay, nationalisation under workers control of all companies that threaten lay-offs.

The cutbacks in education spending are part of the ruling class strategy to make the working class pay for the bosses' crisis. They also foreshadow a major restructuring of the Australian education system, Deutschmann reported. At the same time the student movement was in the middle of its greatest crisis, and the SYA had an opportunity to explain and provide the leadership out of that crisis. A massive student fight back campaign has to be launched against the attacks on the Australian Union of Students and students' living standards.

AROUND THE WORLD

Pablo Riesnik Kidnapped in Argentina

Pablo Riesnik was detained on a public street in Buenos Aires May 25 and taken to a police station. No word as to his whereabouts had been heard by May 27, and his name was not on the week's list of those known to be arrested.

Riesnik was a leader of the student movement in Argentina and was the editor of the Trotskyist newspaper *Política Obrera* until it was forced to suspend publication following General Videla's March 1976 coup.

An appeal in Riesnik's behalf was issued in Buenos Aires May 27 by the Unión de Juventudes por el Socialismo (UJS— Union of Youth for Socialism):

"We are faced with a new kidnapping such as those Videla recognized in Venezuela as necessary for the 'forces of order.' The life of Pablo Riesnik is in danger. Is he being savagely tortured? Is he now one of the hundreds of those who have disappeared or been murdered? If he has been arrested, what is he accused of? If there is an accusation, why has he not been brought before a judge? ...

"We call on all democratic and workers organizations to speak out against this new kidnapping, and to demand the reappearance of Pablo Riesnik with his life and freedom. We call for unity in action to put an end to this repressive and terrorist monster that murders and mutilates hundreds of workers and youths every day....

"The Catholic bishops have just taken note of the 'numerous disappearances and kidnappings.' Pablo Riesnik is a new case. We know who did it—the police of the eighth district, along with military personnel. We call on the bishops to intercede for the life of this comrade.

"All efforts will be insufficient until Pablo Riesnik appears alive and free. We must build a united front so that the struggle for Pablo Riesnik's life marks the beginning of a broad movement for democratic rights throughout the country."

Havana, Washington Swap Diplomats

Under an agreement signed May 30 in New York and announced June 2 in Havana, the governments of Cuba and the United States have moved closer to reestablishing diplomatic relations. Washington broke its ties with Cuba in 1961 following the victory of the Cuban revolution. Within the next few months, eight to ten U.S. diplomatic and staff personnel will open an "interest section" in the U.S. embassy in Havana, and Cuban emissaries will do the same in their country's two buildings in Washington. Officially, the American mission will be part of the Swiss embassy and the Cuban group attached to the Czech embassy.

The Castro regime also announced June 3 that it would immediately release ten U.S. citizens being held in prison in Cuba on charges involving drugs. Havana will also review the cases of twenty other Americans. According to a U.S. State Department spokesman, seven of these are serving terms for "crimes against the state," and the others for offenses related to drugs or hijacking.

Meanwhile, American government and sugar industry officials said June 3 that United States demands totaling almost \$2 billion for property expropriated during the Cuban revolution could prevent renewed trade relations between the two countries.

U.S. Students Protest Complicity With Apartheid

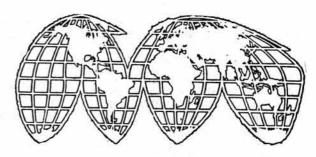
One thousand students at the University of California at Santa Cruz demonstrated May 26 to demand an end to university investments in corporations doing business in South Africa. Police arrested 401 of the protesters following a sit-in. All were later released without having to post bail.

The Santa Cruz actions were the largest of a number of May 26 protests against university complicity with apartheid that were held on northern Culifornia campuses. Rallies and sit-ins occurred also at UC Berkeley, UC Davis, City College of San Francisco, and the Davis medical school.

The actions were inspired by demonstrations around the same issue at Stanford University earlier this year. Cops arrested 294 students at that time.

The call for the actions was issued by a May 15 meeting at Stanford. Activists from a number of schools formed Campuses United Against Apartheid, around the central demand that the University of California withdraw the \$312 million it has invested in corporations with holdings in South Africa.

University officials are already feeling the pressure from these protests, and have announced that a letter will be sent to all



such companies stating their concern about the Black majority in South Africa. But the students have not been satisfied by this concession. Campuses United Against Apartheid held a meeting on June 1 to plan further actions.

Eva Forest Released

Genoveva (Eva) Forest de Sastre, one of Spain's best-known feminists and political prisoners, left Madrid's women's prison on June 1 after being granted "provisional liberty" by the Spanish regime, according to United Press International.

Eva Forest was arrested by Franco's cops in September 1974, brutally tortured, raped, and kept incommunicado in solitary confinement for forty days. In November 1974 she was indicted in an effort by the Franco government to frame up several of Spain's leading intellectuals in connection with the 1973 assassination of Premier Luís Carrero Blanco.

An international defense campaign saved her from being executed. The committee that organized this effort was endorsed by numerous organizations and prominent figures, among them Simone de Beauvoir, Françoise Sagan, and Jean-Paul Sartre.

The UPI dispatch from Madrid said Forest "was the seventh person to be released in the past 10 days under a promise by the government of Premier Adolfo Suarez to free the political prisoners of Franco-era Spain. Government sources said the rest, mostly Basques who will go into enforced exile in European countries, would be released shortly."

New Wave of Arrests in Chile

Catholic Church sources in Chile report a new wave of arrests began there in April and picked up momentum during the first half of May. Of those arrested, forty-five remained missing as of May 24.

One of those arrested was Williams Zuleta Mora, a thirty-five-year-old community leader in the town of Maipu. He was abducted by four men and taken to a house in Santiago, where he was beaten and tortured.

Zuleta managed to escape and return home. However, several days later he was abducted again: An ambulance came to his home, its attendants saying they had been sent by his employer to take him to the hospital. He has not been seen since.

Meanwhile, in a report prepared for a June meeting of the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights said that in the year since its last report on Chile the junta has continued arbitrary jailings, torture, and murders. The report said at least 415 persons have disappeared in the last year.

Bangladesh Regime Claims 98.87% Want Martial Law

Following a referendum held May 30, Maj. Gen. Ziaur Rahman, the president of Bangladesh, claimed that 98.87 percent of the voters approved the martial-law decrees under which he has ruled for eighteen months. More than 33 million persons were said to have voted.

However, New York Times reporter William Borders noted in a May 27 dispatch from Dacca that there was "a good deal of skepticism about vote rigging, since the ballots, bearing no marks, could easily be shifted from one box to another." The ballots were to be placed in either a "yes" box or a "no" box.

Moreover, no one was permitted to campaign for a "no" vote and many opposition leaders remain in prison.

Protests Greet Rosalynn Carter

About 200 students protested the visit of Rosalynn Carter (wife of Jimmy Carter) to Ecuador on June 2. The demonstrators gathered at a medical college across the street from the Legislative Palace in Quito and shouted "Rosalynn Carter go home!" and "Yankees want to reinforce their imperialism."

While Mrs. Carter was inside the palace meeting with officials of the ruling military junta, twenty-five cops carrying riot sticks, shields, gas masks, and automatic rifles broke up the demonstration, throwing at least twenty tear-gas bombs into the crowd.

Students in Ecuador have also mobilized in recent weeks to support a strike by the National Teachers Union which began May 18. The union is demanding equalization of wages for primary and secondary school teachers.

In an effort to break the strike, the dictatorship outlawed the union May 31. This move was rejected by leaders of the strike, who said the National Teachers Union "is not going to disappear by decree."

Opinion Poll: Nixon Still Lying

Richard Nixon's recent efforts to restore his reputation through a series of television interviews didn't work—at least not on New Yorkers.

This was shown in an opinion poll conducted by the New York *Daily News* after the first two shows. Only 18% of those polled who saw the interviews said they now feel more sympathetic toward Nixon. Half said they feel the same, and 29% have even less sympathy than they had before.

Three other questions were asked: "Do you think Nixon answered all of Frost's



NIXON: Credibility gap widens.

questions about his role in Watergate truthfully?" No, said 78%, and only 14% said yes.

Seventy-six percent disagreed with Nixon's contention that he did not commit a crime or impeachable offense, and 71% said they thought Nixon would never be able to return to public life.

Opposition Leaders Freed in Pakistan

In another bid to defuse the mass opposition to his regime, Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto released the last of the detained leaders of the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) June 3. The announcement came after the opening of talks between Bhutto and other PNA leaders who had been released earlier.

In a major concession, Bhutto also agreed to free many other political prisoners and lift press censorship. A joint statement issued after the talks said that the PNA's demand for the lifting of martial law in Karachi, Lahore, and Hyderabad would be discussed in future negotiations.

The first prisoners to be released are those who were arrested for violating bans on public assemblies. The regime further agreed to make no new arrests.

More than 350 demonstrators have been killed in the two months of protests against Bhutto that began following the March 7 elections, which the PNA has charged were rigged.

Bhutto's backers in Washington appear to have concluded that his chances of survival are slim. Both the State Department and the National Security Council have estimated that his days as prime minister are numbered, according to a report in the June 7 New York Post.

On June 2 the Carter administration announced it would withhold the sale of 110 A-7 attack planes to Pakistan. One of the reasons cited was the questionable prospects of the Bhutto regime.

France-Pakistan A-Deal Off?

Jimmy Carter's efforts to build a U.S. monopoly in enriched uranium fuel for nuclear reactors appear to have taken another step forward.

New York Times correspondent Flora Lewis reported in a May 31 dispatch from Paris that discussions between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud resulted in the suspension of France's contract to sell a nuclear reprocessing plant to Pakistan. Blueprints essential to construction of the plant that are due for delivery "have not been sent and will not be sent for the time being," she reported.

French officials are now trying to get the Pakistani regime to change its mind about the purchase. Outright cancellation would result in the payment of penalties, which the French are seeking to avoid.

No official announcement of the decision was made, and in fact Lewis's report was denied by both the French Foreign Office and the State Department. "Privately, however," a June 1 *Times* dispatch from Paris reported, "informed diplomats made clear that whatever the subtleties were, the deliveries were not going through. . . .

"The question of American pressure on France to abandon the sale . . . is a delicate domestic political issue here. Both the French Government and its allies have been eager to avoid any impression that Paris has been swayed by Mr. Carter's stand."

Zaïrian Troops Retake Last Town Held by Rebels

The Zaïrian news agency reported that government troops recaptured the town of Kapanga May 26.

Kapanga was the last town held by Katangan forces that had entered Zaïre in early March. With the help of 1,500 Moroccan troops, French advisers, and Egyptian pilots, the forces of President Mobutu Sese Seko launched a counteroffensive, retaking all the towns captured by the Katangans.

In late May, the Cairo regime announced that the last of the Egyptian pilots had returned home after completing their mission.

FROM OUR READERS

suggestion on how you can all increase your workload. IP is of course an invalua-

ble reference as well as political source, but

as the number of pages mounts over the

course of a year, it becomes more and more

difficult to find things until the year-end

index arrives and solves that problem.

What about quarterly indexes to tide us over? (I'll compromise on semi-annual.)"

A number of letters ordering back issues

M.C., New Orleans, Louisiana, sent a list

"I think I am the only one in town that

of issues that "have disappeared" from his

maintains a file. Comrades, and occasion-

ally interested contacts and sympathizers,

S.C., Montreal, Canada, says: "I have

just finished putting some order in my IP

files and have discovered that [some]

issues are missing. Would it be possible for

you to send me a list of the pertinent

R.M. of Detroit, Michigan, writes: "I

have found, in going through my files of

IP, that I have lent out copies which never

got returned. To keep the files complete I

B.L., also of Detroit, decided to complete

his files in one swoop. "Enclosed is a check

for seventy-five dollars (\$75.00)," he writes.

"Please send me complete back files

(unbound) of Intercontinental Press for the

A subscriber in Los Angeles, California,

"By today's paper I see that the post-

master general promises us another rate

increase not later than 1978. The post

office showed a surplus for the last quarter

of 1976 but the shortfall for the year was

still quite sizable. One way I know to

reduce the deficit would be to end the

several thousand postmasterships. The holders of these jobs are political appoin-

tees who are a heavy encumbrance on the

postal system and who are totally unessen-

tial to postal service (most of them don't

know a stamp from a band-aid). In each

post office the postmaster should be the

senior employee. He might be given a little

extra pay to go with the honor. The

savings would be quite considerable. The

waste in the post office operation must be

concerned about further cuts in postal

service and increased postal rates, sent us

want to use the files, and-they go!"

testify in their way to the usefulness of

We'll think that one over.

Intercontinental Press.

available backfiles . . . ?"

need the following. . . .'

years 1967, 1968, and 1969."

his views on the matter:

files, explaining:

"Capitalism Fouls Things Up," one of our regular features, seems to have impressed an activist in the fight against the Seabrook nuclear plant, E.W. of Allston, Massachusetts. He sent the following note:

"We're really just beginning to shift our emphasis over to the economic considerations which we feel will ultimately have more influence with the uninformed public than a strictly environmental approach.

"It seems you're coming in from precisely the opposite direction—an essentially economic analysis begins to take increasing interest in the ecosystem. Ultimately of course all systems are built on this one. We need to develop one that takes a cooperative posture with respect to Creation.

"IP looks like a tight publication. How much do I have to pay to get it on a regular basis?"

"My subscription is soon coming up for renewal," writes R.H. of Saint Catharines, Ontario, Canada. "Would you please write and tell me the added cost for the fastest mode of delivery whether first class or airmail that must be added on to the basic annual subscription rate. . . .

"Reading the publication has very much broadened my understanding of world politics and now with summer here I am reading issues more thoroughly. No matter how minor the item which might interest me in the corporate media, the same appears in *Intercontinental Press* only in more detail and with the ramifications examined from the socialist perspective. The whole gamut of issues in today's politics is effectively covered."

A friend in Jerusalem asks if we can "send a free sample introductory copy of Intercontinental Press, especially if it's possible the No. 10 with the article of Novack on Timpanaro and materialism," to several addresses. He adds:

".... and still more important is Comrade Novack's continuing to write a series of articles on materialism like that wonderful and educative one on Timpanaro against the petty-bourgeois occidental currents critical of Marxism."

"I think I've discovered a factual error in IP (No. 16) in Ernest Harsch's article on Pakistan," writes A.M. from Australia, "to wit: 'In 1971 Bhutto conducted a bloody war against the Bangladesh independence struggle...' My recollection is that Bhutto didn't become president until after Pakistan had lost the war, at the end of 1971, and that the real culprit was Yahya Khan. Right or wrong?"

Right.

"Finally," continues A.M., "I have a

TELL IT LIKE IT IS By DUNAGIN

"If we stop Saturday delivery, it just means you'll get Friday's mail on Monday instead of Saturday."

huge, as in all government activity.

"Over a century ago, when the workers of Paris rose up and seized the city, setting up the Commune, one of the demands of the workers was for an end to the extravagance in government. The Communards set a severe limit to official salaries, with the maximum equivalent to that of a skilled artisan. If there was wild wastefulness in those far-off days, what can be said of the present day—in America?

"Imagine congressmen complaining they are underpaid at \$47,000 a year!"

In the beginning, the U.S. postal system was supposed to be a public service, maintained by the government. According to the original charter, the service was to be a "messenger of sympathy and love, servant of parted friends, consoler of the lonely; bond of the scattered family, enlarger of the common life; carrier of news and knowledge; instrument of trade and industry; promoter of mutual acquaintance, of peace and good will among men and nations."

This part of the original charter was retained in the present one as was another item: free mailings for government offices.

The Postal Service is now caught in a vicious cycle. As postage goes up fewer letters are mailed; the drop in income is met with higher rates and cuts in service, which means fewer letters, and so on ad infinitum.

Keep this in mind when your Intercontinental Press doesn't show up in a reasonable time. But be sure to write us, so we can make a check from this end. \Box

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