

'Rouge' Offices Bombed



Rouge

REIMS, France: 10,000 march June 6 to protest murder of striker. Two days later 8,000 protested in Paris.

Ultrarightists replied by sending package bomb to offices of Trotskyist daily "Rouge." See p. 699.

1,000 Students Demonstrate in Soweto

Will Scotch Tape Save Alaska Pipeline?

Brezhnev's New Constitution

Carter Considers New Death Weapon

Social Tensions on Rise in Turkey

Italian Far Left at a Turning Point

By Joseph Hansen

Healyites Escalate Frame-up of Trotskyist Leaders

Brezhnev's New Constitution

By Gerry Foley

The new Soviet draft constitution was presented "to the people" with enormous ballyhoo by the Kremlin's press and that of its acolytes.

The local papers in the USSR have been running statements from the "mass organizations" hailing the new constitution in the name of "we fishermen," "we collective farmers," "we students," etc.

At the same time, *Pravda* has been running features in nearly every issue on the "world impact" of the new constitution.

Even the Western capitalist press has been drawn on to show the impact of the draft constitution. The *New York Times* was said to have taken special note of the fact that in his report to the Central Committee on the new constitution:

L.I. Brezhnev spoke frankly about the illegal repression and the violation of the principles of socialist democracy and the Leninist norms of party and state life that occurred in some years after the adoption of the constitution that has been in effect.

In its June 6 issue, the *New York Times* did report Brezhnev's remarks, in the following way:

"We know, comrades, that some years after the adoption of the current constitution were darkened by illegal repressions, violations of the principles of socialist democracy, Leninist norms of party and state life," Mr. Brezhnev said. "This was done in contravention of the constitutional provisions. The party has resolutely condemned this practice and it should never be repeated," he said.

Apparently, after the experience of the Stalin constitution, adopted in 1936, which was touted at the time as the most democratic in history, Brezhnev felt obliged to reassure the Soviet people that this new advance for "democratic rights" was not designed to usher in another reign of bureaucratic terror. When the Stalinist bureaucrats talk about the "extension of democracy," a shiver must go down the spines of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In fact, the very adoption of a constitution of this kind belies the bureaucracy's claim that it is advancing toward "socialist democracy."

In his article "The Fourth International and the Soviet Union," written in 1936, Trotsky commented as follows on the Stalin constitution:

The development of socialist society should find its expression in the political field in the dying away of the state. . . . In actual fact, however, the new constitution raises exactly the

opposite process of development to a law. . . .

State coercion is not being attenuated, according to the new constitution, but on the contrary is acquiring an exceptionally concentrated, open, and cynical character.

The same comment can be made about the Brezhnev constitution. It carries the trend of the Stalin constitution still further. *Pravda* has called it "the manifesto of the most humane social order." In fact, it represents a general statement of the bureaucracy's answers to the criticism of the denial of democratic rights in the Soviet Union.

The "rights" stressed in the draft constitution consist of the economic security the masses have gained as a result of collectivization of the means of production. These economic gains, which should offer the basis for expanding effective political rights, are in fact offered as a substitute for such freedoms. This corresponds to what Trotsky called the Stalinist concept of "freedom without politics."

What formal freedoms are included in the new constitution are more openly hedged. Article 39 says: "The exercise of rights and freedoms by citizens must not damage the interests of the society and the state." This corresponds to the answer the "normalized" Czechoslovak government gave to the demands in Charter 77 for observance of existing constitutional guarantees. That is, rights can only be used for what the rulers of the society consider positive purposes.

The draft constitution represents a more brazen departure from the Marxist concept of the state as an institution of class rule.

The Crusade Against Homosexuals—a Threat to All

By Fred Murphy

On June 7 a referendum in Miami, Florida, repealed an ordinance outlawing discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing, and public accommodations. The vote was 202,319 to 89,562—a majority of 69 percent.

The results of the referendum struck a heavy blow against all human rights, and has put wind in the sails of reactionary forces across the United States.

Last January the Dade County, Florida, County Commission adopted an ordinance outlawing discrimination on the basis of "affectional or sexual preference." (About forty U.S. cities have similar laws.) Short-

The new constitution says that class distinctions have disappeared in the USSR but that the state remains as the "state of the entire people."

Furthermore, the draft constitution officially establishes the fusion between the Communist party and the state. While this is part of the degeneration for which Stalin will be remembered even he did not dare refer to it openly in his constitution. Article 6 of the draft constitution, however, says:

The leading and directing force in Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, of all state and social organizations, is the Communist party of the Soviet Union. . . .

Armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Communist party determines the general perspectives of the development of the society, the line of domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, directs the creative activity of the Soviet people, and gives a planned scientific character to its struggle for the victory of communism.

What role is left for the elected bodies that are supposed to represent the "whole people"?

The draft constitution represents an attempt to provide more formal legitimacy for the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. And the Soviet people, despite Brezhnev's reassurances, have every reason to fear that it is intended as a cover for more repression.

If the bureaucracy intends to broaden "socialist democracy," it can demonstrate this by accepting Sakharov's suggestion that it celebrate its new advance to "developed socialism" by declaring an amnesty for political prisoners. This suggestion should be pressed by the international workers and socialist movement, which the Stalinist bureaucrats are not going to bamboozle with their new constitution. After fifty years of Stalinism, workers throughout the world, as well as in the USSR, have learned that when the bureaucrats talk about extending democratic rights, they are actually planning a new attack on them. □

ly after the law went into effect, a right-wing campaign was initiated by Bible-thumping entertainer Anita Bryant.

Bryant's outfit, "Save Our Children, Incorporated," carried on a hysterical campaign against homosexuals, succeeding in collecting enough signatures on petitions to hold a referendum on the new law.

The crusade focused on the slander that the civil-rights ordinance was an invitation to homosexuals to "recruit" and molest children. Bryant, a fundamentalist Baptist, relied heavily on biblical quotations and religious demagoguery. She called

homosexuality an "abomination."

The right-wing forces opposed to the ordinance held mass rallies of up to 10,000 persons. Florida's Democratic Governor Reuben Askew joined in, saying, "I do not want a known homosexual teaching my child. I have never viewed the homosexual lifestyle as something that approached a constitutional right."

"Save Our Children" also received the support of the Ku Klux Klan. The KKK Imperial Wizard declared homosexuality to be one of the "three vast conspiracies of Communism that pervade the world"—along with socialism and Judaism.

This reactionary offensive has taken on national scope. After the vote, Bryant spoke of a "fight to repeal similar laws throughout the nation which attempt to legitimize a lifestyle that is both perverse and dangerous." One of her representatives said "Save Our Children" would "set up in Washington next."

Bigots elsewhere have picked up the cue from Miami. Leaflets urging the death penalty for homosexuals have been distributed in a Los Angeles suburb. The Chicago *Tribune* has run sensational front-page stories equating homosexuality with child pornography, and the Chicago City Council invited Anita Bryant to testify on that subject. A right-wing Atlanta religious sect held an antihomosexual conference, which heard a "psychologist" suggest that "unrepentant" homosexuals be stoned to death. And a California legislator has said he would introduce a bill to bar homosexuals from teaching in that state's public schools.

This reactionary campaign poses a serious threat not only to the rights of homosexuals, but to those of all other oppressed sectors of American society as well. A representative of "Save Our Children" made this clear when he threatened an "increase in tempo nationwide against permissiveness, whether you're talking about homosexuality or abortion on demand or any other kind of permissiveness." (Quoted in the June 8 *New York Post*.)

The forces behind Bryant and her crusade are the same ones who have fought against the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion rights, against school desegregation and affirmative action, against labor organizing efforts; and in support of union-busting "right-to-work" laws and the death penalty.

The response that is called for has already begun: As soon as the vote results in Miami became known, 5,000 supporters of homosexual rights took to the streets in San Francisco, and 1,500 marched in New York City. The following evening, more than 5,000 persons turned out for another demonstration in New York City.

More and bigger such protests—involving Blacks, women, other oppressed groups, and the labor movement—will be required to roll back this offensive. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: June 13, 1977

FEATURES	700	Healyites Escalate Frame-up of Trotskyist Leaders—by Joseph Hansen
SPAIN	692	On the Eve of the Elections—by Gerry Foley
TURKEY	694	Social Tensions on Rise—by Gerry Foley
ETHIOPIA	696	Castro Denies Sending Military Advisers—by Ernest Harsch
SOUTH AFRICA	697	1,000 Students Demonstrate in Soweto
INDIA	698	Bombay Dock Workers Win Most Demands
ITALY	698	Senate Kills Liberalized Abortion Bill
	704	The Revolutionary Left at a Turning Point—by Anna Libéra
FRANCE	699	Demonstrations Protest Murder of Striking Worker—by Susan Wald
	720	Thousands Attend International Women's Conference—by Caroline Lund
PORTUGAL	707	The Fight for Trade-Union Democracy—by Charles Michaloux
PANAMA	712	Behind the Canal Negotiations—Part IV—by Judy White
ANGOLA	713	Two Freedom Fighters Imprisoned
NEWS ANALYSIS	690	Brezhnev's New Constitution—by Gerry Foley
	690	The Crusade Against Homosexuals—a Threat to All—by Fred Murphy
CAPITALISM		
FOULS THINGS UP	714	Will Scotch Tape Save Alaska Pipeline?
SELECTIONS		
FROM THE LEFT	716	
AROUND THE WORLD	718	Carter Considering New Death Weapon
DRAWINGS	692	Santiago Carrillo; 693, Felipe González; 695, Bülent Ecevit; 696, Mengistu Haile Mariam; 708, Melo Antunes; 710, Mário Soares; 718, Jimmy Carter—by Copain

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On the Eve of the Elections in Spain

By Gerry Foley

One of the main questions in the Spanish elections June 15 is whether Premier Adolfo Suárez can gain enough support to continue ruling without having to resort to parliamentary deals, in particular with the workers parties.

Suárez's refurbishing of capitalist rule in Spain would have been impossible without the help of the Communist and Socialist parties. However, the Spanish bourgeoisie is anxious to avoid a situation in which the government would be openly dependent on CP and SP backing. That would induce the ranks of these parties to step up pressure on their leaders to produce gains for them. And the economic crisis makes it more and more difficult for the Spanish capitalists to continue to give concessions.

In fact, the government has been postponing austerity measures until after the elections. The spread of workers struggles over the past year, despite the best efforts of the CP and SP leaders to hold them back, makes it doubtful that the Stalinist and Social Democrat chiefs could deliver on a class-collaborationist bargain.

In the June 10 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, the favorite daily of U.S. big business, correspondent Eric Morgenthauer described the main concern of "observers":

The country has one of Europe's highest inflation rates; it was 20% last year, and is expected to run between 25% and 30% this year. Unemployment is high and rising, and so are wages (up nearly 30% last year). Largely because of its high fuel bills, Spain is running enormous trade deficits—over \$7 billion in 1974 and 1975, and more than \$8 billion last year.

The peseta is thought to be in need of a devaluation of 15% or so, and it has been falling on currency markets. The stock market is down, and business investment has stagnated, partly because of uncertainty over Spain's economic future.

The problems aren't new ones, but the government has delayed taking the strong action that most observers feel is required because of its other political headaches and the problems of imposing unpopular pocketbook measures without some electoral mandate.

All that the SP and CP want is acceptance as partners by the government. Morgenthauer wrote:

Mr. [Felipe] Gonzalez, [leader of the SP] says he would join a Suarez government—if Mr. Suarez would adopt the Socialist Workers [Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE, Spanish Socialist Workers party; the main Social Democratic formation] platform. He accuses the Suarez crowd of being "interchangeable with the far right."



CARRILLO: Afraid of frightening bosses.

Despite González's denunciation of Suárez, it is clear that he is willing to help the premier solve his problems, if only the latter will make a few concessions to make it possible for the PSOE to collaborate openly with the government. However, Suárez's decision to throw the weight of the Francoist state apparatus behind the Democratic Center Union was designed precisely to avoid giving the PSOE a recognized role in the government.

If anything, the Communist party raises even more modest demands than the PSOE. The Spanish press has begun to say that the CP leaders' nightmare is that they will get too many votes and "frighten" people. It is true that the CP is running a very low-key campaign, hardly calculated to stir the enthusiasm of the workers who look to it.

In Bilbao, one of the largest working-class centers in the peninsula and the biggest city in the Basque country, CP General Secretary Santiago Carrillo told a rally of 40,000 persons in late May, after Suárez's police had staged a gigantic pogrom against the Basque people:

The worst separatists are those who for fifty years, from Madrid, have segregated the Basque people, and under the slogan of the unity of the lands and people of Spain, they are on the point of destroying Spain.

The least Carrillo could do under the circumstances was blame the government for the disaffection of the Basque people. But at the same time he clearly threw the CP's weight against independence for the Basque country and behind maintaining the unity of the Spanish state. His declaration was featured in the May 25 issue of the CP organ *Mundo Obrero*.

In its electoral program, the CP defines its "primary goal" as follows:

To put an end to insecurity and an end to the fear that Spaniards feel about voting in accordance with their views, regardless of what they may be. To convince them that by voting for democracy they will help to open up a prolonged period of peace and security for all Spaniards, regardless of their views or interests.

Although the most servile supporters of the Kremlin try to discredit the "Euro-Communist" Spanish CP leadership for making "opportunist" concessions to bourgeois democracy, the Moscow line on the elections in Spain is indistinguishable from that of the Carrillo leadership. In an article in the "Commentator's Column" in the May 30 issue of the Soviet CP organ *Pravda*, Anatoly Krasikov wrote:

The political evolution of Spain . . . is characterized by two features—the dismantling of the structures of the dictatorial regime and the peaceful nature of these changes. Both these features are the direct result of the self-sacrificing struggle of the broad masses of the Spanish people over all the past years. In this struggle, a new relationship of forces has been established, as a result of which the Francoist "Bunker" [the wing most resistant to change] has been isolated and the democratic camp continues to grow.

Krasikov even commended Suárez for helping to bring about these changes:

A certain contribution to speeding the process of democratization has also been made . . . in part by the ruling circles of the country, which have shown realism and an understanding of the inevitability of the changes demanded by the people.

However, despite the relatively tame campaigns run by the CP and the SP, and the fact that Suárez called the elections under conditions that heavily stacked the deck in his favor, in the last days of the campaign his operation seemed to be faltering.

Suárez tried to make the elections appear to be a contest between liberalization, represented by him, and resistance to "democratization" presented by the People's Alliance party headed by Manuel Fraga Iribarne. Both the SP and the CP directed their main fire against Fraga Iribarne, thereby giving tacit support to Suárez. However, as the campaign progressed, the right appeared less and less a credible threat, and the left was showing unexpected strength.

In the June 10 *Wall Street Journal*, Morgenthauer wrote that while Fraga Iribarne "had been considered Mr. Sua-

rez's chief rival," his party is now "expected to poll only 10% or 12% of the vote.

"Before the campaign officially opened May 24, there were estimates that it would draw more than double that percentage."

On the other hand: "The Socialist Workers have been gaining steadily in the polls, and it now is thought they will pull around 20% of the vote. Other socialist parties are expected to get 5% or 10%, which could give the socialists the second-largest electoral bloc—something that few people considered likely a few weeks ago."

According to polls taken by *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* on May 14 and May 21, the probable PSOE vote went from 18.1% the first week to 18.8% the second; and the CP from 10% to 10.9%. The smaller leftist parties, the Social Democratic formations outside the PSOE and the "far left," declined respectively from 8.4% to 7.5% and from 3.2% to 3%. The category of far left apparently included Trotskyists, Maoists, and revolutionary nationalists.

The polls showed great unevenness in the relative strength of the various parties in the different nationalities. Thus in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa, the May 14 poll showed the far left gaining 17.6% of the vote.

However, the polls indicated that by far the largest electoral group in the Basque provinces is the Christian Democrats, including the bourgeois Basque National party. In the June 9 issue of *Le Monde*, correspondent Charles Vanhecke reported that the bourgeois nationalists, who had been considered moribund, were using the elections to reestablish themselves at the expense of the revolutionary nationalists, who have carried the main burden of the national liberation struggle under the dictatorship. Important sections of the revolutionary nationalists favor boycotting the elections.

The Christian Democrats have not joined the Suárez coalition and may provide the basis for a bourgeois alternative to the premier's operation. The May 21 *Cuadernos* poll showed the Christian Democrats gaining, and likely to get an average of 12.5% of the vote as a whole.

José María Areilza, whom Suárez displaced as head of the center coalition, has been speaking at PSOE rallies and projecting the idea of a Christian Democratic-Social Democratic coalition. Whatever Areilza's antagonism toward his rival, Suárez, his arguments about the need for another alternative are based on reality. In an article published in the election supplement to the May 29 issue of the PSOE paper *El Socialista*, he said:

My opinion and prediction is the following. Elections manipulated by the government are not likely to solve the crisis of the state. The economic situation will reach a critical point in June. There will be an absence of a negotiated consensus for dealing with the big questions facing us.

Suárez's formula of trying to get a phony

mandate for a government-backed coalition may prove counterproductive for the Spanish bourgeoisie. It seems now to be in question, even with an obvious stacking of the deck, that Suárez will get the electoral



GONZALEZ: Social Democratic chieftain.

mandate he needs. Moreover, the conditions under which the elections are being held weaken the credibility of the "democratization." But at the same time Suárez has had to grant considerable room to the workers parties for openly organizing and campaigning, including the parties and groups that remain formally illegal.

The elections have enabled the workers parties to hold open mass rallies for the first time. The CP and SP have held rallies of 40,000 to 100,000 in a number of places. After tens and hundreds of thousands of youth and workers have had such experiences, it is going to be difficult for the government to reimpose the kind of limitations on political activity that existed before.

The Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR), one of the two sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International in Spain, have tried to use the elections to offer a revolutionary alternative to the SP and CP campaigns. It is possible for organizations that remain banned to present independent candidates or run candidates on ad hoc slates. The LCR is running candidates on the ticket of the Frente por la Unidad de los Trabajadores (FUT—Front for Workers Unity). This coalition also includes the Organización de Izquierda Comunista (OIC—Organization of the Communist Left), as well as Acción Comunista, which is a much smaller group. In Catalonia, it

includes the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—Workers party of Marxist Unity) and members of the Movimiento Comunista. The LCR is by far the largest group.

Writing in the June 7 issue of the French Trotskyist daily, *Rouge*, Anna Libéra gave an indication of the scope of the FUT campaign:

Nothing could give a better picture of Madrid in this election campaign. Cars flying red flags broadcast calls to join in the campaign of the revolutionary communists. A month ago, this would have been unthinkable.

The FUT is a legal electoral coalition, but the LCR, like the other revolutionary organizations, remains illegal. Everywhere, you can see signs of this contradictory situation. For example, the FUT festival here was thoroughly legal. But all the organizations that set up literature displays are illegal. Another example was a TV journalist's presentation of Jaime Pastor, candidate of the FUT for Madrid and member of the LCR. . . .

After dozens of meetings in the neighborhoods, the FUT organized its first big rally in Madrid this weekend. It was held in a football stadium in a working-class neighborhood. Starting at 6 p.m., the stadium began to fill. The shell was covered with the red banners of the component groups of the FUT. . . .

Around the stadium were stands for political organizations and various committees. First there was . . . the youth group of the LCR, then the women's movement, a committee to support the Saharan people, neighborhood associations, struggle committees on health problems, committees of solidarity with Latin America.

At the side of the LCR stand were those of several organizations of the Fourth International—the Portuguese Internationalist Communist League, the Argentine Socialist Workers party, the LCR of France, and the Liga Comunista of Spain. . . .

By 9 p.m., more than 10,000 persons had gathered in front of the central podium to hear the speakers. . . . Alain Krivine and a leader of the Portuguese Revolutionary party of the Proletariat spoke first, and then Sabino Arana, a Basque prisoner with great prestige, recently released. He is a member of the LCR. He was greeted by an enormous ovation.

In Catalonia, the LCR has been publishing its local paper *Demà* weekly during the campaign. In the May 19 issue, it explained its perspectives for the campaign in Catalonia.

We think that the FUT is a very positive step, first of all because it is the only electoral pact among workers parties in the Spanish state, and it remains open to broader unity in the struggle of the mass movement. Secondly, its program . . . corresponds to what the movement has been fighting for over the past months and offers a working-class answer to the monarchy's "reform scheme" and to the present elections, which are neither free nor the basis for adopting a new constitution. . . .

However . . . the FUT also has certain ambiguities, which had to be accepted for the sake of achieving unity, even of limited forces. The first and most important of these has to do with trade-union freedom and unity. On this point the drafters of the FUT manifesto had to

respect the positions of the OIC [which projects building soviets as opposed to unions]. The second of these ambiguities had to do with the alternative for eliminating national oppression. Here also the need for unity had to take precedence. And the fundamental demand for the immediate calling of a constituent and sovereign parliament for Catalonia figures prominently.

The immediate government demands raised in the FUT manifesto are the following:

Free elections for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage and with the right to vote at the age of sixteen. A republic. Down with all national oppression, for the right to self-determination. Free elections for constituent assemblies for the nationalities. . . .

The manifesto ends with the following statement:

The fight for all these demands can only be waged on the basis of independent action by the workers and people's movement. . . .

This is the road that will make possible the establishment of a workers government, which alone can make possible solving the present crisis in accordance with the workers' interests.

This struggle cannot be concluded in the framework of capitalist society, but must continue until socialism is achieved in the framework of a new state based on workers councils. Independence of the workers and people's movement! A workers government! Build socialism based on workers councils!

While it seems doubtful that the elections will strengthen the Suárez government as he hoped, they have provided the best opportunity since the Portuguese upsurge for taking revolutionary ideas to masses of people. □

dents, including even young high-school students gunned down in their classrooms.

Both legal and banned left groups, such as the Communist party, have played a major role in organizing DISK, which fights for unions independent of the government. In recent years, one of the central struggles waged by DISK has been for the right of workers to choose their own unions.

The tensions around the June 3 CHP rally were actually greater than appeared at the time, according to a report by correspondent John K. Cooley in the June 10 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*. He wrote that a "highly placed traveler" arriving in Athens from Turkey had revealed:

Prompt action by Turkish President Fahri Koruturk and the Turkish armed forces high command narrowly averted on June 2 a coup by the neo-fascist National Action Party. . . .

The [MHP's] . . . trained commando units . . . were to provoke street fighting and attack public buildings and election rallies. This would have brought Army intervention, probably during the final election rally of the main opposition candidate, Bulent Ecevit. . . .

The armed forces Joint Chiefs of Staff prematurely retired the ground forces commander, Gen. Namik Kemal Ersun, June 2, with President Koruturk's approval. No reason was given in the sudden public announcement, but the general was thought to be one of the leaders of the aborted coup.

A second general, whose name was not immediately known, was recalled from his active command. The third senior officer involved was said to have been Gen. Musa Ogun. He was one of the leaders in a 1971 movement in the armed forces that installed a military-backed regime. His name has been connected with a mysterious "counter-guerrilla organization," alleged by former Turkish political prisoners to have been involved in torture and other rough tactics used against Turkish leftists and liberals.

What could have prompted the right to go to the brink of staging a military putsch that would inevitably have created grave problems for the Turkish ruling class both at home and internationally? Apparently, major sections of the bourgeoisie considered even a relative victory by the CHP a deadly threat. The results of the elections in fact had been anticipated for months.

The CHP increased its seats in the 450-member parliament from 185 to 213, falling 13 seats short of a majority. The AP went from 149 to 189 seats, essentially by absorbing the smaller rightist parties. The Democratic party fell from 45 seats to one. The Güven Partisi (Confidence party) lost 10 of its previous 13 seats. The Islamic Milli Selamet Partisi (MSP—National Salvation party) dropped from 48 to 24 seats. Türkes's party went from 3 to 16 seats. Four independents were elected.

Actually, the right-wing parties retained an overall majority in parliament. However, the Islamic party participated in a

Election Results Point to Stormy Weather

Social Tensions on the Rise in Turkey

By Gerry Foley

The vote in the June 5 Turkish elections confirmed the buildup of explosive social tensions in the country.

The right and left blocs remained almost evenly balanced, but the liberals and left were clearly shown to be on the advance, reflecting the growth of the urban population and the working class, as well as the erosion of the traditional conservative forces.

Frightened by the growth of the workers movement and of demands for democratic rights, a section of the ruling class supports a fascist-like movement, the Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP—National Action party), led by retired Colonel Alpaslan Türkes. The growth of a stratum of chronically unemployed, especially in undeveloped eastern Turkey, provides the social base for this operation.

Moreover, a de facto alliance and division of labor exists between the MHP and the main conservative bourgeois party, the Adalet Partisi (AP—Justice party), led by outgoing premier Suleyman Demirel. In fact, Türkes was deputy premier in the Demirel government, even though his party held only three seats in parliament.

The tensions between the right and left blocs reached a peak at the final campaign rally of the liberal party, the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP—Republican People's party), led by former premier Bülent Ecevit.

The rally, scheduled for June 3 in Istanbul's Taksim Square, was banned by

the Demirel government. Despite the ban and the threat of attacks by Türkes's gangs, about 300,000 persons, according to a Reuters estimate, flooded into the square to defy the rightists' attempts to drive the left off the streets.

Immediately before the rally, Demirel sent Ecevit a personal letter warning him that if he tried to address the rally, he would be assassinated by "Communist terrorist organizations." Ecevit made public the letter, throwing the warning back in the premier's face.

Demirel may have expected the letter to have more effect, since there were attempts to assassinate Ecevit during the campaign.

In fact, the preelection period opened with a massacre in the very square where Ecevit was to speak. On May 1, gunmen opened fire on a crowd of about 150,000 who were attending a rally called by the Devrimci İşçileri Sendikası Konfederasyonu (DISK—Revolutionary Workers Trade-Union Confederation). At least thirty-eight persons were killed and about two hundred injured.

The Demirel government claimed left groups were responsible for the slaughter. Colonel Türkes's MHP seized on the occasion to call for the banning of DISK. According to union leaders, the ones who actually did the killings were the Gray Wolves, the MHP commando groups. Over the past two years, the Gray Wolves have murdered about 200 left and liberal stu-

coalition previously with Ecevit, and it still has the votes to enable the Cyprus war "hero of the faith" to form a government.

The victory of Turkish troops under the Ecevit government in 1974 entitles him to the title "Gazi" (Hero of the Faith), which is most associated with Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish republic. During Atatürk's lifetime, he was often referred to simply as the "Gazi."

Ecevit might be able to form an all-CHP government with the help of crossovers or abstentions. After such an advance, it would be normal parliamentary practice to allow the CHP to put its program to the test. However, the situation has obviously become highly polarized. According to a report in the June 9 *Le Monde*, Demirel has announced that there is not going to be any CHP government.

Actually, either in coalition with the MSP or ruling on the basis of a tacit agreement with other forces, the CHP can be counted on to defend the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie to the best of its ability. After all, it is the party of Atatürk, the historic party of bourgeois nationalism in Turkey. The most radical label attached to the CHP is "Social Democrat," which it is sometimes called in the Stalinist and bourgeois press.

It is true that Ecevit has courted the Second International to some extent, but that can also be said of many groups in colonial countries that are nothing more than bourgeois populist parties, such as Acción Democrática in Venezuela, or the APRA party of Haya de la Torre in Peru.

There are nuclei of socialist and workers parties in Turkey that play an important role in the student and labor movements. Most of these supported Ecevit. However, the former premier made it clear in an interview in the Italian Communist party daily *l'Unità* (republished in the June 3 issue of the Greek CP "interior" paper *Auge*) that this support went in only one direction:

The CHP is ready to work with the left on one condition—that the left support the CHP unconditionally. Otherwise, we will not be able to guarantee full democratic rights. Today, the left can get no more than 1.5 percent of the vote; we can get 45 percent.

The main difference in fact between Ecevit and the right-wing parties was, and remains, over the question of how to respond to the rise of the workers movement and the radicalization of large petty-bourgeois sectors. Ecevit proposes to handle this problem mainly by political means. The right looks toward more repression.

One of the main charges leveled at Ecevit by the right is that he is responsible for the violence in the country because his government released leftists jailed under the military dictatorship established in

1971, and allowed the banned left parties to reorganize.

Moreover, in his campaign, Ecevit stressed that he would defend democratic rights and restore "order" by clamping



ECEVIT: Unlikely to end Gray Wolves.

down on "extremists." In view of the fact that most violence has come from the rightists, this must have been interpreted by the masses as meaning that under the CHP, the government would no longer tolerate the terrorism of the Gray Wolves.

It would seem a reasonable assumption that Ecevit would try to limit the activities of Colonel Türkeş's commando squads, after they tried to assassinate him. However, these forces are embedded in the capitalist state apparatus, and Ecevit could not destroy them without destroying it, which he is not going to do.

How much a CHP regime would limit the activities of the Gray Wolves depends on the mass pressure brought to bear on it. But the massive turnout in Taksim Square June 3 indicates that there will be very powerful pressure on Ecevit to extend democratic rights and halt rightist terror, if he is allowed to form a government.

According to the June 8 issue of *Auge*, Ecevit has already "hinted that he will legalize the Communist party as well as other left and right political parties, because, as he said, 'they operate today in various forms and under various names.'" The CP has been illegal for practically the entire history of the Turkish republic.

However, not only the Turkish rightists fear an extension of democratic rights. The international capitalist press has expressed its concern over the advance of the forces of change in Turkey in rather broad coverage of the election campaign.

In its May 23 issue, the *New York Times* ran an article on the social changes in Turkey under the headline "Modernization

Leaves Turkey's Culture in Disorder and Its People Seeking an Identity." The article began:

As the son of a tribal chief, Senator Kamran Inan is widely respected in eastern Turkey. On a recent campaign trip, he was approached by a young student and questioned closely about politics and government.

"Something like that would never have happened in that part of the world three years ago," noted the senator. "That boy would never even speak in my presence before unless I questioned him."

The author, Steven V. Roberts, commented:

Turkey today is like that student. In this vast nation of 42 million, suspended between Europe and Asia, traditional values and attitudes are rapidly breaking down. People are asking questions. . . .

Further on, he wrote, "This disorder is compounded by the weakening of family, community and other traditional restraints."

Since 1950, the urban population has jumped from 18.7% of the whole to 43.3%. In this situation, the power and confidence of the workers have been growing rapidly. Roberts pointed out: "An organized working class has started to show its strength, and trade unions won wage increases of more than 28 per cent last year."

The Turkish proletariat is a young and militant class, recently escaped from feudal oppression and the iron-fisted tutelage of the statist regime established by Atatürk. It has had to wage bitter struggles for the most elementary rights. However, the growth of the unions is not the only problem facing the Turkish ruling class. Social changes are affecting all strata. In the June 3 *New York Times*, Roberts wrote:

The protesters marched through the black stone walls built by Roman armies 1,600 years ago and down the main street of this provincial capital in eastern Turkey. Some women held veils over their faces as they chanted, "Water, electricity, roads, water, electricity, roads!"

As Turkey prepares to vote in critical national elections on Sunday, those marchers symbolize one of the most difficult problems that will face a new government. After centuries of silence and subservience, Turkish peasants are starting to raise their voices and demand a better life.

However, while a revolution of expectations has been occurring in the Turkish masses, the rulers of the economy and of the country have seen their perspectives for capitalist development exploded by the world recession.

Hard currency and gold reserves have fallen from \$2.02 billion in 1973, when the last elections were held, to about \$500 million. At the same time, Turkey's short-term foreign currency debts add up to about \$900 million.

Turkish banks are being so hard pressed by foreign creditors, *Der Spiegel* pointed out May 30, that even diplomatic officials

abroad are finding that their salary checks bounce.

In Tokyo, the local affiliate of Citibank froze its Turkish accounts, stopping payment of embassy salaries. In Geneva, the director of the Turkish Ministry of Industry has his checks rejected by the Swiss banks. Barclays Bank in London passed the checks for the Turkish embassy payroll only after receipt of currency from Ankara.

The crisis in the Turkish balance of payments is becoming a serious obstruction to trade, *Der Spiegel* reported:

A typical example is the following: A Liberian freighter had already unloaded its cargo of scrap iron in the port of Izmir; it returned to sea a week later because the Turkish buyers had no hard currency to pay the bill. The scrap iron was later unloaded when the central bank sent the currency.

One of the main reasons for the deterioration of the Turkish balance of payments is the loss of emigrant remittances owing to rising unemployment in West Germany, where most emigrant workers go. In 1974, Turkish workers sent home about \$1.4 billion from Germany; in 1976, scarcely \$1 billion.

The closing of outlets for emigration is also aggravating the problem of unemployment which is officially 13.3 percent, and, according to Roberts, "probably twice that." At the same time, inflation is running at 20 percent annually.

In a post-election article in the June 11 *New York Times*, Roberts wrote:

Mr. Ecevit feels strongly that Turkey cannot impose austerity measures on people whose per capita income is only one-fourth that of the average European, and who are just entering the consumer society and demanding such basic government services as water and roads. But he needs foreign exchange, and he might not have much choice.

Ecevit knows how powerful the mass radicalization in Turkey is. He is riding on its back. But the state of the Turkish economy and the world capitalist economy does not offer him much possibility for concessions. Undoubtedly both Ecevit and the imperialist policy makers know that rapid social changes and blocked development are the classic conditions for a revolutionary explosion. □

Clams Suffer Oil Disease

Oil pollution along the New England coast is believed to be responsible for a cancer-like disease affecting softshell clams. Clams in two areas where oil pollution is heaviest suffer a lower incidence of the disease, but researchers believe this is due to varying composition of oil—lighter oil contains more toxic compounds.

Robert Brown of the University of Rhode Island said that while there is "no apparent health hazard to humans," survival of the clams may be in question.

A Complex Lineup of Forces

Ethiopia: Castro Denies Sending Military Advisers

By Ernest Harsch



MENGISTU: Labels himself a "socialist."

In response to continued State Department claims that Cuban military advisers have been sent to aid the Ethiopian regime, Congressman Ronald Dellums, who met with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro May 27, has conveyed Castro's renewed denials.

Dellums said at a news conference in Washington June 1 that Castro had told him there were "no official military instructors" in Ethiopia, only "diplomatic personnel." Dellums commented, "My conclusion and considered opinion is that Cuba will send no troops to Ethiopia."

Dellums reported, however, that the Cuban government planned to send 311 Cuban doctors and medical personnel to Ethiopia. He noted that there were now only 127 doctors in Ethiopia, which has a population of between 30 million and 35 million persons.

Castro himself has denied Washington's claims. In a televised interview taped in Havana in mid-May and broadcast in the United States June 9, Castro said, "We have sent diplomatic personnel to Ethiopia, but all of our personnel in Ethiopia are accredited as diplomatic personnel. That is, there are no military advisers or such there."

At the same time, Castro reiterated Cuba's right to send advisers if the Ethiopian regime requested aid. "I have told the truth but I want to warn you that this does not imply that we are not willing to send instructors."

Castro has expressed his views on the present situation in Ethiopia in an interview originally published in the Paris magazine *Afrique-Asie* and reprinted in the May 22 issue of *Granma*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba. He stated:

There's a profound revolution in Ethiopia, a powerful mass movement and a thoroughgoing agrarian reform in a feudal country in which the peasants were practically slaves.

There has been an urban reform, and the main industries in the country have been nationalized. I think there are certain similarities between the Ethiopian Revolution and the French and Bolshevik Revolutions, because the leaders have made an antifeudal revolution while working at the same time for socialism. This reminds us of the French and Bolshevik Revolutions because of the intense class struggle waged between the workers and peasants on the one side and the large landowners and bourgeoisie on the other and because this country is now being criminally attacked from abroad by the Arab reaction, acting in complicity with imperialism.

Commenting on the February 3 clash within Ethiopia's ruling military junta, after which Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam emerged as the new head of state, Castro said, "The February 3 events have been decisive. That was when the left and the true leaders of the Revolution took control and the process was directed along revolutionary lines." He described Mengistu as a "true revolutionary."

In an article in the June 11 issue of the *New Republic*, Colin Legum, an associate editor of the London *Observer* who has written extensively on Africa, sought to counter the interpretation generally conveyed by Washington that Castro is operating in Africa as a pawn of the Kremlin. "Nobody should doubt that Castro is acting independently, serving his own commitment to 'third world revolution,'" Legum said. "But," he added, "his role also serves the Russian interest."

Legum raised some questions about Castro's characterization of the Ethiopian junta, which is known as the Dergue. "But is Castro right about the Dergue?" he asked. "Is it indeed a progressive revolutionary force? And are the Dergue's enemies simply reactionary forces of conspiracy?"

In attempting to describe the complex

array of forces that are now contending with each other in Ethiopia, Legum accepts the regime's demagogic claim that it is "socialist." "The Dergue can be described as both Marxist-Leninist and nationalist," he said. "As Marxists members of the Dergue are carrying through a violent revolution. As nationalists they are committed to defending every inch of ancient Ethiopia's territory."

Allied with the Dergue is a group of "Marxists" led by Haile Fida. "After the military takeover," Legum said, "they decided that the best way of promoting revolution was by joining with the military rulers."

A rival group, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party (EPRP), considers the military junta reactionary and has engaged in armed clashes in Addis Ababa and other cities with government officials and "Fidaists." Legum stated that the EPRP has "won the important backing of militant students, teachers and others among the intelligentsia, as well as of the unionists."

In addition to the Dergue's severe repression against the EPRP and other dissidents, Legum noted that the "clash between the Fidaists and the EPRP has produced some of the worst killings in the capital. The EPRA [the EPRP's military wing] has assassinated Fidaists. . . . Each such attack has been followed by reprisal killings and mass arrests. In one black April week alone, at least 1000 EPRP supporters—many of them teenagers—were shot in the streets of Addis Ababa." (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 6, p. 637.)

Also opposed to the Dergue is the generally rightist Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), which is led by landlords and former followers of the late Emperor Haile Selassie who are opposed to the current regime's land reform measures. Legum, however, labels the EDU a "broadly progressive nationalist movement." The EDU has carried out armed actions in some of the northern provinces.

The most serious challenge facing the Dergue is the Eritrean independence struggle, which has made a number of gains in recent months. The Eritrean liberation movements control most of the countryside in the territory. Despite the Dergue's verbal support for Eritrean "self-determination," in practice it has sought to drown the independence struggle in blood.

Legum calls one of the two main Eritrean groups, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), "Marxist." The EPLF, however, rejects this label, calling itself a "national democratic front."

Similar nationalist struggles against the central regime in Addis Ababa exist in other parts of the country. The Tigre People's Liberation Front, which has some links to the EPLF, operates in the province of Tigre. Oromo (Galla) nationalists are

active in some of the eastern and southern provinces, and Legum reported that there is a group called the Oromo National Revolutionary Front, some of whose members are now living in the United States. Although he did not mention it, the Western Somali Liberation Front is also

reported to have carried out armed actions in the Ogaden desert region in the south.

Most of the Arab regimes in the region, as well as the Somalian government, oppose the Ethiopian junta and have given aid to some of the groups fighting against it. □

Sechaba Montsitsi Arrested

1,000 Students Demonstrate in Soweto

More than 1,000 Black youths participated in antigovernment protests in Soweto June 10. The actions were held just a few days before the anniversary of the June 16, 1976, student demonstrations in the township that led to a massive Black upsurge throughout the country last year. More than 600 Blacks were killed by police and paramilitary forces during the 1976 protests.

According to Gen. David Kriel, the head of the riot police, the Soweto demonstrators rallied outside schools in two districts of Soweto. Some reports from Soweto said that police had fired on the Black youths, but Kriel denied this, claiming, "We used minimum force."

That night, Sechaba Montsitsi, the president of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), was arrested by South Africa police. An undisclosed number of other Black student leaders were also seized, as well as four white students from the University of the Witwatersrand.

General Kriel said that Montsitsi and the others were arrested in connection with plans to commemorate the Soweto upsurge.

Following the arrests, Prof. G.R. Bozzoli, deputy chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, denounced the move, stating that he was "appalled at another series of detentions, with no attempt at a trial, of young people whose only offense is that they think deeply and feel deeply about such a tragic event as last year's disturbances."

The SSRC was the group that organized and called many of the Black protests and strikes last year. Its first two presidents were Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, both of whom were forced to leave the country to avoid arrest. The SSRC still wields considerable influence over Soweto's population of more than one million Blacks.

An indication of the SSRC's influence was the collapse of the government's Urban Bantu Council (UBC) in Soweto, a largely powerless advisory body. Following meetings with representatives of the SSRC, twenty-three of the thirty-four

members of the UBC, including its chairman, David Thebehali, had resigned by June 2. The SSRC has repeatedly criticized members of the UBC as collaborators with the racist white minority regime.

The approaching anniversary was a factor behind the resignations. The June 4 issue of the *Johannesburg Star* reported, "Announcing the resignations Mr Thebehali said members had decided to quit because of pending unrest in the townships." □

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Strike Paralyzes Port for Twelve Days

Bombay Dock Workers Win Most Demands

Nearly 7,000 dock workers walked off their jobs in Bombay May 10. For twelve days they paralyzed the port, halting all loading and unloading of ships, until the Bombay Port Trust (BPT) agreed to meet most of their demands. It was the biggest single strike in India since the downfall of the Indira Gandhi regime in March and the end of the state of emergency.

Many of the dockers' grievances date back to the period of the state of emergency, which was imposed by Gandhi in June 1975. Under a "rationalisation" scheme introduced by the BPT during the emergency, workloads were increased sharply. Although no one was actually laid off or fired, vacancies were left unfilled and older workers were forced to retire at an earlier age. According to unionists, this speedup lowered safety standards, resulting in the deaths of twelve crane drivers and injuries to twelve more in a period of only six months.

In October and November 1976, a spontaneous strike took place, bypassing the union leaderships. Under Gandhi's repressive regime, however, labor activists were arrested and the strike was crushed.

With the end of the state of emergency, the workers had a new opportunity to press their demands. The BPT Employees Union submitted its demands to the management April 4, calling for a restoration of the preemergency conditions. When negotiations broke down, the strike was called for May 10. The BPT General Workers Union, a smaller union, decided to join the strike May 11.

A report in the May 28 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly* noted, "It is clear that workers' pressure was responsible for the launching of the strike."

Despite this pressure, the union leaders sought to keep the strike from spreading. "Towards the later stages of the strike," the report said, "the union officers were flooded with demands from various groups of workers to be allowed to go on strike, in sympathy with the sections already on strike as well as in support of their own demands. The office-bearers of the unions had a hard time persuading these workers to continue to work."

The new Janata party regime, which came to power on the promise to do away with Gandhi's repressive policies, handled the strike gingerly.

Nevertheless, the report continued, "The employment of the navy during the strike understandably proved highly controversial. The minister of labour [Ravindra Verma] insisted, at his press conference in

Bombay, that the navy had not been used for strike-breaking, but for the limited purpose of preventing the petroleum refineries from 'drying out.' However, it needs to be borne in mind that similar arguments about safeguarding vital national interests can provide—and have provided in the past—the excuse for strike-breaking activities."

Without consulting the strikers, one of

Hundreds Protest in Rome

Italian Senate Kills Liberalized Abortion Bill

"*Vergogna!*" (For shame!) Hundreds of women carrying banners with this inscription gathered in front of the Senate building in Rome on June 7. They were protesting the Senate's decision earlier that day to reject a bill that would have greatly eased restrictions on abortion.

The bill, which had been passed by the Chamber of Deputies in January, was defeated by a vote of 156 to 154. The vote came on a motion by the Christian Democrats, Italy's ruling party, to reject the bill because of its "unconstitutionality."

The Christian Democrats were supported by the fascist parties and by seven defectors from the "Secular Front," a bloc of non-Catholic parties favoring legalized abortion that had previously outnumbered opponents of abortion in parliament.

The bill would have replaced Italy's present abortion law, passed under Mussolini, which makes abortion a "crime against the race." Women over sixteen would have been able to terminate their pregnancies in the first ninety days with or without a doctor's authorization. Under the present restrictions, a woman can obtain a therapeutic abortion only if a psychiatrist certifies that her mental health is endangered by the pregnancy.

Abortion has been one of the most explosive political questions in Italy in the last two years. There is strong sentiment in favor of legalized abortion, particularly among women. In 1975, 500,000 persons signed a petition asking for a referendum on abortion. However, a compromise worked out between the Christian Democracy and the Italian Communist party succeeded in stalling it.

The impact of the vote will be to further

the union leaders, Shanti Patel, unilaterally attempted to call off the strike after an appeal by Prime Minister Morarji Desai. Other unionists pressed for a continuation of the strike, but on May 21 the BPT conceded most of the workers' demands. The strike ended the next day.

"While in that sense the strike may be deemed to have been successful," the report commented, "what does emerge from the whole episode is the absence of workers themselves in decision-making. The mood of the workers, however, did clearly indicate that bureaucratic unions cannot stifle their discontent indefinitely. The recent strike may only embolden the workers to struggle further for their basic demands." □

restrict access to abortion. Representatives of CISA, the Milan Center for Information on Sterilization and Abortion, told the Rome daily *Repubblica* on June 9, "From now on all those who oppose abortion, particularly the doctors, will respond more and more harshly to women's demands." And a consulting psychologist at the Desio hospital said, "Now perhaps even the few doctors who dared to perform therapeutic abortions will be unwilling to do so."

The vote was particularly embarrassing for the Communist party, which is seeking a programmatic alliance with the Christian Democracy. A Communist party official said the vote clearly marked "a shift in the evolution of the present political situation" and presented the "risk of a clash among the political forces," according to a report in the June 8 *New York Times*.

However, the CP made it clear that no fundamental shift in their strategy is contemplated. According to a report in the July 9 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, a CP representative announced after the vote: "The steering committee [of CP senators] has unanimously affirmed the need to reject all maneuvers which, by utilizing the abortion question, are aimed at obstructing the necessary positive outcome of an agreement among the democratic forces." □

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France—Demonstrations Protest Murder of Striking Worker

By Susan Wald

Massive protests have erupted in France following the killing of a striking worker by ultrarightist gunmen Sunday, June 5.

On that day, at around 12:30 a.m., a gray-green Citroën drove up to the gates of a plate-glass factory in the city of Reims in northern France. A dozen .22-caliber rifle shots were fired from the car at a group of pickets standing guard outside the factory. The car then drove off, leaving three of the strikers seriously wounded. One of them, Pierre Maître, aged thirty-seven, died in a hospital Monday afternoon without ever regaining consciousness.

Four men were taken into police custody Sunday evening. Two of them admitted having taken part in the assault. A fifth man turned himself over to the police on Monday morning. All five were charged with attempted murder. This was changed to first-degree murder for two of them on June 6, following Maître's death.

Four of the men were members of a CFT (Confédération Française du Travail—French Confederation of Labor) local at a Reims Citroën plant. The CFT is a virulent anticommunist formation. One of the four, Claude Lecomte, the owner of the car that was used in the attack, is also a member of the SAC (Service d'Action Civique—Civic Action Service), a right-wing paramilitary organization.

Lecomte, who admitted having fired the shots, had been involved in previous attacks on striking workers. He helped lead a tear-gas attack by a goon squad from a Paris Citroën plant on a Reims picket line in March 1973. In this case, as in the June 5 attack, the strikers were members of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor).

Widespread indignation over the murder of Maître was reflected in the immediate response on the part of the labor movement. The CGT and CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor) issued a call on June 6 for a city-wide general strike in Reims starting at 2:00 p.m. Other unions, the Communist and Socialist parties, and several smaller left parties joined in the call for a rally at the Reims city hall at 3:00 p.m., followed by a march through the city.

More than 10,000 persons attended the demonstration. Two hundred seventy statements of support were received.

On June 8, five to fifteen-minute work stoppages took place throughout France at

'Rouge' Offices Bombed

On Wednesday morning, June 8, at 8:00 a.m., a package bomb exploded in the *Rouge* printing plant just outside Paris. Four persons were in the building at the time. The bomb caused some damage to the machinery, but no one was injured.

The bomb was a lethal combination of two grenades, gunpowder, and metal fragments. Only one of the grenades exploded, without igniting the powder.

If both devices had detonated, it would have shattered a wall ten meters away and would undoubtedly have caused several deaths.

The bomb was received the same day as the demonstration in Paris, supported by *Rouge* and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, to protest the killing of strike picket Pierre Maître by an ultrarightist murder squad.

the call of the CGT, the CFDT, and the teachers federation.

In a joint statement published in the June 6 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International) and the Organisation Communiste des Travailleurs (Communist Workers Organization) called for a demonstration in Paris on June 8 and invited other organizations to endorse and build it.

Several other organizations responded to this call, and within two days demonstrations were planned in six cities.

Eight thousand persons took part in the Paris demonstration. In addition to the CFDT, there were contingents from the LCR, OCT, PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party) and CCA (Comités Communistes pour l'Autogestion—Communist Committees for Self-Management), as well as several unions. The CGT declined to endorse the protest, preferring instead to rely on appeals to the French government to dissolve the CFT.

On June 6, the CFT issued a statement condemning the attack and denying any responsibility for it. It said that it would "take appropriate action against the perpetrators if it is confirmed that they are members of the CFT."

The following day, the general secretary of the CFT announced that the Reims section had expelled the four men involved in the attack. The SAC also announced the expulsion of Lecomte.

The CFT has a record of physical assaults on other organizations in the workers movement. It is condemned as a "bosses' union" by most of the other trade-union federations in France, including the

CGT, which calls for its dissolution. Founded in December 1959 as a result of the fusion of three "independent" unions (not affiliated to the CGT or CFDT), its membership is estimated today at between 50,000 and 100,000, although it has never achieved nationwide legal recognition.

The CFT has had close ties with the Gaullists since its inception. Most of its leadership are hardcore right-wingers. For example, Marcel Driot, a one-time president of the CFT, was a former volunteer in the Francoist army during the Spanish Civil War. □

The American Way of Life

In New York City on August 8, 1971, Mrs. Elida Rivera, the mother of five, was standing in back of the family's station wagon with the tailgate down. The car had overheated, and her husband had pulled it over to the curb.

A car driven by Ruben Pacheco hit several potholes and careened out of control. It struck Mrs. Rivera and crushed her against the tailgate, severing both her legs above the knee.

Since leaving the hospital, she has been confined to a wheelchair.

About a year after the accident, she settled a suit against Pacheco for \$10,000, which was covered by his insurance.

She also brought suit against the city for damages caused by the defective roadway. The trial before a jury opened May 17.

After four days, the city abruptly settled for \$675,000.

What was probably decisive was the testimony of witnesses that the potholes had remained unrepaired for ten years. □

Healyites Escalate Frame-up of Trotskyist Leaders

By Joseph Hansen

In an article entitled "SYLVIA FRANKLIN G.P.U. agent unmasked," published in the May 28, 1977, issue of the *News Line* under the byline of the "International Committee of the Fourth International," the Healyites have again escalated their slanders of the leadership of the Socialist Workers party.

As the basis for notching up their lies, they offer two purported interviews, one with Sylvia Caldwell (Franklin) and one with Lucy Booker, neither of which provides any new information of substance. (Readers can judge this for themselves from the texts, which are published elsewhere in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.)

Nonetheless, say the Healyite authors, "The 30-year cover-up of the GPU by Joseph Hansen and George Novack of the revisionist Socialist Workers Party (USA) has been shattered." The authors even aver that the interview with Caldwell "completely confirms the revelations made 30 years ago by ex-Communist Party leader, Louis F. Budenz."

Budenz was one of the prize exhibits in J. Edgar Hoover's stable of turncoats, stoolpigeons, and provocateurs. Some of his "revelations" may have been calculated to cause disruption in the Trotskyist movement and should be weighed with due caution.

The Healyites ought to have learned this from the case of Thomas L. Black, another FBI informer in whom they placed complete confidence, taking what this rat said "under oath" as a key part of their "evidence" against me and Novack.

More important than this in the progression of the frame-up are the new charges leveled by Healy's "International Committee."

1.

The members of this select body of witch-hunters commit themselves to a slander they had previously only hinted at; namely, that the control commission set up by the Socialist Workers party in 1947 to examine the rumors circulated about Caldwell was "rigged."

Here is the lie they now assert:

"First of all, a rigged Control Commission was set up to completely exonerate her. . . .

"The fact that Sylvia Caldwell was, in reality, Mrs Sylvia Franklin utterly demolishes Hansen's long-standing lie that a Socialist Workers Party control commission investigated Budenz's charges

against her and proved them to be false. The control commission, cited by Hansen, supposedly proved that the personal background of Cannon's secretary was entirely different from the description of it given by Budenz.

"This lie is now blown up once and for all. If the Socialist Workers Party ever held a control commission on Franklin, it was rigged to cover up the fact that her background coincided entirely with that described by Budenz."

If a control commission was ever held, it was rigged! This falsehood is aimed squarely at James P. Cannon, as can easily be proved.

In an article in the August 28, 1950, issue of the *Militant*, which was reprinted in the November 24, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, Cannon said that in the early part of 1947 a "tip" had been received, "purportedly emanating in the first instance from circles close to the FBI," that a secretarial worker in the national office was an agent of the Stalinists.

"This report," Cannon continued, "was promptly handed over to the party Control Commission for investigation. . . .

"The Control Commission rejected the accusation and exonerated the accused comrade, who had fully cooperated with the investigation, answered all questions put to her and supplied the Control Commission with all the data relating to her biography and previous occupations, which were subject to verification."

Sixteen years later, in a letter dated November 12, 1966, Cannon again spoke of this investigation:

"In another case, a rumor circulated by the Shachtmanites and others outside the party against the integrity of a National Office secretarial worker was thoroughly investigated by the Control Commission which, after taking stenographic testimony from all available sources, declared the rumors unfounded and cleared the accused party member to continue her work."

If there was a coverup, if the control commission was rigged, if no control commission was held at all—as the Healyites now allege—then the main guilt clearly falls on James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the Fourth International. In accordance with the logic of the Big Lie as practiced by the Healyites, Cannon must be listed as an "accomplice of the GPU," if not worse.

This is only the beginning. If Cannon was an "accomplice" or "agent" of the

GPU, then the entire top leadership of the SWP associated with him must be similarly listed, for they obviously participated in staging the alleged control commission fraud, whether by helping to rig it or, if it was not held at all, by making out—along with Cannon—that it *had* been held.

How far back did such fraudulent practices go? Was Cannon an accomplice or agent of the GPU when he founded American Trotskyism? When he collaborated with Trotsky in founding the Fourth International? Was his long battle against Stalinism a sham? Were his close relations with Trotsky a coverup for a secret connection with Stalin? Just whom did Cannon use as willing tools in working for the GPU—for instance, in the alleged fake control commission?

And what about the period of fifteen years or so in which Cannon collaborated closely with Healy? Did the master succeed in indoctrinating his disciple with the methods of the GPU?

2.

In a logical development of his course for the past two years, Healy goes still further.

His infamous committee has now actually converted the term "accomplices" into "agents" of the GPU. The article they put out as a joint enterprise states that "A GPU-connected cabal is desperately at work right now to stop the commission of inquiry into the assassination of Leon Trotsky, Lenin's co-leader of the Russian Revolution of 1917."

Lest anyone misinterpret this escalation of their previous lies, they add:

"At stake is a network of GPU agents who infiltrated the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s and who are still there to this day."

Still further and still more specifically:

"After the murder of Trotsky in Mexico on August 20, 1940, they continued their 'deep entry' into the Socialist Workers Party to disrupt the Trotskyist movement and isolate it. Others felt the long arm of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and became double agents. . . .

"WE CONSIDER that the 'Security and the Fourth International' investigation has reached a point where it is bursting asunder a functioning spy ring."

Adherence to the technique of the Big Lie has thus brought the Healyites to a qualitatively new level in the perpetration of their frame-up. It can be summarized in the thesis: *From the 1930s on the Socialist Workers party has been permeated and run by a network of agents of the GPU which is still functioning as a spy ring.*

On this incredible assumption Cannon's comradely attitude toward his secretary Sylvia Caldwell becomes entirely explicable to Healy and his team. Were not both members of the network of GPU agents who, according to the Healyites, have been running the Socialist Workers party since "the 1930s"?

It is true that these character assassins may still be mulling over an opposite schema. Thus they say: "From our investigation it appears that Hansen and Novack not only hoaxed the international Trotskyist movement about Franklin, they hoaxed Cannon as well."

In short, Cannon might well have discounted Caldwell's hard work and seen it as nothing but a put-on by the GPU had not Hansen and Novack cleverly pulled the wool over the country bumpkin's eyes, so that he came to think of his secretary as a "heroine."

However, it remains to be seen how long the former two-devil "indictment" lasts as the emerging multidevil pronouncement is pushed by Healy's poison-pen artists.

3.

Why have Healy and his committee permitted themselves to sink deeper and deeper into this morass? No costly investigation is required to find the explanation.

Their two-year campaign of lies, slander, and vilification of leaders of the Socialist Workers party and the Fourth International has failed in the most miserable way.

Aside from the Belgian sectarian Vereeken, who has an ax of his own to grind against Trotsky, not a single well-known figure in the left, either in Britain or any other country, has given any credence to the crude frame-up. Instead the Healyite campaign has met with universal condemnation.

To hold their ranks together in face of this dismal outcome, the "International Committee," refusing to acknowledge the deadly consequences the WRP now faces, has resorted to stronger and stronger doses of what the campaign began with—slander, amalgams, and easily exposed frame-ups.

The politics in this method boils down to substituting lurid falsifications for political issues. It is a continuation of the sectarian policies that have blocked the organization from taking advantage of the opportunities for revolutionary advances that have repeatedly arisen in Britain in the past two decades.

4.

The article ends on an ominous note:

"The completion of the Sylvia Franklin case is a milestone in the two-year inquiry, but there is much more to come.

"We have reason to believe that this could well produce provocations against our movement all over the world."

What do the Healyites mean by "provocations"? Precisely what do they have in mind?

If they are weighing a course of physically attacking Trotskyists whom they have designated as "accomplices" or "agents" of the GPU, or members of a "functioning spy ring," part of their preparations would naturally consist of trying to pin the blame on the prospective



Workers Press

HEALY: Uncovers "functioning spy ring."

victims by forecasting "provocations" on their part. It is the ancient trick of the pickpocket who cries, "Thief! Thief!" as he runs from the scene with the loot.

That the Healyites are quite capable of initiating physical violence against other sectors of the labor movement was shown as recently as last October when they beat

up two persons in Sydney, Australia. One was a member of the Spartacist League, the other of the Socialist Workers party.

The Australian Healyite *Workers News* offered the following excuse for the punch-up: "There was no premeditated attack by the Socialist Labour League. What took place were two scuffles which resulted from efforts by SLL stewards at the meeting to prevent provocation by these organisations."

The beatings were denounced by an impressive number of figures in the Australian left and workers movement.*

The "International Committee" in London has maintained silence over the beatings to this day. It is the committee's way of condoning the violence used by their Australian contingent.

Trotskyists the world over should do their utmost to avoid such provocations staged by the Healyites. These peddlers of the Big Lie are looking for sensationalistic incidents to spice up their campaign as it enters its third year. Nothing is to be gained politically by falling into the trap of responding physically to their new slanders or threatened provocations. □

*For an account of the physical attack and the resulting protests, see *Intercontinental Press*, November 8, 1976, p. 1588, and November 22, 1976, pp. 1656-57.

Text of Healyite Interview With Sylvia Caldwell

[The following is the text of an "interview" with Sylvia Caldwell that appeared in the May 28, 1977, issue of the *News Line*, a London newspaper sponsored by the Workers Revolutionary party, a British sectarian grouping headed by Gerry Healy.

[The article containing the interview was signed by the "International Committee of the Fourth International." Whether the committee as a whole met with Caldwell is not specified; however, it is quite possible that it did. The necessary funds were obviously available.

[On the other hand, the committee members refer to themselves in one of the questions as "I." ("All I would like to ask you . . .") Who is this mysterious "I"?

[In a two-year campaign marked by the use of frame-up methods in the Stalinist tradition, the "International Committee" has grossly slandered Joseph Hansen and George Novack, calling them "accomplices of the GPU."* Part of the "evidence"

asserted as proving the charge is that Hansen and Novack have refused to pronounce Sylvia Caldwell an "agent of the GPU" in the absence of substantial evidence establishing her guilt. They have maintained that Caldwell must be considered innocent until *proved* guilty. The Healyites have taken an opposite position, holding that she is guilty until proved innocent.

[The purported interview with Caldwell has now been advanced by the Healyites as supplying the requisite proof. However, their own lack of conviction that the interview constitutes such proof is shown by the way they presented it.

[First of all, instead of letting the interview speak for itself, they divided it into eight sections (which we have put together below). They do not indicate whether this was the actual sequence or a different one that in their opinion made for better theater.

[In the *News Line* article, the sections are scattered and interlarded with exten-

*For relevant documentation see *Healy's Big Lie—the Slander Campaign Against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and the Fourth International*. Issued by the National Education Depart-

ment of the Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. \$2. Also available from Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. £.60.

sive comments, which we have left out because they were not part of the subject matter in the interview. The comments, running into hundreds of words accompanied with extensive quotations, are injected to "prove" Caldwell's guilt from other documents and allegations, thus making up for the lack of evidence in the interview itself.

[The procedure of injecting their own comments as a substitute for evidence is extended into the interview itself. Thus in the three opening sections, the committee suppresses the questions that were asked Caldwell. The questions are replaced by remarks written *after the interview*. By slanting the material in this way, the authors help "orient" the reader.

[In the second paragraph of the opening part, for instance, the assertion is made that Caldwell was an "undercover GPU agent," the very question that is supposed to be settled by the interview. Caldwell's alleged facial expressions are likewise described to help orient the reader. We are told she spoke "disdainfully" of her years in the national office of the Socialist Workers party; "she curled her lips to show what she thought of Trotskyists"; she "dismisses him [James P. Cannon] with a sneer."

[Another curious gap is that the interviewers (or interviewer) say nothing whatsoever about the circumstances of the conversation. Was it held in the street, as the accompanying blurred photograph of a woman in hair curlers would indicate? Was she on her way to a supermarket when she was accosted? What guise—perhaps a praiseworthy one—was used in approaching her?

[Finally, why do the committee members refuse to name the "mid-Western community in the United States" where they claim to have met with Caldwell? Why do they refuse to expose her "new identity," which she went to the length of obtaining, they charge, "through a second marriage"? If the committee *proved* through the interview that Caldwell was a GPU agent, why are they so interested in covering her up?]

* * *

1.

Now 62 years old, Sylvia Franklin has assumed a completely new identity and submerged into anonymity in a mid-Western community in the United States. . . .

She was born Sylvia Callen and became Sylvia Franklin when she married for the first time. On joining the Socialist Workers Party as an undercover GPU agent she took the party name Sylvia Caldwell. Today, through a second marriage, her name has changed once more. . . .

She began with a tribute to the comfortable middle class existence that she now leads. *I'm pleased how the way things worked out for myself,* she said. *I have a*

nice life. It's nice not to have a lot of responsibility at this stage of the game.'

Of her years at the political nerve centre of the Socialist Workers Party and the international Trotskyist movement (the International Secretariat functioned there during the war), she said disdainfully: *'I don't see why it's even important.'*

'I was never really in politics. I never read, I never understood it. I was just an immature child, that's about all I can say.'

Of her former 'comrades' in the Socialist Workers Party who are frantically trying to present her as an 'exemplary' member with a spotless career, Franklin says:

'I haven't paid any attention, to tell you the truth. I know that during the anti-war demonstrations I heard that name mentioned (the Socialist Workers Party) as being active in the draft.'

What about the history of the US Trotskyist movement? Wasn't that important?

'Well, there's history and there's history,' and she curled her lips to show what she thought of Trotskyists.

2.

She did not deny having been a Stalinist agent in the Trotskyist movement. Rather, she takes shelter beneath what is undoubtedly the most extraordinary and convenient case of amnesia in history. She doesn't remember!

Her mental black-out covers virtually all events which occurred before 1947, the year she departed the Socialist Workers Party. *'It's like I blacked it out,'* she says. *'All that period of my life.'*

As for the circumstances of her leaving the Trotskyist movement, Franklin replied: *'I was very upset. Very tired. I wanted to go home. I was emotionally upset. I just wanted a change. I couldn't stand it any more.'*

3.

As for James P. Cannon, whom—according to Mrs Reba Hansen she served with such intense loyalty—Franklin dismisses him with a sneer:

'He wasn't an important man, in my opinion. Is he? What part did he play in the world?'

4.

Franklin claims that she remembers nothing about being named as a co-conspirator in the espionage trial of Dr. Robert Soblen.

Question: This is an official document. Grand Jury, 1960, in which your name is mentioned right here, Sylvia Callen.

Franklin: Grand Jury charges!

Question: Yes. All I would like to ask you is why were you named on this indictment? That's all I'd like to ask you.

Franklin: I can't believe it!

Another document was shown to her.

Question: Here as well is your name on the list of witnesses the Government was

going to call.

Franklin: My God!

Question: You have no explanation for your name.

Franklin: No, but the FBI came to see me here.

Question: Why did they come to see you?

Franklin: I don't know. I had a mental breakdown afterwards so it must have been pretty terrible.

Question: So why . . .

Franklin: I don't know. I don't know. I don't want to think about it.

Question: Do you have a memory block which begins after all these events supposedly took place?

Franklin: I don't know. I wish you wouldn't try to make me remember because I'll have a breakdown. I can't remember. It's been many years, and I've put it out of my mind.

Question: Is it possible that you were in the Communist Party and simply have forgotten all about it?


Franklin: I don't know. I don't know. It could be one way. It could be the other. I can't believe that person was me. I can't believe that I worked in that office. That I was his secretary. I can't believe anything.

5.

Another question also overtaxed her memory:

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Question: Did you believe in Trotskyism?

Franklin: I don't know what it is really.

Question: You don't know what Trotskyism is?

Franklin: I really don't know what it is.

Question: How did you come to leave the SWP?

Franklin: I just don't want to discuss it, frankly. I don't want any part of it. I hope you'll excuse me, I just can't. It's too many years and it's too upsetting to think about and I don't want to. Forget it.

6.

After remarrying in the early 1950s, thus obtaining a new identity, she kept her first marriage a carefully guarded secret—just as she kept it a secret from the Socialist Workers Party. *'My children don't know that I was married one time,'* she said, *'and I hope you won't mention that.'*

7.

Question: Do you know what became of Irving Franklin? Your first husband.

Franklin: My first husband?

Question: Yes.

Franklin: He died—years and years ago. He had a heart attack I heard.

When asked whether her husband had fought in Spain during the Civil War, she replied, *'For a short time.'*

8.

Franklin once again fell back on amnesia when she was asked about Lucy Booker, the woman to whose apartment she regularly brought material stolen from the national office of the Socialist Workers Party.

'I cannot help you,' she answered. *'I don't know because I can't remember. I don't want to remember and I can't remember.'* □

Text of Healyite Interview with Lucy Booker

[The following is the text of an interview with Lucy Booker published in the May 28, 1977, issue of the *News Line*. It was included in an article that also contained an interview with Sylvia Caldwell.

[The interview with Caldwell was presented as definitive "proof" that she was planted in the national office of the Socialist Workers party by the GPU. However, because of the weakness of this "proof," the "International Committee" felt obliged to add a good deal of additional material. Besides their own ratiocinations, the authors included a short interview granted to them in New York City by Lucy Booker.

[With two exceptions, there is nothing new in this interview.

[The first exception: Booker is quoted as saying she never read the material that Caldwell allegedly brought to her apartment or typed up there. ". . . I did not look at it or read it or anything. I wasn't interested."

[However, in Chapter 10 of *How the GPU Murdered Trotsky*, the Healyite authors, in presenting the same material, said: "Lucy Booker . . . collated and typed up material from the Trotskyists before giving it to Soble."

[Who lied, the "International Committee" or Booker?

[The second new bit of information is to be found in the final paragraph of the interview. It contains damning facts not mentioned in Chapter 10 of *How the GPU Murdered Trotsky*.

[Booker reveals in her concluding answer that she was in touch with the FBI. In fact she flatly declares that the FBI was the source of her knowledge that Caldwell was "from Chicago, and that she had been ill."

[This should serve to remind everyone who has been following the exposures of the two-year Healyite slander campaign that it was the FBI that first circulated the rumor that Caldwell was a GPU agent. At the time the rumor smacked of a standard tactic used by the political police everywhere, a tactic well understood by the pioneer American Trotskyist leaders, who had to confront it from the beginning. Today, since the exposure of COINTELPRO, the FBI's methods have become common knowledge, at least in the United States.

[It seems incredible that the members of the "International Committee"—no matter how much they have become caught up in the logic of their frame-up methods—would listen in silence to such a revelation by Booker. Unfortunately, that is precisely what they did. Instead of pursuing this promising lead opened up by Booker, they acted as if struck dumb. Without saying another bumbling word, they rose and quietly filed out of her apartment—if that was where they met.]

* * *

1.

On May 14, 1977, Lucy Booker—who was named with Sylvia Callen as a co-conspirator by a Federal Grand Jury in the Robert Soblen-Jack Soble spy ring—answered questions put to her by the International Committee:

Question: How did you know Sylvia Callen?

Booker: I don't remember. I was introduced to her. She was told to come and ring my bell. I don't remember how I met her first, and that's all.

Question: She came to your apartment?

Booker: Yes.

Question: And she brought material for you?

Booker: Yes, and left it here.

Question: Was it a regular thing, or did it just happen on and off?

Booker: Well, whenever she—I don't remember how—it wasn't a regular thing. We didn't set—I think she probably said she'd be back at a certain time. I don't remember now, and that's very true. I just don't know.

Question: Did you get friendly with her?

Booker: Not really, I mean, I didn't see her outside. I gathered that she lived here someplace in the Village, down further. I never was there. I know nothing about the girl.

Question: As far as you know, what was her actual role? Where did she work?

Booker: Well I gathered—and this is only vague impressions, I was not positive—that she worked in the Socialist Workers office, in the party office some place around here.

Question: And she would deliver material here?

Booker: Yes. It was sealed. I never read it. She also used my typewriter from time to time to write stuff down and I did not look at it or read it or anything. I wasn't interested. It was the first time I really heard about the Socialist Workers Party. I don't know anything about it. I don't care anything about it.

Question: With whom were you dealing? Who was the man?

Booker: Jack Soble.

Question: Jack Soble?

Booker: Yes.

Question: To your knowledge did Jack Soble ever meet Sylvia Callen here?

Booker: Yes. They saw each other here from time to time. Not very regularly. Usually—I don't know now, to tell the truth, it's too long ago.

Question: About how many times would have Sylvia Callen come to this apartment?

Booker: I have no idea. I never kept track of it.

Question: A rough estimate?

Booker: I can't.

Question: How often? Every month or so?

Booker: Oh, I don't know. Maybe once in three weeks. Something like that.

2.

Question: Do you know what happened to her (Franklin)?

Booker: Well, an FBI man told me that she had some kind of breakdown or something and had been taken to a hospital in Chicago. But he told me that after telling me they were bringing her from Chicago. So that's the only way I knew she was in Chicago, from Chicago, and that she had been ill. But I got that information from the FBI. An FBI man I talked to. □

1. A Not So Rosy Future

By Anna Libéra

[This is the first of a series of six articles that appeared in *Rouge*, a revolutionary communist daily published in Paris. We plan to publish the six articles in two installments.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In the daily press of the Italian revolutionary left, there is scarcely an article on the far-left groups that does not go into extensive detail about their acute political and organizational crisis. There are hardly any members of these organizations who do not recognize the political weaknesses that have been sharply exposed over the last six months, in the course of the general "crisis of perspectives" plaguing the Italian far left. A series of events, seen by everyone, have confirmed both the existence and the deep-going nature of the crisis. These include the mass resignations of women members of Lotta Continua [the Struggle Continues] and the PdUP [Partito d'Unità Proletaria—Party of Proletarian Unity] the Lotta Continua congress last September, and the multiple splits recently suffered by the PdUP and Avanguardia Operaia [Workers Vanguard].

However, because we consider the existence of organizations to the left of the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], with thousands of members and with significant influence among sections of the working class, to be one of the net gains of the class struggle in Italy over the last eight years—despite our political differences with these organizations—we cannot be content to stand aside and observe the situation complacently.

The experience of the Italian revolutionary left is rich in lessons for our own work; the problems it is facing are our problems, too, and, in light of the events currently taking place in Italy, and those that are on the horizon in France, the need for a discussion, which is long overdue, appears all the more urgent.

It is customary to date the outbreak of the crisis in the revolutionary left from the June 20, 1976 legislative elections, in which the Democrazia Proletaria [Proletarian Democracy] slate got only 1.5 percent of the votes. To be sure, the crisis accelerated after this date; however, June 20 was more a demonstration of aspects of the crisis than a cause of it.

The fact of having obtained 1.5 percent of the vote—which was not an insignificant proportion, for that matter, in view of

the political polarization that surrounded the elections—threw cold water on the traditional triumphalism of the far left. With the DC [Democrazia Cristiana—Christian Democracy] winning 38 percent of the vote, the PCI 34.4 percent, and the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party] 9.6 percent, the overall vote maintained the position of the bourgeois party, as well as registering a gain for the reformists. This was a stinging rebuff to the far left's linear view of the development of the class struggle.

The following paralysis of the political situation resulting from the PCI's abstentionist attitude revealed the political inadequacy and programmatic backwardness of the organizations to its left. To these political weaknesses was added a profound "crisis of perspectives," linked to the atmosphere of demoralization. In the women's movement and among the youth, tendencies to "live for yourself from now on," along with an implicit and sometimes explicit rejection of any revolutionary perspective, began to develop. At the Lotta Continua congress, one comrade explained that for years she had adapted herself to "other people's schedules and needs" because she thought that the revolution was right around the corner, but seeing that this was not the case, she was no longer willing to sacrifice "her own schedule and her own needs."

From a purely numerical standpoint, this crisis has been reflected in the loss of members, which has taken on epidemic proportions. At its recent congress, Avanguardia Operaia admitted to having lost a third of its membership; in the PdUP, it was the entire women's liberation division, which left the organization last November. As for Lotta Continua, it should be more properly called a "current" than an organization nowadays.

Still and all, the situation is very contradictory. It should be seen as a remolding, rather than a disintegration, of the revolutionary left, as an attempt to redefine its political and organizational axes.

If the June 20 elections revealed the weakness of the revolutionary left, what they revealed was its inability to offer a political alternative to the reformists, rather than a diminishing of its influence in the plants. Six months after Democrazia Proletaria got 1.5 percent of the vote in the legislative elections, candidates running on the DP platform got between 20 and 25 percent of the vote in the

elections for shop stewards in the big Milan plants. This unevenness reflects the deeply rooted economism that has been the trademark of the Italian far left since its inception.

"Our status as a minority is not linked to the way we intervene in struggles (our proposals have often won a majority of the class), but to the fact of delegating political, social and organizational responsibility for these struggles to the PCI," the outgoing Political Bureau's report to the recent AO congress admitted.

In its initial phase, the Italian far left as a whole was characterized by the kind of spontanéism that grew out of the great student and working-class struggles of 1968-69, struggles which seemed to "sweep aside" the old reformist organizations. On the basis of this impression, the various currents quickly developed a theory. And yet, by early 1970, it was the trade-union organizations that emerged greatly strengthened from the struggles and that appeared as the leaders of key struggles (with the campaign "for reforms").

Similarly, in the 1972 legislative elections, the far left had to learn that, beyond the area of concern to the "movement," there was a broader area of "political" struggle, and that, in this area, the influence of the reformists was growing, at the same time that large sections of the working class were becoming aware of the need for political change.

The far left, having no overall perspective to counterpose to the reformists, could not help but wind up adapting to them politically. The recognition of this situation led the various organizations to "retreat into the plants," relegating the political battles to the reformist organizations, especially the PCI, with all the forms of adaptation that this entailed.

Beginning in late 1973—after the experience of the defeat in Chile, which also prompted the PCI to put forward the famous "historic compromise"—the far-left organizations began to try to define their relationship to the reformist organizations, and to spell out their conception of the struggle for power, and their attitude toward the possibility of a government of the left.

From then on, *Il Manifesto* amplified its "gradualist" view of the struggle for power, and of a "way out," rather than a breakup of the system. For Avanguardia Operaia, the central error of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] was to have not entered the Unidad Popular, in order to transform it from within. For Lotta Continua, the only group to preserve a deepgoing spontanéist framework, it was necessary to force the PCI into the government, after which "working-class autonomy" would compel it to adopt a working-class program.

The three major organizations put forward a very parliamentary and institution-

alized conception of a government of the left parties, without posing the problem of what the mass movement's own goals should be, and what program could express the anticapitalist demands of the masses. This was a conception which would lead to the errors and ambiguities of the June 1976 electoral campaign, and the demoralization of the post-election period.

In making a critical evaluation of their past, each of the three organizations has

2. Lotta Continua: 'Live With an Earthquake'?

At the close of a stormy congress, Adriano Sofri called on his comrades to "learn to live with an earthquake." In his own colorful way, he was expressing the choice that the leadership of Lotta Continua had made: not to confront the centrifugal forces that had become visible during the congress—from the women to the worker comrades and from the youth to the marshals—but to allow them to run their course, while at the same time sending all the most experienced cadres out to rebuild Lotta Continua "from the ground up."

Evoking the need for the leading group to get back in touch with the masses, he said: "Of course, people will tell me that Beethoven was deaf, and yet he managed to compose magnificent symphonies. But Beethoven was a genius!"

The choice was meant to be well calculated; in view of Lotta Continua's present situation, it would appear that the risks were grossly underestimated.

Today, Lotta Continua no longer exists as an organization. Last June in Turin, where it at one time had 1,000 members, the LC comrades considered it a victory to be able to get fifty persons to a meeting. Sofri, who had chosen to reintegrate himself into the ranks in the working-class stronghold of Turin, got kicked out a few months later by the "workerist workers." In the other large cities similar things have happened. This is not to deny that many activists in the student, youth, and women's movements still identify themselves as members of Lotta Continua. But, in essence, this has more to do with a sentimental attachment to the organization that best represented the various "movements" over the past eight years than political conviction.

Paradoxically, sales of the daily newspaper, which had dropped to a low of 6,000 copies at the beginning of the school year, jumped fantastically to 20,000 copies during the student upsurge of the last two months. However, as "the voice of the movement," its lifespan will be only as long as that of the movement, to which it has explicitly refused to give any political leadership.

The organizational choice made by the Lotta Continua leadership flowed directly

taken a different direction. The PdUP has returned to the political and programmatic orbit of the PCI. Lotta Continua, taking its spontaneism to extremes, has dissolved into the "movement"; only Avanguardia Operaia is making an effort to redefine, with difficulty, its strategic axes, taking into account both the deep roots of the traditional organizations among the working class, and the need to confront them with an overall political alternative.

from its analysis of the situation in the aftermath of June 20. "The general pattern of the international crisis has taken the lead over the particular pattern of the crisis in Italy. From this point of view, it is not the Andreotti government as such, but the basic agreement between the DC and the PCI on which it is based, that makes for long-term stability. As a result, the only way a crisis can be generated is through the sharpening of the social contradictions," Viale explained to the congress.

Having concluded that the PCI had been transformed once and for all into an arm of the government and the social order, and the unions into "appendages of the state apparatus," the leadership of Lotta Continua went back to their original aim, which they had never departed from theoretically, of building a new workers movement.

In this context, it was necessary to rebuild Lotta Continua from the ground up, while establishing close ties with the incipient forms of counter-authority that were developing independently, as a reaction against the stabilization of the political situation and the antipopular attacks of the DC and the PCI. The party had to be transformed by dissolving into these movements.

Sofri came close to contradicting himself when he confessed, during one of the long self-criticism sessions at the congress: "The fact is that while I myself have always been a stern critic of Comrade Lenin's theory of the 'external' vanguard, I have never in my life managed to be part of the 'internal' vanguard of anything." While Sofri could afford to make jokes about it, for many members of the organization this realization was the starting point for demoralization and inactivity.

What really happened in Italy during the autumn of austerity did not actually correspond in the least to the picture that the Lotta Continua leadership had drawn. In an atmosphere permeated with a wait-and-see attitude, there was no eruption of "working-class autonomy" against the apparatuses when workers returned to work in September. And when labor opposition did begin to surface in a consistent way this spring, it did so above

all and primarily within the framework of its organizations—unions and councils, a stinging rebuff to Sofri's theories. This was enough to disorient more than a few activists.

As for "integration into the movements," this was carried out to the letter where these movements existed, to the point of dismembering Lotta Continua as an organization.

The women who had refused representation on the organization's leadership bodies at the Rimini congress all went off into the women's movement. When the student movement erupted, members and former members of Lotta Continua took part in it in massive numbers, embracing its apolitical character and "antiorganization" orientation with a purely suicidal logic.

This reached such a point that the leading core of LC, which expresses its views in the newspaper from time to time, was forced to intervene and explain that it was important not to confuse the autonomy of the movement with a prohibition against political organizations putting forward their own point of view. But this appeal had little impact, even among those students who identified with LC.

There is also the risk that the "current" identifying with LC will turn the conception of "two societies" put forward by the PCI inside out (counterposing the workers, ready for sacrifices, to the "marginal" layers—students, youth, women—ready for any corporatist revolt).

The report presented to the last LC Central Committee meeting tried to warn the student movement, and beyond it, the LC current, about this danger: "The movement has defended its own independence, against all attempts to conceive of the relationship with the workers as a relationship with the institutions of the workers movement, even when these institutions appear in the guise of the 'trade-union left,' the FLM [Federazione dei Lavoratori Metalmeccanici—Metalworkers Federation], or the plant councils. However, this does not mean that the movement should not seek relations with the autonomous vanguard of the working class. This is why we must combat these theories, that appear to be the opposite side of the coin of the revisionist talk about 'two societies,' which, considering the 'socially conscious worker' (i.e., the unemployed, the youth, and so on—Ed.) as the mass vanguard of the proletariat in the crisis, then tend to identify the factory worker with the institutional representatives of the workers movement, and so come to the conclusion that the worker-mass can only be won to revolutionary struggle on an individual basis."

While correctly debunking the theories about the integration of the working class into the system, the reporter puts forward no other perspective than that of ties with

fictitious "autonomous" structures, giving the membership absolutely no means of understanding the roots of the working class's attachment to its mass organizations, and of understanding phenomena such as the assembly of opposition plant councils at Lirico in Milan, the better to intervene in it.

Apparently, the LC leadership has realized, somewhat belatedly, the suicidal consequences for their organization of the choice made at Rimini. The above-mentioned report to the Central Committee ended by saying: "I think that the 'movement-itis' of so many comrades in Lotta Continua reflects this need to 'continue the congress,' this correct under-

3. The PdUP: Critical Conscience of the PCI

"Without destruction, there can be no construction." This quotation from Mao Tsetung hangs in the place of honor on the wall of the Rome headquarters of the PdUP, under a full-length portrait of the organization's patron saint.

It seems that Lucio Magri has taken to heart this somewhat mechanical formula of the Great Helmsman. On February 27, he decided to set in motion a split in his party's Central Committee by virtually expelling the minority with no appeal, a split that was ratified without consulting the membership. This says a great deal about the leadership's methods, which were confirmed by the publication of the famous "Document of 62" that constituted the political basis for the split.

This document was drawn up and signed by thirty-two members of the PdUP Central Committee and thirty members of the Central Committee of Avanguardia Operaia, without informing the rest of the two organizations. Regardless of the fact that the document contains several pertinent critical observations, this method of operation was responsible for the split.

In fact, the split took place along the lines of the two components that came together to form the PdUP in February 1976—the old Manifesto group, and a spin-off from the old PSIUP [Partito Socialista Italiano d'Unità Proletaria—Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity]. The basis for the split was the political differences that had surfaced at that congress (see *Critique Communiste*, September-October 1976).

The major difference concerned the nature of the PCI. For the group that had come out of *Il Manifesto*, the PCI represents the interests of the working class as a whole, including its vanguard; it contains the seeds of the revolutionary party.

Therefore, the task of revolutionists is to serve as an external pole to aid in the development of the party's left wing, to win this wing to the program of *Il Manifesto*, and to win the party as a whole

standing that the nucleus of a revolutionary party can only be rebuilt from within the movement; but it also often reflects an unresolved dilemma over how to pose the problem of political intervention, of leadership, of the role of the vanguard, and an often passive, fatalistic expectation that the movement is capable of offering solutions to these problems."

But this conclusion has the ring of a cry in the wilderness. To be sure, the "Lotta Continua current" will continue to exist, as long as there is no major political downturn; but in the present political conjuncture, to be able to envision the reconstitution of the organization would mean having to swim against the stream.

to the positions of the left wing. The point is to work toward a "reconstitution of the workers movement without tearing it apart," or to "make the PCI's 3,400,000 feet march to the rhythm of *Il Manifesto*," as Rossana Rossanda puts it.

For the wing led by Foa, formerly of the PSIUP, which includes the party's trade-union cadres, it is necessary, on the contrary, to build an alternative to the PCI. This alternative must be consistent in order to serve as a reference point for the trade-union left, and it must be built by uniting the revolutionary left. (The Foa wing, for that matter, does not differentiate itself from the gradualist strategy for the conquest of power upheld by Magri; see *Critique Communiste*.)

The direct consequence of the Magri group's orientation of reforming the PCI is to not put forward an alternative to the line of the PCI, and to not challenge its leadership of the mass movement, especially of the trade-union movement.

Over the last year, the PdUP has barely served as a gadfly to the union leaderships. But the party's lack of political homogeneity at the time of its founding congress has led to a lack of uniformity in its practice. Rossana Rossanda, speaking of the PdUP's intervention into the January meeting of shop stewards in Rome, described it this way: "There was one line at the podium, another one in the hall, and still a third one in the buses of the dissidents."

At the podium were the trade-union cadres affiliated to the PdUP (Letieri, secretary of the FLM [Federazione dei Lavoratori Metalmeccanici—Metalworkers Federation], and Giovanni, secretary of the CGIL [Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro—Italian General Confederation of Labor]), who defend the line of the trade-union bureaucracy. (Giovanni, for example, voted to approve the recent decree undermining the sliding scale, "so as not to disrupt the unity of the union leadership." Of course, the Magri group can

always retort that nowadays, Giovanni lines up with AO, but he got his training in the ranks of the PdUP.)

In the hall were the trade-union cadres, who at most had tactical differences with the orientation of the leaderships. On the buses arriving from the Milan industrial area were the shop stewards, who wanted to express the opposition of working-class vanguard sectors to the austerity policy.

In the political context created by the PCI's abstentionism and its support for the austerity policy, these differences could only intensify. For Magri, the line of reforming the PCI is more valid than ever. In view of the bankruptcy of the historic compromise, the disagreements inside the PCI are going to deepen, strengthening the chances of winning it over to making a left turn. Therefore, it is important not to do anything that might injure this prospect.

The consequences of this analysis are clearly apparent in the orientation that Magri proposes. It is necessary to accept austerity as an accomplished fact; the opposition to this line, which has arisen in the plants, and recently during the meeting of the Lirico plant committee, is characterized as "corporatist"; what is necessary is not to fight for an end to the PCI's abstentionism, but to demand that the PC and the PS present an emergency program to the DC, which the latter will have to take a position on.

Any proposal that is counterposed to the above is characterized as maximalist. In his report to the Central Committee meeting where the split took place, Magri argued that it was necessary to build an organization "capable of proposing and implementing unity of the entire left, and of pushing the traditional organizations to make a turn. . . . If, on the other hand, a force or a grouping of forces forms to the left of the PCI which seeks to express itself by riding the wave of anger and protest in a direct form, using them outside any strategic context as a weapon against the 'political cadre' and thus opening up a frontal breach inside the workers movement, a maximalist force acting as the parasitic reflection and guilty conscience of social extremism—such a force would not only be inadequate in relation to the present tasks, but, in the name of the most just causes, could act as an objective ally of the class enemy, hastening the arrival and worsening the impact of a historic defeat."

One would be at a loss to say whether the speaker is Berlinguer or Magri! From this it can be seen that, in view of the depth of the differences, Magri chose to cut short the PdUP's existence and the process of unification with AO, even at the risk of losing several hundred trade-union cadres, who were what had given "credibility" to the organization.

Magri had believed, up until the last minute, that he would be in the majority in the unified organization, and this is why,

only a few weeks ago, he seemed to be a staunch supporter of the fusion with AO. It was only when he understood that the thirty AO Central Committee members who had signed the "Document of 62" would only be followed by a very small portion of the ranks, and that their action, seen as a "splitting" move by the majority of AO, had reinforced the organization's cohesiveness, that he interrupted the unity negotiations—and, in fact, only 400 AO

members left with Campi.

The Magri splinter of the PdUP, which is more and more being called *Il Manifesto* again, will thus be preserved mainly as a current of opinion. Its daily paper is fairly well distributed (selling from 25-30,000 copies) and widely read by members of the traditional left organizations and trade-union cadres.

In the aftermath of the split, the PCI's attitude toward it changed instantly:

favorable articles appeared in *L'Unità*, an interview with Communist party leaders appeared in *Il Manifesto*, and so on. It is clear that, in the context of the difficult phase the PCI is going through, and the questions that many of its members are asking, *Il Manifesto* will in effect be able to play a certain role as the critical conscience of the PCI. But it will not be able to go beyond this.

[To be continued]

From Salazar to Soares

The Fight for Trade-Union Democracy in Portugal

By Charles Michaloux

[The following article appeared in the May issue of *Cahiers de la Taupe*, a French Trotskyist publication concerned with issues of interest to the labor movement. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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On January 27-30, 1977, the congress of the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers-Intersindical (CGTP-IN) was held in Lisbon, under the slogans of "workers unity" and "restructuring the Intersindical."

The "congress of all the unions," as its organizers called it, constituted an important event in the history of the Portuguese workers movement. In fact, there can be no doubt that from now on the CGTP-IN will be a united trade-union federation looked to for leadership by the overwhelming majority of Portuguese workers. This in itself is a major event, coming three years after the unfolding of the revolutionary crisis, in the course of which the Portuguese working class has often been deeply divided.

Under the Dictatorship

Between 1968 and 1970, the working class in the major European capitalist countries went through a process of radicalization. The dictatorial corporatist regime of Salazar and Caetano did not escape the effects of this, even though the radicalization took a much less striking form in Portugal.

From 1969 onward, there were numerous indications that the Portuguese workers were beginning to awaken after more than forty years of superexploitation, enforced by the terror of the PIDE hangmen, the bloody political police of the oldest dictatorship in Europe.

For the first time, thousands of bank workers went on strike to demand the

signing of collective bargaining agreements; 5,000 government employees demonstrated in front of the government building to demand a forty-four-hour week.

In October 1970, the Ministry of Corporations responded by issuing a series of decrees putting further restrictions on the already tightly controlled activities of the craft unions under its supervision.

For several years, activists of the Christian left, and particularly the underground Portuguese Communist party [PCP], had been active in the unions. Their efforts had begun to bear fruit, and to combine with the radicalizing effect produced by the new measure.

On October 1, 1970, there was a meeting of leadership delegations, which were already controlled to one degree or another by members of left organizations. Representatives of metalworkers, textile workers, and bank and office workers unions in the Lisbon area held an initial national coordinating meeting.

At this meeting, three points were on the agenda—the decree-laws issued by the Ministry of Corporations, the length of the workweek, and the question of censorship and freedom of association. This meeting was referred to as the Intersindical, a name that was subsequently retained, although to the workers who gave their all to build it, it was known as the "Inter."

Despite a wave of repression against it, the "Inter" grew steadily. In 1973, it launched a big nationwide campaign in the plants for a minimum wage, culminating in several successful struggles. In the period preceding April 25, 1974, fifty union leaderships had joined Intersindical. Their work was coordinated by a secretariat with purely administrative functions. In this body, each delegation—representing one union from the north, center, and south, respectively—had one vote.

At the time of the captains' coup, the trade-union movement emerged from the underground, organizationally still very

weak. Although it already constituted a significant force, it was in no way comparable to what the workers commissions in Spain represent today.

After April 25

The "Inter" grew rapidly. In the heady atmosphere that followed the fall of the dictatorship, the workers kicked out the fascist leaders who had held sway over the unions. The "Inter" was called upon from all sides to help in this gigantic effort.

The verticalization of the unions—that is, the assembling of scores of craft unions into industrial unions—gave the PCP leadership an opportunity to install its members at the head of the newly formed unions, without any kind of elections. Because of the euphoria and sense of unity arising from the newly won freedom, this situation caused some tension for a time but no dramatic explosions. This did not last long.

During this initial phase of the revolutionary process, the Socialist party had no organization whatever in the plants, and the far left had a very weak base. All this encouraged the CP leadership to believe that its grip on the embryonic trade-union apparatus that existed would enable it, within a short time, and without strong competition, to establish a de facto monopoly over the process of building the Portuguese workers movement.

The CP bureaucrats, who had little experience with public political activity and the pressures it generates for respecting the workers' democratic aspirations, wasted little time in converting the unions they influenced into appendages of the party, subject to the zigzags of its line.

When the first strikes broke out—in the CTT [Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones—Mail, Telegraph, and Telephone, the state postal system], TAP [Transportes Aéreos Portugueses—Portuguese Air Transport],

the Lisnave shipyard, the *Jornal do Comercio*—the CP leadership took the lead in attacking the workers involved, who it claimed were “sabotaging the work of national reconstruction.” In this way, it pitted the Intersindical against the workers in struggle, to the point of instigating physical attacks on the strikers.

For many worker militants, in whose eyes the party led by Alvaro Cunhal enjoyed tremendous prestige because of the courageous way its members had fought against the dictatorship, the CP’s attitude to the strikes was like a dash of cold water. The SP leaders, who had just returned from exile, saw that there was an opportunity to be grasped. Even though the SP’s orientation was no different from that of the Stalinist leadership, it deftly took advantage of the latter’s demagogy in order to pose as a defender of working-class struggles as against the CP’s attempts to obstruct them.

It was for this reason that many workers turned to the SP, while simultaneously beginning to establish the workers commissions, frequently in opposition to the “Inter” apparatus, which strongly opposed such organizations. Since the SP used the workers commissions as its main propaganda weapon against the CP, the bureaucrats saw the workers commissions still more as a weapon against the unions.

March 11

The advance of the revolution, which began to gain momentum in the fall of 1974, forced the CP to change its orientation. Instead of opposing struggles outright, it now tried to win leadership of all struggles that took place, in both the workers commissions and in the unions, so as to be in a better position to channel them in a class-collaborationist direction.

The abortive coup of March 11, 1975, gave the Stalinists an opportunity to put this line into practice. The Intersindical took the lead in organizing the demonstrations that foiled the right-wing coup attempt led by Spínola. The disgrace of the monocle-wearing general, the butcher of Guinea, brought on a major political upheaval.

In the first place, the workers, propelled by the momentum of the struggles that had been spreading since the end of 1974 (and that had prompted the right to launch the March 11 adventure), occupied the plants and forced the initial nationalizations of the banks and insurance companies that hold large amounts of the capital of the major Portuguese corporations.

Secondly, the flight of Spínola and his followers heightened qualitatively the tension that already existed in Portuguese society. These pressures were even to be reflected in the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement], which, at the close of a stormy session, put General Vasco Gonçalves at

the head of the Fourth Provisional Government. This general was surrounded by a team of officers strongly influenced by the CP. From then on, the CP leadership’s entire policy consisted of using the strug-



ANTUNES: Top figure in “Group of Nine.”

gles waged by the working class as a means of lobbying with the state apparatus and the military hierarchy, in order to increase its influence within these institutions.

The Intersindical was used in this way to get the MFA to go along with the trade-union unity law proposed by the CP. By governmental decree, the “Inter” became the only legally recognized trade-union federation. The CP leadership also converted the Intersindical into its mouthpiece for the “battle for production” line, sung to the familiar tune of “work harder and better.”

There seemed to be no limits to the arrogance of the CP bureaucracy at the time. It controlled a good portion of the press and mass media. In the unions, worker militants from other tendencies were pushed around, especially if they were in the SP.

The First Congress

The resignation of the Social Democratic cabinet ministers from the Fourth Provisional Government in June 1975 was the official opening of the political crisis in which an unprecedented working-class radicalization was to founder.

The CP leadership, relying on its control over the trade-union apparatus and what it believed was an unassailable position, responded to the bourgeois counteroffensive orchestrated by Soares and the Group of Nine (officers in the Revolutionary Council led by Melo Antunes) by adopting

a line of all-out war against the SP, making no distinction between the leadership and the ranks. Once again, the Intersindical was used to do the dirty work.

This course reached its peak on June 18, when leaders of the “Inter” in the northern region called for a physical confrontation with demonstrators mobilized by the SP. Fortunately, this call was not heeded. The next day, in Lisbon, the “Inter” reissued the order to its activists—though in a less virulent form—to set up barricades on the access routes to the capital, “to stop the march of the reactionaries.”

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the Intersindical was seen by many activists, and not only those in the SP, as the tool of the CP’s bureaucratic, sectarian, and divisive policy in the labor movement.

In July 1975, the Intersindical’s first congress was called by the Secretariat for a date two weeks away, with no prior debate or discussion. In giving an ovation to the premier, “Companheiro Vasco,” this congress sanctioned the CP’s orientation of subordinating workers struggles to the MFA’s maneuvers. In practice, it gave its blessing to the violent split in the workers movement. The split was in the interests of the two reformist leaderships, which were followed by a majority of the workers.

Throughout the crisis of the summer and fall of 1975, the CP leadership was preoccupied with finding the best way to keep from going too far, while continually seeking to extend its influence in the state apparatus, and particularly in the MFA. The MFA itself was already riven by the pressures building up throughout Portugal, which was in the throes of a genuine revolutionary crisis.

The Crisis

During the dizzying spiral of working-class and popular mobilizations, from July to November, the trade unions were pushed into the background. The workers commissions increasingly became the forms of self-organization thrown up by the workers, and the CP concentrated on winning control of these bodies. Nevertheless, the trade-union apparatus was held in reserve, in view of the weak coordination of the workers commissions, to fill the need for centralization that the broad struggles shaking the country naturally came to require.

The “Inter” gave a kind of stamp of approval to the gains won by the workers organized in the workers commissions. It was the union leaderships, frequently unelected, who appeared on the scene to sign the contracts won by the metalworkers and the civil-construction workers in October and November, for example.

The workers felt the need to coordinate the massive strength that was being demonstrated everywhere, in order to offer

a solution to the crisis of a system that they no longer wanted. The CP leaders cleverly responded to this widespread sentiment by setting up central bodies controlled by CP cadres and run in accordance with undemocratic norms of functioning.

It was in this way that the provisional secretariat of workers commissions of the Lisbon industrial belt (SPCTCIL), the SPCTCIS in Setúbal, and the SPCTCIP in Oporto were constituted, on the initiative of the CP. Coordination with the "Inter" Secretariat, however, was quite well provided for—so well, in fact, that the roles of the two bodies were often interchangeable.

Still, the revolutionary upsurge had an impact. Cut off from the SP workers, and hard pressed by broad vanguard sectors that challenged its methods and orientation in practice, carrying their criticisms into the very ranks of the CP, the Stalinists had to make some tactical adjustments. Trade-union elections were held, with competing slates of candidates that reflected the views of the CP, SP, and the far left, as well as elements under rightist influence.

The results of the voting gave a clearer picture of the tendencies running through the Portuguese workers movement. The blue-collar unions were generally led by the CP and the far left, while the white-collar unions had majority SP leaderships, sometimes flanked by a few members of the ultrasectarian Maoist-Stalinist MRPP [Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party].

There was a deep division, then, inside the workers movement. Furthermore, this division corresponded almost exactly to the different social layers and clearly defined geographical sectors. The role played by the "Inter" during these months of revolutionary upheaval was not unrelated to this.

However, under the impact of a growing combativity, the situation began to change. In the first place, the "Inter" bureaucrats were forced, in many cases, to shelve their hopes of turning the unions into mere transmission belts for their sacrosanct "people-MFA alliance." The workers' demands for democracy and hopes for unity compelled the bureaucrats, contrary to all their expressed ideas, to accept in practice the election of trade-union leaderships on the basis of tendencies.

To be sure, the manner in which the elections were held, with their "party" slates, was like a caricature of parliamentarism. The demarcation should have been between political orientations, not just organizations. However, the precedent for representation of tendencies had been set, and this was a direct result of the rise in consciousness of broad sectors of the working class.

Secondly, the trade-union movement,

even though it was not in the forefront of the revolutionary crisis—for good reason—began to play a real role.

Finally—this, of course, is the most positive development—the mobilizations of hundreds of thousands of workers side by side, from north to south, began to partially overcome the traumatic effect of the previous confrontation between CP and SP activists and sympathizers.

To be sure, after Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo became premier in the Sixth Provisional Government, it was the SP leadership that began openly leading the attack on the workers. When this government was badly shaken by the huge mobilizations in November 1975, a large number of workers who sympathized with the SP were in the streets with their comrades. At the same time, Mário Soares and the SP cabinet ministers were on the balcony with the admiral, trying to call them back to "order." So by November 25, some of the objective conditions had been assembled pointing toward the possibility of building a united trade-union movement in Portugal.

November 25 and Its Aftermath

The second phase of the Portuguese revolutionary process opened with the military operation carried out by the Amadora Rangers on November 25, 1975. On that date, after nine months of paralysis, the bourgeoisie succeeded in regaining the political offensive, taking advantage of the pretext provided by the military left. Up until then, the workers had not run up against any resistance. Subsequently, they had to face a considerably reinforced state apparatus, even though this regime did not yet possess anywhere near the resources necessary for a full-scale offensive on the social level against the revolutionary gains and persistent combativity of the Portuguese workers. Once the initial confusion had been overcome, struggles resumed, beginning in January and February 1976. But this time, they had a defensive character—being directed against the wage restraints and the freeze on collective bargaining decreed by the government, as well as against the price hikes.

In January 1976, in response to a call issued jointly for the first time by the CP- and SP-dominated unions, trade-union rallies were held in Lisbon and Oporto. Even though the SP and CP trade-union leaderships did nothing to insure that these actions would lead to an organized response to the government's attacks, they still marked the beginning of a change in climate within the workers movement. The right wing's renewed arrogance, after the severe fright it experienced in the fall, also helped to bring about this different atmosphere.

The results of the legislative elections on April 25, 1976, helped advance the demand

for unity. The workers parties' winning a majority of the seats in the Assembly of the Republic gave additional encouragement to the proletariat. For the bourgeoisie, which had counted its chickens before they were hatched, it was a clear indication that the game was not yet over.

On May 1, 1976, large workers rallies were held throughout the country. The SP and CP trade-union leaders spoke at these rallies, the former calling for a democratically organized trade-union congress to be held rapidly, the latter announcing that they were making a commitment to convene such a congress before the end of the year. In the euphoric atmosphere of the victory won by the left at the polls, and the united May Day demonstrations, it seemed that it was only a matter of months before a single trade-union federation would be established.

"Inter" and the Other Unions

According to figures released by the Intersindical Secretariat, 307 unions existed in 1976. This includes unions by industry and by region, such as the Lisbon-area bank workers, the northern-region metalworkers, and so on. However, a few craft unions were still in existence, because the process of "verticalization" had not been completed in all cases.

Of these 307 unions, the "Inter" claimed 190, representing about 1.5 million wage workers, most of whom were employed in industry.

The 177 unions not affiliated to the Intersindical at the beginning of 1976 included about 500,000 workers. Most of them were bank or office workers, or else blue-collar workers scattered throughout the tiny factories in the north and center of the country, which employ no more than twenty to twenty-five workers on the average.

The 190 unions affiliated to the "Inter" were practically all led by CP members, sometimes in alliance with a few members of far-left organizations; the others were mostly under SP leadership. The far left, which concentrated its activity in the previous period in the workers commissions, led or participated in the leadership of about fifteen unions, nearly all of which were members of the Intersindical.

Thus the division in the trade-union movement has paralleled the major political division in the workers movement, between two large blocs respectively under SP and CP influence.

The 'Open Letter'

On April 27, 1976, the representatives of twenty-nine trade-union leaderships met in Coimbra to draft an "open letter to the Intersindical Secretariat and to the Portuguese workers."

The "open letter," which became the nickname of the groups of trade-union leaders organized by SP activists, demand-

ed "the convening of a genuine trade-union congress representing all Portuguese workers." To that end, the "open letter" group proposed that the National Secretariat of the Intersindical set up a parity commission to insure that the upcoming congress would be well organized and would have unquestionable authority. At this point, the first official contacts took place between SP and CP trade-union activists. These exchanges resulted in joint organization of May Day rallies and in the parallel positions outlined at these rallies by leaders of these two currents in the trade-union movement.

Contact was resumed after the presidential election campaign, in which both reformist parties encountered major internal problems—the CP because of Otelo de Carvalho's candidacy, which had a strong impact on its ranks; the SP because of General Eanes's candidacy, which was far from enthusiastically received by the SP workers. Contact continued regularly, culminating, on July 29, in a "general meeting of Intersindical-affiliated and nonaffiliated unions," attended by 144 trade-union leaderships from all over the country.

In an August 5 communiqué, the leadership of the bank workers union of the southern region and the islands (dominated by the SP) gave the following account of the meeting:

The aim of the meeting was not to make any decisions, but to discuss the draft of the rules of procedure in preparation for the congress, presented by the National Secretariat of the Intersindical. It was agreed that this draft would serve as a working document, to be submitted for consideration by the National Organizing Commission, which is the body that has sole responsibility for planning and carrying out the unity congress of all the unions. In any event, some basic points will remain under debate. These all flow from the central question—that is, whether the Secretariat is interested only in holding a "second congress of the Intersindical," which would perpetuate the current divisions, or whether, in fact, it recognizes the need for a genuine democratic congress of all unions for unity. For the Intersindical, this would mean accepting all the consequences of thus putting an end to the dominance of one tendency over the Portuguese workers movement.

The same communiqué went on record in favor of "the establishment of a single, democratic, and independent trade-union federation, where tendency rights would be guaranteed."

The Secretariat—that is, the central leadership of the CP's trade-union fraction—reacted to the "open letter" with delaying tactics. The fight for democracy launched by the "open letter" group found a wide hearing. It soon united sixty-nine trade-union leaderships around its two central goals: "the convening of an all-union congress" and "the constitution of a national organization commission representing all existing currents of opinion within the trade-union movement."

But the "open letter" group soon lost momentum, falling prey to its own limitations and weaknesses.

The SP trade-union leaderships did not, in fact, lead a real fight in the workers



SOARES: Took advantage of CP curtailment of workers' democratic rights.

movement to achieve the two goals outlined in their "open letter." On the contrary, they confined themselves to endless negotiations inside the apparatus, with representatives of the "Inter" Secretariat. The Intersindical leadership could not have asked for anything better, since this allowed them to stall for time.

While the objectives outlined in their declaration undeniably corresponded to the well-justified feelings of many workers about the behavior of the "Inter" bureaucrats throughout the whole previous period, the SP trade-union leaders declined to organize a real tendency, especially in those unions controlled by the CP. Such a tendency could have built a potentially very powerful current, capable of forcing the Intersindical to yield on some basic points.

From one meeting to the next, their approach seemed to consist of counterposing the demands of the SP to those of the CP, rather than trying to put democratic norms of functioning—in line with the wishes of most if not all of the workers, regardless of which party they looked to at the time—into practice in the trade-union movement.

The Stalinist leadership of the "Inter" seized this opportunity to set its steamroller in motion against the right to form tendencies, claiming that the "open letter"

group's behavior was typical: "An introduction of the norms of parliamentarism, with its endless palavers, which the workers do not understand and which bog them down. . . ."

Most of the far-left groups (MES [Movimento de Esquerda Socialista—Movement of the Socialist Left], PRP [Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat], and UDP [União Democrática do Povo—People's Democratic Union]) shamefully followed in the CP's footsteps, in order to carve out a niche in the Intersindical apparatus.

Only the Trotskyists of the LCI [Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League] defended the right to form tendencies, and took a clear position, both publicly and inside the unions, in favor of supporting the democratic objectives of the "open letter" group.

These weaknesses on the part of the "open letter" group in fact stemmed from much more fundamental political deficiencies. As soon as Mário Soares, the SP general secretary who had been named premier by Eanes, announced his austerity program in September, the central focus of the concerns of the workers movement shifted to organizing a response to the government's anti-working-class policies.

By not putting forward any proposals to meet the workers' expectations, the SP trade unionists in the "open letter" group left themselves open to the demagoguery of the "Inter" Secretariat, which portrayed them as quibbling about democracy at a time when the workers were under attack. "The 'open letter' group can neither take positions nor present them publicly, because it has not been elected by the workers. This can only be done separately by each union participating in the movement, in accordance with the wishes of its members," the Secretariat wrote in November 1976.

The SP activists in the "open letter" group were caught in their own contradictions. On the one hand, they were subjected to harsh disciplinary measures inside the SP at the hands of the party's Social Democratic leadership, which was seeking to push obstacles to its bourgeois orientation out of the way (more than a thousand members were suspended after the December SP congress). On the other hand, they wanted to avoid an open confrontation with Soares, for fear of wrecking the SP's outward appearance of unity.

The "open letter" group itself was a reflection of this contradictory situation. It was not a grouping of trade-union activists around a platform of clear political and economic demands; rather it originated as an extension of the SP. Several currents coexisted inside it, extending from the SP's radical working-class wing to supporters of the Soares line.

As a result, the compromises necessary to its survival required failing to take a

position on the government's policy—i.e., on the orientation of the SP leadership—even if the majority of “open letter” activists were hostile to this policy, as indicated by their campaign during the struggles against the government decrees.

This political confusion proved costly to the “open letter” group. The last meeting, held January 5 and 6, 1977, on the eve of the trade-union congress, managed to bring together only twenty-five trade-union leaderships. The scaffolding was reduced to the leaderships of the bank and office workers unions in Lisbon and Oporto, and the leadership of the high-school teachers union in the capital. Not a single significant blue-collar union was included. Since the formation of the SP government, not a single union had elected an SP leadership.

For example, the Lisbon public employees union, traditionally composed of elements sympathetic to the SP, elected a leadership controlled by the CP. The referendums organized by the leaders of the “open letter” group in their unions to win approval for their refusal to participate in the January congress resulted in setbacks. Some 12,500 members voted in the referendum in the Lisbon office workers union, while 30,000 workers had voted in the elections for the leadership of the union.

On the eve of the trade-union congress, then, the “open letter” group found itself at an impasse. Under these conditions, the right wing of the SP was in a good position to carry out its plan of building a rival trade-union federation, in league with PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's Party] agents in some unions. The worker militants in the SP's left wing, for their part, were trapped by their irresolution, both in dealing with the leadership of their party and with that of the CP.

The CGTP-IN

Commenting on the defeat suffered by the CP candidate, Octavio Pato, in the presidential elections of June 1976, in which half of the CP's electoral following threw their votes to Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, Alvaro Cunhal declared tersely: “We will get it all back, with interest.”

The January trade-union congress represented the most important step in this process of recovery by the section of the workers movement adhering to the CP. At the “all-union congress,” 265 unions were represented, amounting to about 1.8 million workers, or 85 percent of all organized workers. According to the CGTP leadership, eighty unions that were not previously members of the Intersindical, and which represent 300,000 wage workers, were included. The overall meaning of this is clear. The CGTP-IN represents the overwhelming majority of Portuguese workers,

and probably a near totality of the industrial proletariat.

Using its 2,500 cells in the factories, the CP combined harsh criticism of the Soares government with a tight rein on all attempts to broaden struggles around specific demands. This enabled it to maneuver its way back up to the dominant position from which it had fallen because of its policy in the first phase of the revolution. The crisis of the far left, coming after the collapse of the illusions inspired by the success of Otelo's presidential campaign, as well as its opportunistic adaptation to the CP's line on the question of trade-union democracy, left the Stalinists plenty of elbow room.

However, the bureaucratic way the congress was organized—with mainly leadership delegations attending—could not keep the radicalization of the working class and the high level of combativity maintained by the workers from finding expression there. For example, the National Organizing Commission for the Congress (CNOG) was forced at the last minute to put discussion of an immediate action campaign on the agenda. Even its last-minute draft was substantially amended to allow for the preparation of a “list of immediate demands” with a much more radical coloration.

The Stalinist faction managed, nevertheless, to eliminate an important part of the bargaining platform—the proposal for a twenty-four-hour general strike against the austerity program. The entire far left blocked together around this proposal, and it gained support from nearly a third of those attending the congress.

On the other hand, the CNOG had to yield to the intense desire for unity and the demand for democracy on the part of broad layers, by accepting the principle of participation by different working-class currents in the national leadership of the CGTP-IN—without recognition of tendencies rights being included in the statutes.

The national leadership of the CGTP-IN thus includes several members of the MES and of the SP. Kalidas Barreto, a well-known SP worker militant and former SP deputy to the Constituent Assembly, is a member of the National Secretariat and a public spokesman for the federation. This concession, which the CGTP-IN leaders used to carry out a publicity operation, proved fruitful, because several members of the “open letter” group announced their union's intention to affiliate to the new federation, whose authority could hardly be questioned.

Negotiate or Fight?

The CP's line of action has not radically changed. While it obviously has trouble trying to win favor with a fragmented MFA, its orientation remains that of using working-class and popular struggles as a tool for getting pro-CP elements into key

positions in the state apparatus.

The CP has been giving more and more guarantees not to disrupt the established order, but only to improve on it. This can be seen in its numerous pronouncements in favor of a “genuine austerity program”—the Soares policy supposedly being “inadequate”!

In the trade unions, the CGTP-IN leadership has so far been able to prevent any possibility of an extension of the struggles that have begun to develop, particularly since the 15 percent devaluation of the escudo. The leadership in fact displays unusual cynicism in the arguments it uses:

The satisfaction of certain demands—such as wage increases, improvements in social services, and so on—may very well represent a temporary expedient that the bosses will use to regain control of state-run enterprises, those under worker management, and even nationalized enterprises. Having overcome the workers' resistance in this fashion, and having reestablished capitalist control over the enterprises, the real face of exploitation and oppression will soon be revealed. [O Militante, January 1977.]

These Jesuitical arguments seem unlikely to win much support from the workers, and perhaps not even from the CP's own membership. National strikes are being discussed in nearly all the key sectors of the economy. In the first two weeks of March alone, two national strikes of several hours were conducted to demand the signing of new contracts in the metal and textile industries.

The bureaucratic apparatuses have not managed to establish air-tight control over the working class. The deepgoing nature of the political, social, and economic crisis, and the workers' readiness to struggle are such that without a decisive defeat of the proletariat it is impossible to qualitatively alter the existing relationship of class forces, which is the result of three years of revolutionary mobilizations. In this situation, the recent trade-union congress represents an impetus to struggle, not an excuse for demobilization.

For the first time in its history, the Portuguese working class has a mass national organization of its own. This organization is still too young for the bureaucratic methods of the reformists to succeed in transforming it into a malleable tool for their policy of class collaboration. The future battles that are shaping up in Portugal, in which the unions will play a primary role, will soon give a concrete content to the fight being waged by revolutionists to assure that the CGTP-IN lives up to the hopes that thousands of workers have invested in it. □

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IV. Carter's Stance in the Current Talks

By Judy White

Various commentators are of the opinion that with Carter's assumption of the presidency the possibility has risen of Panama gaining "eventual sovereignty" over the Canal Zone. The new president is in a position to "remedy an injustice," said the *New York Times* editors February 14. The *Christian Science Monitor* carried an editorial the following day describing Carter's approach to the negotiations as "a determined and commendable effort."

However, Carter's central aim in the current round of canal talks has more to do with refurbishing the image of the White House than with the Panamanian people's historic aspiration to gain full control over their own territory and resources.

Looking ahead to the 1980 presidential race, Carter is posing as a great statesman—miles above Nixon and Ford—an enlightened leader, sensitive to injustices wherever they may occur.

Evidence is abundant that Carter differs little from his predecessors in concern for the prerogatives of American imperialism in Panama.

February's round of negotiations terminated with what Washington's representatives called "some progress" but with "major problems" still unresolved. That was the situation under the Ford administration. Still under discussion are such items as the duration of the projected new treaty and the stationing of U.S. military forces after it expires.

Moreover, negotiations under both Ford and Carter have been governed by a "conceptual agreement" reached in secret with the Panamanian government. Signed sometime prior to September 1975 and made public in the October 1975 issue of the Panamanian magazine *Diálogo Social*, the agreement stipulates that the canal is to be eventually turned over to Panama but that there will be some sort of "joint defense" of the Big Ditch.

Torrijos's Sellout

Gen. Omar Torrijos agreed to let Washington maintain its bases in Panama and committed his government to participating along with the Pentagon in joint military training and in whatever military operations it mounts in the country.

To facilitate protection of American interests, the agreement states that all U.S. records and installations are inviolate, and that Americans working on the canal or in its "defense" have full freedom of movement within the country, with



Herblock/Washington Post

exemption from Panamanian civil law for "actions carried out in the course of fulfilling their official duties."

Meanwhile, those who support Carter's "statesmanlike" stance argue that the canal is of dubious financial value and that its usefulness is dwindling as technology makes the facility obsolete.

The statistics cited by supporters and opponents of a new treaty are contradictory. They often mask the fact that canal income has always been used to subsidize governmental costs in the Canal Zone and that many U.S. shippers transport their goods under the flags of other countries. However, it is undoubtedly true that the development of a two-ocean U.S. Navy, supertankers too big to pass through the canal, and transportation via trucks have cut down the importance of the canal from the imperialist point of view.

Protreaty forces also discuss the "practical" side of the Pentagon's apparatus in Panama.

"Its functions of training Latin American military personnel, including Panamanian National Guardsmen, in such arts as counterinsurgency could be easily carried out elsewhere," Alan Riding observed in the July 24, 1976, issue of *Saturday Review*.

The editors of the *New York Times* agreed, although more cautiously: "Most of our military bases can be gradually relocated without much loss of effectiveness" (February 14, 1977).

Those favoring a treaty also argue:

The rationale for negotiating a new treaty, as outlined by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger this summer, is that to ignore Panama's demands for full sovereignty would create conditions for another "Vietnam," replete with guerrilla warfare. . . . [*New York Times*, November 5, 1975]

Although Kissinger's reference to guerrilla warfare did not reflect the forms the struggle for self-determination has taken in Panama, it constituted recognition of the fact that Washington must take into account certain social pressures it cannot control. These include world public opinion and the mass movement in Panama for recovery of the canal.

Sentiment in Panama is such that any decision short of granting full sovereignty could spark a resistance movement that could prove costly to Washington.

Thus, Carter's course in the negotiations flows in part from the dilemma of wanting to remove the bad image of Yankee imperialism while at the same time retaining the substance of the U.S. grip on Panama.

Jingoists in Full Cry

There is still another factor that affects Carter's stance in the negotiations. He has to reckon with the domestic right-wing opposition to the signing of a new treaty.

The chief standard-bearer of this opposition has been Ronald Reagan, who sought to displace Ford as the Republican party presidential candidate in 1976 by appealing, among other things, to jingoist sentiments.

"When it comes to the Canal," Reagan stated during his campaign, "we bought it, we paid for it, it's ours, and we should tell Torrijos and company that we are going to keep it."

Pressure of a similar nature has also emanated from the Panama Canal lobby in Congress, and from George Wallace, the racist governor of Alabama.

David Binder reported in an article in the November 5, 1975, issue of the *New York Times* that "as many as 37 Senators and 246 House members have gone on record against the negotiations in one fashion or another."

In recent months the *Congressional Record* has been filled with statements from superpatriots:

• *Rep. Larry McDonald*: "our own government's determination to give away our rights and property, by turning over

the American-purchased Canal Zone and the American-financed and American-built canal. . . ."

• Rep. Daniel J. Flood: ". . . one of the historic foreign policies of the United States is the regional understanding known as the Monroe Doctrine. . . a major blow against it is now in the making at the Panama Canal in the form of the projected surrender of U.S. sovereign control over its indispensable protective frame of the Canal Zone."

• Rep. Philip M. Crane: ". . . those who are prepared to turn the Panama Canal over to the radical Government of Panama which is closely tied to Fidel Castro and in turn to the Soviet Union are forgetting an important historical lesson."

In addition, several congressmen introduced materials by "experts" making the case for the lobby's two main arguments—that the United States owns the canal just as surely as it owns Louisiana, Alaska, Arizona, and New Mexico; and that turning the canal over to Panama means turning it over to "the Communists."

The Panama Canal lobby is said to number about 100,000 supporters and to have been behind the injection of the canal issue into the 1976 election campaign. It has "active support from a nonprofit public information corporation formed recently in the Canal Zone by Michael James, an employe of the Panama Canal Company, and William R. Drummond, president of the Canal Zone police lodge," Binder reported.

Demagogy Wears Thin

The role to be played by Panamanian President Torrijos in Carter's operation appears minimal, despite the fact that he has been a reliable, effective servant to Washington since 1969.

The general has used radical, nationalist demagogy to undercut the movement for self-determination, while at the same time cooperating closely with the United States in its military and business operations.

"I would rather enter the Zone than enter the history books," Torrijos said to the 60,000 persons congregated to celebrate the anniversary of his coming to power, "but the goal is not to enter but rather to enter where and when we choose."

Panama prefers to recover the canal through negotiations, he continued, "but if all roads are closed to us, the Panamanian people are brave enough to eliminate the intruders by force."

However, in the last couple of years Torrijos' demagogy has worn thin with the Panamanian masses. Demonstrations that focused on ending the U.S. presence in Panama accused the president of being too soft in the negotiations. They also protested the regime's economic policies.

Torrijos has responded by forcibly deporting his critics, among them Miguel



"Somehow, I can't get steamed up about the Panama Canal when I'm standing in an unemployment line!"

Antonio Bernal, a professor of law at the National University of Panama.

Bernal has continued to be an effective critic of Torrijos from his exile, however. His analysis of the secret conceptual agreement between the United States and Panama appeared in an article in the October 28, 1976, issue of the Mexico City daily *El Sol de México*:

And it is this problem of "joint defense" that is most worrisome in the negotiations being carried out by the two countries. In addition to introducing a term that never appeared in any of the earlier treaties signed by Panama, it carries with it the recognition, legalization, and acceptance of a North American military presence on Pana-

Two Freedom Fighters Imprisoned in Angola

Luis Carmelino and António Carranca, former student leaders in Lisbon and Luanda respectively, have been imprisoned by the Angolan government. Appeals in their defense have been issued in Lisbon by a number of their former colleagues.

An open letter to the Neto regime, signed by ten former activists in the Association of Students at the Superior Institute of Economic and Financial Sciences (ISCEF), says:

"There is no end to our surprise at the imprisonment in Angola of Luís Carmelino (Jota), since he has always been known for his dedication to the struggle for national liberation of the Angolan people, both during the period of his studies in Portugal and after he abandoned his books to join the forces of the MPLA,* fighting arms in hand against the colonial and imperialist occupation. . . .

"Those signing this letter are former leaders of the association at the ISCEF during the period when Luís Carmelino

*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

manian territory with all the dangers that this involves for the peoples of the Latin American continent.

Torrijos has also tried to discredit his left critics by creating amalgams between them and "other enemies" of the Panamanian masses.

When opposition to sudden price increases for milk and rice broke out in September 1976, Torrijos tried to present the demonstrations as a campaign to "destabilize" the regime. He accused the CIA of promoting the campaign.

"Of course, no one in Panama ever believed that the demonstrations had really been organized or carried out by CIA agents," Bernal commented.

Moreover, various articles in the American bourgeois press have reported dissatisfaction with Torrijos among other figures in the Panamanian National Guard, the country's business community, and church leaders.

According to Alan Riding in the October 10, 1976, issue of the *New York Times*, "General Torrijos may no longer be able to fulfill his part of the bargain. . . ." He might not be able to "guarantee tranquil ratification" of a treaty falling short of granting the Panamanian people the right to full self-determination.

What would then happen to Torrijos is uncertain. What is certain, however, is that the struggle for an end to the American presence in Panama will continue. Seventy-odd years of history have shown this. □

was studying in Portugal. We appeal to the president of the republic and to the government of Angola to free this outstanding democrat and patriot and to assure his complete physical and moral well-being."

Thirty-six students from four schools in Portugal signed another petition for António Carranca. It says he "was one of the main student leaders at the University of Luanda, . . . and one of the founders of the Students Association there, having belonged to its Executive Committee. . . . He has worked in the General Secretariat of Industrial Services, and until recently was a professor at the N'Zinga M'Bandi school.

"António Carranca has always stood out for his full dedication to the struggle of the Angolan people for democracy and national independence. Thus it is inconceivable that his imprisonment does not merit our most vigorous protest. . . .

"We appeal . . . to progressive forces all over the world, and especially to all antifascist Portuguese students, to protest against this imprisonment and to solidarize with this Angolan patriot, appealing to the Angolan government for his immediate freedom." □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Will Scotch Tape Save the Alaska Pipeline?



A second layer of Scotchkote 202 has been applied to the Alaska pipeline in an effort to lessen the chances of oil leaks due to corrosion.

Pipelines are coated to keep the steel pipe from rusting when it comes in contact with moisture in the air or soil. Scotchkote 202 has proven ineffective on other large-diameter lines, resulting in leakage and maintenance problems. So Alyeska Pipeline Service Company ordered a second coating for the 798-mile-long pipe and filed a lawsuit against the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company (3M), which manufactures Scotchkote as well as other varieties of tape. Damage claims may total more than \$20 million.

According to a federal study, corrosion was the third-largest cause of pipeline failures in 1976, after damage by outside forces and construction or material defects.

The Alaska pipeline may not be immune to these problems either: It crosses five earthquake zones and passes near four huge glaciers that have shown an ability to move considerably in the recent geological past.

And there have been numerous disclosures concerning defective welding, inferior quality steel pipe, and falsified X-rays of faulty joints (see *Intercontinental Press*, February 7, p. 114).

Nevertheless, oil is to begin flowing through the trans-Alaska pipeline system (TAPS) on or about June 20. It will take nine million barrels of oil just to fill the pipe, and thirty days for the oil to travel from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez, the line's southern terminus. The crude petroleum enters TAPS at 150 degrees Fahrenheit (66° Celsius), but cools to about 35°F. (2°C.) and reaches the consistency of tar as it passes through the pipeline.

Special heat radiators and refrigerating pipes have been installed in hope of keeping the hot oil from melting the permafrost and thus doing damage to the fragile Alaskan environment. A spill could cause thawing, heaving, and subsidence of the Arctic tundra.

The biggest environmental concern at the moment, however, is the danger of spills by tankers operating out of Valdez harbor. "There is nothing that the pipeline can do . . . that is even close to the impact

of a tanker grounding or collision," said Charles Champion, an Alaska state official. "The most catastrophic spill out of the pipeline would be 60,000 barrels. A 165,000-ton tanker carries about 1 million barrels." (Quoted in *Newsweek*, June 13.)

Where the oil is to be shipped once it is delivered to Valdez is another question. Although the Alaska pipeline was originally approved by the Nixon administration in 1973 as the answer to America's supposed need for "energy independence," it now appears that domestic demand will not be able to absorb the line's more than one million barrels per day. Exports to Japan are one possibility, but this is prohibited at present by U.S. law.

No pipelines exist for moving oil east from California (they all flow west from Texas). Some oil will be transported by tanker through the Panama Canal, but many such ships are too big for this trip. And the use of supertankers around Cape Horn is ruled out by the lack of unloading facilities on the East Coast.

A controversy is also raging about the pipeline's cost: \$9.2 billion is the most recent estimate, as against the \$900 million projected in 1970. Shipping rates for the oil are to be adjusted to offset these construction costs over a period of years and, of course, assure a whopping profit to the consortium of eight oil companies that built the pipeline.

The lower the shipping rates, the higher the royalties Alaska will collect. So the state government is charging the oil companies with "impermissible double accounting" and "cost overruns." Hearings are being conducted by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which can deny these protests or suspend operation of the pipeline for as long as seven months.

Seveso Poison Spreads

The July 1976 explosion at the Icmesa factory in Seveso, Italy, released as much as 100 pounds of the deadly chemical dioxin into the surroundings (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 16, p. 558).

The poison continues to spread. The May 15 London *Sunday Times* reports that residents of Polo, just north of Seveso,

have been told that "pollution levels there are as high as those in parts of the areas from which more than 1,000 people were evacuated last summer." As a result, "the official pollution map, drawn up by the Lombardy regional authorities, is fast losing credibility."

Traces of the poison have been discovered up to three miles away from the areas officially designated as polluted. The distribution of the more than 500 cases of chloracne (a severe skin ailment caused by dioxin) that have broken out since the blast bears no relation to the official "pollution map."

In general, government efforts to restrict the spread of the dioxin have been lax. The Como-Milan highway crosses the most heavily polluted area and passes within a few yards of the Icmesa plant. It has never been closed. When families were evacuated from the immediate area of the blast, they were allowed to take their contaminated cars with them.

The official boundary of the danger zone seems to have been drawn in such a way as to avoid all the most populated areas surrounding Seveso. "Many people in the area are convinced that the map is purely political," the *Sunday Times* reports.

300 More A-Plants?

White House energy adviser James Schlesinger says that more than 300 additional nuclear power plants will have to be built in the United States by the year 2000, according to a report in the June 8 *Wall Street Journal*.

While this is considerably fewer than the 800 projected by the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) in 1975, it is still far above the 75 that Jimmy Carter called for by 1985 in his energy program.

Schlesinger cited a decrease in projected energy needs in arguing for a deferral of the \$1.9 billion Clinch River, Tennessee, fast breeder reactor. Even if this project is postponed, however, breeder technology will still get the largest share of ERDA's research budget for next year—about \$500 million.

Plans were also announced by the White House in early June for modifying a

conventional reactor at Shippingport, Pennsylvania, into a breeder that would convert thorium into uranium-233. Interest in such a fuel cycle has been increasing in Washington since it would not involve large amounts of plutonium.

The Safest Form of Transport

A truck carrying a fifteen-ton container of radioactive nuclear fuel overturned near Winchester, England, on May 19. The truck careened across the median strip of Highway A33 and struck three vehicles.

After two hours, firemen determined that the container had not leaked any of the uranium hexafluoride it was carrying.

Also on May 19, a ninety-ton rail container for nuclear fuel and waste derailed in Gillingham, England. This was the second such derailment for this container car in six weeks. It was empty.

The London Times quoted an official as saying: "Although the transport of nuclear waste is an emotive matter, the fact is that these containers probably provide the safest form of transport of any fuel."

Chrome Pollution in Mexico

The Empresa de Cromatos (Chromate Company) in Lechería, Mexico, has become notorious for its emissions of toxic chrome powders and wastes. Pollution from this plant has plagued the 15,000 residents of Lechería and Chilpa with gastrointestinal problems and laryngitis, and has caused the deaths of several children (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 2, p. 489).

Evidence of more serious dangers came to light in early June. Abrahán Rubluo, a scientific investigator at the Autonomous National University of Mexico, announced his findings that the chrome pollution is "causing the production of a generation of human monsters."

Rubluo said Empresa de Cromatos "is contaminating the environment in such a way as to cause an increase in the infant mortality index," according to United Press International. "He added that some persons exposed to the contaminants are suffering from cancer."

Worse yet, however, is the fact that chromium compounds produce biological mutations in the reproductive cells. "They act on the somatic cells, those that form the tissues and organs of human beings, and particularly on the germinal cells that function to perpetuate the species, producing changes in the hereditary information," Rubluo said.

8,000 March Against Tokyo Airport

Protests continue against the new Tokyo International Airport at Narita, Japan. On May 29, 8,000 persons marched in opposition to the land seizures and environmen-

tal damage the airport has caused. The march was attacked by 5,000 cops. Seventy-one persons were arrested.

Demands are also rising for action against the police who murdered Kaoru Higashiyama at a demonstration on May 8 (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 23, p. 591).

New Asia News reports that "all evidence so far produced has shown that a member of a specific riot police squad killed him by shooting a hard plastic 'tear gas' bullet directly at him. The opposition league [which has organized the airport protests] disclosed on May 26 a photo clearly portraying the late Higashiyama one minute before he was shot, wearing no helmet. . . . Earlier, a Chiba University professor, having done a post mortem of Higashiyama's body, made it clear that the crack in his skull had been made by 'a hard, long but not very heavy object with a rounded end which hit the victim at a high speed,' leaving no doubt about the cause of death of the young worker."

Where the Banned Pesticides Go

"To varying degrees, almost all components of the Central American ecosystem have been affected" by the overuse of pesticides, a United Nations environmental team has reported.

An eighteen-month study revealed that saturation of cotton fields in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua with DDT, Parathion, and Toxophene has poisoned thousands of persons and caused at least forty deaths in the past five years. All of these pesticides have been banned in the United States.

In reporting this study in a June 2 column, Jack Anderson and Les Whitten said:

"The reckless use of pesticides has gone on for over 15 years under the auspices of the wealthy Central American families who own many of the cotton plantations. They've made huge fortunes by selling cotton to Asian countries which, in turn, manufacture clothing for U.S. markets.

"At the same time, the environmental devastation caused by the pesticides has forced some impoverished small farmers to leave their lands. . . . This has turned them into peons who survive by working for the large cotton plantations.

"It was not until some of the land barons' own cattle became contaminated that they began to be concerned about the problem."

Carter Takes Pro-Concorde Stand

The Carter administration has lined up with the British and French governments in the battle over landing rights for the Concorde supersonic jetliner at New York's Kennedy International Airport. However, the White House is also seeking ways to avoid taking direct responsibility for a



"IT'S JUST A TRYOUT UNTIL YOU GET USED TO IT"

Herblock/Washington Post

decision to allow the world's noisiest plane into New York.

Federal Judge Milton Pollack ruled May 11 that the New York Port Authority's ban on the Concorde is in "irreconcilable conflict" with a 1976 U.S. Department of Transportation go-ahead for sixteen months of test flights at Kennedy and at Dulles airport in Washington. Hearings are now taking place on the Port Authority's appeal of Pollack's ruling.

In a brief filed June 6 in the court of appeals, the Department of Transportation said the authority's ban on the SST "may have been exercised in a discriminatory fashion, and in addition, dilatory, arbitrary and unreasonable."

Although the administration argued that it lacks the legal power to force Concorde landings itself, it suggested achieving the same ends through a more indirect approach. "There may be grounds, different from those relied on by Judge Pollack, which would justify invalidating the Port Authority resolution banning the Concorde test," the Transportation Department said.

Federal authorities are reluctant to openly overrule the Port Authority since this could expose the Department of Transportation to damage suits from outraged noise victims.

One basis for such lawsuits can be found in studies conducted by Dr. Samuel Rosen, an audiologist at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital. The *New York Daily News* reported June 2:

"Dr. Rosen . . . found that constant exposure to noise even one quarter as loud as the SST leads to hearing loss. In one series of tests, he found that members of the Mabaan Tribe, who live in the quiet jungles of Africa, suffered less hearing loss between the ages of 70 and 79 than do Americans between the ages of 20 and 29."

Selections From the Left

libération

A socialist monthly published in Montréal. Presents the views of the *Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action*.

An item in the June issue reports the results of a poll conducted recently by the *Toronto Star* on the question of independence for Québec.

"Of the 522 persons interviewed, 32% felt that Québec should become a separate political entity, and 7% thought that Québec should break all ties with Canada.

"Of those remaining, 41% favored remaining in the confederation, and 19% thought that Québec should remain a province of Canada, but with greater political autonomy."

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Paper of the Movement for a Socialist Republic, Irish section of the Fourth International. Published monthly in Dublin.

The June issue has an article on the language movement that is written in Irish, the historic language of Ireland.

The Irish language began to be forced out of usage as a result of the wars of extermination against native Irish society begun by the English in the sixteenth century. It went out of general use as a result of the Great Famine at the end of the 1840s. It is still spoken as the language of everyday life only by a few remote communities and by groups of cultural nationalists. The revival of Irish as the main language of the country was a central goal of the Irish national liberation movement and was formally adopted by the Dublin government as "The National Aim."

However, the neocolonial governments never gave more than token support to campaigns to extend the use of Irish or to enable Irish speakers to participate fully in the national life through the medium of their own language. In *Socialist Republic*, Seán O Tuama writes:

Some time ago, the Irish language movement began a fight for the civil rights of Irish speakers. Today Irish speakers are being deprived even of the rights they had. The government is following the logic expressed by Conor Cruise O'Brien [a leading figure in the cabinet] when he said: "The Irish language and culture are weapons in the hands of the IRA."

In the mid-1960s, a radical group gained influence in the Gaelic League. They had a good analysis of the state of the country and of the Irish language. They took a good position on political questions. However, they did not go

beyond analysis and complaining about the government. They did not organize Irish speakers in a campaign for their rights.

At the last convention of the Gaelic League, however, an important step forward was taken when this body accepted the resolution calling for stressing the campaign for civil rights for Irish speakers. Previously, it had been the general opinion in the language movement that we should concentrate on Irish speakers in the Irish speaking communities and ignore the "middle class" Irish speakers in the part of the country where English has become dominant.

It was not understood that it is possible to mobilize and unite the majority of Irish speakers in this country (in both the Irish-speaking and English-speaking areas) to defend their rights as regards education, state services, and television. It is also through such a campaign that we can best win the support of the people in general, since in this way we can show them that our demands are reasonable and just. This is shown by the support that Ita ní Chionnaith and Dónal O Lubhlaí got [when they refused to pay their TV license fees in protest against the lack of Irish language programs] and the support for the demonstrations by students and youth outside the General Post Office and Irish TV. . . .

The Gaelic League should organize a national mobilization committee to build a national civil-rights campaign. It should urge the other Irish language organizations as well as political groups to join in. Local committees also could be formed throughout the country. It is our duty as revolutionary socialists to support the democratic demands of the Irish language movement. We understand the importance of the Irish language and the culture of Ireland in the fight against imperialism. So, we call on the anti-imperialist movement in general to stand with the Irish language movement in this struggle.

rouge

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

In the May 26 issue, Luisa Vermell reports from Barcelona on the development of the women's liberation movement in Catalonia.

The movement's "solid tradition of unity" has been forged out of the massive struggles "for amnesty for those convicted of so-called feminine crimes (prostitution, adultery, homosexuality), for repeal of medieval laws (the adultery trial of María-Angeles Muñoz), for March 8, for a campaign to expose the 'Mother's Day' celebrations decreed by Franco on May 1, and against sexist violence and rape," Vermell writes.

Working women are showing an increasing interest in women's liberation. "Up until 1976, while the movement had a large popular component (in the neighborhoods), the women's movement was still pretty much outside the workers' movement. Its slogans had an antifascist,

democratic, and feminist content, but the women's movement did not reach out to working women, and was not really capable of organizing support for their struggles. Nineteen seventy-six marked a turning point in this situation."

Vermell devotes the last half of her article to describing the impact of the women's movement on the trade unions and working-class political parties. "Their positions range from giving lip service to 'the woman question' to clear support for an autonomous movement. . . .

"The most active participants in the movement are the women from the Catalan Communist Movement and the Revolutionary Communist League. These two organizations support an autonomous women's movement, in theory and in practice."

COMBAT SOCIALISTE

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

The editorial in the June 7 issue stresses the need for a labor party:

Three major events—the congress of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the congress of the Parti Québécois [PQ—the bourgeois nationalist party that dominates the provincial government and the unions], and the economic summit [between the PQ government, big business, and the union bureaucrats]—have all posed the same question: The need for the workers to act as an organized political force independent of the bourgeois parties.

The economic summit was much ado about nothing. The only thing it accomplished was to give Laberge, Desmarais, and Lévesque [head of the provincial government and the PQ] a chance to make a show of consensus. But this pretty picture was somewhat spoiled by strikers who came to demand an accounting. These scenes offered living symbols of the two opposing lines in the union movement. The first is that of the PQ bureaucrats who talk about "economic cooperation," dialogue, summit meetings, class collaboration, sacrifices for the workers. The second, the line represented by the strikers, the vanguard of the union movement, is quite clear. *We count only on our own struggles, only struggle pays.*

What concretely did this class-collaborationist summit offer to the workers and the poor masses? Nothing but illusions. Illusions about the possibility of getting a few things through talking. Illusions above all about the role of the PQ and its head, who appears as the great conciliator, the arbitrator who decides things in accordance with the national interest, the Bonaparte balancing between capital and labor. . . .

At the PQ congress, Lévesque the balancer

made another appearance. He tilted to the right, supporting the secret ballot in the unions. He tilted to the left, supporting an anticab law. On this second point, you have to keep your eye on him. What kind of an anticab law is this bourgeois government preparing for us? There was some other funny business. Radically revising the party's program, Lévesque let it be known that the PQ's "sovereign Québec" is going to be part of the big imperialist alliances such as NATO and NORAD.

The concluding note was that, facing the determination of the activists fighting for free abortion on demand, Lévesque explained that his conscience was divided, in the same proportion as his constituency. He overcame this quandary quite quickly when it came time to explain to the delegates that the government is not bound to carry out the party's decisions, especially as regards abortion.

At the union congress, the delegates firmly rejected any anti-Communist witch-hunt. The bourgeois editorial writers are still foaming at the mouth over this. However, the decision to send representatives to the class-collaborationist summit left discussion of a political organization for the workers in the clouds. The national question was not taken up.

Obviously, the confederation is heading into a blind alley. It is becoming more and more difficult for it to adopt more militant and political positions without clearly taking up the question of an independent political organization for the workers, without offering a real working-class solution to the national question. Despite the opposition of the PQ bureaucrats, the advanced workers must sharply raise the question of the need for a political break with the PQ, of winning political independence for the workers.

rotfront

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

The May issue reports on a debate between a representative of the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the chairman of the Austrian Communist party on the movement against bureaucratic repression in East Europe. The Austrian CP underwent an extensive purge after the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. This left it a reliable lackey of the Kremlin, but also reduced it to a negligible factor in Austrian politics.

Rotfront reports:

On Monday, March 28, CP Chairman Franz Muhri in person came to the University of Vienna to speak on "Helsinki and the Problems of Ideological Class Struggle."

Muhri seemed to have gotten confused about what meeting he was at. His statements sounded like a speech to a CP cell meeting or a lecture to the Friends of the Soviet Union Society. He made nothing but blanket statements; not a single question was approached objectively. . . .

The peace-loving Soviet Union had forced the imperialists to accept the Helsinki accords. The policy of "peaceful coexistence" was creating the best conditions for the international advance of the "progressive forces."

The West, which feared the Helsinki accords,

had plotted a kind of diversionary action, using the civil-rights movement in East Europe, if it did not actually create it for this purpose, to create "disorders." . . .

Considering the apologetic and primitive character of Muhri's statements, it was obvious that a *calm and serious* discussion would lead to a Waterloo for the CP Stalinists. However, they were helped out—unconsciously—by the Maoists. By raising a howl about "social fascism," they kept the CP members and sympathizers from thinking further about the problems raised. . . .

The Revolutionary Marxist Group speaker concentrated on the democratic opposition in East Europe. But at the same time, he sharply condemned the scandalous behavior of the Maoists, rejecting the characterization of the Soviet Union as "social fascist." . . .

But, he said, the superiority of the collective property system, despite all the bureaucratic deformations, was no reason to be silent about the political repression that reigns in East Europe.

Total cynicism is the only way to describe Muhri's statement that "in the socialist countries no one is prosecuted for their views but only when they violate laws." . . .

The fact that the democratic opposition in East Europe includes various currents was deliberately covered up by Muhri. He based all his arguments on the present positions of Solzhenitsyn. . . .

The Austrian CP has to pay the price for its political hypocrisy in a continual loss of votes and members.

However, its apology for Stalinism harms socialism in general. This enables the high priests of capitalism to present things as if the alternative were between parliamentary democracy and "people's democracy." Revolutionary Marxists implacably expose the hypocrisy of the Western propagandists weeping crocodile tears over the civil-rights movement in East Europe. Vietnam never worried them. But those, like us, who spoke out about Vietnam and who fight capitalism, have the right and duty to speak in defense of the opposition in East Europe.

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES

"Workers News," open forum for the class struggle. Published weekly in Paris.

In an interview in the June 2 issue, Edmund Baluka, one of the leaders of the 1970 Polish port strikes, comments on the present situation in Poland:

Poland is without doubt the most politically advanced country in the Soviet bloc. The people are no longer afraid, they discuss among themselves in the streets, and even in the cafés. Despite the censorship and the blackout of news, information circulates and people keep up with the situation.

However, the Poles know very well that there could be an event such as occurred in 1968 in Czechoslovakia [i.e., Soviet occupation]. This is engraved in their memory. You might think that the workers are wrong, either to wait or to try to avert an intervention. But despite their caution, the situation is moving forward step by step.

The Polish workers know very well, despite the news blackout, that young Stanislaw Pyjas was murdered, that there were demonstrations in Cracow. But the situation of the working class is such that it analyzes the conditions, that it waits, and if it does not see something else

develop, it does not take the initiative itself.

Real production is running at 50 percent of plan, 60 percent in the shipyards. That means in this system that the workers are discussing more than working. It is not clear what they are discussing, but in general it can be said that there is more discussion than production.

CINA

"Struggle," organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Latvia, of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, and of the Council of Ministers. Published daily in Riga.

The May 28 issue features a TASS dispatch announcing the new Soviet constitution. This is followed by statements by local officials hailing the document. I. Gorohov, the secretary of the Communist party organization in the Riga coastal fishing industry, said:

It was with great interest that we fishermen took note of the proceedings of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, the capital of our fatherland, which heard the report "On the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" given by the chairman of the Constitution Committee, Comrade L. Brezhnev.

This, without doubt, is an event of great historical importance, which has inspired wide applause from the Soviet people and from the entire socialist camp. The drawing up of this new constitution is a fact that cannot be silenced even by our enemies. It reflects our achievements. . . . It will demonstrate the change that has taken place in the economic development of the country and in the entire world. As Comrade L. Brezhnev pointed out, our new constitution will clearly show to all the world how a state based on developed socialism ever more firmly and energetically consolidates socialist democracy; it will show clearly what this socialist democracy is like, what its nature is like.

Gorohov, to judge by his name, is a Russian.

Also printed is a statement by the secretary of the Adazi collective farm in the Riga region, D. Dzirkale, who has a Latvian name. He said:

It was with great interest that we collective farmers took note of the proceedings of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, which heard the report "On the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" given by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, Comrade L. Brezhnev. . . .

I think that in the coming period, the conclusions about Soviet civil rights and the obligations of the state will be defined more precisely for the people.

These statements are printed under the heading: *Unanimous Support.*

It may be imagined how much they will help to convince the Latvian people that the new constitution will offer them more democratic rights.

AROUND THE WORLD



Carter Considering New Death Weapon

Jimmy Carter is now considering whether to approve U.S. production of a sophisticated new weapon—the neutron bomb. It is the first nuclear warhead designed specifically to kill people, with minimal destruction of property.

Funds for production of this “enhanced radiation” warhead are included in an appropriations bill that is due to be approved by Congress. Carter must then sign a personal approval if manufacture of the weapon is to proceed. Gerald Ford signed such an order last year, but production did not begin. (American law requires that presidential OKs for nuclear bomb construction be renewed yearly.)

A “nuclear weapons expert” quoted in the June 6 *Washington Post* said the neutron bomb “cuts down on blast and heat and thus total destruction, leaving buildings and tanks standing. But the great quantities of neutrons it releases kill people.”

A government booklet, “The Effects of Nuclear Weapons,” says the bomb causes an “almost immediate incapacitation,”

with convulsions, stupor, and a lack of muscle coordination caused by the neutrons’ attack on the central nervous system. “Death is certain in a few hours to several days.”

The neutron bomb would be employed as a warhead on the Lance missile, a battlefield weapon with a range of fifty-six miles. Its advocates in the Pentagon have argued that it would be a more credible “deterrent” since it “just might be used on the battlefield without leading to automatic nuclear escalation,” according to the *Post* report.

Carter has already asked for increases of 20 percent in funds for production and research on new warheads. Those to be produced next year include:

- An eight-inch artillery-fired nuclear warhead.
- A delayed-action nuclear weapon called the “full-fusing option bomb.”
- A new warhead for the Cruise missile.
- New warheads for Trident submarine missiles and for Minuteman III land-based missiles.

Research funds totalling \$350 million will be allocated. In addition, a study will be funded for development of a neutron bomb that can be dropped from aircraft.

Bishops Condemn El Salvador Regime

The Roman Catholic bishops in El Salvador have condemned the country’s military dictatorship for persecuting the church and perpetuating “social injustice,” according to a report by Juan De Onis in the May 23 *New York Times*.

A statement was read at masses and broadcast nationally over the archdiocese’s radio station. It charged the government of President Oscar Molina with attacking priests under the guise of fighting communism. Since the beginning of the year two priests have been killed and twelve deported.

Earlier in May, right-wing gunmen who later identified themselves as members of a “white guerrilla organization” assassinated the Rev. Alfonso Navarro Oviedo. In the latest incident, three priests were arrested and deported May 19 after military forces occupied the town of Aguilares to suppress peasant land occupations.

The Rev. Oscar Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador, told 1,000 parishioners May 22 that the bishops were also concerned over “the atmosphere of terror and person-

al insecurity that is being imposed on Salvadorans whose only crime is their desperation over lack of jobs and land.”

Right-wing groups who charge that “progressive priests” are being used by communist agitators “have no concern for the social injustices of this country,” Romero said.

Panama Students Protest

Several thousand students participated in two demonstrations in Panama on June 6. The protests marked the eleventh anniversary of the mass student upsurge in 1966 against Washington’s occupation of the Canal Zone. They also commemorated the murder of a participant during those actions. The students hold the Central Intelligence Agency responsible for his death.

Two thousand persons were involved in the larger of the two rallies at Shaylor Triangle, on the Canal Zone side of an avenue that forms the border with the independent portion of Panama. After the rally, the students hauled down an American flag in the Canal Zone and replaced it with a Panamanian one.

Victory for Equal Rights

A Milan, Italy, plastics factory threatened women workers with dismissal if they refused to wash male workers’s plates after lunch and clean the lavatories, *Agence-France Presse* reported May 24.

Forty women took the case before a judge, who ruled May 23 that as they had been hired to do the same work as men, they had equal rights in the factory. He ordered the employers to end their discrimination and made them pay court costs.

Engineering Workers in Britain Vote Against New Wage Controls

A convention of Britain’s 1.4 million-member Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers voted May 11 to reject the government’s plan for a new round of wage restraints. The union is a powerful sector of Britain’s labor federation, the Trades Union Congress.

Delegates to the convention voiced concern that by supporting the current “phase two” pay policy, union leaders were losing credibility with their members. John Baldwin, general secretary of the



The neutron bomb—to be or not to be?

construction section of the AUEW told the gathering: "We are policing a policy that our people are completely rejecting."

Frustration in his union was so great, he said, that there was a sit-in at his London office. Earlier he had been physically threatened by his own members. "I can take as much abuse as the next man, but the time has come when enough is enough."

Thousands Near Starvation in Haiti

Relief workers in northwestern Haiti report that several dozen persons have already starved to death as the result of a devastating drought that has gripped the impoverished island nation.

"What happened this year is that some rural people on the borderline of starvation started to starve," said one foreign official quoted in a May 17 Associated Press dispatch.

Haiti is the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere. About 80 percent of the population live at bare subsistence level in rural areas.

In the capital, Port-au-Prince, the lack of rain has almost dried up the reservoir behind Peligre Dam, which supplies much of the city's electrical power and irrigates crops in one of Haiti's few arable valleys.

Not everyone on the island is suffering, however, according to an account by UPI correspondent Daniel Drosdoff. President-for-life Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier is making good use of an influx of U.S. foreign aid—expected to reach \$26 million this year. Known to be fond of fast cars and motorcycles, Duvalier last month ordered a \$880,000 yacht.

AIM Leader Leonard Peltier Sentenced to Life Term

American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier was sentenced on June 2 to two consecutive life terms in prison.

Peltier was found guilty April 18 in the 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Canadian officials extradited him to the United States last December after denying his request for political asylum.

Peltier's defense attorney said the sentence will be appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals. The AIM leader is thirty-two years old; if the sentence stands, he would be eligible for parole after serving thirty years.

Winnie Mandela 'Virtually a Prisoner' in South African Exile

Winnie Mandela, a prominent Black opponent of the South African regime who was exiled in May to a remote part of the country, was visited by *New York Times* correspondent John Burns on June 3.

Burns described the town of Brandfort, where Mandela has been forced to live, as

"the essence of Afrikanerdom." Brandfort, he said, "is really two societies—the 2,000 whites living in modest comfort, the 2,500 blacks barely subsisting, providing the labor needed to keep the farms, homes and stores running. Even shops are segregated, with one of the busiest, a grocery store on the main street, serving blacks through a hatch in the outer wall."

When Mandela's sisters stayed with her in Brandfort overnight, thinking they had official permission, she was charged with a violation of her restriction. For this, she may now face three years imprisonment.

Mandela told Burns that she is "virtually a prisoner behind bars. The only difference is, I'm in a bigger prison—but then so is every black who lives in this country. Those outside prison are as much prisoners as those within."

When informed that Prime Minister Vorster had told U.S. Vice-President Mondale that she could leave the country if she wished, Mandela replied: "I wouldn't give it a second thought. I mean, imagine the audacity of it! If anybody should leave, it's not me, it's the settler government."

Mandela took a skeptical view of Jimmy Carter's and Andrew Young's recent efforts to bolster the U.S. image in Africa: "We have been let down so much and our patience is exhausted. . . . I mean, is it possible for people who have not been interested in our welfare for 400 years to suddenly be concerned now?"

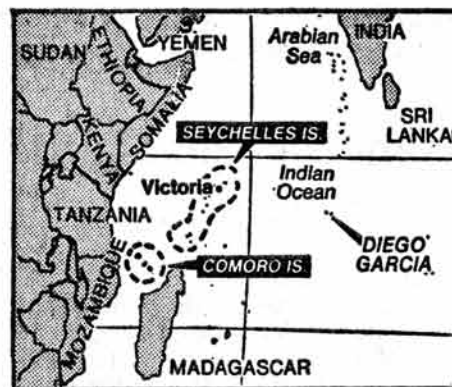
Coup in Seychelles

The regime of President James R.M. Mancham in the Seychelles was ousted June 5, less than a year after the group of islands in the Indian Ocean gained formal independence from Britain. Radio Seychelles announced that Prime Minister France Albert René had taken over as president.

Mancham was in London at the time of the coup. According to a representative of the new regime, about 200 armed men took over key points on Mahé, the main island. Two persons were reported killed during the actual take-over. The constitution and the National Assembly were suspended. Six British officers who had been advising the police were arrested and deported.

In London, Mancham charged, "I am personally convinced that the actions taken have been done with the active agreement and connivance of the Soviet Government and is part and parcel of the Soviet policy of controlling the Indian Ocean." He was unable to present any evidence on this claim when pressed to do so by reporters.

A cablegram from the Seychelles announcing the coup declared that Mancham had been overthrown because he was a "dictator" who had "adopted a style of life which involves lavish spending." René promised to make the 60,000 inhabitants of the Seychelles "free of capitalists and foreign countries."



New York Times

On June 8, René elaborated. He said that his administration "will certainly not be a Marxist government." Instead, he said, "It will be a government based on some system of socialism which we can evolve for the Seychelles."

Under this "system of socialism," René indicated, the Seychelles would remain in the British Commonwealth and Washington would be allowed to retain its space tracking station on Mahé. He also said there were no plans to nationalize hotels or companies.

DINA Kidnappings Revealed

For the first time, high officials of the Pinochet dictatorship have testified in court that DINA, the regime's political police, has been responsible for the "disappearance" of persons in Chile, according to a report in the May 25 *Washington Post*.

George Swett, government-appointed rector of Catholic University and a retired admiral, testified that two men who identified themselves as DINA agents came to his office on November 3, 1975. They wanted information about Alejandro Avalos Davidson, a researcher at the university.

Avalos disappeared seventeen days later and was seen inside DINA interrogation centers until February 1976.

Two of Swett's colleagues at Catholic University testified that DINA agents had told the university that they intended to arrest Avalos "without witnesses."

The disappearance of Carlos Contreras Maluje, a Communist party former elected official in the city of Concepción, was also attributed to DINA. Capt. Clemente Nicolás Burgos of the national police testified that he saw Contreras arrested by DINA agents November 3, 1976.

Burgos said that Contreras had thrown himself in front of a bus, in a suicide attempt to avoid arrest. Burgos called an ambulance, but before it arrived a car driven by men who identified themselves as DINA agents drove up, forced Contreras to get in, and departed.

Neither Avalos or Contreras has ever officially been acknowledged to be in police custody.

France—Thousands Attend International Women's Conference

By Caroline Lund

PARIS—Women from throughout Europe streamed through the gates of the University of Vincennes, just outside Paris, May 28 for an international socialist women's conference held over the weekend.

The air reverberated with discussion in French, German, Italian, Spanish, and English.

It is difficult to say exactly how many women were there, since the largest hall at the disposal of the conference seated only 600. Participants also met in smaller groups on the lawn and in classrooms. Many discussions took place across the long lines of literature tables and photo displays representing a wide spectrum of women's liberation activities and political viewpoints. Estimates of the number of women attending the conference ranged up to 6,000.

The original call for the conference was made in 1975 by two French organizations, Les Petroleuses and the Elisabeth Dimitriev Circle, whose aim was to build a "class-struggle current" in the women's liberation movement.

The purpose of the international conference was to bring together women from throughout Europe who see themselves as part of the broad current in the women's movement that seeks ties and solidarity between the struggle of women and the struggle of the working class as a whole.

Since 1975, several international planning meetings have been held, but it was in the last few months that the conference really began to pick up steam.

As one of the organizers noted in her opening remarks to the conference general assembly, the women's movement in Europe has changed greatly in the past two years, extending into the factories, offices, schools, and trade unions. In addition, the many-sided attacks on women's rights, stemming from the international capitalist recession, have tied together even more closely the struggles of women and of the whole working class.

Such developments helped make the conference broader than the organizers had expected. Women were present from the National Abortion Campaign and Women's Aid of Britain; the Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception of France; Group 8 of Sweden; the Women's Movement of Switzerland; the Association of Divorced Women and Feminist Coordination of Spain; the National Organization for Women of the United States; the *consultori* and *intercategoriale* movements

in Italy; feminist collectives, women's centers, and women's liberation magazines from many countries; the General Workers Union (UGT) and Workers Commissions of Spain, and various political groups. Women were also present from Africa, Latin America, Greece, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium.

The two main themes for discussion at the conference were the struggle for the right to abortion and contraception, and the problems related to women's work—discrimination on the job, unemployment, women in trade unions, and women's double burden of work on the job and in the home.

The centrality of the international struggle for the right to abortion and against forced sterilization came across strongly in both the plenary sessions and workshops.

"Women's struggle to control our fertility is fundamental to all other struggles to overcome sex oppression and win our rights," Rose Knight of the British National Abortion Campaign said in her remarks at the opening assembly of the conference.

"In no country in the world do women have the right to regulate their reproduction as they wish through freely available contraception, abortion, and sterilization on demand."

A woman from Latin America spoke specifically on the problem there of forced sterilization and imposed contraception programs.

Women from Italy described the growing network of what are called *consultori*—medical and meeting centers run by women. Their aim is to provide information and aid to women who need contraception, abortions, or refuge from a violent husband.

The most dramatic growth of organization and struggles by women has occurred in Spain and Italy. A woman from Turin told about the formation of "intercategorial" working women's commissions in factories, especially in the steel industry. These are assemblies that unite women of all the major trade-union federations, as well as nonunion and unemployed women.

Women from the European sections of the Fourth International distributed a special brochure at the conference in English, French, and Spanish editions on "Women and the Struggle for Socialism." It included an interview with four women workers from Barcelona, who described the beginnings of organization of female bank employees and metalworkers there.

"In the metal factories of the Deslute de

Hospitalet company . . . there is enormous inequality," said María Jesús, one of the four. "The bosses have invented something called the 'reduction coefficient,' which allows them to eliminate 10 percent of women's wages for the simple reason that it is a woman who is receiving the wage.

"Women organized and sued (in theory, this sort of inequality is illegal), and we won," she continued. "Since then there has been an avalanche of suits throughout the metal industry. The work is just beginning."

Women are organizing inside both of the largest trade-union formations in Spain, the Workers Commissions and the UGT. Women in Catalunya—an oppressed nation in Spain—are preparing to present resolutions on the role and rights of women inside the union to a constituent congress of the Workers Commissions, which is planned for the future. The UGT has already sponsored a successful conference of working women, attended by about 250 participants.

Despite organizational problems due to its great size, this international women's conference was an important step forward.

The atmosphere was serious. Women sat for hours in hot, crowded classrooms, patiently listening to as many as three consecutive translations so that all participants could follow the discussion.

The exchange of experiences that took place confirmed that the struggles of women are moving onto the center stage around the world. □

Now That You Mention It . . .

Although the official Soviet press is not noted for its sense of humor, the following excerpt from *Washington Post* correspondent Robert Kaiser's recent book *Russia: The People and the Power* suggests that this may largely be a question of untapped resources:

"There is a joke about this [privileges of the Kremlin bureaucracy] involving Mr. Brezhnev and his late mother, who (in the joke) still lives in a country village. Mr. Brezhnev had invited her to his hunting lodge in Zavidovo on the Volga, and shows her around the paneled dining room, the sunken bath, the swimming pool, the forest stocked with deer and bear. 'Well, Mama,' he finally says, 'how do you like it?' 'Oh,' she replies, 'it's marvelous! But aren't you afraid the Bolsheviks might come back?'"