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Barton Silverman/New York Times

## The Case for the 'Looters' in New York's Blackout

## Pinochet's Promise to Restore Civilian Rule

By Judy White



PINOCHET: Seeks to avoid "extremes."

Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet announced July 9 that he would return the country to civilian rule—in 1985.

According to an Agence France-Presse dispatch outlining the dictator's leisurely timetable, Pinochet seeks to "avoid two extremes—stagnation, which sooner or later always leads to a violent break in the social process, and precipitous action, bringing with it the speedy destruction of all our efforts."

Accordingly, the move toward "democracy" projects a series of stages, beginning with a legislature appointed by the military junta and eventually concluding—eight years later—with the election of a president.

No mention was made of political parties, which have been banned in Chile since the September 1973 coup. Nor did Pinochet say whether other democratic rights—such as freedom of speech, assembly, organization, the press—would be restored as part of the "transition" to civilian rule.

Nonetheless, Washington hailed Pinochet's announcement as a bold stroke.

"We are pleased with his statement of intention to return Chile to constitutional and elected government," State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III said July 11. "We believe the declaration of this intention is a positive step."

The State Department made no comment on the fact that this promised "return" to constitutional government takes place in a country that had been following constitutional procedures until a CIA-backed military takeover eliminated all democratic rights in 1973.

Nor did Washington find it in its interest to comment on the recent evidence of continued violations of human rights in Chile:

- The United Nations Human Rights Commission reported February 22 that the junta is still regularly torturing those who are arrested.

- Amnesty International reported March 16 that it had documentation on the cases of at least 1,500 persons who had disappeared in Chile since 1973.

- A September 1975 memorandum from DINA, the Chilean secret police, requested a supplementary budget allotment of \$600,000 for that year to pay "additional expenses" involved in the "neutralization" of junta opponents abroad.

- Chilean Catholic Church sources reported that a new wave of arrests had begun in April and had picked up momentum in early May.

- High officials of the Pinochet dictatorship admitted in court early this year that DINA had been responsible for the "disappearance" of persons in Chile. □

## Carter: Helicopter Incident Was a U.S. 'Mistake'

By Susan Wald

When a U.S. Army helicopter flew across the dividing line between North and South Korea July 13, warning shots were fired by North Korean troops. The helicopter landed briefly and then—ignoring the warning—took off again and headed for the south. More shots were fired, downing the aircraft. Three of the four crewmen aboard were killed, and the survivor was wounded and taken prisoner. Three days later he was released.

In contrast to the way the United States government has responded in the past to clashes between U.S. and North Korean forces, Carter quickly admitted that the American forces had been at fault.

He told a group of senators visiting the White House on July 14 that the helicopter had lost its bearings and blundered into North Korean territory.

"We are trying to let them [North Korea] know that we realize the mistake was made by the crew in going into the demilitarized zone," Carter said.

"Our primary interest is in having the incident not escalate into a confrontation," he added.

Carter's explanation acknowledged the accuracy of the account given by the North Korean press agency, which referred to the incident as an "unhappy" one, and said it could have been prevented if the Americans "had complied with the demand of our side and had not attempted to flee."

The New York *Daily News* reported in its July 15 issue:

Privately, other officials said the U.S. did not consider the North Koreans legally at fault, and that the U.S. and its South Korean allies "would have done the same thing" if a North Korean

aircraft had flown across the demilitarized zone—DMZ—into the South.

Air Force General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the House Armed Services Committee that U.S. forces in South Korea had not been put on alert. "I think this incident will have no impact on the planned withdrawal," he said.

Carter's announced intention to withdraw 33,000 U.S. ground troops from South Korea over the next five years has aroused opposition from the top military brass.

Their views were probably reflected in a July 16 editorial in the *Daily News*, which called the incident an act of "mindless brutality," and labeled North Korean President Kim Il Sung an "Asiatic Idi Amin." Carter no doubt shares these sentiments, but bigger issues are at stake. The continued presence of American troops, propping up the dictatorial Park regime, exposes the hypocrisy of Carter's demagoguery about human rights.

Now, with all the more attention focused on Korea by the rapidly expanding bribery scandal, reportedly involving more than 100 U.S. legislators, Carter could ill afford to use the incident as a pretext to provoke an armed confrontation.

For once, the Strangeloves in the Pentagon had to be called to heel. □

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# Pakistani Junta Tightens Grip

By Ernest Harsch

Since seizing power July 5, the Pakistani military junta headed by Gen. Zia ul-Haq has taken a number of measures to stifle the massive unrest that has swept the country since early March.

General Zia banned all political and trade-union activities under penalties of up to seven years' imprisonment and ten lashes with a whip. In a gesture toward rightist religious figures, he reintroduced traditional Islamic criminal punishments, such as amputating the hands of "looters" or whipping anyone found guilty of "intending to insult the modesty of any woman."

On July 12 he met with a number of editors and publishers of Pakistani newspapers and urged them to exercise voluntary censorship.

Of the tens of thousands of persons arrested by the regime of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto during the recent mass upsurge, an estimated 5,000 are still believed to be in jail. Zia has indicated that some of them will be released, but not all.

Although Zia has repeatedly promised to hold new elections in October and to hand power back to a civilian regime, he has already indicated that the elections—if actually held—will be carefully controlled to prevent the eruption of more demonstrations and strikes. "We will only impose minor restrictions, like a possible ban on processions," he said in an interview in the July 18 *Newsweek*.

At the same time, General Zia has sought to win a degree of popular support for his martial law administration by moving against some of the more odious features of the Bhutto regime. A number of officials appointed by Bhutto, including Rao Rashid, the chief of the National Intelligence Bureau, have been removed from their posts.

The junta has ordered an investigation into the activities of Masood Mahmood, the ousted general director of Bhutto's paramilitary Federal Security Police, which has been responsible for breaking strikes and murdering hundreds of workers and political activists during the past few years.

An inquiry has also been ordered into charges of political kidnappings and torture conducted by the Bhutto regime. The July 11 *Washington Post* reported: "According to informed political sources, some 1,200 political prisoners were held at the concentration camp known as Dulai, and many of them were subjected to brutal torture." □

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## The Case for the 'Looters' in New York's Blackout

By Steve Wattenmaker

The power failure that left New York City in the dark July 13 sparked a massive social explosion in the city's Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Hundreds of thousands of persons poured into the streets of East Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, the South Bronx, and other ghetto neighborhoods.

Seizing the opportunity the blackout provided, young people began within minutes to dismantle the security gates that cover the fronts of most New York stores.

In a scene repeated countless times for the next twenty-five hours, the initial opening up of the stores paved the way for thousands of New York's poor and unemployed, young and old alike, to come in and help themselves.

At a furniture store on Amsterdam Avenue on the city's Upper West Side, observers described the emptying of the store's contents as a "neighborhood celebration." Contrary to Mayor Abraham Beame's description of the events as a "night of terror," a carnival atmosphere prevailed.

"When the lights went out," a Harlem teen-ager said, "I did my natural thing. I hit the streets. . . ."

Another Harlem youth explained that people "have no chance out here. So when they see the opportunity, they take it."

Many Black and Puerto Rican residents explained the actions of the community as a simple matter of "economics."

Popular targets for the "looters" were grocery stores, clothing stores, jewelers, furniture stores, shoe stores, and appliance and electronic stores. As in similar explosions in the past, most of the stores affected were owned by middle-class whites who commute to their businesses from homes in the suburbs. (Defending their stores, merchants shot and killed two Blacks during the night.)

Once emptied, stores were often burned. New York City firemen responded to 1,000 fires during the blackout. In at least one instance, a supermarket owner was arrested for setting fire to his own building, hoping to collect insurance.

The scale of the upheaval, the speed with which it spread, the almost simultaneous self-organization of the community residents, and the extent of the damage—estimated at up to \$1 billion—confirmed predictions that social tensions were reaching an explosive level.

In a column headlined "A Prophecy Fulfilled," *New York Times* associate

### Act of God or Mammon?

The only warning was a momentary dimming of lights and television screens at 9:34 p.m. Seconds later nine million persons were plunged into darkness—victims of the second massive power failure to hit New York City in twelve years.

The July 13 blackout affected all five New York City boroughs and much of suburban Westchester County to the north. Subways lurched to a stop in their tunnels, traffic signals swung uselessly over major intersections, elevators jammed between floors, pumps failed, leaving high-rise buildings without water.

On one of the hottest and most humid nights of the summer—the temperature was still close to ninety (about 32° Celsius)—the air conditioners and fans went dead.

Consolidated Edison Company, a "regulated" monopoly, provides most of the power in the New York metropolitan area. After a twelve-hour blackout in November 1965, Con Ed assured its customers and the Federal Power Commission it had taken steps to prevent future power failures that could cripple the city.

Con Ed Chairman Charles Luce, who only three days earlier said he foresaw no problems this summer, was quick to describe the blackout as an "act of God." He reported that lightning strikes precipitated the outage.

According to company officials, lightning cut off three separate transmission lines connecting the city to electricity generated in upstate New York. The resulting overload knocked out one power station after another along the Hudson River. With demand for electricity exceeding the capacity of the remaining plants to produce it, the entire system folded.

The popular consensus, however, "was to absolve the Deity and treat the power company with little charity," a

report in the July 17 *New York Times* noted.

It took the utility twenty-five hours to restore full power to the city. Tons of food rotted in refrigerators, stores, and restaurants. More than 900 million gallons of raw sewage was emptied into New York Harbor when treatment plants shut down, threatening to foul beaches in the area. With transportation disrupted, commuters stayed home.

News reports quickly confirmed what many suspected in the first place—Con Ed's drive for profits lay at the heart of the crisis.

Charging rates that soar 17 percent above the national average, Con Ed maintains an aging generating system that has been criticized as notably inefficient and pollution-causing. Because it is cheaper than upgrading its equipment, Con Ed depends heavily on "imported" electricity it buys from upstate power companies.

Using its own gas-turbine generators to provide reserve power during peak periods, Con Ed imports about half of the city's power over long—and vulnerable—transmission lines.

When the blackout began, however, even the extra million kilowatts the reserve turbines can produce wasn't available. Their crews had already been sent home for the day.

The staggering rate increases and cutbacks in personnel have added up to a big windfall for Con Ed's owners. With a boost in rates totaling \$675 million over the past two and a half years, the utility recorded profits of \$301.4 million in 1976—up from the previous year's \$274.7 million.

Measured in dollars, damage from the blackout is expected to exceed \$1 billion. While Con Ed has already been named in two lawsuits, with more expected, it is unlikely that the corporation will pay much in the way of damages.

editor Tom Wicker reminded his ruling- and middle-class audience that the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders issued a warning after the ghetto rebellions of the mid-1960s. "This is our

basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

Ten years later, Wicker wrote, all that are left of the "glittering promises" of



improvement are "shattering disappointment and smoldering hostilities."

"More than half of the nation's unemployed are less than twenty-five years old. Even officially, black teen-age unemployment is near 40 percent, with some estimates ranging as high as 65 percent. President Carter's fixation on balancing the Federal budget means economic policies that will not bring unemployment below 5 percent by 1980—and that in turn means youthful unemployment in the ghetto will remain above 30 percent."

Black and Puerto Rican residents who spoke out themselves provided the most eloquent indictment of the conditions under which they are forced to live.

A young woman told a *New York Times* reporter she was convinced that "looting" during the rebellion was not as serious as "some of the crimes the rich do all the time and get away with. . . . They never do nothing if you are rich or a politician."

"Some of them stores deserved to be ripped off because they cheat us all the time charging high prices for junk."

"They couldn't understand why we were arresting them," a New York City cop said. "They were angry with us. They said: 'I'm on welfare. I'm taking what I need. What are you bothering me for?'"

Touring the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, Mayor Beame got a quick lesson in the causes of the rebellion.

"Hey, Beame, you bum!" one woman called to the mayor. "If you want to know what to do for us, give us jobs!"

An eighteen-year-old youth in Brooklyn's Bushwick section explained that anyone would "be really stupid if they don't have a job and they were not doing what they're doing now."

A young Puerto Rican on Manhattan's Upper West Side, explained to *New York Times* reporter Nathaniel Sheppard, Jr., that even though his two sisters worked, his family was still on welfare.

"I took some clothes because that's what my family needed," he said.

The scope of the rebellion can be gauged from the fact that in little more than a day 3,800 persons had been arrested and charged with looting.

More than 10,000 city cops and "auxiliary" police swept through communities making random arrests. Police drove their cars at high speed down sidewalks to clear crowds. Hundreds of persons were beaten by cops with nightsticks.

Those arrested were jammed into the city's already overcrowded prison facilities. New York's old city jail, the Tombs, which had been closed as unfit for humans, was reopened to hold several hundred of those arrested. Several hundred more were housed for as long as four days in detention cells that have no beds and are normally used to house prisoners only a few hours.

On a sweltering day, up to forty persons

were packed in tiny cells without windows. Toilets didn't work. There was no medical attention for those who had been injured by police. Food consisted of bologna sandwiches and soup three times a day.

The July 18 *New York Post* reported the case of one prisoner, Mike, who refused to give his last name:

"An inhuman place. They treated us like animals." Married, with two children and a service station job, the young Black man explained he had been arrested randomly by the cops outside a Brooklyn furniture store.

With forty men to a cell that measured about 10 feet by 20 feet, "we had to sleep laying on top of each other.

"They didn't give us any soap. And we had to ask a guard every time we wanted toilet paper. The only way to wash my T-shirt was in cold water, in the toilet."

Government officials and the media used the rebellion to engage in an orgy of racism seldom paralleled in recent years.

Under a three-inch screaming headline "24 Hours of Terror," the *New York Post* wrote: "Several thousand looters and arsonists ran wild in parts of four boroughs. . . . Virtually every newspaper in the city picked up and endlessly repeated the cops' complaint that the "looters" were "animals."

"The looters scattered, roachlike, in the full morning sunlight . . .," wrote *New York Times* columnist Francis X. Clines.

## After 18,000 March in Support of Strikers

## British Court Orders Grunwick to Recognize Union

Striking employees of the Grunwick film-processing plant north of London won an important victory July 12 when the High Court ruled that the company must recognize their union. The decision came one day after 18,000 union supporters marched outside the factory in solidarity with the strikers.

The strike, one of Britain's longest-running industrial disputes, began in August 1976 when more than 200 workers, many of them Indian women, walked off the job to press demands for higher wages, better working conditions, and recognition of their union, the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staffs (Apex).

Grunwick boss George Ward refused to recognize the union, even after a government arbitration board ruled that he should. He fired all the strikers. Ward's union-busting stance won the support of Conservative members of Parliament and rightist forces, such as the National Association for Freedom.

Other newspapers liberally quoted descriptions of Blacks and Puerto Ricans as "scum" and noted the "stench of terror along 42nd Street."

"I went through Auschwitz and Buchenwald," a *New York Times* report quoted one merchant as saying after his store was broken into; "the only difference is that there they wore boots and here they wore sneakers."

The sensational stories of "pillaging mobs" and "marauders" who "ravaged" the city also helped to deflect attention away from the real plunderers—the giant corporation that caused the blackout and the capitalists who have forced the Black and Puerto Rican communities to the point of desperation.

"You know, we weren't animals up here," said a Bronx woman who participated in the "lootings." "People took their turns climbing in through the broken glass, and nobody pushed or tried to get ahead. It shows how well people can work together if they have a common goal and nobody harasses them.

"I saw some courage last night. One couple went into this furniture store and walked out with a couch, just walked out and carried it home. I would have loved some of the pillows in the store, they cost a hundred dollars each." But, she said, "They were all gone by the time it was my turn." □

## France—The Growing Movement Against Nuclear Power

By Madeleine Verdi

[As part of its campaign to help publicize a national protest called for July 30-31 against the "Superphénix" breeder reactor in Creys-Malville, the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* has published a number of articles on the rise of opposition to the government's program to develop nuclear power.

[The following article, which reports on the growth of the organized antinuclear movement, appeared in the June 10 issue of *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The antinuclear movement in France began with the protests against the nuclear power plants in Bugey, in the Ain River valley, and in Fessenheim. Now the struggle has become international, dovetailing with the fight against the Wyhl plant in West Germany.

In late 1970, the CSFR (Comité de Sauvegarde de Fessenheim et de la Plaine du Rhin—Committee to Save Fessenheim and the Rhine Valley) was formed. Marches on Fessenheim were organized in 1971 and 1972. In August 1974, an international march became the focal point for three struggles: against the Wyhl plant, Fessenheim, and the building of a chemical plant in Marckolsheim, France.

In the winter of 1975, the campaign against the Wyhl plant culminated in the occupation of the site by 28,000 demonstrators. Many activists still look to the example of this action, which was referred to time and again last summer in Malville.

In France, at the present time, there is not a single plant, either projected or under construction, that does not face opposition from local committees. These committees are usually grouped in regional federations.

They include CRIN (Comité Régional d'Information Nucléaire—Regional Committee for Nuclear Information) in Nantes; CRILAN (Comité Régional d'Information et de Lutte Antinucléaire—Regional Committee for Antinuclear Information and Action) in Flamanville; MRAN (Mouvement Régional Antinucléaire—Regional Antinuclear Movement) in Châlons-sur-Saône.

Also, CRANHM (Comité Régional Antinucléaire de Haute-Normandie—Regional Antinuclear Committee of Upper Normandy); Regional Antinuclear Committee of Cruas-Meyssse; APROVAS (Association pour la Protection de la Vallée de la

Seine—Association for the Protection of the Seine Valley); and CANIF (Coordination Antinucléaire de l'Ile de France—Antinuclear Coordinating Committee of Ile-de-France) in Nogent-sur-Seine.

The work of these committees falls into several categories. They include educational activities, such as public meetings in different villages, letters and "statements of concern" from scientists (in Fessenheim and Malville), organizing debates with representatives of EDF (Electricité de France) who are willing to participate (in Nogent, the EDF at first refused, but later agreed to debate); and sending documents to local officials. Demonstrations and fairs are organized to get people involved. These feature mock funeral processions by victims of the plant, antinuclear floats, symbolic tombstones, satirical sketches, and so on.

To delay the expropriation procedure, organizations have been formed to buy up portions of the land chosen for the site, thus increasing the number of property owners and making the process more complicated. Once the site has been marked off, the committees try to block access to the construction area, and sometimes occupy it. This leads to a discussion of what methods and forms of struggle to use, as in the case of Malville today.

Some committees have chosen to respond to a public-interest study by filing collective letters of rejection, as in Nogent-sur-Seine. Others boycott the study, as in Le Pellerin. The focus of the campaign might be a moratorium, organizing a referendum, demanding that an environmental-impact study be made, publishing the plans for emergency measures in case of an accident, and so on.

The main problems the committees face stem from the high stakes involved in the struggle. For each plant, it is necessary to muster almost a national show of strength. How can the committees avoid becoming bogged down by a regional perspective? Doesn't arguing on the basis of the unsuitability of a given site (i.e., Nogent is near Paris and threatens to contaminate the ground water; Flamanville is built over a fault and is unstable, and so on) amount to "passing the buck" to neighboring areas? In this context, should the idea of a local referendum be supported or not?

This raises the necessity for coordinating the committees. Regional associations, like the antinuclear coordinating committee of the Saône valley, are being formed.

It was Malville, touchstone of the French and European nuclear development program, that brought this out most clearly.

Today, a network of forty-six committees exists, spread out over eight departments. To coordinate the actions of the village committees, high-school and university student committees, and academic committees, "parallel" structures have been set up. Now there is a local committee (near the site), a regional committee (Rhône-Alps), a national, and international committee.

The importance of what is at stake also poses the need for the actions to have a massive character. This directly raises the question of the movement's relations with the trade unions and the workers parties.

### Opposition to Soviet A-Plants Reported

Reuters correspondent Chris Catlin reported on the Soviet Union's nuclear program in a dispatch printed in the May 27 *Los Angeles Times*. "The new emphasis on nuclear power is clearly reflected at the sprawling, multireactor station here on the River Don, where a big, 1,000-megawatt reactor should be in operation by next year.

"The addition of the station's fifth power plant will make Novovoronezh one of the world's largest atomic stations, with a total capacity of 2,455 megawatts."

Catlin noted that official guides at the plant placed great stress on the safety measures that are in force. He said this was "not just a result of the controversy over the pros and cons of nuclear power going on in the West. Novovoronezh had problems of its own with local protesters who were worried by the prospect of an atomic catastrophe.

"In private, power station officials say letters flooded in from opponents of the plan when it first became known that Novovoronezh had been chosen as the site."

Catlin also reported that Dr. Pyotr Kapitsa, one of the Soviet Union's most distinguished scientists, has spoken out on the dangers of nuclear power.

"In an unpublished speech last year to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, he compared a 1,000-megawatt reactor to a 1,000-ton atomic bomb.

"In case of accident or sabotage, escaping radioactivity can kill every living thing for many square kilometers, like the atom bomb did at Hiroshima," he warned."



## Cops Assault Striking University Workers in Mexico

MEXICO CITY—Twenty-five thousand policemen entered the city's major campus at 5 a.m. July 7 to break the strike led by STUNAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Union of Workers of the Autonomous National University of Mexico].

The strike, which had been going on for nearly eighteen days, broke out on June 20. The strikers were demanding that the university administration sign a collective-bargaining agreement with the union. In addition, they demanded a 20 percent wage increase and the rehiring of fired union activists.

The previous day, a demonstration held to support STUNAM drew more than 150,000 participants, an indication of the massive support enjoyed by the union. The marchers, who took more than an hour and fifteen minutes to pass by, shouted slogans supporting the strike, revealing the absurdity of university administration assertions that the strike had been launched by "a minority."

By way of announcing the repression that they planned to unleash, and showing arrogant disregard for the tens and hundreds of thousands of university employees and city residents who support STUNAM, the administrative general secretary and the general counsel of UNAM announced at a press conference that the contracts of thirty-seven union leaders had been suspended for "criminal misconduct."

The police, collaborating with the university administration, arrested five of the thirty-seven union leaders and one worker "for excessive and unwarranted violence" soon after the demonstration ended, according to union representatives.

Among those arrested were STUNAM Organizational Secretary Eliezer Morales, Public Relations Director Pablo Pascual, Press and Information Director Erwin Stephan Otto, sociology Professor Jorge del Valle, economics Professor Alejandro Pérez Pascual, and a worker, Enrique Pérez Segui.

The following day—when the full weight of the repressive forces was felt—the police reported that during the attack on the university campus, 240 other persons had been arrested, and that Evaristo Pérez Arreola, the general secretary of STUNAM, was being sought by the police.

The official excuse given for breaking the strike was that the chief prosecutor of the republic had requested police intervention, accusing the union of "vandalism"



PORTILLO: Backs use of rod in schools.

against university buildings and property. He also claimed that "the so-called Union of Workers of the UNAM lacks legal representation with the appropriate labor authorities and furthermore has no legal grounds for a strike."

In addition, the police who attacked the campus were not supposed to be armed, and the operation was supposed to be "bloodless." However, several photographs appeared in *El Sol de México* showing police armed with automatic rifles. *Ultimas Noticias* reported that "several explosions were heard" in the area around Radio Universidad.

After having retaken the campus, both the government and the university administration hoped that the strike would disappear. In fact, far from having been wrecked, the union has continued to struggle. The General Council of STUNAM, meeting July 7, decided to pursue the strike and fight for the release of its leaders or the withdrawal of the arrest warrants.

The student support committees, which also met July 7, decided to maintain their support to STUNAM, and to demand the

release of those arrested, withdrawal of the police from the campus, and dismissal of Guillermo Soberón, rector of UNAM. These student support committees, based at UNAM and at the National Polytechnical Institute, played an important role in the strike.

The government, which ordered the attack, and the university administration are in a precarious position, unable to quell the ferment that has been aroused in the student movement. Up to now, the López Portillo government had pretended to leave the conflict in the hands of the rector, Guillermo Soberón, presenting itself as "impartial." Now, the government has completely lined up behind Soberón to prevent the university workers from exercising their right to form a union.

The chief reason the government gave for responding as it did—which has absolutely nothing to do with its legalistic excuses—was the danger represented by the mobilizations unleashed by the university workers' strike. More than 50,000 persons marched in Mexico City on June 18. The succeeding demonstration, which was held June 29, drew 100,000 persons. And another mobilization of more than 150,000 persons took place July 6.

The chief danger of the government's decision to mount an assault on the campus is that it foreshadows efforts to crush the movement at all costs. According to television reports, Defense Secretary Félix Galván declared that the army had been confined to barracks in a state of alert.

The truth is that unrest is growing in Mexico. On July 7, the students and the union at the Universidad Autónoma de Guerrero [Autonomous University of Guerrero] declared a strike in support of STUNAM, for the release of those arrested, and for police withdrawal from the university premises.

The UAM [Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana—Autonomous Metropolitan University] union declared a twenty-four-hour solidarity strike, and at the Ixtapalapa campus of this university, the students declared an unlimited strike for the same reasons as at Guerrero.

Strikes have also been declared at the Escuela Nacional de Antropología [National School of Anthropology] and the Escuela de Agricultura de Chapingo [Chapingo School of Agriculture], and by the Sindicato Independiente del Colegio de Bachilleres [Independent Union of the Bachilleres School]. □

## Students in Forefront of New Upsurge in South Africa

By Jim Atkinson

GABORONE, Botswana—Despite massive police repression and the killing of hundreds of protesters, the racist South African regime has been unable to quell the Black mobilisations that began in Soweto last year.

Particularly striking is the continuing power and authority of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), the student organisation that played a leading role in last year's uprisings in Soweto.

The SSRC has successively, over the months, led demonstrations against the imposition of the Afrikaans language as a teaching medium in the schools, campaigned against the whole system of Bantu Education, given a degree of direction to the spontaneous rebellions that erupted in Soweto from June 16 last year, appealed successfully on several occasions to workers to stage "stay-at-home" strikes, mobilised the Soweto population against proposed rent increases slated last May, and recently led both students and their worker-parents in a new upsurge of struggle to commemorate last year's uprisings and demand the release of political prisoners. In other words, the SSRC has proved for a year or more that its authority extends far beyond the students to a very large part of Soweto's working-class population.

One recent development above all proves this. That was the collapse of Soweto's Urban Bantu Council (UBC) in the first week of June, when, under student pressure, a majority of the UBC councillors decided to resign their seats. The UBCs are consultative bodies of Blacks who collaborate with the apartheid government in administering the Black townships. In Soweto, the UBC is supervised by the West Rand Administration Board, which is directly responsible to the central government. The UBCs are never consulted on major policy issues, but are used to administer minor areas like sports fields.

The SSRC had campaigned for some months against the Soweto UBC, charging that the body collaborates with the racist oppressors. By the middle of this year, the UBC councillors had become so discredited among the masses in Soweto that the students' objective was attained. The majority of councillors threw in the towel.

Like its victory last year in forcing the government to abandon plans to impose the Afrikaans language in the schools, the SSRC's success in undermining the UBC has raised the confidence of the urban populace, fuelled their militancy, and

underscored the impact of its orientation toward mass mobilisations.

In an effort to weaken the SSRC, the racist regime has detained twenty of its leaders. The arrests came on the night of June 10-11 during a series of police swoops on homes in the township. Among those arrested was Sechaba Montsitsi, the president of the SSRC. Also arrested were Thabo Ndabeni and Khotso Lengane, two SSRC leaders who had only recently been released after being detained for their part in organising demonstrations in the township in May against planned rent increases.

Montsitsi had been elected SSRC president after his predecessors in the post, Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, had evaded police nets to flee the country. He was also chairman of the Sekano Ntoane High School branch of the South African Students Movement (SASM) and was the Sekano Ntoane delegate to the SSRC. "Mr Montsitsi was one of the students credited with causing the UBC collapse," noted the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* on June 12 in an article analysing the background of the arrest of the SSRC leaders.

The arrests came just days before the anniversary of the Soweto rebellion on June 16. The SSRC had already called on the million residents of this huge sprawling township to mark the anniversary with demonstrations, strikes and rallies. The racist regime evidently hoped that the arrests would nip these protest plans in the bud.

The June 12 *Johannesburg Sunday Times* commented that the detentions came at a time when "the SSRC sought to demonstrate its own power by distributing pamphlets calling for a mass commemoration of last year's riots that would, in effect, shut down Soweto from June 16 to June 19." And Lieut. Gen. Mike Geldenhuys, the racists' chief deputy commissioner of police, said on June 12 that the SSRC leaders "have been arrested in connection with the unrest in Soweto."

But the regime was mistaken if it calculated that the arrests would cow the people of Soweto. The detentions were immediately condemned by a wide cross-section of Black opinion and fuelled the ferment building up around the first anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

On June 13, 800 students at Montsitsi's own school, Sekano Ntoane High, walked out of classes and posted placards on the

school gates demanding the SSRC leaders' immediate release.

Meanwhile, on June 12, the SSRC held an emergency meeting to decide how to respond to the detentions. John Mazibuke, a student at Orlando High School, was elected acting SSRC president. The meeting warned the regime that the arrests did not mean the council's death. "We are now even more determined to carry on with the struggle," said Mazibuke.

In a statement released after the meeting, the council said: "We call upon the Security Police to release our leaders immediately." The meeting also reaffirmed its plans for a two-day "stay-at-home" strike on June 16-17.

Student demonstrations had already erupted in Soweto some ten days earlier. At the turn of the month, students in Alexandra had staged a two-day class boycott. And, on June 3, Montsitsi had caused a storm by making an impromptu speech attacking the regime's system of "Bantu Education" at Namedi Junior Secondary School during a visit to the school by the Soweto Police Chief, Brigadier Jan Visser. Visser was mobbed by 5,000 students.

Four days later, demonstrations swept through the Dobsonville district of Soweto. The house of a West Rand Administration Board policeman was gutted. The same day, 2,000 students gathered at Naledi to commemorate last year's events at the school. Two days later, on June 9, armed police in camouflage uniforms opened fire to break up a crowd of 5,000 students demonstrating at Orlando High School.

This spiralling "native unrest" rattled the racist regime, which arrested Montsitsi and the SSRC leaders on June 10-11 in the hope of heading off a new explosion of mass anger in the Black townships. The regime, however, miscalculated. Despite the arrests of its leaders, the SSRC revealed its enormous power in the days that followed.

The Black People's Convention (BPC) came out in support of the SSRC's strike call for June 16-17. In a statement issued on June 13, BPC president Hlaku Rachidi urged backing for "the Black Students' Days" and said: "June 16 was a symbol of the black students' efforts to seek and actualise black identity and solidarity in the face of concerted efforts by the white government and its extensions, the toy government bantustans, to divide and frustrate the black man."



A particularly striking development came on June 14 when two of the largest taxi associations in Soweto said that they would obey the SSRC's "stay-at-home" call and refuse to drive anyone to work on June 16.

Tension mounted in Soweto on June 15. Early in the morning, heavily armed police were out in force along the main routes into Johannesburg from Soweto and neighbouring Black townships, searching for "undesirable elements" in trains, buses, and cars. Later in the day, police used tear gas and sneeze-powder machines to disperse crowds of demonstrators in the Orlando, Diepkloof, and Meadowlands districts.

A *Rand Daily Mail* reporter, writing in the June 16 issue of the paper, gave a picture of the scene as paramilitary police moved through Soweto neighbourhoods in their "Hippo" riot trucks:

As police drove through the streets, people ran alongside jeering "hippo, hippo". Their Black Power salutes were sometimes returned by the black riot police manning the trucks.

At one point, a group of about 50 children blocked a street in Meadowlands. Two hippos stopped 100 metres away and the children scattered.

As the hippos advanced stones flew from behind the houses lining the street, some striking the leading truck.

The police, armed with the new riot equipment—plastic shields, helmets and long batons—as well as rifles and machine pistols, stopped and fired teargas cannisters among the houses and then moved on.

In the Ciskei Bantustan, the government hoped to forestall demonstrations on June 16 by closing all secondary, high, and vocational schools ten days before the scheduled vacation.

Meanwhile, employers warned workers that they would lose wages if they supported the SSRC's strike call. "If there is absenteeism, there will be no pay," announced Errol Drummond, director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, on June 11. "No work, no pay" was the message from Jack Holloway, president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, on June 13.

Despite these warnings and the intimidating presence in the townships of thousands of armed police on June 16, the "stay-at-home" was a considerable success. According to employer estimates, at least 50 percent of the work force was absent from Johannesburg factories; and Black leaders claim that the stay-away rate was even higher.

Protest meetings and demonstrations were held throughout South Africa on June 16. In the Mamelodi township of Pretoria police used tear gas to break up a demonstration of 10,000. And 9 persons were wounded when police opened fire on demonstrators in Diepkloof, Jabavu, Moroka, Molopa, and Mzimhlope. In Malopo,

the police used birdshot to disperse demonstrating crowds.

Police also fired tear-gas cannisters to break up an overflow crowd listening to a memorial service in Soweto's huge Regina Mundi Church. "Pandemonium broke out," reported a correspondent of the Johannesburg *Star* on June 17, "when smoke wafted into the church after police apparently had fired teargas cannisters into a crowd listening to the service outside the Roman Catholic church.

"*Star* reporters on the scene said the teargas was fired as the congregation was leaving the church after a four and a half hour meeting in which students and their parents denounced the government." There were 5,000 persons in the church and many more outside.

For the first time, the Soweto police decided to use rubber bullets against demonstrators on June 16. "The bullets are of the type used in Northern Ireland to cope with civil unrest," explained Maj. Gen. David Kriel, deputy commissioner of police for riot control. "The bullet, extremely painful on impact, does not penetrate the skin," he said. "It will not kill but it could break a rib or knock a person off his feet when fired at close range." Soweto Police Chief Visser noted on June 17 that "at this stage, we are still conducting tests but I am sure that these bullets can be used with some success in Soweto between the stages of firing teargas and real bullets."

The biggest mobilisations on June 16 did not come in Soweto, however, but in Uitenhage in the eastern Cape.

Uitenhage's Kabah township, reported the June 18 *Rand Daily Mail*, was "left dotted with the smouldering ruins of schools, liquor stores, shops, a community hall and a beerhall." All of the township's six schools were burnt down and the offices of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB) were attacked. The June 19 Johannesburg *Weekend World* reported that twenty-four Cape Midlands BAAB buildings had been totally destroyed in the Uitenhage rising. By June 19, police had shot dead ten Blacks there.

Massive police raids were mounted meanwhile in Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township on June 17. In the raids, 278 were detained. By June 19, a total of more than 400 Blacks had been rounded up in Uitenhage by the racist police.

The killings in Uitenhage were mirrored by shootings elsewhere in South Africa during the week. Two were killed in Pretoria's Mamelodi township on June 17 and another Black was gunned down in Mamelodi shopping centre on June 20. Two days after the latter incident, a Mamelodi doctor reported what happened. "I heard a shot while I was in my surgery," he said. "I looked through the window and saw an administration board

Land Rover on the diagonally opposite corner.

"As I was looking I saw a white man fire a shot. I first thought he was firing into the air. I heard screams that someone was shot. When I got out I found the body of a boy dead in front of the shopping centre." The victim, Elias Masemola, was fourteen years old.

When Masemola and another murdered Pretoria student, Moses Petje, were buried in Mamelodi on June 26, police broke up crowds of mourners with tear gas. A day earlier, police waded into a crowd of 5,000 mourners at a funeral in Soweto for a seventeen-year-old student, Philemon Tloane, who was murdered on June 15. Commented Soweto Police Chief Visser after the incident: "You blacks do not like things to remain calm and as a result the police had to fire teargas."

The new upsurge in South Africa's Black townships did not die away as June 16 passed. The Uitenhage rising continued for over two days. And, on June 23, a new wave of demonstrations swept through Soweto. This time, they were even more powerful than on June 16. "There was more hostility in Soweto yesterday than last week and police were visibly concerned at the large groups forming at different points throughout the townships," reported the *Rand Daily Mail* on June 24.

The demonstrations began early in the morning when 400 Soweto students slipped into Johannesburg, evading police and gathering outside the city police headquarters at John Vorster Square. The police stormed out of the building to break up the protest, which had been called to demand the release of the arrested SSRC leaders and the abolition of Bantu Education. They arrested 146 persons. Meanwhile, police stopped another 1,000 students who were trying to join up with their comrades by marching along the Soweto-Johannesburg highway.

The crackdown on the John Vorster Square demonstration sparked mobilisations by students throughout Soweto. And this time the police got much tougher. "If they want trouble they're going to have trouble," said Visser. Three Blacks were killed.

With a fearful eye towards the long-term implications of the unrest, the *Weekend World*, a major capitalist newspaper with a wide readership in the Black communities, lamented on June 19 in an editorial: "We all know that South Africa's system is surely and inexorably breeding a revolution." □

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# Mounting Ferment in French SP

By F.L. Derry

PARIS—Three months after its strong showing in the French municipal elections, the Socialist Party held its congress June 17-19 in the industrial city of Nantes. The congress was dominated by sharp internal divisions, stemming from an offensive by SP leader François Mitterrand to "restore order and discipline" in the party.

For some time the SP leaders have been backtracking on a number of previously held positions as they prepare for what they believe will be a Union of the Left<sup>1</sup> government in 1978. This has helped to fuel unrest in the SP ranks.

For instance, in May Mitterrand reversed the SP's long-standing opposition to nuclear weapons. He did this without any discussion in the ranks or leadership bodies. Mitterrand's speech on this question followed a May 11 meeting of the French Communist Party, where a similar shift was made. Both the SP and CP leaders have thus agreed to delete all opposition to France's nuclear force from the revised version of the Common Program now being prepared.

The undemocratic way in which both parties made the shift has caused some protests, reportedly including the formation of local groupings in the CP in opposition to the new policy. Just before the SP congress, a statement signed by a number of SP leaders was made public, calling for a national conference on the question later this year. They urged that the June congress not ratify Mitterrand's unilateral decision because no debate had yet been held. Among the signers of the letter were central leaders who have long been close to Mitterrand's tendency in the party.

Another question of concern to SP militants is that of the extent of nationalizations being proposed for a Union of the Left government. At a forum organized by the financial monthly *l'Expansion* last October, Mitterrand reassured the assembled capitalists that the nationalizations would not upset the capitalist system. "We want to preserve the market economy," he told them.

Michel Rocard, the former head of the PSU<sup>2</sup> who joined the SP at the end of 1974,



MITTERRAND: Levels guns on left wing in SP to "restore order and discipline."

went even further. "In the course of history, socialists have changed their view of the market," he said. "After having condemned it, they began to believe that it could be cut up into slices, so to speak, granting it a role only in certain sectors. But in reality you cannot evade the market; it regulates everything."

Reporter Paul Fabra commented in the October 14 *Le Monde* that open defense of the capitalist "free market" constituted what might be called a "cultural revolution" for SP members. Many of them no doubt expected an open debate on the question at the congress. However, all such questions are being settled in a closed commission made up of representatives of the SP, CP, and Left Radicals, which is now rewriting the Common Program.

The ferment in the SP increased sharply after the municipal elections in March. The elections were followed by bitter charges, mostly directed at the SP minority, the CERES,<sup>3</sup> claiming that it

had not been sufficiently loyal to the party. The minority was accused of having granted too many concessions to the CP in drawing up the joint electoral slates before the elections. This was allegedly the case in the cities of Reims and Saint-Etienne.

In other cities, where rival SP and CP slates were presented in the first round, SP members who had been in the CERES joined the CP lists. This happened in Toulon and Villeurbanne. In Toulon, the local SP militants had objected to the presence of Gaullist Vice-Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti on the SP slate.

In both cases however the CERES national leadership waged an active campaign to support the SP slates, including the one with the Gaullist admiral. This led to a split between the CERES and its local supporters in Toulon. The CERES leaders were equally ineffective in the city of Brive, where they were unable to convince local SP members to support a slate including Gaullist Jean Charbonnel (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 18, 1977, p. 416).

On the other hand, the CERES leaders claimed to be the victims of a witch-hunt, resulting in their being excluded from the SP slates in some cities.

The CERES blames the problem on the SP majority leadership, whom they accuse of trying to lead the party in a "neo-Labour Party" direction. The March 22 issue of *Le Nouvel Observateur*, a mass-circulation weekly magazine with close ties to SP inner circles, quoted CERES leader Pierre Guidoni as saying, "The Socialist Party offers the public an alternative government, but less and less an alternative society. This has opened a sizable arena for the ecologists and the leftists."

Mitterrand is much less interested in maintaining the confidence of local left-wing activists. The same issue of *Le Nouvel Observateur* reported the conclusions he drew from the election campaign: "Our party, in its present state, is not ready to govern."

He called for transforming the SP into "a party of government" at its next congress. That is, he called for taming the SP's vocal minority.

The three months between the elections and the congress were marked by a growing campaign against the CERES. In reality this campaign was just as much aimed at the independent oppositions that have appeared locally, such as those that led the revolts against the SP leadership in Toulon and Brive.

In April, Mitterrand supporters began circulating his "Letter to Militants" in which he warned against formation of organized tendencies inside the SP. He called for the enforcement of Article 4 of the SP constitution, prohibiting such tendencies.

Article 4 was first adopted in 1945 as a

1. The class-collaborationist electoral alliance between the CP, SP, and bourgeois Left Radicals, based on the Common Program.—*IP*

2. Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist Party).—*IP*

3. Centre d'Etudes, de Recherches et d'Education Socialistes (Center for Socialist Study, Research and Education).—*IP*



result of the experience of the SFIO<sup>4</sup> during the Popular Front of the 1930s.

In 1934 the French Trotskyists entered the SFIO as an "organized tendency" with its own publication, finances, and headquarters. They were able to function quite freely until their expulsion a year later. During this time they increased the number of their members and close sympathizers nearly ten times.

In 1938 a second wave of expulsions was carried out, ejecting the current led by Marceau Pivert. This split took 30,000 members from the SP ranks. Until 1937 the "Pivertists" had also been permitted to function as an "organized tendency," enabling them to put forward public criticisms of the Popular Front government of Léon Blum. The SP's 1945 constitution was designed to prevent this from happening again.

Although Article 4 was incorporated into the new SP constitution in 1971, it was not enforced. Thus, the CERES has its own public journal, *Repères*, and its own internal bulletin. It maintains its own financial structure and its own headquarters independent of those of the SP. In fact, it is often referred to as being "a party within a party."

Supported by about 25 percent of the SP's 160,000 members, the CERES controls the Paris SP federation and is deeply entrenched in the Association of Socialist Postal Workers and in the SP's *sections d'entreprise* (SP sections organized at different workplaces).

Mitterrand announced that he would resign if the CERES won 30 percent of the vote at the congress. He made dissolution of all "factional activity" a precondition for any united resolution of the minority and majority at the congress. At the gathering, the CERES was accused of being "Pivertist"—that is, of following the same course that led to Pivert's expulsion from the SFIO.

At first the CERES leaders refused to dissolve their tendency, claiming that sufficient political agreement existed with the majority for a common document. In the election of delegates before the congress, the CERES received 24.9 percent of the vote, compared with 25.4 percent in 1975.

During the congress itself, a deal was evidently worked out in private. The CERES agreed to dissolve its structure in return for a promise of adequate rights to expression in the official party organs. However, Mitterrand rejected any effort to arrive at common motions by the majority and minority.

The outcome seems to have been a defeat for the CERES and a victory for Mitterrand. But the CERES leaders have an-

nounced that they will continue to function as an "ideological tendency" rather than as a structured organization.

A second step taken by Mitterrand was aimed at the youth. The SP youth organization was placed under the direct control of the party. From now on even its leadership will be appointed by the party, rather than be elected by the youth themselves.

The Socialist Party will be the only party in France not to allow its youth organization the democratic right to elect its own leadership. This step was taken following charges that the CERES was becoming too strong in the youth group.

The problem Mitterrand faces was taken up in the May 10 *Le Monde* by Maurice Duverger, who compared the SP to Allende's government in Chile.

Duverger dwelt on the theme that seemed to have run like a thread through the entire debate at the SP congress—that of the relations between the Popular Front government led by Blum and the left tendency led by Marceau Pivert:

Mr. Mitterrand would like the Nantes congress to resolve, before the assumption of power, the problems that Léon Blum was forced to settle

under the gun after taking office. He is correct. But the solution is not so simple, because the CERES has much more influence and is of a much higher caliber than the Pivertists of 1936-37. It includes many devoted, competent, and likable militants. To expel them would certainly weaken the SP. To keep them would weaken it even more.

This is precisely the problem that Mitterrand has not been able to solve. The dissolution of the CERES as a structure may have been achieved, even if the cost is high in terms of undermining the SP's image as an organization that is more open and democratic than the CP. But this will not necessarily help Mitterrand control the SP left wing. In fact, the absence of a strong, centralized CERES apparatus may open the door to new and more consistently militant currents taking shape.

Mitterrand has not solved his problem because it is not solvable. There is no way he can construct a mass party with sufficient strength to win elections and at the same time hermetically seal it off from the aspirations of that part of the radicalized masses who see the SP as their hope for resolving the crisis of capitalism.

## Paris Meetings Score Apartheid Regime

PARIS—An antiapartheid coalition of thirty-two organizations, including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the main trade-union federations, organized a public meeting at the Mutualité here June 16.

The meeting, "Five Hours Against Apartheid," was held in response to the appeal launched by Black student leaders in Soweto for international actions demanding an end to all aid to and trade with the South African regime.

Also supporting the public meeting, although not a member of the sponsoring coalition, was the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International.

The June 16 event was only one of a number of recent activities denouncing the apartheid system and particularly the French government's collaboration with it.

A meeting at the Mutualité last April 23, sponsored by various Christian and anti-racist groups, was attended by 1,000 persons. This was twice the number who attended the June 16 meeting, although the latter had broader sponsorship on paper.

However, the possibilities for a much more massive and effective campaign against French collaboration with South Africa were shown by foreign students at

the University of Vincennes on June 8.

In less than a week they organized a film showing and debate on campus, attended by 500 students and teachers. Among others, the LCR, UEC, UNEF(ex-Renouveau), and MAS\* sponsored this activity. Discussion at the meeting centered on how a more effective antiapartheid movement could be built in France, and how the associations of African students could be involved in it.

Fifty percent of the participants at the meeting were African students. Only a slightly smaller percentage of those attending the two Mutualité meetings were Black as well. In addition to the large number of African students in France, there are currently 94,000 immigrant workers here from former French colonies, according to official statistics. The actual total of all African immigrant workers is doubtlessly higher.

\*UEC—Union des Etudiants Communistes (Union of Communist Students, the French CP student organization). UNEF(ex-Renouveau)—Union Nationale des Etudiants de France (National Union of French Students, the CP-dominated student union). MAS—Mouvement d'Action Syndicale (Union Action Movement, a student union created one year ago with the aid of Social Democratic currents from one of the main French union federations, the CFDT).

4. Section Française de L'Internationale Ouvrière (French Section of the Workers [Second] International, the old name of the French SP).—IP

## The Spreading Plague of Protectionism

By Jon Britton

Americans will be paying more for color television sets and shoes. Thousands of Japanese, South Korean, and Taiwanese workers will lose their jobs. These are the first results expected from recent agreements negotiated by the Carter administration to curtail imports into the United States.

The pacts, known as "Orderly Marketing Agreements," reflect a growing protectionist trend, as U.S. and West European capitalists, backed by flag-waving labor bureaucrats, seek to boost the profits of industries hard hit by foreign competition.

The agreement with Japan, signed May 20, calls for a 40 percent reduction in the number of color TV sets exported to the United States over the next three years.

Recent import figures show why U.S. manufacturers were clamoring for protection: Some 2.7 million sets were shipped in 1976, more than double the level for any previous year and nearly triple the one million shipped in 1975. In the first quarter of this year, the number of sets exported to the U.S. from Japan jumped again, by 40 percent over the same quarter last year.

The agreements with Taiwan and South Korea, signed in June and running four years, will slash imports of shoes from those countries by around 25 percent the first year and allow for modest increases in succeeding years. In 1976 a record 200,000 pairs of shoes were exported to the U.S. by the two countries.

Robert Strauss, Carter's international trade negotiator, played down the inflationary consequences. He was quoted by the May 21 *Los Angeles Times* as claiming that the agreement with Japan "cannot conceivably have an inflationary impact until . . . very late 1978 or very early 1979, under the most adverse circumstances."

But according to the July 4 *Business Week*, the agreements on color TV sets and shoes "are expected to cost the U.S. consumer hundreds of millions of dollars each year."

And Hobart Rowen, in his column in the June 23 *Washington Post*, points out that "in the shoe case, the inflationary impact of the agreement will hit hardest at low-income groups, because the affected shoes are cheap ones, not Italian Guccis or continental Ballys."

*Business Week* does not give an estimate of the number of jobs Asian workers will lose from the trade restrictions. But in this period of sluggish economic growth it is likely to be substantial.

Why did Japan, South Korea, and



CARTER: For "Orderly Marketing," not old-fashioned cartels and trade wars.

Taiwan voluntarily agree to slash exports of these products to the United States?

Part of the answer is provided by the May 9 *Business Week*, which points out that such "talks are usually conducted with a pistol on the table in the form of a threat by importing countries to cut off access to their markets."

Carter negotiated the recent agreements after getting recommendations from the U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC) that he impose a tough quota system to restrict shoe imports and that he order sharply higher tariffs to keep out Japanese color TV sets.

*Business Week* observes that "under the Trade Act of 1974, ITC's recent recommendations for tariffs or other import restrictions . . . leave President Carter little choice but to negotiate orderly marketing pacts with major suppliers or face a series of battles with an increasingly protectionist-minded Congress."

Another factor making exporting countries willing to sign such agreements is the possibility of redirecting their export drives to other countries. This is precisely what Japanese producers did in the case of steel. The U.S. steel industry's mouthpiece, the American Iron and Steel Institute (AISI), complains that an export-limiting deal between Japan and the Common

Market countries "stepped up competition in the U.S. market by diverting 1.5 million tons of Japanese steel from Europe to [the United States]."

Another possibility for exporting countries is to reallocate resources to capture markets for different products entirely. The July 11 *Business Week* reports, for example, that Japan is readying a massive government-backed assault on the world semiconductor and computer markets, long dominated by U.S. giants such as Texas Instruments and IBM. And the threat is being taken seriously:

. . . this week officials of some of the most prestigious U.S. semiconductor companies swallowed their pride and trekked to Washington to seek help in dealing with competition from Japan, which suddenly looms as a powerful threat, not only overseas but also in domestic markets. The new thrust fits earlier predictions that Japan's future lies in the export of high-technology products. "Our industry is now competing with 'Japan Inc.,'" declares Wilfred J. Corrigan, president of Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corp. "It's better to address the problem now than wait until it gets too big."

There may be still other factors motivating countries like Japan to voluntarily limit exports in particular commodities. Who knows what military aid or other under-the-table compensations Robert Strauss may have offered the Japanese government in his secret negotiations?

The new protectionist agreements come at a time of intensifying international competition among imperialist monopolies and of stagnating production, following the end of the long post-World War II boom. Throughout the boom, American technology was exported to other countries, especially to Japan and West Europe, gradually closing the wide gap in labor productivity that had existed.

What happened in steel is typical of trends in a whole series of industries. As the accompanying chart shows, the amount of labor required to produce steel in Japan has dropped dramatically, boosting Japanese productivity from a distant last place among the big imperialist producers only twenty years ago to first place by a comfortable margin today.

Countries that have imported American technology while keeping wages down can wind up with a big competitive advantage. According to the February 12 issue of the *London Economist*, the Japanese industry's labor cost per ton of steel produced is now only 35-40 percent of that in the U.S. and half that of West Germany or Britain.

Japan is not immune to competition either. The July 11 *Business Week* reports that "Japanese steel producers, who have dominated the West Coast and Gulf import markets with cut-rate sales, are now being undersold. An increasing amount of imports from such nations as South Korea, Taiwan, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Philippines is hitting the Western U.S."



In fact, the steel industry illustrates well the rising pressures in the United States and West Europe for protection of domestic industry from foreign imports. Here is how the *Economist* of February 12 sums up the situation:

The deep recession in world steel continues. Orders are shrinking. Mills are working well below capacity. Cut-price imports are disrupting markets. More and more workers are being laid off. Several companies in Europe face bankruptcy—or a bail-out nationalisation.

Protection—against Japan, South Korea, South Africa, Spain—is a common plea: tentatively in the United States, loudly in Europe. Even in Japan the industry is sharing out its miserable orders. Everyone is thinking that the recession will pass, and a protectionist covering could then be rolled back. But the short-term crisis hides a secular change in steel production: the rise of third-world countries with the determination and money (if not yet the skill) to do a Japan and build up an exporting steel industry. To whom, then, will the established exporters export? They must begin the painful job of chopping and changing their industries now.

The *Economist* predicts that although Brazil will not achieve its goal of self-sufficiency by 1980, "perhaps a bit later than planned [it] will turn from being a major steel importer to become a major exporter."

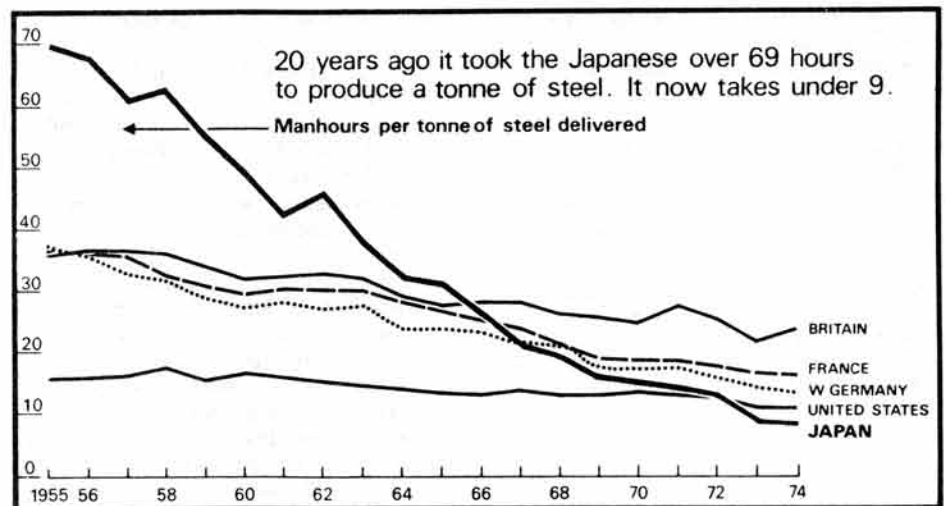
In June a series of "exploratory talks" concerning the problems facing the world steel industry began under the auspices of the twenty-four-country Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which includes all the imperialist powers. U.S. Steel Corporation and other major producers hope that these talks will result in an agreement restricting steel exports to the United States. Donald Nordberg, writing in the June 15 *Christian Science Monitor*, reports that Albert Monnett, an executive of U.S. Steel, warned the annual meeting of AISI May 26 that "the U.S. could become as vulnerable in steel as it is in oil."

In this regard, Nordberg continues, "he echoed warnings by steelmakers in the industrialized nations that the Western world should not allow itself to depend on steel producing in the developing countries."

In other words, the propaganda line first applied against the Arab oil-producing countries is now being extended to the semicolonial world as a whole.

Intensifying competition, overproduction, price cutting, declining profit rates, and rising bankruptcies are ineluctably driving U.S. and West European capitalists towards increased protectionism—trade restrictions in one form or another—to suppress competition and boost prices and profits.

As protectionist pressures mount, the more far-seeing capitalists are increasingly frightened of bringing about an all-out trade war in which new, sky-high tariff walls are erected, choking off world trade. The economic and political consequences



Source: Allegheny Ludlum

Economist

would, they fear, be catastrophic for the profit system.

At first glance Orderly Marketing Agreements seem to offer the capitalists a means to have their cake and eat it too. That is, the agreements seem to provide protection for threatened domestic industry and at the same time—since the import restrictions are mutually agreed to—avoid retaliatory actions by the country or countries against whom the restrictions are aimed.

"Such agreements at least avert the dangers of 1930s-style trade wars," the May 9 *Business Week* states hopefully. Richard Levine, writing in the June 15 *Wall Street Journal*, says that Robert Strauss has defended "the orderly marketing agreement as an 'imaginative' tool with which to fend off strong protectionist pressures." And Carter, Levine says, "was hailed as a strong free-trade advocate for his decisions to reject the recommendations of the trade commission on shoes and color-TV sets and to seek marketing agreements."

But doubts persist. According to Levine:

... questions have been raised by free-trade supporters about where such an approach was leading. Fears have been expressed by liberal Democratic economists and others that the marketing agreements are little more than a form of "creeping cartelization," a means of dividing world markets.

The doubters are right. The intergovernmental deals are just that, a new form of cartel. Here is how Lenin explained the rise of cartels in the age of monopoly:

Capitalism long ago created a world market. As the export of capital increased, and as the foreign and colonial connections and "spheres of influence" of the big monopolist combines expanded in all ways, things "naturally" gravitated towards an international agreement among these combines, and towards the formation of international cartels.

This is a new stage of world concentration of capital and production, incomparably higher than the preceding stages. . . .

The capitalists divide the world, not out of any

particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits.\*

Since 1916, when Lenin wrote these words, the "world concentration of capital and production" has gone much further. More and more the leading role in dividing markets among the giant monopolies is being taken over by the capitalist governments. This is the real significance of the Orderly Marketing Agreements.

The resort to these pacts also points up the sharpening contradiction between socialization of production on a world scale and the continued existence of the national state, which actively constricts those productive forces.

The hope that these agreements will avoid retaliations and an escalating trade war is similarly misplaced. "... there is an addictive quality to such agreements, like any quick fix. It tends to spread," *Washington Post* columnist Rowen correctly observes. "Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal, the President's chief economic spokesman, warns that their proliferation would mean 'you will have *de facto* quotas in a lot of instances.'"

As the rise in world market demand for goods in one industry after another slows in comparison to the capacity to produce, the spread of these "de facto quotas" will choke off trade no less effectively, if perhaps more slowly, than unilateral imposition of quotas or tariffs.

Retaliation is not avoided; it simply takes a different, more indirect form. In response to the Japan-West Europe agreement on steel mentioned earlier, for example, U.S. steel producers won an order a year ago by then-President Ford establishing a three-year limit on specialty steel imports.

Also there are growing indications of

\**Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, by V.I. Lenin (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House), pp. 112, 126.

possible West European retaliation against Japan-U.S. agreements, as well as against the onrushing flood of Japanese imports in general. On June 30, leaders of the nine Common Market countries, after a two-day summit, announced that they were instructing "the Community's Commission in Brussels . . . to recommend measures to deal with five 'sensitive' industries," according to the July 1 *Washington Post*.

British Prime Minister James Callaghan, the summit's host, identified the "sensitive" sectors as footwear, textiles, ship building, steel and electronics. European firms in these industries have complained loudly of competition from Japan.

In effect, today's move lays the groundwork for protective barriers, such as quotas or tariffs, against imports.

Indeed, it may take unilateral imposition of tariffs or quotas to "protect" certain of these threatened industries—such as footwear and electronics. Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan will be much less willing to sign away a large chunk of their potential markets in Europe after agreeing to drastically limit exports of shoes and color TV sets to the United States.

Such quotas and tariffs, in turn, are likely to bring retaliation by the exporting countries in the form of protectionist barriers against other goods.

If such a process should be set off in steel, the situation could easily get out of hand. The February 12 *Economist* warns:

Wholesale protection would preserve the European and American industries in all their present glory. But it would almost certainly lead to a much wider trade war. About half of all manufactured goods traded contain some steel.

As long as markets stagnate and competition intensifies—the prospect for the foreseeable future—government-negotiated protectionist agreements will no doubt proliferate, further constricting world trade and diverting competition in other directions.

Eventually the "protection" the agreements provide will prove insufficient, or governments of exporting countries will simply refuse any longer to be a party to them. The imperialists will then have no choice, within the framework of their profit system, but to resort to unilateral actions to protect their profits where they are most secure—at home.

Meanwhile, workers of all countries will suffer the terrible effects of the protectionist plague: loss of jobs, soaring prices, a declining standard of living.

The response of the union bureaucrats to this prospect has been to *identify* the interests of the workers with those of the bosses and to *join* with the employers to press the government for more protection.

Around such demands, the bureaucrats can be quite militant, and can even seek to mobilize masses of workers—in a carefully controlled manner of course. For example, on April 13, a demonstration of 10,000 took

place in New York's garment district, organized by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Similar demonstrations and rallies were reported in about 150 cities and towns across the United States. Their purpose was to pressure Carter for more restrictions on textile imports.

That same day, AFL-CIO President George Meany and the heads of the two needle-trades unions met with Carter. They urged him to slice in half the 6 percent growth in annual textile and garment imports allowed under the Multifiber Textile Arrangement. (According to *Business Week* this five-year agreement, due to expire at the end of 1977, is the oldest and largest—involving forty-one countries—of the trade-restricting pacts.)

Prior to the imperialist economic summit in June, both industry and unions ran virtually identical ads in major newspapers with the same message.

The Abel-McBride leadership of the United Steelworkers union have followed the same class-collaborationist policy. Last year they joined with the steel barons to demand import quotas and tariffs to protect "our" industry and for joint labor-

management efforts to increase productivity so "our" corporations will be more competitive.

Ed Sadlowski, the insurgent Fight Back candidate who ran for president of the union against Lloyd McBride, took the opposite position. Speaking in Cleveland to a steelworkers rally last November 30, he refused to absolve the steel profiteers of responsibility for layoffs by blaming imports:

Foreign imports do not have the impact the American steel industry says they do. You can't attribute a Japanese worker for taking an American worker's job. That's the boss's game. He'd like you to think that.

Sadlowski also rejected the idea of the union cooperating with productivity drives that eliminate jobs:

For every American worker whose job has been lost by foreign importation, five American workers' jobs have been lost because of BOF [Basic Oxygen Furnace—an advanced steelmaking process] shops.

The Fight Back campaign in steel pointed the direction a union leadership must take if it is to offer an effective answer to the unemployment and inflation that are the bitter fruits of protectionism.

## 'Appear to Enjoy Support of Almost the Entire Population'

### Eritrean Independence Forces Make New Gains

By Ernest Harsch

Following the capture of the towns of Karora, Nacfa, Afabet, and Tessenei earlier this year, the Eritrean independence movements have continued to make important gains against the Ethiopian occupation forces.

On July 9 the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), one of the two main Eritrean liberation organizations, announced that its troops had captured Decamere, a city of 50,000. This is the second largest city in Eritrea, and is located on the strategic route between Ethiopia and the Eritrean capital of Asmara. An EPLF representative said that the city had been taken two days earlier against the resistance of about 2,500 Ethiopian troops.

The following day, an EPLF representative in Rome announced that Keren, the third largest city in Eritrea, had also been liberated. The city, which is less than fifty miles northwest of Asmara, had been defended by 4,000 Ethiopian troops.

Another important town, Barentu, is under siege from the second major Eritrean group, the Eritrean Liberation Front

(ELF). Correspondent John Darnton, whose series of reports on Eritrea appeared in the July 11-13 issues of the *New York Times*, visited the front lines near Barentu. He reported that the ELF forces were planting mines and laying ambushes around the town while awaiting reinforcements.

After witnessing a clash between the Eritreans and the 2,500 Ethiopians holding Barentu, Darnton commented, "Indicative of the shift in the war, from hand-to-hand fighting to the use of artillery, it consisted largely of exchanges of mortar fire during what appeared to be a temporary standoff."

During the past two years, the Eritrean freedom fighters, with massive support from the civilian population, have taken more than forty Ethiopian military camps. According to Darnton, the ELF and EPLF now control roughly 85 percent of the territory, in which all but 300,000 of Eritrea's 3.5 million inhabitants live.

Darnton reported that even in the few cities and towns that the Ethiopian military junta still occupies, its "hold is



slipping—it does not extend to the roads connecting the towns and it usually stops at dusk. At this hour the Ethiopians withdraw to protected encampments and abandon the streets to urban guerrillas.”

Darnton, who traveled 800 miles through Eritrea, stated, “Today the liberation groups appear to enjoy the support of almost the entire population. Fighters are freely given food wherever they go. Recruits, some as young as 14 years old, run away from home to join up. Peasant fathers boast about their sons ‘in the field,’ and sympathetic workers in the Ethiopian-held cities carry out industrial sabotage.”

Like the EPLF, the ELF has organized a wide range of services for the population in the regions it holds, including hospitals, mobile medical clinics, schools, maternity homes, family and child-care centers, and refugee and rehabilitation programs.

Although the ELF appears to have fewer women activists in its ranks than the EPLF, Darnton reported, “There are about 500 women fighters. Three weeks ago they held their first national congress to discuss women’s role in history. By all accounts they are treated the same as the men—a significant accomplishment in an area where Moslem traditions are strong and elderly peasant women hurriedly cover their faces whenever a man appears.”

Since 1961, the Eritrean liberation forces have grown from small guerrilla units that sporadically harassed Ethiopian troops to full-fledged armies organized in battalions of 700 troops each. The Eritrean freedom fighters are well armed and highly trained.

Saleh Naud Adem, the commander of the ELF’s 262d battalion, gave the following explanation for the growth of the Eritrean forces and their recent military gains: “The Ethiopians are fighting because they are paid to,” he told Darnton. “My men are fighting for a cause.”

That cause is independence, after decades of domination by foreign powers. From 1890 until 1941, Eritrea was an Italian colony. After the Italian defeat in World War II, it was ruled by British occupation forces while the Ethiopian regime and various imperialist powers maneuvered to gain control of the territory. Washington pushed a resolution through the United Nations in 1950 federating Eritrea to Ethiopia. In 1962 Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie forcibly annexed Eritrea as an Ethiopian “province.”

As the Eritrean independence movement grew in the 1960s, it experienced a number of internal factional struggles, sometimes leading to armed clashes. In 1970 a wing of the ELF broke away to form the EPLF. Although there are Eritreans in both groups who profess to be Marxists, the organizations themselves reject the “Marxist” label.

Tesfai Woldemichael, the general secretary of the ELF, told Darnton, “Our

struggle is first and foremost a nationalist struggle. We want to see a new democratic Eritrea, which represents all the Eritrean people, is the fruit of their struggle and is opposed to all kinds of oppression.”

Despite their rivalries, the two groups have been forced under the pressure of Ethiopian attacks to agree to coordinate their military campaigns. This will be particularly important in the weeks ahead, as the Ethiopian military junta prepares for another major offensive against the independence struggle.

On June 25, the junta, which now calls itself “Marxist-Leninist,” unveiled a new “peasant army.” An estimated 100,000 troops were paraded through Addis Ababa chanting, “death, death.” About 40,000 of them have been moved to staging areas along the three main routes leading into Eritrea.

In late June the new Ethiopian force defeated the guerrilla army of the rightist Ethiopian Democratic Union in Gondar Province, just south of Eritrea.

“We are not worried,” Tesfai Woldemichael told Darnton. “We have had intelli-

gence reports on their preparations for over a year. We are ready to face the enemy militarily. If necessary, we are going to turn the war inside Ethiopia.”

Darnton reported that on June 5 the Eritreans began a probing attack near Adua, south of the Eritrean border. They encountered 12,000 troops of the “peasant” militia. During a four-day battle, the Eritreans claimed to have captured thirty Ethiopian prisoners and, for the first time, Soviet-made weapons.

Until earlier this year, the junta had been armed and trained almost entirely by the American imperialists. But after Washington reduced its military aid, head of state Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam closed down a number of American installations in the country. In May, the Ethiopian dictator was accorded a red-carpet welcome during a visit to Moscow. Cuban Premier Fidel Castro has also publicly expressed support for the Mengistu regime.

Darnton reported that some Eritrean leaders “are perplexed and angry that the Soviet Union and Cuba, two of their earliest and strongest supporters, are now aiding their enemy. . . .” □

## Occupiers Evicted From Site of 1970 Kent State Massacre

On July 12, campus police armed with nightsticks arrested 194 protesters at Kent State University in northeastern Ohio.

The demonstrators, who had locked arms and legs to make it harder for the police to move them, were dragged from Blanket Hill, where they had been camping since May 12.

The group had occupied the grassy slope to protest the university’s plan to build a \$6 million gymnasium on part of the site where four antiwar demonstrators were killed and nine others wounded by National Guardsmen in May 1970. The May 4 Coalition, which led the protest, has demanded that the site be preserved as a national monument.

Though the police were dressed in riot gear and backed up by Portage County sheriff’s deputies and Kent city police, they generally tried to avoid incidents, mindful of the national attention to this harsh reminder of the American intervention in Indochina, the nationwide protest movement, and the way protesters were gunned down at Kent State.

In May 1970, students across the United States staged rallies and demonstrations in response to Nixon’s announcement that U.S. troops had been ordered to invade Cambodia. The day after the announcement, a general strike was called by more than 2,000 students and faculty at Prince-

ton University in New Jersey. Strikes and demonstrations were also held at universities in Maryland, California, Ohio and other states.

In Ohio, Governor James A. Rhodes called out the National Guard as students at Kent State University prepared for a demonstration on May 4. An eyewitness account by Mike York and Fred Kirsch in the May 15, 1970, issue of the *Militant* described that day’s events:

On Monday, May 4, we both went down to the Commons, an open field, at noon.

Someone climbed up on the base of a liberty bell and said, “It’s time to strike. It’s time to strike.”

An Army jeep pulled up. There were four men, three Guardsmen and one state trooper in it. The trooper had a bullhorn. He said, “Please leave the area. Please leave the area. This is an illegal gathering. Leave, before someone is hurt.”

A few students—no more than a handful—were heaving rocks. Thousands of students were in the area.

A group of Guardsmen approached. Before we knew it, we saw tear gas cannisters in the midst of us. People started running.

“Walk, walk,” people shouted. The students walked. It was an orderly retreat.

Several truckloads of Guardsmen pulled up, got out, formed a single line, fixed their bayonets, put on tear gas masks and started coming up the hill. Gas cannisters were lobbed. Students threw them back. . . .

Then the Guardsmen got to their knees. They

aimed. . . .

At first no one was sure what was happening. There was a steady, loud rattle, like machine guns.

Someone yelled, "Those are only blanks."

Then we heard bullets whistling past our heads.

When the shooting stopped, Allison Krause, aged 19, Jeffrey Miller, aged 20, Sandra Scheuer, aged 20, and William Schroeder, aged 19, were dead.

In the present demonstration, Scheuer's parents, Martin and Sarah Scheuer, were

the first two persons arrested when police moved onto the campsite. Also arrested were Arthur Krause, Allison Krause's father, Alan Canfora, a leader of the May 4 Coalition who was one of those wounded in 1970, and his parents, Albert and Anna Canfora.

None of those involved in gunning down the students were ever convicted of any crime. Instead, attempts were made to blame the violence on the demonstrators. This was echoed by University President

Glenn A. Olds, who told a news conference following the eviction of the occupiers:

I don't want to be insensitive to place, I don't want to be insensitive to symbols. But I want to resist the possibility that the sacred embrace of place and symbol could provoke this university to the prospect of violence.

A Common Pleas Court judge has issued an order delaying construction of the gymnasium pending the outcome of a court hearing scheduled for July 21. □

## To Help 'Stabilize' Area Held by Palestinians

# Lebanese Army to Receive \$100 Million From Pentagon

By Steve Wattenmaker

The Carter administration is planning to provide up to \$100 million to help the Lebanese government rebuild its army, according to a report by Bernard Gwertzman in the July 3 *New York Times*.

State Department and Senate sources said that Carter had been quietly testing congressional reaction to equipping a force of from 3,000 to 4,000 Lebanese troops with light infantry weapons.

The aid, in the form of military credits, would allow Lebanon to purchase jeeps, armored personnel carriers, automatic rifles, mortars, light artillery, and similar weapons.

Since the cease-fire in October 1976, dominant sections of the Lebanese capitalist class have sought to reestablish the authority of a central government under Syrian-backed Maronite Christian leader Elias Sarkis. In this project they have had help from both the Syrian "peacekeeping" force and the Carter administration.

When Secretary of State Cyrus Vance visited Beirut last February, he announced a \$50 million aid package for this fiscal year to spur Lebanon's economic recovery. Congress has subsequently approved an additional \$20 million for the following year.

The Syrian regime of President Hafez al-Assad has maintained 30,000 troops in Lebanon, enforcing the cease-fire and guaranteeing the continuation of the Sarkis government.

Both Damascus and Washington, however, are anxious to see the formation of an indigenous army, under Sarkis's command, that would allow the Syrian force to at least partially withdraw from Lebanon. The reasons are twofold.

For Assad, a long-term occupation of Lebanon would not only be expensive (although Saudi Arabia is picking up a large part of the tab), but increasingly



London Sunday Times

unpopular in Syria. Recent statements in the Syrian press have warned Lebanon that Syrian troops will soon be recalled to guard the Golan Heights on the Syrian-Israeli border.

Another consideration is the inability of Syrian forces to crush the few remaining centers of Palestinian resistance in southern Lebanon without provoking an Israeli reaction. While the Syrian forces defeated the Palestinian-leftist alliance in the north, Israeli objections to Syrian troops approaching its borders allowed Palestinian units to maintain their positions in the south.

U.S. State Department officials, Gwertzman reported, reasoned that a Lebanese armed force "could be used to help stabilize

the area bordering on Israel, where Christian and Palestinian forces are again clashing . . . and therefore should be favored by Israel."

In the meantime Israel is moving on its own to intervene in southern Lebanon. For the past year the Israeli army has trained and equipped right-wing militia forces and backs them up with logistical support—including artillery barrages fired from the Israeli side of the border.

Israel is also building a road from the occupied Golan Heights to the Lebanese village of Kfar Shouba, according to a report in the June 19 *London Sunday Times*. The village commands an overview of Palestinian territory.

The Israeli army has periodically raided Palestinian villages in southern Lebanon for years. Now, however, there is concern that Israel may be laying the basis for a full scale assault.

"Palestinians in Beirut fear that, at any moment, the Israelis could swarm down the new road to attack the guerrillas still remaining in South Lebanon," *Sunday Times* correspondent Helena Cobban wrote.

Those fears were reinforced by an Israeli warning that it was ready to intervene in southern Lebanon if the Palestinian presence there increases. A Lebanese government source told the Associated Press July 1 that the threat had been delivered to Beirut through U.S. diplomats. The governments involved later disclaimed the report.

A similar warning was given to the mayors of twelve villages in the Arkub region of southeastern Lebanon. According to a report in the July 3 *New York Times*, the military commander in northern Israel summoned the mayors and threatened that his forces would attack if Palestinians were allowed to return there.



# AROUND THE WORLD



## Secret CIA Cash for Israel

The Central Intelligence Agency has been secretly slipping millions of dollars to the Israeli government since 1957, columnist Jack Anderson reported July 9.

It was revealed last February that the CIA had been covertly bankrolling Jordan's King Hussein and a number of other "friendly" heads of state. While Hussein is said to have received up to \$2 million a year from Washington's spy-masters, the cash subsidy to Tel Aviv has already reached about \$80 million, Anderson disclosed.

What did the funds go for? Anderson said that "the cash was used at first to underwrite Israeli aid programs for black African nations. In return, the Israelis hoped to earn black political support in the United Nations."

Since the 1967 and 1973 Israeli-Arab wars, most of Israel's offers of aid have been rejected by the African states involved. The CIA payments, however, go on as usual. Except now, Anderson says, they are financing another "extremely sensitive Israeli operation."

## Poles Warned to Expect New Shortages

The Polish people have been told to expect a severe meat shortage soon. Newspapers in Poland printed the text of a July 1 speech given by Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz in which he said, "We shall not be able to supply the market even with as much meat as this time last year."

In June 1976 the government announced a stiff rise in the price of meat and other staples. Strikes and militant demonstrations by workers in several cities forced the regime to cancel the increases.

## SEATO Scrapped

The Southeast Asian Treaty Organization was dissolved June 30 in Bangkok, Thailand. Created in 1954, SEATO linked the governments of the United States, Britain, France, New Zealand, Australia, Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan in a formal anticommunist military alliance.

In practice, SEATO never became more than a rubber stamp for Washington's takeover of France and Britain's old Southeast Asian colonial empires.

Writing in the June 29 *New York Times*,

C.L. Sulzberger offered the opinion that SEATO was "one of the least successful tricks of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. . . .

"Although Dulles pretended otherwise, the only reason he put together this curious structure was to give President Eisenhower the requisite legal pretext to intervene in Vietnam where France, defeated at Dien Bien Phu and forced to accept partition of its former colony, was in the process of pulling out its military forces."

The founding of SEATO corresponded to the beginning of direct American intervention in Indochina. SEATO's collapse corresponded to its end.

A few months after the liberation of South Vietnam in 1975, Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and Thai Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj called for the alliance to dissolve, citing the "new realities of the region."

## UNITA Leader: We Would Accept South African Aid

George Sangumbe, a representative of the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), is quoted by the June 27 *New York Times* as saying that UNITA would accept South African assistance, if it was offered, in its guerrilla war against the Angolan regime.

Correspondent Michael T. Kaufman, reporting from Kinshasa, Zaïre, said that Sangumbe told him that UNITA was not now receiving outside aid. "But if South Africa was willing to help," Sangumbe said, "we have decided to accept without apology, since despite their hypocrisy most black African countries are to some extent dependent on South Africa. Mozambique, for instance."

According to Kaufman, "He said the Chinese had indicated their willingness to help but that they faced the problem of transporting supplies."

During the Angolan civil war, UNITA and another Angolan nationalist group allied themselves with the South African military intervention against the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). After the South African withdrawal in early 1976, UNITA continued to carry out guerrilla actions in central

and southern Angola against MPLA and Cuban troops.

Sangumbe claimed that UNITA still had 8,000 troops and had scored some successes in its guerrilla campaign. He also claimed that 5,300 persons had attended an UNITA congress in March, held fifty miles from Huambo, Angola's second largest city.

He told Kaufman that the UNITA congress decided to no longer take Cuban prisoners of war. "We have decided to treat them as mercenaries," he declared, "and we feel we are not bound to respect the Geneva conventions in their regard."

In a reversal of UNITA's previous attempts to establish a coalition regime with the MPLA, Sangumbe said, "We are no longer interested in talking to [MPLA leader] Agostinho Neto about coalition—we are now fighting to establish our control over the entire country."

He also claimed that Nito Alves, one of the alleged leaders of the May 27 coup attempt in Luanda against the Neto regime, had expressed interest in joining forces with UNITA.

## Visit By Iran Empress Protested

Demonstrators marched in New York and Washington, D.C., to protest the visit of Iran's Empress Farah to the United States.

Hundreds of Iranian students and their supporters confronted the shah's wife at her first stop in New York July 7. While Farah received an award from the Appeal of Conscience Foundation at the Hotel Pierre, demonstrators circled outside.

They chanted "The shah is a murderer, down with the shah," and carried banners demanding an end to the torture of political prisoners in Iran. As in past protests, many of the Iranians on the picketline were masked to avoid recognition by agents of the shah's secret police, SAVAK.

Four days later, about 1,000 demonstrators marched in front of the White House while the empress lunched with Rosalynn Carter.

"We want to show up the hypocrisy of Farah being received at the White House and receiving all these humanitarian awards in this country," a protest leader told the *Washington Post*. "Being humanitarian is impossible in the Shah's regime."

# Capitalism Fouls Things Up



## 1,000 Picket Sydney Docks to Protest Uranium Mining

Protests and labor actions against uranium mining are continuing in Australia.

On June 20, 1,000 demonstrators gathered at the docks in Sydney to protest the loading of a ship with 200 tons of "yellowcake" uranium ore for export. The action held up loading for ninety minutes. Twenty-one persons were arrested by the police, who had previously provided an escort for the trucks bearing the ore. Twenty-five more protesters were arrested the next day.

In Melbourne on July 3, a West German ship was stranded in the harbor after union dock workers refused to continue loading the ship. They were protesting a police attack on another antiuranium demonstration. The ship finally sailed on July 6, bearing sixty tons of yellowcake, but without the rest of its cargo. It was to transport the ore to the United States for enrichment.

The movement for a moratorium on uranium mining in Australia is growing in the face of obvious moves by the Fraser government to ignore the recommendations of a two-year study by the Fox commission, which was appointed by a Labor government in 1975. The first Fox report, issued last October, called for a "prolonged and extensive" public debate before proceeding with mining. The final report called for a number of environmental safeguards while giving general approval for the development of a uranium industry.

A parliamentary debate is scheduled for August, but Fraser has announced that a final decision will be made in July by his government.

Meanwhile the "uranium lobby" in Australia is pressing Fraser to move even faster. At the annual meeting of the Uranium Institute in London June 23, Tony Grey of the Pancontinental Mining Company urged the prime minister to ignore the Fox report, claiming that to do otherwise would "demonstrate weakness to opponents of uranium and, by giving them heart at the very time when their strength is fading, make it more difficult to develop a full and viable uranium industry."

But the opponents are in fact gaining in strength. In addition to the protests described above, state Labor Party confer-

ences in June in South Australia and Victoria voted for a stronger Labor position against mining. The Victoria conference expressed total opposition to the mining and export of uranium, and the South Australia branch called for a ban on mining until "adequate safeguards" have been proven to exist.

In New South Wales, 45,000 persons have signed a petition calling for a moratorium on mining. National demonstrations are being planned for August 6, the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, and for later in August to coincide with the parliamentary debate.

### Seveso: Still Contaminated

Writing in the June 29 *Wall Street Journal*, Philip Revzin describes the scene in Seveso, Italy, almost a year after the chemical explosion that spewed the deadly chemical dioxin through the town:

Soldiers in green and yellow camouflage-style uniforms, carrying huge walkie-talkies and automatic rifles, guard openings in a wire fence lined with yellow plastic shielding. Coils of barbed wire seal off sections of the fence. Behind this barrier, workmen in blue plastic outfits that look like space suits ride atop low-slung bulldozers skimming off the topsoil. Houses stand silent, their wooden shutters closed tight. The soldiers politely forbid entry to the 270-acre area. Signs say "contaminated zone."

Between 20 and 100 pounds of dioxin were dispersed in the Seveso area by an explosion at the Icmesa chemical factory on July 10, 1976. Dioxin is fatal to small animals in minute quantities. In humans, it causes skin eruptions and damage to the liver, spleen, kidneys, and respiratory systems, and is considered likely to produce cancer and genetic defects as well.

After one year, the effects of the Seveso explosion continue, Revzin reports:

Some of the dioxin has been collected, but none of it has been destroyed. The exact amount released still isn't known. None of the evacuated people have returned to their homes. The furniture industry in the area is in a shambles. Residents who travel abroad are shunned by people who fear they are contagious. "For many people," a local official says, "speaking of Seveso is like speaking of Hiroshima."

The long-term effects of the contamination are not yet clear. No medical research

has been done on dioxin, but some scientists say that cancer caused by chemicals similar to it often does not appear for decades after people are exposed to them.

Furniture makers have been plagued by rumors that dust contaminated by dioxin is on the products they ship out of Seveso. Trucks from the city have been turned back at the Swiss border. Marco Conti, who runs a small furniture shop, says he sells his goods to a wholesaler "and I don't put my name, or the word Seveso, on it."

Sensitivity to environmental issues and industrial hazards has increased in Italy as a result of the Seveso experience. A nuclear reactor planned for construction thirty miles from the city has been delayed. "Dioxin is so on the mind of everyone in that area that it's a hell of a problem getting people to agree to any big new plant, especially something like a nuclear plant," an industrial official told Revzin.

In June, five factory officials were convicted of manslaughter for their responsibility in the cancer deaths of thirteen workers at a Turin chemical plant. Three Icmesa officials have been arrested in connection with the Seveso blast and are awaiting trial.

### 15,000 March in Switzerland

Fifteen thousand persons took part in a three-day march against nuclear power in Switzerland the last weekend in May. Participants came from all over the country and from West Germany, André Froidevaux reports in the June 12 issue of the Trotskyist fortnightly *La Brèche*.

The march route wound through north-eastern Switzerland, an area where currently operating plants and construction sites for new plants are heavily concentrated.

The demonstration was sponsored by GAGAK, the German initials for "Nonviolent Action Against the Kaiseraugst Nuclear Plant."

The proposed Kaiseraugst plant was the target of a referendum held June 12 in Basel. Voters went to the polls in large numbers and overwhelmingly rejected the Kaiseraugst plant by a vote of 46,633 to 14,816.

In addition to Kaiseraugst, another



focus of the May demonstration was the proposed nuclear plant in nearby Gösgen. At the close of the rally held at the site, a "Swiss Action Committee Against the Gösgen Plant" was formed.

This committee held a meeting that passed a resolution calling for a peaceful occupation of the Gösgen site on June 25.

### Don't Swim in the 'C'

The degree of pollution on French beaches is rated on a four-point scale, with "C" denoting "temporary bad quality" and "D" indicating "bad quality."

The London *Telegraph* reported recently that 144 beaches have been rated "C" and 37 have been given "D" ratings. Use of seven "D" beaches has been banned altogether.

The *Telegraph* also reported: "Newspapers have been carrying out their own investigations after it became clear the government was reluctant to publish data it had collected. . . ."

"A ministry of health spokesman said that departmental prefects had been supplied with the information and instructed to release it to inquirers, but had not been specifically told to make it public."

### Japan Antipollution Rallies

A rally that drew 1,500 persons was held in Tokyo on June 6, "Pollution Victims' Action Day." The participants represented 104 groups of pollution sufferers, including victims of Minimata disease (acute mercury poisoning).

The action was held to protest government repression of the antipollution movement. "Recently, the rollback offensive on the part of the government and big corporations against the anti-pollution movements has grown increasingly intense. We, the pollution victims, must strengthen our solidarity and push forward the movement for environmental restoration and preservation, as well as protection of citizens' lives," Kosuke Hamada of the Osaka Liaison Council for Pollution Sufferers told the gathering.

From June 13 to 17, rallies were held in Chiba City to protest the opening of a new blast furnace by the Kawasaki Steel Corporation. "There are more than 700 pollution victims as a result of Kawasaki—36 people have already died. We cannot allow the company to start operation of a new pollution-producing plant," said Tatsutoshi Kuniyoshi, a leader of the movement in Chiba City.

### Radioactive Cloud Released in Southeastern France

An accident at the Comurhex nuclear processing plant released about 10,000 pounds of uranium hexafluoride gas over the city of Pierrelatte in southeastern France on July 1. The gas formed a cloud

three kilometers long, two kilometers wide, and sixty meters thick.

Nine workers who inhaled the gas were placed under medical observation.

Uranium hexafluoride is an intermediate compound used in the preparation of enriched uranium for atomic weapons and fuel for nuclear power plants. Besides being radioactive, the gas is highly corrosive and toxic, and can cause scarring of lung tissue if inhaled.

Comurhex officials claimed that since strong winds dissipated the cloud, the dangers of contamination were removed.

The French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported July 4 on the response to this accident. The trade-union federation CGT called for a "roundtable on questions of safety in the nuclear industry." The Communist Party and the Socialist Party both demanded a commission of inquiry, and the CP also called for nationalization of Comurhex and its parent company, Pêchiney-Ugine-Kuhlmann.

### A New Uranium Cartel?

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, President Carter, and Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada are organizing an "International Fuel Bank" to sell uranium to countries short on nuclear fuel.

Such shortages may become increasingly frequent, as a by-product of Carter's campaign against development of plutonium-based breeder reactors, which produce more fuel than they consume. Carter has expressed concern that breeder development and export by the advanced capitalist countries will lead to atomic weapons escaping the control of the big imperialist powers.

The heads of state of the three uranium-rich countries exchanged letters earlier this year. Fraser told Carter he found that the "nonproliferation" campaign "constitutes a particularly fertile and important area for cooperation and for coordination of the policies of our two countries." Trudeau had already notified Fraser that he had raised with Carter "the importance of a cooperative approach among the principal uranium suppliers."

Carter responded in a March 11 letter to Fraser: "If the U.S., Australia, Canada, and other like-minded countries collaborate on policies for the supply of natural uranium, we can play a vital role in reducing the threat of proliferation."

Nevertheless, U.S. State Department official Joseph Nye told a Senate committee on June 29, "There is not an Australian-Canadian-American [uranium] cartel."

### Poison Pajamas Back on Market

In April, the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) banned the use of Tris, a chemical flame retardant, in



Los Angeles Times

children's sleepwear, and ordered unsold products to be repurchased by the manufacturers.

Apparel makers, retailers, and the textile industry immediately began howling about the losses they would suffer. One South Carolina textile concern, Springs Mills, Inc., went into federal court to get the ban overturned.

On May 23 Judge Robert Chapman ruled that the CPSC had violated Springs Mills's right to "due process of law." He said the company did not have to buy back Tris-treated fabric it had previously sold for use in children's sleepwear. On June 23 Chapman extended his order and enjoined the government from enforcing any recall of sleepwear from the market.

Springs Mills got the right judge—the June 27 *Wall Street Journal* reports:

"Judge Chapman comes from a South Carolina family that controls a textile plant in Inman. . . . His brother is president of Inman Mills Inc., and two of his brothers are executives there.

"Another brother is chairman of Citizens & Southern Corp., the second largest bank holding company in the state, which, like its competitors, counts the textile industry as an important part of its banking business."

Judge Chapman denies any conflict of interest, however. "He . . . notes that he determined before taking the Tris case that the mill hadn't any connection with the chemical. 'I called my brother James (president of Inman Mills) and made sure of that.'"

Appeals of Chapman's ruling are planned, but meanwhile the carcinogenic pajamas can be legally sold.

## Spanish LCR Assesses Election Results

[The following statement by the Political Bureau of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League) of Spain, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, was issued June 17. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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In drawing up a balance sheet of the elections in Spain, one fact takes on prime importance over and above any other sort of observation—the victory of the workers parties, which as a whole obtained more votes than the governmental party headed by Suárez. When we go from the overall results to a more detailed analysis, we see that the margin of victory of the workers candidates was significantly greater in the big industrial zones of the country, especially in Barcelona.

All this has a clear meaning. The results show that the workers and the masses:

- Have a tremendous desire to decisively finish with Francoism.
- Have a profound mistrust of the capitalist political parties, which appear linked to the entire history of superexploitation and oppression of the last forty years.
- In their majority want to achieve socialism.

The future of our country lies in this desire and in the tremendous power of the workers and the masses. All the workers parties must build united actions on the basis of that situation to win total freedom, without the limitations that now exist. In this way we will be able to win all the economic and social demands the workers are raising and, ultimately, undermine the foundations of capitalist society and open the way to the only totally free democracy—socialist democracy.

I.

Despite the relatively large majority given to Suárez in the new parliament because of the undemocratic electoral system and the senators designated by the king, the votes obtained by the workers candidates, their weight in the legislature and, above all, the sense of victory among the workers means a big setback for the Spanish bourgeoisie.

- The Unión de Centro Democrático<sup>1</sup> appears as the capitalist slate most capable of taking over the political leadership



CARLOS: Appoints his lickspittles to serve as senators in parliament.

of its class at present. But the UCD is not yet a party. Instead, it is a coalition of bourgeois circles grouped around Suárez. It is a coalition with internal tensions, and if the struggles of the workers and masses continue—as is most likely—it will have difficulty finding a framework through which it can maneuver to transform itself into the mass party the bourgeoisie needs. The UCD victory provided a stopgap in view of the danger of a majority of the votes going to the PSOE.<sup>2</sup> But it is no solution to the organizational weakness of the bourgeoisie.

• This weakness has been reinforced by the resounding defeat of the Democracia Cristiana,<sup>3</sup> a grouping that just a short while ago aspired to become the main contender in building a political party representing the majority of the capitalists. Even in Euzkadi [the Basque country], where the right-wing nationalists linked to the DC—the PNV<sup>4</sup>—received a

2. Partido Socialista Obrero Español—Spanish Socialist Workers Party, the main Social Democratic formation.

3. DC—Christian Democratic (Party).

4. Partido Nacionalista Vasco—Basque Nationalist Party.

higher vote, and where the DC hoped to become the majority electoral force, their illusions were smashed when they were defeated by the PSOE. Moreover, those PNV deputies elected in Euzkadi cannot counteract the devastating electoral defeat of a force that aspired to have a key political weight.

• In the course of the campaign, the Alianza Popular<sup>5</sup> saw its chances of winning a significant number of parliamentary seats become increasingly dimmer. The Francoist right is today farther than ever from representing a political alternative acceptable to the majority of the capitalists. Its only hope is that the UCD will lose control of the political and social situation. Then it can seek a reevaluation of Francoism as “the saving alternative for the homeland,” for the interests of the bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, its entire political line and parliamentary participation will center on fear-mongering about “societal catastrophes,” on identifying each increase in freedom with communist revolution, and so on. It will present the reactionary solution of the AP as the only way out of such catastrophes. In addition, it will combine this line with direct or veiled support to a “strategy of tension,” promoted by fascist and parapolice activity.

The capitalists are going to draw their conclusions from this combination of facts. Their goal, particularly the UCD’s goal, is to consolidate a strong state, in which the workers and the masses would have only strictly curtailed freedoms. Such a state would rest on a monarchy that would have broad powers in its hands. But the UCD already knows that despite the fact that the elections did not take place in a situation of real freedom, the workers parties surpassed them in the number of votes obtained. And it knows that its parliamentary majority, even if it allied itself with all the bourgeois deputies, is not sufficient to control the parliament and govern without problems. It knows that on the basis of its own resources it is going to have tremendous difficulties in “stabilizing” the political and social situation, in containing the activity of the workers and mass movement within the limits its circumscribed democracy demands. And it also knows that the results of the elections themselves are going to accelerate the class polarization. The workers’ consciousness of victory is going to stimulate their desire and confidence that they can achieve freedom, democracy, and their other demands.

This fear of the bourgeoisie was reflected clearly at the very time of the elections. The senators that were handpicked by the king are all people linked to the UCD or the AP. (The king has given the AP more senators than the number it won in the

1. UCD—Union of the Democratic Center.

5. AP—People’s Alliance.



elections.) In this way, the bourgeoisie is trying to strengthen even more the braking role the Senate is going to play with regard to constitutional changes. Other expressions of the same fear were the huge number of irregularities noted at the polls on election day, the delay in reporting the vote counts (especially in Barcelona and Madrid, where the working-class vote was higher), and the rapidity with which Suárez was ratified as president.

Thus, the basic political aim of the Suárez team now is to get the mass parties and trade unions to accept active involvement in the government's policy, on a more far-reaching level than the reformist workers leaderships have been following up to now. It seeks commitments within the legislature that the workers parties will not follow a systematic policy of opposition to their aims of drafting a constitution where democratic freedoms and freedoms for the oppressed nationalities will be sharply circumscribed. And it is seeking active commitments that go beyond the parliamentary framework so that the mass parties and trade unions will prevent trade-union and mass actions to win immediate demands from going beyond the goals of the government and the capitalists.

## II.

The high percentage of votes won by the mass workers parties is only a *partial reflection* of the social weight of the workers movement in Spain and of the political influence of its main organizations:

• In the electoral arena itself it is a partial reflection because democratic freedoms remain limited and, in large measure, denied; because forty years of forced clandestinity cannot be duly overcome in only a few months of legality and public activity; because the election law prevented millions of young people from voting, a majority of whom would have given their votes to the working-class candidates; because the workers parties did not present a common slate and as a result lost some of their attractiveness to the electorate; because that very division worked to the favor of the UCD in terms of the number of seats it won, owing to the undemocratic electoral system used. (With fewer votes than the workers parties as a whole, the UCD ended up with a significantly higher number of deputies than the total for all the workers parties.) Finally, it is a partial reflection because the candidates of the mass workers parties did not project themselves during the campaign as candidates capable of taking power into their own hands.

• Above all, it is a partial reflection if one keeps in mind the difference between the number of seats the workers candidates won in the legislature and the social and political weight the workers have in

this country, which has been strikingly shown in recent times.

And, despite this, the workers candidates obtained a majority of the votes in opposition to Suárez. Let us draw the conclusions:

1. Suárez should not exercise power. For some time now the majority of the country has been publicly displaying its opposition to the maintenance of the institutions bequeathed by Francoism. Suárez represents precisely that continuity—a continuity of endless repression, amnesties that are not carried out, obstacles to the nationalities and the youth achieving political rights, an economic policy that increases unemployment, and so on. Now, what the struggles had already shown has also been shown at the polls. We repeat: the majority of the country with its vote has expressed its desire to decisively put an end to the heritage of the dictatorship and to the limited freedom Suárez stands for. For the head of state to continue in office is an attack on the election results. *Suárez should resign!*

2. The power of Juan Carlos has permitted Suárez to continue as president. Throughout the election campaign, the mass workers parties expressed their desire to establish "constitutional pacts," even with Suárez. They told us it was "to cut off the right wing." They explained that we have to be patient, to win democracy little by little so as to "avoid backsliding to repression." They stated that "the relationship of forces demands that it be done in this way." However, if the falsity of these arguments was not clear before, now we have the election results. Any involvement—active or passive—with Suárez is only a betrayal of the masses' desire for immediate and total freedom. Because it is precisely Suárez and his government that are in charge of limiting and cutting back the freedom of the people. They are in charge of inventing new formulas to keep the oppressed nationalities under the thumb of the central government. They are in charge of forcing on the workers an economic "stabilization plan" that compels the workers to pay the price of the crisis. That is why we demand:

*No government negotiated with the capitalist parties!*

*No constitution negotiated with Suárez and the bourgeoisie!*

3. The majority of the population supports the mass workers parties—the PSOE, PCE, and Unidad Socialista (PSP-FPS).<sup>6</sup> The majority of the country is insisting that their demands for freedom and democracy be met now, along with their

6. For PSOE see footnote No. 2. PCE: Partido Comunista de España (Spanish Communist Party); Unidad Socialista (Socialist Unity); PSP: Partido Socialista Popular (People's Socialist Party); FPS: Federación de Partidos Socialistas (Federation of Socialist parties).

economic and social demands. The mass workers parties, with a program that ties together all these demands and on the basis of the majority support they enjoy, above all on the basis of the mobilizations of the workers, masses, and trade-union, civic, youth, and women's organizations—the organizations directly elected by the workers in their struggles—must present themselves as a force ready to take power. *For a PSOE-PCE-Unidad Socialista government!*

4. These are the conclusions that clearly must be drawn from the situation and the slogans that express them. But we should state that we have absolutely no confidence that these workers parties will present themselves as candidates for taking power. We have no confidence that they will question the continuity of Suárez and his team. We will not slacken in the battle. We will try to convince the broadest sectors of workers and the masses to defend these demands along with us. But, meanwhile, since the parliament is going to go into session and since the workers parties that have the allegiance of the majority of the class have significant weight within the parliament, the main task of all the working-class deputies and senators (together, in a *united bloc* within the legislature) and of the parties they belong to must be to demand the immediate putting into effect of the principles and most pressing democratic demands raised by those who voted for them—the workers and masses:

• Immediate *total amnesty and legalization of all workers parties and mass organizations*, barring none.

• Dismantle the entire state apparatus inherited from Francoism and, most importantly, dissolve the repressive apparatus that continues to take the lives of workers. *Revoke all the repressive legislation*, first of all, those laws that most directly affect the workers and other oppressed sectors—the Labor Relations Law, the Antilibel Law, the Law Against Demonstrations, the remaining provisions of the Antiterrorist Law, and the Social Endangerment Law.

• These elections were not the free constituent elections our people have fought for and still favor. The Political Reform Law and the Electoral Law made it possible for the legislature to end up with a majority of bourgeois representatives, especially in the Senate, despite the fact that the majority voted for the workers parties. We are convinced that this legislature is not capable of finishing off Francoism and of opening the way to a genuinely democratic constitution. We are going to struggle and demand that the working-class deputies defend the promulgation of new laws based on full freedom that will guarantee democracy without fraud and limitations. But insofar as this legislature does not meet these demands, we will keep on insisting on *free constitu-*

ent elections, which will create a parliament that is capable of meeting them. The Political Reform Law creates a whole series of antidemocratic mechanisms (two chambers and the requirement that a two-thirds majority in both chambers must be obtained to enact new laws, sacrosanctity of the monarchy, "national unity" and the army, royal sovereignty over the legislature, and so on). Such mechanisms are going to be used basically to prevent advancing toward democracy. Thus, the workers' battle—a united battle inside and outside the legislature for the repeal of the Political Reform Law—will come to have central importance.

- Faced with a monarchy that has absolute powers in its hands over any parliament, that uses those powers at all times to favor the capitalists, that is a heritage of the dictatorship that was imposed against the desires of the people, it is necessary to demand an immediate referendum by the people on the form of state the country wants to have, a referendum in which the workers parties—faced with that extremely powerful monarchy—must counterpose defense of the republic as the most democratic alternative.

- The immediate calling of free municipal elections, with all those sixteen years of age and older allowed to vote, so as to put an end to that entire Francoist municipal apparatus and place the cities at the service of and under the control of the citizens.

- One cannot speak of freedom as long as the governmental subjection of the oppressed nationalities continues. It will only be possible to do so when the nationalities have regained their national sovereignty. To recover it means to exercise it. The legislature of the central government is not the body to decide what form the relations of these nationalities with the rest of the Spanish state will take. Nor are the deputies elected among the nationalities in a position to assume themselves to be representatives of the oppressed nationalities with the power to decide this question. The exercise of national sovereignty requires the immediate calling of national constituent assemblies that could carry out the organizational steps to bring about self-determination and establish the relations to be maintained with the other nationalities, free of all interference from the central government. That is why this sovereignty implies the recognition of the nationalities' right to self-government.

These are the democratic demands the workers deputies and senators should propose that the upcoming legislative session implement immediately. But it would be illusory to think that the mere act of proposing them is going to mean winning them. Above all, the legislature is a tribune that can and must be used by the workers movement to propagandize in

defense of freedom. As always, the workers parties and trade unions must look to the struggle for the support we need to force the legislature itself and the government to recognize these democratic rights of the people. Organizing the struggle immediate-



SUAREZ: Loaded electoral system gave his coalition a narrow victory.

ly in a united fashion, not stopping mass actions to wait and see what the legislature might decide, on its own, continues to be the main task of the moment. It is a task in which the LCR is pledged to act in unity with all the workers parties.

Along with this determined struggle to establish unrestricted democratic rights, the workers must be prepared to fight the economic "stabilization plan" the new government will try to put into practice. Faced with unemployment, crisis measures, or wage freezes, the task of the workers parties and trade unions does not lie in negotiating common "solutions" with the capitalists, in which "each of us takes responsibility." We know very well what such "solutions" are for the bosses—a social pact, whether it is called this or something else, to impose their solutions. The trade-union federations must counterpose to the capitalists' plans common platforms of demands. They must organize a united struggle around them. These platforms should take as their starting point the needs of the workers, not the problems of the bosses. The successful defense of such platforms requires providing the movement with certain essential organizational tools:

- Massive affiliation to the workers federations, which must be made to participate in a decisive way in the struggles

without the "truces" and vacillations of recent times. They must be also made to act in a united, coordinated way at all levels, thus opening the realistic, immediate possibility of trade-union unity.

- Total dismantling of the CNS,<sup>7</sup> turning its holdings over to the workers who will occupy its headquarters and take over its goods.

- Active support to the generalized election of bodies of delegates representative of the workers as a whole, along the lines of the councils and committees that are already appearing.

### III.

As was expected, the vote for the far left was substantially lower than the political weight of its organizations in the workers movement. It was also lower than the audience its activities reached in the course of the electoral campaign. Except for those organizations that really believe in bourgeois parliamentarism and believe that elections reflect in votes the political influence they have in the workers movement, this situation cannot cause any surprise. The votes received by the PCE itself were well below its influence (although the image the PCE has been presenting recently was also a factor in this). Thus, it is even more to be expected that the inequality between votes and influence should show up for the far left.

Some organizations, like the PTE,<sup>8</sup> tried to present a more "electoral" image by presenting a scandalously rightist program. But if we leave aside Catalonia, where its disappearance behind the image of the Esquerra and "Tarradellism"<sup>9</sup> gave the candidacy an unmistakable seal of petty-bourgeois nationalism in the shadow of the president of the Generalitat, the votes obtained by the PTE did not reach either the wild predictions they were making or the political influence this organization has.

"Using their vote well" was an important consideration to the workers and masses, who were aware that only by giving it to the mass workers parties would it be possible for them to get deputies in the legislature. Even broad sectors who are not in agreement with the programs of those parties, who make a radical criticism of their pacts and commitments with the bourgeoisie, voted in large measure for the PSOE or the PCE, reasoning that it was better to have them in the legislature than to waste their vote on the programs of the

7. Central Nacional Sindicalista—National Federation of Syndicates, the fascist trade union.

8. Partido de Trabajo de España—Spanish Labor Party.

9. A petty-bourgeois nationalist electoral bloc in Catalonia, a key figure in which is Josep Tarradellas, president of the Generalitat.



far left—the ones they had greater agreement with but that would not have representatives in parliament. To this must be added the tremendous limitations involved in the fact that the far left organizations are still illegal and have less material resources.

We knew that this was going to happen and we explained it fully before the elections. But, despite that, we maintained—without “electoral illusions”—the need to vote for the FUT<sup>10</sup> (except in Galicia, Asturias, Andalucía, and Extremadura where we withdrew—erroneously, we now think—in favor of the “workers vote”). We explained that this vote was necessary as a public expression of the fact that “tens of thousands of workers support an anticapitalist program and do not trust and reject the reformist programs.” Along these lines, we defended that vote as one that was going to be “useful, very useful for the fights ahead, to help build a revolutionary alternative in the course of the struggle that will be credible to the workers” (editorial in *Combate*, No. 76).

Now, it is true that in Madrid and Euzkadi we got a lower number of votes than we expected. The irresponsible attitude of Acción Comunista<sup>11</sup> (a member of the FUT) had something to do with this. They made unilateral decisions and statements about the withdrawal of the FUT, creating confusion as a result about the “withdrawal or disappearance of the FUT,” and so on.

When TVE<sup>12</sup> cancelled our program Monday, June 13, it meant added confusion, as did the vacillations of the LCR about continuing to call for a vote for the FUT in some provinces.

All in all, we think that the 40,000 votes obtained—an average of 0.5 percent in the provinces where we ran candidates—clearly show the usefulness of entering the electoral arena, as pointed out above. The gains constitute a strong basis of support for the struggles of the coming months and for advancing an alternative line to the policy of social and constitutional pacts, the policy the reformist workers leaderships are going to push.

Now the far left must avoid two opposite errors. One is the error of *adapting to the reformist program of the mass workers parties*, identifying the voting results with political influence and fearing “remaining isolated.” On the contrary, the defense of a program standing clearly for class independence, a program of struggle against all social pacts, and of intransigent defense of freedom is what will help prevent isolation and help increase the

influence of all the thousands who voted for the far left, as well as many other thousands who trust it although they did not vote for it. The other error is following a *sectarian course with regard to the mass parties and trade unions*, of trying to build trade-union or mass organizations of their own outside the mass trade unions. The entire experience of the PTE and ORT<sup>13</sup> have shown the failure of such attempts. So, more than ever, it is necessary to practice a systematic policy of promoting unity, without sectarian adventures; a policy directed at defending a revolutionary line *inside* the mass trade unions and organizations, a policy of permanent unity in action side by side with all the workers who trust the mass workers parties and the trade-union leaders.

13. Organización Revolucionaria de Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Organization.

## A Volatile Mixture

### Belize, Guatemala, Britain, and Oil

Belize captured the headlines July 7, as the British Labour government announced it was sending troop reinforcements, fifteen Hercules transport planes, four VC-10 jetliners, and the warship *Achilles* to the small Central American country.

The move came on the eve of negotiations between the British and Guatemalan governments over the future of Belize, one of Britain's last colonial outposts. The country, taken over by the British from the Spanish in 1862, became a “self-governing dependency” in 1964.

Ostensibly at issue in the current flare-up were London's plans to eventually grant the country full formal independence. This is opposed by the Guatemalan dictatorship, which claims it “inherited” Belize from Spain. Three seats in the Guatemalan congress remain vacant, reserved for Belize's “liberation.”

Independence for Belize would be a disaster, the Guatemalan government claims, because it would open the way for a Communist “takeover,” and thereby provide a springboard for Cuban “infiltration” into nearby countries.

A report in the July 11 *Christian Science Monitor* suggests, however, that the Guatemalan government's real motive for opposing independence is more down to earth.

“While Guatemala has made its claim to Belize a matter of principle for decades,” James Nelson Goodsell reported, “discov-

This is the line the LCR fights for, the line with which we built and will continue to build a revolutionary alternative credible to the workers. This alternative unmistakably shows the organization's desire to combine the independent activity of the workers and the masses, without making concessions or pacts with the bourgeoisie, in order to overthrow the capitalist system and achieve socialist democracy.

The June 15 elections were a great victory for the workers. But June 15 did not resolve the fundamental problems of the workers and mass movement. It is now, in this new political situation, that we must resolve those problems. The real battle began June 16. The mobilizations already announced in favor of full amnesty; the struggle for the legalization of all the workers parties, which is going to take on new force; and the rise of the mobilization against national oppression are the first battles that will open the way toward victory. □

ery of oil in Guatemala's Petén region, which neighbors Belize, has sparked a more determined Guatemalan pitch for control of the colony.

“The assumption is that if oil exists in Petén, it most likely exists in Belize right next door, especially when Mexico's rich oil finds to the north are considered. Oil geologists suggest that Mexico's petroleum fields probably have their counterparts in Guatemala and Belize.”

To strengthen its negotiating position, the Guatemalan government circulated rumors in early July that it was sending additional troops to the Belize border area. This was sufficient for the Callaghan government in London to rush in its own reinforcements.

At the same time this show of force was being made, however, British and Guatemalan representatives in Washington met for talks in a somewhat more convivial atmosphere. “. . . by the end of the day,” *New York Times* correspondent Linda Charlton reported in a July 7 dispatch, “their latest crisis appeared to have dissolved into an amicable cocktail party.”

Although the six-member delegation from “self-governing” Belize was not invited to the talks, it was, however, permitted to sign a subsequent British-Guatemalan communiqué in which both governments “agreed that it was most desirable to take prompt and appropriate steps to decrease tension.” □

10. Frente por la Unidad de los Trabajadores—Front for Workers Unity.

11. Communist Action.

12. Spanish television.

## Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

[We have taken the text of the following resolution from the July 7 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The introduction is by *Inprecor*.]

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The following theses have been adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. They have been submitted to the discussion preparatory to the Eleventh World Congress of our movement, at which they will be discussed and voted on.

Because of the programmatic importance of the subject with which they deal, which concerns one of the major debates now under way in the international workers movement, the United Secretariat has decided to open a public discussion around these theses. We consequently pledge to publish the contributions to the discussion, criticisms, amendments, or counterdrafts which we receive, whether from members of our movement, from other organizations or tendencies in the workers movement, or from individual authors, provided they do not exceed reasonable length and are not simple reproductions of previously received contributions.

We will strive to reproduce these contributions to the discussion in one or several pamphlets whose publication we will announce regularly in our other publications.

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The current debate in the international labor movement over differing conceptions of socialist democracy is the most deep-going since the years following the Russian Revolution of October 1917. The intensification of the crisis of East and West European Stalinism and Maoism and the growing crisis of the bourgeois political order in Western Europe have brought this debate out of the realm of more or less academic polemics into the field of practical politics. A clear position on this question is required to advance the processes toward socialist revolution in the West and political revolution in the bureaucratized workers states. It is therefore necessary for the Fourth International to state its programmatic positions.

### 1. What is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

The fundamental difference between reformists and centrists of all varieties on the one hand, and revolutionary Marxists, i.e., Bolshevik-Leninists, on the other regarding the conquest of state power, the need for a socialist revolution, the nature of the proletarian state, and the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat does *not* lie in defense of a multiparty system by the former and a one-party system by the latter. Nor does it lie in defense of unrestricted democratic freedoms by the former and defense of severe restriction, or even suppression, of democratic freedoms by the latter. Any attempt to identify the difference between reformists and revolutionists primarily in this way distorts the basic lessons of three-quarters of a century of historical experiences with revolutions and counterrevolutions and objectively represents a grave concession to reformism itself.

The fundamental differences between reformists and revolutionary Marxists on the key issue of state power consist of:

a. The clear recognition by revolutionary Marxists of the *class* nature of all states and of the state apparatus as an instrument for maintaining class rule.

b. The illusion upheld by the reformists that "democracy" or

"democratic state institutions" stand above classes and the class struggle.

c. The clear recognition by revolutionary Marxists that the state apparatus and state institutions of even the most democratic bourgeois states serve to uphold the power and rule of the capitalist class and cannot be instruments with which to overthrow that rule and transfer power from the capitalist class to the working class.

d. The clear recognition by revolutionary Marxists, flowing from these considerations, that the conquest of power by the working class requires the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus, in the first place of the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie.

e. The necessary conclusion drawn by revolutionary Marxists as a consequence: that the working class can exercise state power only within the framework of state institutions of a type different from those of the bourgeois state, state institutions arising out of sovereign and democratically elected and centralized workers councils (soviets), with the fundamental characteristics outlined by Lenin in *State and Revolution*—the election of all functionaries, judges, leaders of the workers or workers and peasants militias, and all delegates representing the toilers in state institutions; regular rotation of elected officials; restriction of their income to that of skilled workers; the right to recall them at any time; parallel exercise of legislative and executive power by soviet-type institutions; radical reduction of the number of permanent functionaries and greater and greater transfer of administrative functions to bodies run by the toilers. In other words, a qualitative growth of direct democracy as contrasted to indirect, representative democracy. As Lenin said, the workers state is the first state in human history that upholds the rule of the majority of the population against exploitative and oppressive minorities. "Instead of the special institutions of a privileged minority (privileged officialdom, the chiefs of the standing army), the majority itself can directly fulfill all these functions, and the more the functions of a state power are performed by the people as a whole, the less need there is for the existence of this power." (*State and Revolution*, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 419-420) Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing other than a workers democracy. It is in this sense that the dictatorship of the proletariat begins to wither away almost from its inception.

The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which summarizes all these points, is a basic part of the Marxist theory of the state, of the proletarian revolution, and of the process toward building a classless society. The word "dictatorship" has a concrete meaning in that context: it is a mechanism for the disarmament and expropriation of the bourgeois class and the exercise of state power by the working class, a mechanism to prevent any reestablishment of private property in the means of production and thus any reintroduction of the exploitation of wage-earners by capitalists. But it in no way means dictatorial rule over the vast majority of people. The founding congress of the Communist International stated explicitly that "proletarian dictatorship is the forcible suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, i.e., an insignificant minority of the population, the landowners and capitalists. It follows that proletarian dictatorship must inevitably entail not only a change in democratic forms and institutions, generally speaking, but precisely such a change as provides an unparalleled extension of the actual enjoyment of democracy by those oppressed by capitalism—the toiling classes. . . . all this implies and presents to the toiling classes, i.e., the vast majority of the population, greater practical opportunities for enjoying democratic rights and liberties than



ever existed before, even approximately, in the best and the most democratic bourgeois republics." ("Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 28, pp. 464-465)

Against the now avowedly programmatic revisionism of many Communist parties and centrist formations, the Fourth International defends these classical concepts of Marx and Lenin. A socialist society is not possible without the collective ownership of the means of production and the social surplus product, economic planning and administration by the working class as a whole through democratically centralized workers councils, i.e., planned self-management by the toilers. No such socialization is possible unless the capitalists are economically and politically expropriated and state power is wielded by the working class.

Especially after the tragic Chilean experience, which confirmed so many previous lessons of history, the Kautskian reformist concept now defended by the so-called Eurocommunist parties, the Japanese CP, and several other CPs as well as centrist formations, according to which the labor movement can fully attain its goals within the framework of bourgeois-parliamentary institutions through reliance on parliamentary elections and gradual conquest of "positions of power" within these institutions, must be energetically opposed and denounced for what it is: a cover-up for abandonment of the struggle for the conquest of state power by the proletariat; a cover-up for abandonment of the struggle for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, for abandonment of a policy of consistent defense of the class interests of the working class; a substitution of ever more systematic class collaboration with the bourgeoisie for the policy of consistent class struggle; and, flowing therefrom, a growing tendency to capitulate to the class interests of the bourgeoisie at moments of decisive economic, political, and social crisis. Far from reducing the costs of "social transformation" or from ensuring a peaceful, albeit slower, transition to socialism, this policy, if it should decisively determine the political attitude of the toilers in a period of unavoidable overall class confrontation, can only lead to bloody defeats and mass slaughters of the German, Spanish, and Chilean type.

## 2. For a One-Party or a Multiparty System?

In no way does the Marxist theory of the state entail the concept that a one-party system is a necessary precondition or feature of workers power, a workers state, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. In no theoretical document of Marx, Engels, Lenin, or Trotsky and in no programmatic document of the Third International under Lenin did such a defense of the one-party system ever appear. The theories developed later on, such as the crude Stalinist theory that throughout history social classes have always been represented by a single party, are historically wrong and serve only as apologies for the monopoly of political power usurped by the Soviet bureaucracy and its ideological heirs in other bureaucratized workers states, a monopoly based upon the political expropriation of the working class. History—including the latest events in the People's Republic of China—has on the contrary confirmed the correctness of Trotsky's position that "classes are heterogeneous; they are torn by inner antagonisms and arrive at the solution of common problems not otherwise than through an inner struggle of tendencies, groups and parties. . . . An example of only one party corresponding to one class is not to be found in the whole course of political history—provided, of course, you do not take the police appearance for the reality." (*The Revolution Betrayed*, p. 267) This was true for the bourgeoisie under feudalism. It is true for the working class under capitalism. It will remain true for the working class under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the process of building socialism.

In that sense, the freedom of organization of different groups, tendencies, and parties *without ideological restrictions* is a precondition for the exercise of political power by the working class. Without such freedom there can be no genuine, elected, democratic workers councils, nor the exercise of real power by

such workers councils. Socially, it is a precondition for the working class *collectively, as a class*, arriving at a common or at least a majority viewpoint on the innumerable problems of tactics, strategy, and even theory (program) that are involved in the titanic task of building a classless society under the leadership of the traditionally oppressed, exploited, and downtrodden masses. Unless there is freedom to organize political groups, tendencies, and parties there can be no real socialist democracy.

Revolutionary Marxists reject the substitutionist, paternalistic, and "apparat" (bureaucratic) deviation from Marxism that sees the socialist revolution, the conquest of state power, and the wielding of state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat as a task of the revolutionary party acting "in the name of" the class or, in the best of cases, "with the support of" the class.

If the dictatorship of the proletariat is to mean what the very words say, and what the theoretical tradition of both Marx and Lenin explicitly contains, i.e., *the rule of the working class as a class* (of the "associated producers"); if the emancipation of the proletariat can be achieved only through the activity of the proletariat itself and not through a passive proletariat being educated for emancipation by benevolent and enlightened revolutionary administrators, then it is obvious that the leading role of the revolutionary party both in the conquest of power and in the building of a classless society can be only to lead the mass activity of the class politically, to win political hegemony in a class that is increasingly engaged in self-activity, to struggle within the class for majority support for its proposals, through political and not administrative or repressive means. *Under the dictatorship of the proletariat state power is exercised by democratically elected workers councils.* The revolutionary party struggles for a correct line and for political leadership within these workers councils, without substituting itself for them. Party and state—and still more party apparatus and state apparatus—remain strictly separate and distinct entities. Furthermore, the goal should be to reduce the *apparatus* of the party.

But genuinely representative, democratically elected workers councils can exist only if the masses have the right to elect whomever they want without distinction, and without restrictive preconditions as to the ideological or political convictions of the elected delegates. Likewise, workers councils can function democratically only if all the elected delegates enjoy the right to form groups, tendencies, and parties, to have access to the mass media, to present their different platforms before the masses and to have them debated and tested by experience. Any restriction of party affiliation restricts the freedom of the proletariat to exercise political power, i.e., restricts workers democracy, which would be contrary both to our program and to the historical interests of the working class.

If one says that only parties and organizations that have no bourgeois (or petty-bourgeois?) program or ideology, or are not "engaged in anti-socialist or anti-soviet propaganda and/or agitation" are to be legalized, how is one to determine the dividing line? Will parties with a majority of working-class members but with a bourgeois ideology be forbidden? How can such a position be reconciled with free elections for workers councils? What is the dividing line between "bourgeois program" and "reformist ideology"? Must reformist parties be forbidden as well? Will the Social Democracy be suppressed?

It is unavoidable that on the basis of historical traditions, such reformist influence will continue to survive in the working class of many countries for a long period. That survival will not be shortened by administrative repression; on the contrary, such repression would tend to strengthen it. The best way to fight against reformist illusions and ideas is through the combination of ideological struggle and the creation of the material conditions for the disappearance of such illusions. Such a struggle would lose much of its efficacy under conditions of administrative repression and lack of free debate and exchange of ideas.

If the revolutionary party agitates for the suppression of Social Democratic or other reformist formations, it will be a thousand times more difficult to maintain freedom of tendencies and

toleration of factions within its own ranks, for the political heterogeneity of the working class would then inevitably tend to reflect itself within the single party.

Thus, the real alternative is not: either freedom for those with a genuine socialist program or freedom for all political parties. The real choice is: either workers democracy with the right of the masses to elect whomever they want, and freedom of political organization for those elected (including people with bourgeois or petty bourgeois ideologies or programs), or a decisive restriction of the political rights of the working class itself, with all the consequences which flow therefrom. Systematic restriction of political parties leads to systematic restriction of workers democracy and unavoidably tends toward systematic restriction of freedom within the revolutionary vanguard party itself.

### 3. What Do Political Parties Represent?

Revolutionary Marxists reject all spontanéist illusions according to which the proletariat is capable of solving the tactical and strategic problems posed by the need to overthrow capitalism and the bourgeois state and to conquer state power and build socialism by spontaneous mass actions without a conscious vanguard and an organized revolutionary vanguard party based upon a revolutionary program tested by history, with cadres educated on the basis of that program and tested through long experience in the living class struggle.

The argument of anarchist origin, also taken up by ultraleftist "councilist" currents, according to which political parties are by their very nature "liberal-bourgeois" formations alien to the proletariat and have no place in workers councils because they tend to usurp political power from the working class, is theoretically incorrect and politically harmful and dangerous. It is not true that political groupings, tendencies, and parties come into existence only with the rise of the modern bourgeoisie. In the fundamental (not the formal) sense of the word, they are much older. They came into being with the emergence of forms of government in which relatively large numbers of people (as opposed to small village community or tribal assemblies) participated in the exercise of political power to some extent (e.g., under the democracies of Antiquity).

Political parties in *that* real (and not formal) sense of the word are a historical phenomenon the contents of which have obviously changed in different epochs, as occurred in the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past (especially, but not only, in the great French revolution). The proletarian revolution will have a similar effect. It can be predicted confidently that under genuine workers democracy parties will receive a much richer and much broader content and will conduct mass ideological struggles of a much broader scope and with much greater mass participation than anything that has occurred up to now under the most advanced forms of bourgeois democracy.

In fact, as soon as political decisions go beyond a small number of routine questions that can be taken up and solved by a restricted group of people, any form of democracy implies the need for *structured and coherent options on a great number of related questions*, in other words a choice between alternative political lines and programs. That's what parties represent.

The absence of such structured alternatives, far from giving large numbers of people greater freedom of expression and choice, makes government by assemblies and workers councils impossible. Ten thousand people cannot vote on 500 alternatives. If power is not to be transferred to demagogues or secret pressure groups and cliques, there is need for free confrontation among a limited number of structured and coherent options, i.e., political programs and parties, without monopolies or prohibitions. This is what will make workers democracy meaningful and operative.

Furthermore, the anarchist and "councilist" opposition to the formation of political parties under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the process of building socialism either: 1) represents wishful thinking (i.e., the desire that the mass of the toilers will abstain from forming or supporting groups, tendencies, and parties with different political lines and programs), in which

case it is simply utopian, for that will not happen; or 2) it represents an attempt to prevent and suppress the attempts by all those toilers who wish to engage in political action on a pluralistic basis to do so, and in that case it can objectively favor only a process of bureaucratic monopolization of power, i.e., the very opposite of what the libertarians want.

In many centrist and ultraleftist groupings a similar argument is advanced, according to which the dispossession of the Soviet proletariat from the direct exercise of political power was rooted in the Leninist concept of democratic centralist organization itself. They hold that the Bolsheviks' efforts to build a party to lead the working class in a revolution inevitably led to a paternalistic, manipulative, bureaucratic relationship between the party and the toiling masses, which led in turn to a party monopoly on the exercise of power after the victorious socialist revolution.

This argument is unhistorical and based on an idealist concept of history. From a Marxist, i.e., historical-materialist point of view, the basic causes of the political expropriation of the Soviet proletariat were material and socioeconomic, not ideological or programmatic. The general poverty and backwardness of Russia and the relative numerical and cultural weakness of the proletariat made the long-term exercise of power by the proletariat impossible if the Russian revolution remained isolated; that was the consensus not only among the Bolsheviks in 1917-18, but among all tendencies claiming to be Marxist. The catastrophic decline of the productive forces in Russia as a result of the first world war, the civil war, foreign imperialist military intervention, sabotage by probourgeois technicians, etc. led to conditions of scarcity that fostered a growth of special privileges. The same factors led to a qualitative weakening of the already small proletariat. In addition, large portions of the political vanguard of the class, those best qualified to exercise power, died in the civil war or left the factories to be incorporated massively into the Red Army and the state apparatus.

After the beginning of the New Economic Policy a certain economic upturn began, but massive unemployment and continuous disappointment caused by the retreats and defeats of the world revolution nurtured political passivity and a general decline of mass political activity, extending to the soviets. The working class was thus unable to stem the growth of a materially privileged layer, which, in order to maintain its rule, increasingly restricted democratic rights and destroyed the soviets and the Bolshevik Party itself (while using its name for its own purposes). These are the main causes of the usurpation by a bureaucracy of the exercise of direct power and for the gradual merger of the party apparatus, the state apparatus, and the apparatus of economic managers into a privileged bureaucratic caste.

Marxist historians can argue whether some of the concrete measures taken by the Bolsheviks even before Lenin's death may have objectively favored the process of Stalinization, or if Lenin and Trotsky were late in understanding the scope of the danger of bureaucratization and the degree to which the party apparatus had already been absorbed by the bureaucratization process. But these could be said to be contributing factors at most. The main causes of all these processes were objective, material, economic, and social. They must be sought in the social infrastructure of Soviet society, not in its political superstructure and certainly not in a particular concept of the party.

On the other hand, historical experience has confirmed that where a leading or even highly influential revolutionary party is absent, workers councils last shorter and not longer than they did in Russia: Germany in 1918 and Spain in 1936-37 are the most conspicuous examples. Furthermore, without such a party these councils do not succeed in conquering state power, i.e., in overthrowing the bourgeois state. Empirical evidence confirms Marxist theory, showing that it is the free and democratic self-organization of the toiling masses, dialectically combined with the political clarification made possible by a revolutionary vanguard party in the leadership, that represents the best chance for the conquest and continuous exercise of power by the working class itself.



#### 4. Workers Councils and the Extension of Democratic Rights

Without full freedom to organize political groups, tendencies, and parties no full flowering of democratic rights and freedoms for the toiling masses is possible under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx and Lenin's whole critique of the limitations of bourgeois democracy is based on the fact that private property and capitalist exploitation (i.e., social and economic inequality), coupled with the specific class structure of bourgeois society (atomization and alienation of the working class, legislation defending private property, function of the repressive apparatus, etc.), result in the violent *restriction* of the practical application of democratic rights and the practical enjoyment of democratic freedoms by the big majority of the toiling masses, even in the most democratic bourgeois regimes. The logical conclusion flowing from this critique is that workers democracy must be superior to bourgeois democracy not only in the economic and social sphere—not only in the right to work, to security of existence, to free education, to leisure time, etc., which are obviously very important—but also in the scope and extent of the enjoyment of democratic rights by the workers and all layers of toilers in the political and social sphere. To grant a single party, so-called mass organizations, or "professional associations" (like writers associations) controlled exclusively by that party a monopoly on access to printing presses, radio, television, and other mass media, to assembly halls, etc., would, in fact, *restrict and not extend* the democratic rights of the proletariat compared to those enjoyed under bourgeois democracy. The right of the toiling people, including those with dissenting views, to have access to the material means of exercising democratic freedoms (freedom of the press, of assembly, of demonstration, the right to strike, etc.) is essential.

Therefore, an extension of democratic rights for the toilers beyond those already enjoyed under conditions of bourgeois democracy is incompatible with the restriction of the right to form political groupings, tendencies, or parties on programmatic or ideological grounds.

Moreover, self-activity and self-administration by the toiling masses under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the building of a socialist society will take on many new facets and extend the concepts of "political activity," "political parties," "political programs," and "democratic rights" far beyond anything characteristic of political life under bourgeois democracy. Through media such as television and time-sharing (i.e., telephone access to) computers, contemporary technology makes possible a tremendous leap forward in the interaction between direct and indirect (representative) democracy. Workers in a factory or toilers in a neighborhood can follow "live" speeches by their delegates in local, regional, national, or international congresses and can intervene rapidly to correct false representations of facts or violations of mandates, once a general atmosphere of free political criticism and debate prevails. Millions of toilers can have direct access to an immense mass of information, once capitalist "secrecy" and monopoly on information centralized by computer systems is forbidden or broken. Political instruments like referendums on specific questions could be used to enable the mass of the toilers to decide directly on a whole series of key questions of policy.

Likewise, instruments of direct democracy could be used on a wide scale in the field of planning, to ascertain real consumer wishes not through indirect means (market mechanisms) but through consumer-producers conferences and consumer mass meetings or referendums on the choice of specific models, varieties, and quality grades of consumer goods. Here again, contemporary techniques make all these mechanisms much more realistic and much more applicable to millions of people than was objectively possible in the past.

The building of a classless socialist society is also a gigantic process of remodeling all aspects of social life. It involves constant revolutionary change not only in the relations of production, the mode of distribution, the work process, the forms of administra-

tion of the economy and society, the customs, habits and ways of thinking of the great majority of people, but also fundamental reconstruction of all living conditions: reconstruction of cities, reunification of manual and intellectual labor, complete revolution of the education system, restoration and defense of the ecological equilibrium, technological revolutions designed to conserve scarce natural resources, etc.

All these endeavors, for which humanity possesses no blueprints, will give rise to momentous ideological and political debates and struggles. Different political programs arising around these combined issues will play a much greater role than nostalgic references to the bourgeois past or abstract affirmations of the communist ideal. But any restriction of these debates, struggles, and formation of parties under the pretext that this or that platform "objectively" reflects bourgeois or petty-bourgeois pressure and interests and "if logically carried to the end" would lead to the "restoration of capitalism" can only hinder the emergence of majority consensus around the most effective and correct solutions of these burning problems *from the point of view of building socialism*, i.e., in the class interests of the proletariat itself.

More specifically, it should be pointed out that momentous struggles will continue throughout the process of building a classless society, struggles that concern social evils that are rooted in class society but will not disappear immediately with the elimination of capitalist exploitation or wage-labor. The oppression of women, the oppression of national minorities, and the oppression and alienation of youth are archetypes of such problems, which cannot automatically be subsumed under the general heading "class struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie" except by divorcing the categories "working class" and "bourgeoisie" from their classical Marxist, materialist definitions and foundations, as is done by Maoists and various ultraleftist currents.

Political freedom under workers democracy therefore implies freedom of organization and action for *independent* women's liberation, national liberation, and youth movements, i.e., movements much broader than the working class in the scientific sense of the word, not to speak of the revolutionary Marxist current within the working class. Revolutionary Marxists will be able to win political leadership within these autonomous movements and to ideologically defeat various utopian or reactionary ideological currents not through administrative or repressive measures but on the contrary by promoting the broadest possible mass democracy within their ranks and by uncompromisingly upholding the right of all tendencies to defend their opinions and platforms before society as a whole.

It should likewise be recognized that the specific *form* of workers state power implies a unique dialectical combination of centralization and decentralization. The withering away of the state, to be initiated from the inception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, expresses itself through a process of gradual devolution of the right of administration in broad sectors of social activity (health system, education system, postal-railway-telecommunications systems, etc.), internationally, nationally, regionally, and locally, once the central congress of workers councils (i.e., the *proletariat as a class*) has by majority vote allocated to each of these sectors that part of human and material resources at the disposal of society as a whole. This again implies specific forms and contents of political debates and struggles which cannot be predicted in advance or in any way reduced to simplistic and mechanical "class criteria."

Finally, in the building of a classless society, the participation of millions of people not only in a more or less passive way through their votes, but also in the actual administration at various levels cannot be reduced to a workerist concept of considering only workers "at the point of production." Lenin said that in a workers state the vast majority of the population would participate directly in the administration of "state functions." This means that the soviets on which the dictatorship of the proletariat will be based are not factory councils, but bodies of

self-organization of the masses in all areas of economic and social life, including factories, commercial units, hospitals, schools, transport and telecommunications centers, and neighborhoods. This is indispensable in order to integrate into the proletariat its most dispersed and often poorest and most oppressed layers, such as women, oppressed nationalities, youth, workers in small shops, old-age pensioners, etc. It is also indispensable for cementing the alliance between the working class and the lower petty bourgeoisie, which is important in reducing the social costs both of a victorious revolution and of the building of socialism.

##### **5. A Clear Stand Is Necessary to Win the Masses for the Socialist Revolution**

The defense of a clear and unequivocal program of workers democracy is today an indispensable part of the struggle against the reformist leaderships that seek to inculcate bourgeois-democratic myths and illusions in the working class in the imperialist countries. It is likewise indispensable in the struggle against procapitalist illusions and anti-soviet prejudices among various layers of rebels and oppositionists in the bureaucratized workers states in the process of the unfolding struggle for political revolution in these countries.

The historical experiences of both fascism (and other types of reactionary bourgeois dictatorships) in the West and the Stalin and Mao regimes and their successors in the East have aroused in the proletariat of both the imperialist countries and the bureaucratized workers states a deep distrust of any form of one-party system and of any justification, however sophisticated, for restricting democratic rights after the overthrow of capitalism. This distrust objectively conforms to the basic course of all proletarian revolutions up to now; the direction has always been toward the broadest possible democratic rights and self-activity of the masses. This has been the case from the Paris Commune to the Russian and German revolutions to the experiences of the Spanish revolution of 1936-37 to the more recent working-class upsurges in France in 1968, Italy in 1969-70, and Portugal in 1974-75; it has likewise been expressed in the antibureaucratic upsurges in East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia since the 1950s.

The ruling class utilizes all the ideological means at its disposal to identify parliamentary institutions with the maintenance of democratic rights. In both Western Europe and North America, for instance, the capitalist rulers seek to appear as champions of the democratic outlook of the working class and plebeian masses, an outlook which has been powerfully strengthened by the negative experiences of fascism and Stalinism.

One of the key components of the struggle for leadership of the masses consists of properly understanding the import of their democratic demands and actions, of expressing them adequately, and thus counteracting the strenuous efforts of the reformists to co-opt the struggle for democratic demands and turn it into the blind alley of bourgeois parliamentary institutions.

The task of wresting leadership from the reformists as representatives of the democratic aspirations of the masses is thus crucial for revolutionary Marxists. Obviously, programmatic clarification and propaganda—important as they are—are insufficient to achieve this objective. The masses learn through their practical daily experience; hence the importance of going through this daily experience with them and drawing the correct lessons from it.

As the class struggle sharpens, the reformist leaders, who trumpet the alleged benefits of the bourgeois parliamentary system, will sound less and less convincing, and the workers will increasingly challenge the authority and prerogatives of the ruling class on all levels. The workers themselves, through their own organizations—from workers committees in the factories to workers councils (soviets)—will begin to assert more and more economic and political decision-making authority, and they will gain confidence in their power to overthrow the bourgeois state. In this same process, in order to carry out their struggles most

effectively, with the broadest mass involvement, the workers will see the need for the most democratic forms of organization. Through this experience of struggle and participation in their own democratically run organizations, the masses will experience more freedom of action and more liberty in the broadest sense of the word than they ever exercised under bourgeois parliamentary democracy, and they will learn the irreplaceable value of proletarian democracy. This is an indispensable link in the chain of events leading from capitalist rule to the conquest of power by the proletariat and will be a vital experience to draw upon in establishing the democratic norms of the workers state.

If the revolutionary Marxists leave the slightest impression, either through their propaganda or through their practice, that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the political freedoms of the workers will be narrower than under bourgeois democracy—including the freedom to criticize the government, to have opposition parties and an opposition press—then the struggle to overcome the panders of parliamentary illusions will be incomparably more difficult, if not condemned to defeat. Any hesitation or equivocation in this field by the revolutionary vanguard will only help the reformist lackeys of the liberal bourgeoisie to divide the proletariat and divert an important sector of the class into defense of bourgeois state institutions, under the guise of assuring democratic rights.

It has been argued that all the above arguments apply only to those countries in which the wage-earning class already represents a clear majority of the active population, i.e., where they are not faced with a great majority of petty independent producers. It is true that in some semicolonial countries the weakness of the old ruling class led to a very favorable relationship of social forces in which the overthrow of capitalism was accomplished without the flowering of workers democracy (China and Vietnam being two outstanding examples). But it is necessary to underline the exceptional character of these experiences, which will not be repeated in most semicolonial countries and cannot be repeated in imperialist countries. It is necessary, furthermore, to stress that insofar as the overturn of capitalism in several backward countries was not tied to the emergence of direct workers power through democratically elected councils of workers and poor peasants, these workers states were condemned to be bureaucratized from the start. As a result, severe obstructions have been erected to progress on the road toward the building of a socialist classless society, both at home and internationally.

Likewise, inasmuch as a growing number of semicolonial countries are at present undergoing processes of partial industrialization, their proletariat today is often already of much greater weight relative to the active population than was the Russian proletariat in 1917 or the Chinese proletariat in 1949. This proletariat, through its own experience of struggle, will speedily rise toward levels of consciousness and self-organization that will place the organization of soviet-type state organs on the agenda. In that sense, the Fourth International's program of workers council democracy as a basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat is a *universal program for world revolution*, which corresponds fundamentally to the social nature, historical needs, and way of thinking of the working class itself. It is in no way a "luxury" reserved for the workers of the "richest countries."

##### **6. In Response to the Stalinists**

Among those who claim to stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is only the Stalinists who advance a theoretically and politically consistent alternative to our program of socialist democracy based on workers councils and a multiparty system within which the revolutionary vanguard party fights for political leadership by winning the majority of the toilers to its views. The Stalinist alternative is based on the exercise of state power under the "dictatorship of the proletariat" *by a single party in the name of the working class*. This alternative is based upon the following (not often clearly stated) assumptions:

- a. That the "leading party" or even its "leading nucleus" has a



monopoly on scientific knowledge and is guaranteed infallibility (which implies the theological and scholastic conclusion that one cannot give the same rights to those who defend truth and those who propagate falsehoods).

b. That the working class, and even more the toiling masses in general, are too backward politically, too much under the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, too much inclined to prefer immediate material advantages as against historical social interests, for any direct exercise of state power by democratically elected workers councils; genuine workers democracy would entail the risk of an increasing series of harmful, objectively counterrevolutionary decisions which would open the road to the restoration of capitalism, or at the very least gravely damage and retard the process of building socialism.

c. That therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat can be exercised only by the "leading party for the proletariat," i.e., that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the party (either representing an essentially passive working class, or actively basing itself on the class struggle of the masses, who are nevertheless considered unworthy of directly exercising state power themselves).

d. That since the party, and that party alone, represents the interests of the working class, which are considered homogeneous in all situations and on all issues, the "leading party" itself must be monolithic. Any opposition tendency necessarily reflects alien class pressure and alien class interests in one form or another. (The struggle between two lines is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie inside the party, the Maoists conclude.) Monolithic control of all spheres of social life by the single party is the logical outcome of these concepts. Direct party control must be established over all sectors of "civil society."

e. A further underlying assumption is that of an intensification of the class struggle in the period of building socialism (although this assumption alone does not necessarily lead to the same conclusions if it is not combined with the previous ones). From that assumption is deduced the increasing danger of restoration of bourgeois power even long after private property in the means of production has been abolished, and irrespective of the level of development of the productive forces. The threat of bourgeois restoration is portrayed as the mechanical outcome of the victory of bourgeois ideology in this or that social, political, cultural, or even scientific field. In view of the extreme power thereby attributed to bourgeois ideas, the use of repression against those who are said to objectively represent these ideas becomes a corollary of the argument.

All these assumptions are unscientific from a general theoretical point of view and are untenable in the light of the real historical experience of the class struggle during and after the overthrow of capitalist rule in the USSR and other countries. Again and again they have shown themselves to be harmful to the defense of the proletariat's class interests and an obstacle to a successful struggle against the remnants of the bourgeoisie and of bourgeois ideology. But inasmuch as they had become nearly universally accepted dogmas by the CPs in Stalin's time and undoubtedly have an inner consistency—a reflection of the material interests of the bureaucracy as a social layer—they have never been explicitly and thoroughly criticized and rejected by any CP since then. These concepts continue to linger on, at least partially, in the ideology of many leaders and cadres of the CPs and SPs, i.e., of the bureaucracies of the labor movement. They continue to constitute a conceptual source for justifying various forms of curtailing the democratic rights of the toiling masses in the bureaucratized workers states, as well as in those sectors of the labor movement in the capitalist countries which are dominated by the CPs. A clear and coherent refutation of these concepts is indispensable in defending our program of socialist democracy.

First: the idea of a homogeneous working class exclusively represented by a single party is contradicted by all historical experience and by any Marxist, materialist analysis of the concrete growth and development of the contemporary proletariat,

both under capitalism and after the overthrow of capitalism. At most, one could defend the thesis that the revolutionary vanguard party alone *programmatically* defends the *long-term historical* interests of the proletariat. But even in that case, a dialectical-materialist approach, as opposed to a mechanical-idealist one, would immediately add that only insofar as that party actually conquers political leadership over the majority of the workers can one speak of an integration of immediate and long-term class interests having been achieved in practice, with the possibilities for error much reduced.

In fact, there is a definite, objectively determined *stratification* of the working class and of the development of working-class consciousness. There is likewise at the very least a tension between the struggle for immediate interests and the historical goals of the labor movement (for example, the contradiction between immediate consumption and long-term investment). Precisely these contradictions, rooted in the legacy of uneven development of bourgeois society, are among the main theoretical justifications for the need for a revolutionary vanguard, as opposed to a simple "all inclusive" union of all wage-earners in a single party. But this again implies that one cannot deny that different parties, with different orientations and different ways of approaching the class struggle between capital and labor and the relations between immediate demands and historical goals, can arise and have arisen within the working class and do genuinely represent sectors of the working class (be it purely sectoral interests, ideological pressures of alien class forces, etc.).

Second: a revolutionary party with a democratic internal life does have a tremendous advantage in the field of correct analysis of socioeconomic and political developments and of correct elaboration of tactical and strategic answers to such developments, for it can base itself on the body of scientific socialism, Marxism, which synthesizes and generalizes all past experiences of the class struggle as a whole.

This programmatic framework for its current political elaboration makes it much less likely than any other tendency of the labor movement, or any unorganized sector of the working class, to reach wrong conclusions, premature generalizations, and one-sided and impressionistic reactions to unforeseen developments, to make concessions to ideological and political pressures of alien class forces, to engage in unprincipled political compromises, etc. These undeniable facts, confirmed again and again by every turn of events in the more than three-quarters of a century since Bolshevism was founded, are the most powerful arguments in favor of a revolutionary vanguard party.

But they do not guarantee that errors by that party will automatically be avoided. There are no infallible parties. There are no infallible party leaderships, party majorities, "Leninist central committees," or individual party leaders. The Marxist program is never a definitively achieved one. No new situation can be comprehensively analyzed in reference to historical precedents. Social reality is constantly undergoing changes. New and unforeseen developments regularly occur at historical turning points: the phenomenon of imperialism after Engels's death was not analyzed by Marx and Engels; the delay of the proletarian revolution in the advanced imperialist countries was not foreseen by the Bolsheviks; the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers state was not incorporated in Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the emergence after World War II of many workers states (albeit with bureaucratic deformations) following revolutionary mass struggles not led by revolutionary Marxist leaderships (Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Vietnam) was not foreseen by Trotsky; etc. No complete, ready-made answers for new phenomena can be found in the works of the classics or in the existing program.

Furthermore, new problems will arise in the course of the building of socialism, problems for which the revolutionary Marxist program provides only a general framework of reference but no automatic source of correct answers. The struggle for correct answers to such new problems implies a constant interaction between theoretical-political analysis and discussions

and revolutionary *class practice*, the final word being spoken by practical experience.

Under such circumstances, any restriction of free political and theoretical debate spilling over to a restriction of free political mass activity of the proletariat, i.e., any restriction of socialist democracy, will constitute an obstacle to the revolutionary party itself arriving at correct policies. It is therefore not only theoretically wrong but practically ineffective and harmful from the point of view of successfully advancing on the road of building socialism.

One of the gravest consequences of a monolithic one-party system, of the absence of a plurality of political groups, tendencies, and parties, and of administrative restrictions being imposed on free political and ideological debate, is the impediments such a system erects on the road to rapidly correcting mistakes committed by the government of a workers state. Mistakes committed by such a government, like mistakes committed by the majority of the working class, its various layers, and different political groupings, are by and large unavoidable in the process of building a classless, socialist society. A rapid correction of these mistakes, however, is possible in a climate of free political debate, free access of opposition groupings to mass media, large-scale political awareness and involvement in political life by the masses, and control by the masses over government and state activity at all levels.

The absence of all these correctives under a system of monolithic one-party government makes the rectification of grave mistakes all the more difficult. The very dogma of party infallibility on which the Stalinist system rests puts a heavy premium both on the denial of mistakes in party policies (search for self-justification and for scapegoats) and on the attempt to postpone even implicit corrections as long as possible. The objective costs of such a system in terms of economic losses, of unnecessary, i.e., objectively avoidable, sacrifices imposed upon the toiling masses, of political defeats in relation to class enemies, and of political disorientation and demoralization of the proletariat, are indeed staggering, as is shown by the history of the Soviet Union since 1928. To give just one example: the obstinate clinging to an erroneous agricultural policy by Stalin and his henchmen has wreaked havoc with the food supply of the Soviet people for more than a generation; its negative consequences have not been eliminated to this day, nearly fifty years later. Such a catastrophe would have been impossible had there been free political debate over opposing policies in the USSR.

Third: the idea that *restricting* the democratic rights of the proletariat is in any way conducive to the gradual "education" of an allegedly "backward" mass of toilers is blatantly absurd. One cannot learn to swim except by going into the water. There is no way masses can learn to raise the level of their political awareness other than by engaging in political activity and learning from the experience of such activity. There is no way they can learn from mistakes other than by having the right to commit them. Paternalistic prejudices about the alleged "backwardness" of the masses generally hide a conservative petty-bourgeois fear of mass activity, which has nothing in common with revolutionary Marxism. Any restriction of political mass activity under the pretext that the masses would make too many mistakes can only lead to increasing political apathy among the workers, i.e., to paradoxically reinforcing the very situation which is said to be the problem.

Fourth: under conditions of full-scale socialization of the means of production and the social surplus product, any long-term monopoly of the exercise of political power in the hands of a minority—even if it is a revolutionary party beginning with revolutionary proletarian motivations—runs a strong risk of stimulating objective tendencies toward bureaucratization. Under such socioeconomic conditions, whoever controls the state administration thereby controls the social surplus product and its distribution. Given the fact that economic inequalities will still exist at the outset, particularly in the economically backward workers states, this can become a source of corruption and of the

growth of material privileges and social differentiation. Thus, there is an objective need for real control over decision-making to rest in the hands of the proletariat as a class, with unlimited possibilities to denounce pilferage, waste, and illegal appropriation and misuse of resources at all levels, including the highest ones. No such democratic mass control is possible without opposition tendencies, groups, and parties having full freedom of action, propaganda, and agitation, as well as full access to the mass media.

Likewise, during the transition period between capitalism and socialism, and even in the first phase of communism (socialism) it is unavoidable that forms of division of labor (especially separation between intellectual and manual labor) will survive, as well as forms of labor organization and labor processes totally or partially inherited from capitalism that do not enable a full development of all the creative talents of the producer. These cannot be neutralized by education, indoctrination, moral exhortation or periodic "mass criticism campaigns," as the Maoists contend, and still less by mystifying expedients like cadres' working one day a week as manual laborers. These objective obstacles on the road to the *gradual emergence of truly socialist relations of production* can be prevented from becoming powerful sources of material privileges only if a strict distinction is made between the functional and the social division of labor, i.e., *if the mass of the producers* (in the first place those likely to be the most exploited, the manual workers) *are placed in conditions such that they can exercise real political and social power over any "functionally" privileged layer.* The radical reduction of the work day and the fullest soviet democracy are the two key conditions for attaining this goal.

The present conditions, which make the problem of upholding and advancing proletarian democracy especially difficult, would of course be altered qualitatively if (or when) either of the two following developments occur: 1. A socialist revolution in one or more industrially advanced capitalist countries. Such a revolution would itself give enormous impulsion to the struggle for democratic rights throughout the world and would immediately open the possibility of increasing productivity on an immense scale, eliminating the scarcities that are the root cause of the entrenchment of parasitic bureaucratism, as explained above. 2. A political revolution in the bureaucratically deformed or degenerated workers states, particularly the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China. This would likewise signify an upsurge of proletarian democracy with colossal repercussions internationally, besides putting an end to the bureaucratic caste and its concept of building "socialism in one country."

Following a political revolution, common economic planning among all the workers states would become realizable, thus assuring a leap forward in productivity that would help remove the economic basis of parasitic bureaucratism.

Finally, it is true that there is no automatic correlation or simultaneity between the abolition of capitalist state power and private property in the means of production and the disappearance of privileges in the field of personal wealth, cultural heritage, and ideological influence, not to speak of the disappearance of all elements of commodity production. Long after bourgeois state power has been overthrown and capitalist property abolished, remnants of petty commodity production and the survival of elements of a money economy will continue to create a framework in which primitive accumulation of capital can still reappear, especially if the level of development of the productive forces is still insufficient to guarantee the automatic appearance and consolidation of genuinely *socialist* relations of production. Likewise, long after the bourgeoisie has lost its positions as a ruling class politically and economically, the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, customs, habits, cultural values, etc. will linger on in relatively large spheres of social life and broad layers of society.

But it is completely wrong to draw from this undeniable fact (which is, incidentally, one of the main reasons why *state power*



of the working class is indispensable in order to prevent these "islands of bourgeois influence" from becoming bases for the restoration of capitalism) the conclusion that administrative repression of bourgeois ideology is a necessary condition for the building of a socialist society. On the contrary, historical experience confirms the *total ineffectiveness* of administrative struggles against reactionary bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies; in fact, in the long run such methods even strengthen the hold of these ideologies and place the great mass of the proletariat in the position of being ideologically disarmed before them, because of lack of experience with genuine political and ideological debate and the lack of credibility of official "state doctrines."

The only effective way to eliminate the influence of these ideologies upon the mass of the toilers lies in:

a. The creation of objective conditions under which these ideologies lose the material roots of their reproduction.

b. The waging of a relentless struggle against these ideologies in the field of ideology itself, which can, however, attain its full success only under conditions of open debate and open confrontation, i.e., of freedom for the defenders of reactionary ideologies to defend their ideas, of ideological cultural pluralism.

Only those who have neither confidence in the superiority of Marxist and materialist ideas nor confidence in the proletariat and the toiling masses can shrink from open ideological confrontation with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once that class is disarmed and expropriated, once their members can have access to the mass media only in relation to their numbers, there is no reason to fear a constant, free, and frank confrontation between their ideas and ours. This confrontation is the only means through which the working class can educate itself ideologically and successfully free itself from the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas.

Any monopoly position accorded to Marxism (not to speak of particular versions or interpretations of Marxism) in the ideological-cultural fields through administrative and repressive measures by the state can lead only to debasing Marxism itself from a critical science into a form of state doctrine or state religion, with a constantly declining attractive power among the toiling masses and especially the youth. This is apparent today in the USSR, where the monopoly position accorded "official Marxism" masks a real poverty of creative Marxist thought in all areas. Marxism, which is critical thought *par excellence*, can flourish only in an atmosphere of full freedom of discussion and constant confrontation with other currents of thought, i.e., in an atmosphere of full ideological and cultural pluralism.

## 7. The Self-defense of the Workers State

Obviously, any workers state must defend itself against attempts at open overthrow and open violation of its basic laws. In a workers democracy the constitution and the penal code will forbid private appropriation of the means of production or private hiring of labor, just as the constitution and penal codes under bourgeois rule forbid individual infringement on the rights of private property. Likewise, as long as we are not yet in a classless society, as long as proletarian class rule survives and the restoration of capitalism remains possible, the constitution and the penal code of the dictatorship of the proletariat will forbid and punish *acts* of armed insurrection, attempts to overthrow working-class power through violence, terrorist attacks on individual representatives of workers power, sabotage, espionage in the service of foreign capitalist states, etc. But only *proven acts* of that kind should be punishable, not general propaganda explicitly or implicitly favorable to a restoration of capitalism. *This means that freedom of political organization should be granted all those, including probourgeois elements, who in actual practice respect the constitution of the workers state, i.e., are not engaged in violent actions to overthrow workers power and collective property.* The workers have no need to fear as a mortal danger propaganda that "incites" them to give the factories and banks

back to private owners. There is little chance that a majority of them will be "persuaded" by propaganda of that type. The working class in the imperialist countries, the bureaucratized workers states, and an increasing number of semicolonial countries is strong enough not to have to reintroduce the concept of "crimes of opinion" either in its penal codes or in the daily practice of the workers state.

This is our programmatic and principled norm—unfettered political freedom for all those individuals, groups, tendencies, and parties who in practice respect collective property and the workers' constitution. This does not mean that these norms can be fully implemented irrespective of concrete circumstances. In the process of establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, civil war or international military interventions have been and can be unleashed by the bourgeoisie. Under conditions of civil war or foreign military intervention, i.e., attempts by the former ruling classes to overthrow workers power by force, then the rules of war apply, and restrictions on the political activities of the bourgeoisie may well be called for. No social class, no state, has ever granted full rights to those actively engaged in a violent war to overthrow them. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot act otherwise in that respect.

What is important, however, is to strictly distinguish between activities instigating violence against workers power and political activities, ideological positions, or programmatic statements that can be interpreted as favoring a restoration of capitalism. Against terror the proletarian state defends itself by repression. Against reactionary politics and ideas it defends itself by political and ideological struggle. This is not a question of "morality" or "softness." It is essentially a question of *practical long-term effectiveness*.

The disastrous experience of Stalinism, which has systematically misused slanderous accusations of "collusion with imperialism," "espionage for foreign powers," and "antisocialist" or "antisoviet" agitation to suppress any form of political criticism, opposition, or nonconformism in the countries under the rule of a parasitic bureaucracy and which has organized barbaric repression on a mass scale under these pretexts, has created a profound (and essentially healthy) distrust of the abuse of penal, juridical, or police institutions for purposes of political repression. It is therefore necessary to stress that the use of repressive self-defense by the proletariat and its state against attempts to overthrow workers power by violence should be strictly circumscribed to *proven crimes and acts*, strictly separated from the realm of ideological, political, and cultural activities. This means, furthermore, that the Fourth International should stand for the defense and the extension of the most progressive conquests of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the field of penal codes and justice and should fight for their incorporation into the socialist constitutions and penal codes. These include such rights as:

- The necessity of written law and the avoidance of retroactive delinquency. The burden of proof to be on the accuser; the assumption of innocence until proof of guilt.
- The full right of all individuals to freely determine the nature of their defense; full immunity for legal defenders of any statements or lines of defense used in such trials.
- Rejection of collective responsibility of social groups, families, etc.
- Strict forbidding of any form of torture or extortion of confessions by physical or psychological pressure.
- Extension and generalization of public trial by jury.
- Democratic election of all judges. The right of the mass of the toilers to recall elected judges.

Again, the fundamental guarantee against all abuses of state repression lies in the fullest participation in political activity of the toiling masses, the broadest possible socialist democracy, and the abolition of any monopoly of access to weapons for privileged minorities, i.e., the general armament of the proletariat (workers militias).

Furthermore, if civil war conditions make *certain* restrictions of democratic rights unavoidable, the basic nature and limitations of

such restrictions should be made clearly understood. It is necessary to clearly and frankly explain before the whole working class that any such restrictions are deviations from the programmatic norm that corresponds to the historical interests of the proletariat, that they are exceptions and not the rule. This means that they should be limited to the utmost, both in scope and in time, and revoked as soon as possible. This means that the workers should be especially alerted to the need to prevent them from becoming institutionalized and elevated into the realm of principle.

It is likewise necessary to stress the direct political and material responsibility of bourgeois counterrevolution for any restrictions of socialist democracy under war conditions. This means to indicate clearly to society in its totality, and to the remnants of the former ruling classes themselves, that the way they will be dealt with depends on themselves alone, i.e., upon their practical behavior.

The survival for the time being of powerful imperialist states and rich bourgeois classes in the world imposes a situation of more or less permanent *potential* class confrontation on a world scale, and therefore of more or less *potential* civil war. But the obvious need for the workers states to protect themselves against the *threat* of foreign imperialist intervention does not at all imply the identification of conditions of *potential* civil war with those of *actual* civil war, an argument that the Stalinists of all shades have continually used to justify the strangling of workers democracy in the countries under the rule of a parasitic bureaucracy. Furthermore, the establishment of monolithic one-party rule in a workers state does not strengthen its capacity for self-defense against imperialist aggression. The very opposite is true. The existence of a system of socialist democracy would make it much more difficult for the imperialists to undertake military aggression under the pretext of "defense of freedom." A high level of political understanding and conviction on the part of the toiling masses; a high level of political activity, mobilization, and alertness; an internationalist education and activity of the proletariat all help to transform a workers state into a powerful pole of attraction for the international working class. Of course, any workers state must develop a modern military and intelligence defense system against hostile capitalist states, but the support of the international working class is a thousand times more effective for self-defense than a powerful secret police continually in search of "foreign infiltrators" and "spies." In the long run, police methods generally weaken the capacity for self-defense of the victorious proletariat against foreign enemies.

Finally, it should be stressed that the main problem today in the Soviet Union, China, and the East European workers states is not the danger of capitalist restoration under conditions of war or civil war. The main problem facing the working class in these countries is the dictatorial control over economic, political, and social life by a privileged bureaucratic caste. Under these present conditions it is all the more important to place the central stress on the defense of the democratic rights of all against the restrictions imposed by the bureaucracy.

#### 8. A Fundamental Aspect of the Program for Socialist Revolution

The balance sheet of fifty years of bureaucratic power, beginning with the rise of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union, and of twenty-five years of crisis of world Stalinism can be summarized as follows:

a. In spite of all specific differences between the various European and Asian workers states and in spite of all the changes that have occurred there, *all* remain characterized by the *absence of institutionalized and constitutionally guaranteed direct workers power* (i.e., democratically elected workers councils, or councils of workers and toiling peasants exercising direct state power). Everywhere *de facto* one-party systems exist as expressions of the complete monopoly of real power in all spheres of social life by the privileged bureaucracies. The absence of the right to form tendencies within the single party, the negation of real democratic centralism in the Leninist sense of the word,

reinforces that monopoly in the exercise of state power. The parasitic nature of the materially privileged bureaucracies furthermore implies that to various degrees momentous additional obstacles are placed on the road to advancing the world socialist revolution and building a socialist society; the transition from capitalism to socialism becomes bogged down, creativity is stifled, and tremendous amounts of social wealth are misused and wasted.

b. In spite of many partial criticisms of the existing political and economic system in the USSR and the other bureaucratized workers states by various ideological currents that have developed since the postwar crisis of Stalinism (Titoism, Maoism, Castroism, "Eurocommunism," and left centrism of the Italian, Spanish, and West German types, etc.) none of these currents has put forward a fundamental alternative to the Stalinist model in the USSR. Against that bureaucratic power structure none offer a coherent alternative of *democratic direct working class power*. No real understanding of the problem of Stalinism is possible without a Marxist analysis of the bureaucracy as a specific social phenomenon. No real alternative to rule by the bureaucracy (or restoration of capitalism) is possible without institutionalizing direct workers power through democratically elected workers councils (workers and toiling peasants councils) with a multiparty system and full democratic rights for all toilers, within a system of planned and democratically centralized self-management of the economy by the associated producers.

The so-called Eurocommunist current, while accentuating its criticism of the dogmas and practices of the Soviet and East European bureaucracies, and while broadening its polemics with the Kremlin, proposes at the most a reform of the worst excesses of Stalinist rule rather than a revolutionary change. The "Eurocommunist" parties have not cut their umbilical cord with the Soviet bureaucracy and continue to offer "objectivist" justifications and apologies for the past crimes of the bureaucracy and many aspects of the present forms of bureaucratic rule. Furthermore, in the imperialist countries their general policy of class collaboration and upholding the bourgeois order even in face of big explosions of mass struggle of necessity limits their claims to respect democracy inside the labor movement, particularly within the mass organizations that they control and within their own parties. In their critiques they have systematically obscured the differences between bourgeois and workers democracy and, under the guise of combatting the one-party system in the USSR, Eastern Europe, and China, in reality defend the concept that the only alternative to the rule of the bureaucracy through a single party is acceptance of parliamentary institutions built on the bourgeois model, plus refusal to question the existence of the bourgeois state. In this way they reintroduce into the labor movement today the general theses of classical Social Democracy with regard to the "peaceful" and "gradual" transition to socialism.

In the light of all these failures, the program of the Fourth International on the dictatorship of the proletariat, direct working class rule through elected workers councils and plurality of soviet parties emerges as the only coherent and serious alternative to the twin revisions of Marxism advanced by Social Democratic reformism and Stalinist codification of monopoly rule by a usurping bureaucratic caste. This program, which represents in its main lines the continuity of the tradition from the writings of Marx and Engels on the Paris Commune through Lenin's *State and Revolution*, through the documents of the first congresses of the Communist International on the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been further enriched in the light of the successive analyses of proletarian revolutions and bureaucratic degeneration or deformation of workers states, first by Trotsky in the *Revolution Betrayed* and in the founding programmatic documents of the Fourth International, and later by the successive international gatherings of the Fourth International after World War II. The present document summarizes the present thinking of the revolutionary Marxists on this key aspect of the program for socialist revolution. □