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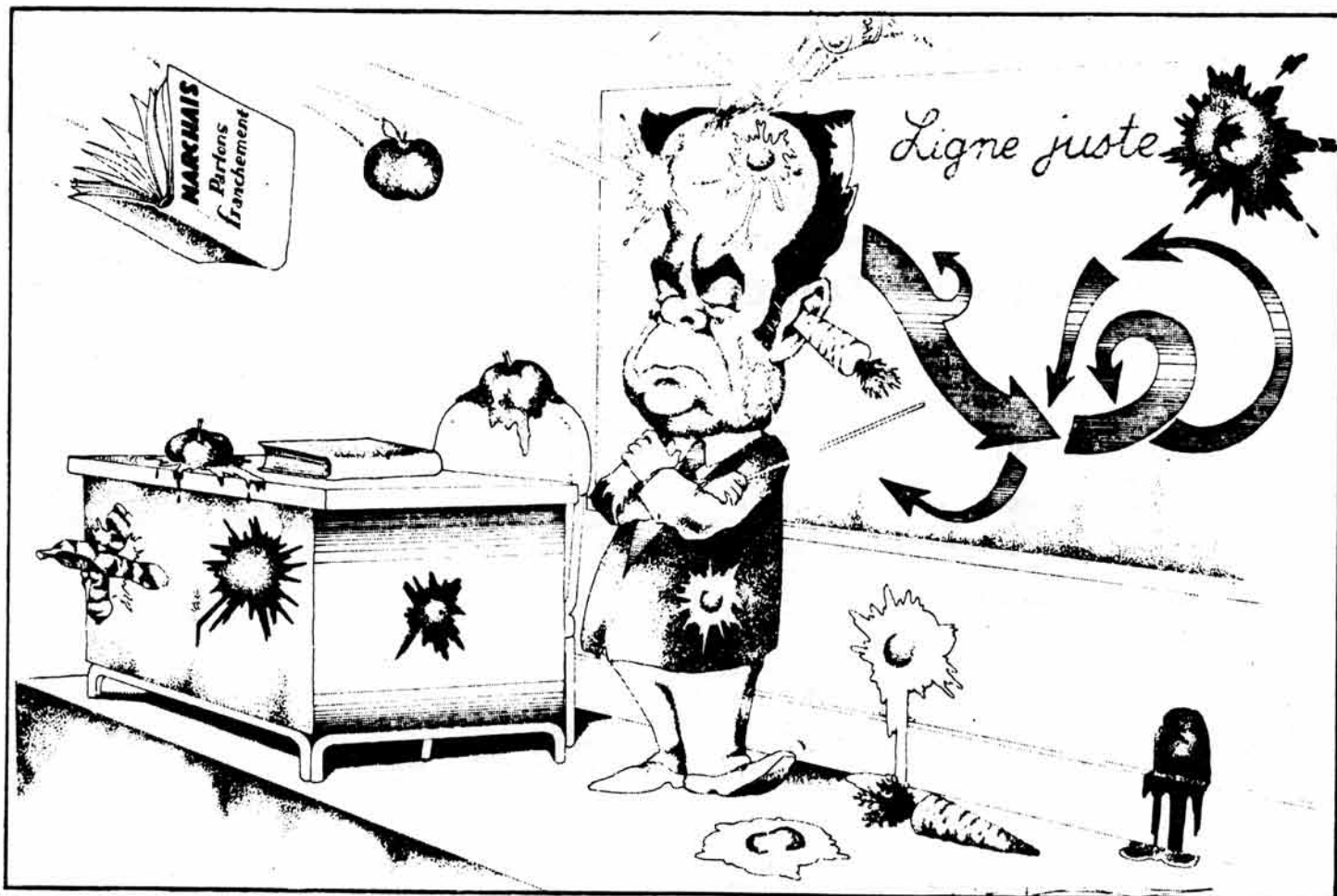
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## The Debate in French CP

**South African Troops Out of Angola!**

# Statement of the Fourth International

## For Solidarity With the Struggle Against Narita Airport!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

The Fourth International salutes the struggle of the Sanrizuka-Shiboyama United League Against the Airport and of the entire movement in opposition to the

opening of the airport in that area.

This fight is part of a mass struggle spreading through many countries against the growing dangers to the human environment that have been created by capitalism. In Japan, already victim of the first atomic bombs and of the Minamata scandal, the masses are particularly sensitive to these dangers.

As revolutionary Marxists, we believe that mass mobilizations against such crimes of capitalism deserve unconditional support. We try to be the best builders of such mobilizations.

We appeal to the workers organizations in all countries to actively express their solidarity with the struggle of the peasants and their allies against the Narita airport.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

### South African Troops Out of Angola!

By Ernest Harsch

Following the example of the Israeli blitzkrieg in southern Lebanon, South African troops backed up by aircraft swept 155 miles into southern Angola May 4.

South African Defence Minister Pieter W. Botha claimed that the invasion was a "limited military operation" against guerrilla bases of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), a group fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

Botha tried to justify this brutal violation of Angola's sovereignty by claiming that it was in retaliation for SWAPO actions in Namibia.

Maj. Gen. Jan Geldenhuys, the commanding officer of the forces in the raid, claimed later in the day that his troops had "mopped up terrorist bases at various places." (The racist South African regime invariably refers to freedom fighters as "terrorists.")

These announcements confirmed an earlier communiqué issued by the Angolan Defense Ministry reporting that South African forces had launched an airborne invasion of the mining town of Cassinga, bombing it intensively.

Contradicting Geldenhuys's claim that "terrorist installations and equipment were concentrated on," the Angolan regime charged that South African paratroopers had attacked "a Namibian refugee camp" in Cassinga. Speaking at the United Nations May 5, SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma condemned the raid as a "barbaric" attack, charging that many civilians were among the victims.

The apartheid regime claimed that invading forces numbered only several hundred troops and that the raid had

ended the same day it was launched. However, Elisio de Figueiredo, the chief Angolan delegate to the UN, said May 5 that the South African troops were actually being reinforced and that the bombing was continuing.

Angolan and SWAPO sources have previously charged the South Africans with carrying out a number of similar raids. But this was the first time since the end of the Angolan civil war in early 1976 that Pretoria has actually admitted sending its troops across the border.

This new attack comes just a little more than a week after South African Prime Minister John Vorster announced his acceptance of a Western proposal that will supposedly lead to Namibia's independence by the end of the year. The proposal provides for "democratic" elections under the "supervision" of several thousand United Nations troops. It would also allow the South Africans to maintain 1,500 of their own troops there until formal independence.

Nujoma has not rejected the plan, but he has pressed for greater restrictions on the 1,500 South African troops.

The recent attack into southern Angola, however, indicates that Pretoria still aims to weaken SWAPO, which is the main Namibian nationalist group, and obtain "independence" for Namibia on terms as favorable to South African interests as possible.

The assault into Angola was directly inspired by the effort of the Israelis to cripple the Palestinian resistance. In a dispatch from Johannesburg, John F. Burns reported in the May 5 *New York Times* that the attack was "privately compared by South African officials to the recent Israeli drive into Lebanon. . . ."

In fact, the South African racists have for a number of years patterned their military operations on those of the Israelis, and South African military strategists closely study the various Arab-Israeli wars. They have also maintained a degree of direct military collaboration with the Zionists.

Just as the existence of the expansionist Israeli state is a constant threat to the Arab world as a whole, so does the apartheid regime, a bastion of imperialist rule in Africa, pose a grave danger not only to the Black peoples under its direct rule, but to all Blacks within the range of its tanks and jet bombers. □

### Menachem Begin's Visit to Washington

By Matilde Zimmermann

On May 1 President Carter welcomed Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to the White House with open arms. This was in sharp contrast to the chilly reception Begin got on his last visit to Washington, only six weeks earlier. Then Carter demonstratively took his distance from Begin on the question of Zionist settlements in occupied Arab territory.

What had happened since March to enable them to patch up their differences? It is true that Begin hadn't broken ground for any new settlements. But that was only because he was preoccupied with the murderous occupation of southern Lebanon.

The fact is that Carter's public criticism of Begin was designed to divert attention from the Israeli blitzkrieg, which from the

point of view of the overall interests of American imperialism had been a blunder of the first magnitude.

Under attack in Israel and abroad, Begin desperately needed a display of support from the American president. Now, with the charade of United Nations troops replacing their Israeli counterparts under way, Carter was more than just obliging.

"For 30 years," he told Begin, "we have stood at the side of the proud and independent nation of Israel. I can say without reservation . . . that we will continue to do so not just for another 30 years, but forever."

Carter did not mention the invasion of Lebanon, the massacre of Palestinians and Lebanese with U.S.-made cluster bombs, the hundreds of thousands driven from their homes. Unless perhaps that is what he was talking about when he confessed that "from time to time we have our transient differences with the leaders of Israel. . . ." But he hastened to reassure his guest that the United States "will never waver from our deep friendship and partnership with Israel; our total absolute commitment to Israel's security."

According to reporters, Begin repeated "today is a day of rejoicing" several times during the short White House ceremony. It's not surprising.

Begin's U.S. tour coincided with the thirtieth anniversary of the Zionist state. Carter put his congratulations this way: "In Jewish tradition, 30 years stands for the age of strength and Israel, thank God, is strong."

Unfortunately for Begin, Carter's willingness to pretend that the invasion of Lebanon never happened is not widely shared. Within Israel itself there is growing concern that the expansionist policies of the Zionist state are jeopardizing any possibility of peace in the Middle East. Just before Begin left for the U.S., two new protests showed the broadening appeal of the "peace now" campaign.

On April 25 an Israeli newspaper published a petition signed by 360 professors and intellectuals in support of the "peace now" movement. The same day 300 religious leaders announced they had written the prime minister saying that the West Bank, despite its historical religious significance (which Begin has used to justify permanent occupation of the area) was less important to Israel than was peace.

In the United States, all-out support for the Zionist state has declined sharply, including among American Jews. A group of thirty-six prominent American Jews has issued a statement of support for the demands of the "peace now" movement. Supporters of Palestinian self-determination and opponents of the invasion of Lebanon demonstrated against Begin in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York—the main stops on his propaganda and fund-raising tour. □

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## Growing Dissent in French Communist Party

By Pierre Julien

Hardly a day goes by now without some members of the French Communist Party openly taking positions, either in the press or on radio or television, that run counter to the positions of their leadership. The critics are forced to express themselves outside the official organs of the party, since the Political Bureau has so far refused to open up "discussion columns." Nevertheless, the "critical movement" seems to be more widespread than it was during previous internal crises, such as occurred in 1956, for example.

It is true that the most outspoken criticism still comes from intellectuals. However, the discussion is percolating through every cell of the party. It has reached the level of the section committees and has produced a number of motions critical of the official line. Besides—and this is a very important fact—a segment of the apparatus itself has begun to stir.

The editorial staffs of the central CP weekly *France Nouvelle* and the monthly theoretical and cultural journal *La Nouvelle Critique* side with the "dissidents" and have published some issues that sidestep the official line. The business manager of the party's publishing house, Editions Sociales, has publicly spoken out against certain aspects of the election campaign.

It is also clear that the debate has reached to the highest level of the leadership. Various rumors are heard these days about split votes in the CP Political Bureau. Whatever the validity of these rumors, one thing is certain—the "turn" taken six months ago in breaking with the Socialists was based on a certain balance of forces within the leadership, and this relationship of forces began to shift after the setback of the legislative elections.

Faced with the SP's steady growth in electoral strength and the increasing influence of the [SP-dominated union federation] CFDT, the leadership of the French CP was afraid that if they came to power on the basis of the Union of the Left as it had existed over the last year, they would face a serious challenge to their dominant role in the working class. The sharp turn made during the negotiations over updating the Common Program—a sectarian turn based on "left" and "workerist" rhetoric—was designed to differentiate the CP sharply from the SP and to enable the CP to co-opt some issues that the far left had raised very effectively in the 1977 municipal elections. The object was to make it possible for the CP to slow down

its electoral decline, prevent the SP from becoming too dominant in the left, and create a more favorable relationship of forces when the government's term expired.

This sudden, sharp change in line met with a certain amount of satisfaction on the part of the membership, particularly in the factory cells, where anti-SP sentiment runs high. But it was not really understood by the ranks, two-thirds of whom had joined the party since 1968, on the basis of the Union of the Left. This caused the first stirrings of discontent.

### The First Wave of Criticism

On November 4, 1977, Gérard Molina, who was general secretary of the Union of Communist Students from 1969 to 1972, published an "open forum" article in the daily *Le Monde*. At the time *l'Humanité* did not even comment on the statement. Molina accused the leadership of going from an opportunist approach to the Union of the Left ("unity without struggle") to a sectarian approach ("struggle without unity"). Then the weekly *Politique Hebdo* began to run several statements of CP members who defined themselves as "oppositionists." Many statements had been published in this way by the time of the CP national conference in early January.

Some of the statements are clearly intended as "criticisms from the left." They oppose the CP's abandonment of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat at its Twenty-second Congress in February 1976, and they oppose the party's support to building up a French nuclear strike force. They challenge the overall right-wing politics of the leadership in which the sectarianism of the election campaign is simply the other side of the coin. An example is the following passage from one of the "open forum" articles: "The only way that the Union of the Left can be built today and transformed into a genuine union of the people is on the basis of building committees of people's unity."

Other more confused statements seem to boil down to criticism from the right. They object to the abandonment of the strategy of building a unity of all French people, which was laid out at the Twenty-second Congress.

Still, this first wave of criticism was not expressed at the national conference, where, in good Stalinist tradition, no voice was raised against the leadership. This

made it possible for Georges Marchais to make sarcastic comments about the "so-called opposition." But during this time *France Nouvelle* published a debate between reporters for the weekly and the historian Jean Burles, which concluded on the theme of a need for "democratizing democratic centralism."

Up until the legislative elections, the most lively discussion centered around the publication of a book, *Dialogue à l'intérieur du Parti communiste* [Dialogue Inside the Communist Party], by Gérard Molina and another member of the CP, Yves Vargas. In it, the authors denounce the policy of the CP leadership as both opportunist and sectarian. The zig-zags of policy, according to Molina and Vargas, result from the fact that the party and the individuals who lead it are motivated by contradictory "reformist and revolutionary" sentiments. Even though the authors definitely fall into the category of "left" critics, they still deny the right of tendencies to carry out the debate, and they preach the idea that contradictions of the "Leninist" type don't really exist any more.

Besides this book, which *l'Humanité* also declined to comment on, philosopher Georges Labica, a member of the Upper Seine Regional Committee, published in *Politique Hebdo* an open call for the CP to stand down on the second round.\* By a few weeks before the election, feelings of discontent had actually spread through the majority of the membership. Even though some of them were convinced that the SP was to blame for the "disunion of the left," and even though all of them had supported the struggle against the "Social Democratic danger," more and more of the membership could not understand why the Political Bureau refused to call for CP candidates to step down in favor of Socialists on the second round. This refusal was bound to confuse the voters and jeopardize a victory that had previously seemed certain.

Membership discontent was not ended by the accord reached on March 13, just

\* French elections are held in two rounds. Only candidates who poll at least 12.5 percent of the vote in the first round are eligible to take part in the second round. Traditionally, the workers parties have agreed in advance to withdraw after the first round all but the single workers candidate with the best chance of winning the runoff.—IP/I



after the first round, which provided for automatic withdrawal in favor of the strongest Union of the Left candidate. For one thing, CP members were supposed to believe that it was a "good accord," when—except for the 2,400 franc minimum wage—it was exactly the same as the minimum program on which the CP and SP had reached agreement before the split six months earlier. Also, people had the impression that the agreement to withdraw was just a way of avoiding—no matter what the eventual cost—the decline of the Communist group in parliament, after a first round that indicated the left was almost sure to be defeated. The second round of course confirmed these fears.

#### A Balance Sheet on the Leadership's Policies

What were the end results of the policies carried out over this six-month period? It is true that the SP ascent was checked, and its electoral strength vis-à-vis the CP grew only a tiny amount. But at what a price! The vote for Communist candidates in the first round was less than it had been in 1973 (20.5 percent compared to 21.5 percent). And the increase in the number of deputies, because of the relatively good turnout by Socialist voters, cannot hide the fact that the election was an unmitigated defeat for the left.

The Political Bureau immediately published a self-serving statement saying that "it was all the Socialists' fault," that "the party had no responsibility for what happened," and that it was necessary to go ahead along the lines laid out at the Twenty-second Congress. A week later, at a meeting of regional secretaries, Charles Fiterman took up more or less the same theme, with two nuances: he took a more sophisticated approach to the March 13 accord in order to disarm its critics, and he came down heavily in favor of continuing the strategy laid out at the Twenty-second Congress. But rumors in the press indicated that a new turn was under way within the Political Bureau, and that the electoral defeat had strengthened the hands of those who wanted to speed up the process of Social Democratization of the party.

#### The Second Wave of Criticism

This was particularly true because the basic thrust of the criticism, as it emerged after the elections, pointed in the same direction. The shock of March 19 soon had its impact. The first to speak out was Jean Rony, a reporter for *France Nouvelle*, who wrote in the daily *Le Monde*: "The problem is that we were not understood by the masses. And we can't get off the hook by claiming we had no responsibility for this lack of understanding." This began a whole series of statements by intellectuals in the various publications. They all demanded a "democratization" of the discus-

sion and maintained that the leadership was responsible for not having put into practice the strategy outlined at the Twenty-second Congress. The "workerism" of the election campaign was particularly harshly criticized.

This culminated with *Le Monde's* publication of a statement that *L'Humanité* had refused to print, signed by six well-known intellectuals, among them Louis Althusser and Etienne Balibar. In addition to calling for the Central Committee meeting of April 26-27 to immediately open up a discussion in the party's press, they demanded "democratic" preparations for an "extraordinary" congress. (Under normal conditions, the Twenty-third Congress would not be held until January 1979.)

Among the ranks, in the cells and in section meetings, the discussion became more lively. The "official" report elicited sharp criticism that was sometimes confused but always got a big hearing from the membership. In some regions, as in Paris, the local press and the weekly regional press publicized the questions and the arguments raised by the opposition. *L'Humanité* continued its blackout of opposition views and did nothing but publish, day after day, articles by members of the Political Bureau and interviews with regional secretaries justifying the leadership's line.

The leadership initially responded by ignoring the vast debate that had begun. Georges Marchais insisted that the "oppositionists" were the same people who had refused to give up the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the time of the Twenty-second Congress. This was blatantly false since in fact most of the intellectuals were criticizing the leadership for having insufficiently carried out the line of the Twenty-second Congress. The CP general secretary did have to say, however, that no member would be expelled for having expressed reservations about the party's line in the non-Communist press.

Later, as the changing relationship of forces within the Political Bureau reached a new stage, the leadership began making statements claiming that they themselves were the ones who initiated the "broad democratic discussion" in the cells. They postponed the question of an open discussion but did not rule it out in principle. This opened the door for the Central Committee at its next session to remove one of the main bones of contention with the "critical movement."

Finally, the most recent episode. Jean Elleinstein, a historian known for playing the role of "stalking horse" for a section of the leadership, jumped into the middle of the debate. In three articles published in *Le Monde*, he presented a case in fine style as to why the French CP should speed up the process of "Eurocommunism." He took to pieces the Political Bureau's line on the results of the elections. He called the

Soviet Union an "anti-model." He raised questions about the validity of continuing to use the term "communist." He challenged certain basic tenets of Leninism. He demanded a greater democratization of the party and called for giving up every trace of "workerism" in favor of a policy of broad alliances. The indications are that his point of view reflects that of other members of the ruling group and will in a few months become the dominant line of the party.

#### The Leadership's Maneuver

The leadership, or at least the majority that is beginning to be delineated within the leadership, intends to use two tactics to try to turn the situation around. First of all, at the upcoming Central Committee meeting, it plans to defend the basic political line carried out by the CP over the last year, while accepting a few partial self-criticisms concerning certain aspects of the election campaign; it also has the option of officially opening the preparatory discussion for the Twenty-third Congress, so as to disarm the critics of the "democratic" type.

Secondly, the leadership is trying to isolate the "left" current that has appeared within the party by moving forward along the path of "Social-Democratization" that Jean Elleinstein is openly calling for with all his heart.

Naturally the leadership has to take some distance from Elleinstein in a public debate where the partisans of the dictatorship of the proletariat are in a head-on confrontation with the partisans of a pure and simple abandonment of Leninism. This tends to reinforce the Bonapartist image of the leadership in the eyes of the membership and makes possible another cautious step in the direction of the "Italianization" of the party, a step that will be formalized at the Twenty-third Congress.

Given the current state of affairs, there are actually two debates that intersect with each other. One debate, sought by the left wing of the party, concerns what happened in the past. The leadership does not want this discussion to take place, and they do everything possible to isolate the members grouped around Louis Althusser or sympathetic to the line of Gérard Molina's and Yves Vargas's book. The current that raises "left" criticisms is, however, still a tiny minority within the party. It does not seem to have the potential of bringing real pressure to bear on the apparatus in coming months unless there are some big developments in the class struggle, which would hasten the weeding-out process within the CP.

The other debate, sought by a significant part of the apparatus—in fact, probably the majority—has to do with what will happen in the future. The members of the

Political Bureau, convinced that the only strategy to follow is that laid out at the Twenty-second Congress, are trying to quiet the grumbings of the intellectuals by insisting that the only problem was with the way the line of the Twenty-second Congress was applied, and that what is necessary is to deepen and press forward with the strategy of the unity of the French people. Georges Marchais is already parroting Jean Elleinstein's line: "The party is not suffering from too much Twenty-second Congress but rather too little." Besides, it seems clear that a very big majority of the current membership, whose experience in the party has consisted of the unity strategy and an electoral orientation, would go along with such

a course.

The only thing the leadership has to do to put this process in motion is to make certain concessions in terms of democratic discussion and the method of electing delegates to the congress. In other words, it has to accept the idea of the Twenty-third Congress not being unanimous. This would be an important crack in the Stalinist monolith, and would make broad discussion easier in the future. In this sense, revolutionists have everything to gain by supporting the democratic demands of the "oppositionists."

But at the same time it is necessary to participate in this discussion by posing for critical CP members some key questions about the nature of their party. Among the

subjects that must be examined are: the results of the struggle against the austerity plan; the results of the split engineered on the eve of the elections; the ways of achieving unity; and the possibility of a "gradual, peaceful, and democratic" road to socialism.

The job of revolutionists is to counterpose to the reformist policies of the leadership a clear line of uniting the workers in action. We call for the greatest unity of action against the austerity program, and for the broadest discussion on how socialism can be won. These are the axes along which revolutionists can intervene in their own way into the crisis that is already shaking up the CP and before too long will also shake up the SP. □

## Visa Obtained After Nine-Year Battle

# Ernest Mandel Speaks in United States



Lou Howort/Militant  
ERNEST MANDEL

NEW YORK—It was cold and rainy and there was little advance publicity. But more than 600 persons came to hear Marxist economist Ernest Mandel speak here May 4. His topic was "The World Economic Crisis."

The talk, given at the New School for Social Research and sponsored by the university's economics department, had to be piped in to the school cafeteria to accommodate the overflow crowd.

Mandel, author of *Marxist Economic Theory* and *Late Capitalism*, is a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press/In-*

*precator* and a leader of the world Trotskyist movement.

Publicity for the New York meeting and other speaking engagements was held up pending State Department approval of a visa for Mandel, which was finally granted April 26.

This marked a major victory in the nine-year battle to force the government to recognize the right of Americans to hear Mandel's views.

In 1969, Mandel was invited to the United States to debate Harvard professor John Kenneth Galbraith. He was also asked to speak at a number of prestigious East Coast universities. But despite widespread protests by the academic community, Mandel's request for a visa was turned down by then-Attorney General John Mitchell, who is now in prison for Watergate crimes.

Mandel was excluded under the provisions of the notorious McCarran-Walter Act, a product of the 1950s witch-hunt. Mitchell's use of the act to ban Mandel from speaking was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1972.

In 1976 Mandel was again invited to the United States, this time to teach two classes at Stanford University during the spring quarter. But the Ford administration refused him entry.

Mandel was invited earlier this year to speak at a number of universities. Before his visa was granted, faculty members at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Amherst College, and Bennington College, among others, sent telegrams to the State Department demanding that the government stop interfering with the right of U.S. citizens to hear all points of view.

A State Department source said the case was decided "at a high level" and re-

marked that "these cases are always sensitive."

Mandel concluded his New School speech on an inspiring note. After analyzing the world economic crisis and the deepening crisis of leadership of the imperialists, he stressed that circumstances are favorable "for accelerating and accumulating successes in the building of revolutionary parties in the imperialist countries." The building of such parties, he said, is now "much more concrete, practical, realistic, than at any other time since the degeneration of the Communist International."

"Precisely because the social crisis is so protracted," he continued, "precisely because it is so deep, precisely because it is so global, involving all sectors of social activity and social life, . . . global political solutions have a more and more decisive weight.

"And there, of course, the Fourth International has a tremendous advantage compared to all other tendencies of the labor movement, because it is the only organization with a full global program to give precisely such an overall political answer to the needs of the working class and the needs of society. . . ."

Virtually the entire audience remained for a lively ninety-minute question-and-answer period following Mandel's prepared remarks.

Prior to his New York City meeting, Mandel addressed a crowd of 300 students at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, May 1. The meeting was sponsored by the university's Center for International Studies.

Mandel is also scheduled to speak at the University of Washington in Seattle and at Bennington College in Vermont. □



## Blanco—No Alliance With 'Revolutionary' Generals

By Fred Murphy

"Just as the masses through their struggles have forced the government to lift the suspension of civil liberties and the curfew, and to restore a little freedom of the press, in the same way they have won my repatriation and that of all the deportees—not because this regime respects the law."

Those were Hugo Blanco's first remarks to the crowd of several hundred persons who greeted him at the Lima airport on April 12, following his arrival from exile in Sweden.

The Trotskyist leader and a number of other political figures have returned to Peru in recent weeks, as a result of the military government's March 15 announcement of a full amnesty for exiles.

"Our gains have been won through struggles," Blanco continued, "and we must now continue to struggle for reinstatement of the 6,000 fired workers and freedom for all the prisoners. Not even the election campaign must cause us to forget that, *compañeros*. On the contrary, we have to use the campaign itself to continue this struggle."

Elections are to be held in Peru June 4 for a constituent assembly. The military, in power since 1968, called the elections soon after a general strike and mass upsurge swept the country last July. The constituent assembly is to write a new constitution and prepare the way for civil rule in 1980.

But the elections have failed to defuse mass discontent with the regime's harsh austerity policies. Strikes have occurred in one key industry after another along with general strikes on the citywide, provincial, and national levels. Political amnesty and reinstatement of the thousands of workers fired after last July's general strike have also been central demands in these struggles.

Hugo Blanco is a candidate for the constituent assembly on a slate put forward by FOCEP,<sup>1</sup> a bloc of workers parties, union organizations, and other groups that includes Blanco's party, the PST.<sup>2</sup>

Blanco has explained his views on the elections in a number of interviews with weekly periodicals since returning to the country. (The weekly press is especially important in Peru, where the major daily

newspapers are under government ownership and control.)

*Caretas*, a slick bourgeois magazine, reported in its April 20 edition that Blanco had returned to Peru "bringing four mimeographed pages of what he calls a draft of the basis for a new constitution—an 'ultra' formula with little that is new: a government formed by organizations of workers, peasants, employees, shantytown dwellers, soldiers, students, etc.; people's justice tribunals; armed forces constituted through armed defense committees of the people's organizations; statization of everything except for shops and collectives; and so on."

The *Caretas* reporter asked Blanco: "You contend that a tradition of fraud exists in the country's electoral processes. With this premise, why are you a candidate for the constituent assembly?"

"To expose the fraud," Blanco answered, "and to contrast the alternative society we are proposing to the society of poverty that we have now."

Another bourgeois weekly, *Oiga 78*, featured a large photograph of Blanco on the front page of its April 25 edition. Inside, an article by Hernán Zagarra said:

"Bearing a draft constitution that asks that high officials, including the president, earn no more than the wage of a skilled worker, Blanco points out that these elections have an antidemocratic stigma because the great mass of illiterates have been excluded." (Almost 3 million persons—mostly peasants—who cannot read or write are being denied suffrage.)

"With enthusiastic words, Blanco says that capitalism is exhausted, that it is incapable of solving the big problems.

"But when Blanco passes judgment on the parties, he does not hesitate to put in the same right-wing sack many parties that today claim to be on the left. So where does the left begin and end? 'We start with the PCP, then the UDP<sup>3</sup> and FOCEP,' he says.

"Blanco thinks that Bedoya, Belaúnde, and APRA<sup>4</sup> would act as Pinochet has in

3. Partido Comunista Peruano (Peruvian Communist Party); Unión Democrática Popular (Democratic People's Union).

4. Luis Bedoya, leader of the bourgeois Christian People's Party; Fernando Belaúnde Terry, ex-president and leader of the People's Action Party; Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (People's Revolutionary American Alliance), once a radical-nationalist formation, but now a reactionary bourgeois party.

Chile; and Leonidas Rodríguez and Acción Revolucionaria Socialista<sup>5</sup> as Velasco did."

Blanco's opinion on Leonidas Rodríguez and the Velasco Alvarado regime has been sought by all the journalists he has spoken with. Blanco told *Caretas* that Velasco "tried to bring about the capitalist development of Peru and failed because that is not possible."

Leonidas Rodríguez was a key figure in Velasco's bourgeois-nationalist government. He was in charge of SINAMOS,<sup>6</sup> an abortive scheme for subordinating all mass organizations to the military regime. Following Velasco's fall in 1976, Rodríguez and other leftist officers were ousted. In November 1976 a number of them organized the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), which Rodríguez now heads.

The PSR leaders returned from exile soon after Blanco did, and General Rodríguez was also interviewed in the April 20 issue of *Caretas*. He explained that the PSR "is fundamentally national, autonomous. It does not depend on foreign political organizations. We are not Marxist-Leninists. . . . We want to make a national revolution."

There is much confusion on the Peruvian left about the role of these radical ex-military officers and the PSR. Disagreement on this question prevented unity between FOCEP and the bloc of Maoist and centrist forces that make up the UDP.

Hugo Blanco explained to the leftist weekly *Amauta*:

"We are always going to be in favor of an alliance with the comrades of the UDP. The difference we have with them, fundamentally, is that they think it is possible to get together with the generals of the 'first phase' [the Velasco regime]—that is, with the PSR—in the struggle, and we think not. Because we have seen that those gentlemen have not used arms in defense of the peasants but in defense of the oppressors. . . . So we know that when push comes to shove they will again put themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie and against the workers. And from now on we have to educate the working class not to place confidence in its class enemies." □

5. Revolutionary Socialist Action, a petty-bourgeois group that arose out of a split in Belaúnde's People's Action Party.

6. Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (National Network for Supporting Social Mobilization).



## Protests Against French Intervention in Chad

By Ernest Harsch

In what has been billed as a "defensive" operation, French troops, planes, and "technical assistants" are pouring into the central African country of Chad.

This new imperialist intervention in the former French colony comes at a time of increasing opposition to the regime of Gen. Félix Malloum. Confronted by a series of military advances in the northern and eastern parts of the country by guerrillas of the Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad (Frolinat—Chad National Liberation Front) and by a number of antigovernment demonstrations in the south, Malloum has appealed to his backers in Paris for help.

The danger of this intervention escalating even further is great. Despite repeated denials by the French government, there are indications that French troops and planes have already become involved in the fighting.

A number of French workers organizations responded to the intervention within days of the initial reports that troops were being dispatched to Chad. The Communist and Socialist parties both expressed their concern. The French Democratic Confederation of Labor, which is influenced by the Socialist Party, demanded "the complete withdrawal of the French army from Africa."

The April 27 issue of the Trotskyist daily *Rouge* published a statement by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, calling for actions to demand the immediate withdrawal of French troops (see box).

Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud admitted April 20 that "five to six hundred technical assistants" had recently been sent to Chad to help organize and train the Chadian armed forces and to provide "technical and logistical" aid. But the April 22 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that these "assistants" were actually 240 members of the French Foreign Legion, as well as 800 other combat troops. Defense Minister Yvon Bourges confirmed April 27 that ten Jaguar fighter bombers were also sent.

These forces are in addition to more than 300 French military personnel already stationed in Chad, who have been assisting the central government in Ndjamená for years against the Frolinat guerrillas.

In a feeble attempt to obscure the real purpose of the military intervention, Jean-

### Statement of the French LCR

[The following statement by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, was published in the April 27 issue of *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

The French government has just sent several hundred paratroopers and legionnaires to Chad to save the tottering regime of General Malloum. The LCR cannot help but recall the sad precedent of the French expeditionary force that won renown for its bloody actions in

Chad from 1968 to 1972. It likewise cannot forget the recent French interventions in both Zaïre and Western Sahara. The interventionist thrust of the Giscard government is well known.

It is of the utmost importance for the French workers movement and its organizations, as well as the workers in uniform, to oppose this new "international police" operation in many different ways. The LCR demands the immediate withdrawal of the French troops from Chad and the breaking of the military agreements with that country. It will participate in all local or national actions that have the objective of winning those demands.

François Poncet, a presidential representative, claimed April 26 that the troops would only protect French residents, and would not be used in any military operations. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing made a similar claim two days later, but he was less categorical, stating that French troops would not participate in "offensive" actions.

Such claims are fairly routine, intended primarily as justifications for the French ruling class's "forward policy" in Africa. Giscard's definition of "defensive" is rather broad, as shown by his airlift of Moroccan troops into Zaïre during an uprising there in 1977 and his bombing of independence fighters in Western Sahara the same year.

In the current conflict in Chad itself, the French government admitted that two of its troops were killed April 19 during fighting around the military garrison at Salal, a few hundred miles northeast of Ndjamená. A few days earlier, a former French air force pilot, who was flying under "contract" with the Chadian air force's combat wing, was also killed when his aircraft was shot down.

Frolinat claimed in a communiqué that a "massive attack by French legionnaires" was launched in the region of Salal April 25. The rebel group charged that the French troops were backed up by armored cars, Jaguar jet fighters, ground-to-ground missiles, and artillery.

A report in the April 30-May 2 *Le Monde* noted that Jaguar jet fighters were making frequent flights northward, in the direction of the fighting.

Partly as a reaction to this French military intervention, the unrest has begun to spread to the southern provinces, where the central government has traditionally had its main base of support.

Demonstrations have erupted in Bongor, Lère, Pala, Mongo, and Moundou in the south, in Moussoro in the west, and in Abéché in the east. Some of the actions began as antigovernment demonstrations, but then rapidly developed into protests against the French military presence as well. According to a report in the April 23-24 *Le Monde*, two protesters were killed in Pala and two more died in Moussoro when the authorities moved in to put down the unrest. Frolinat has charged that five students were shot to death in Moussoro.

In Ndjamená itself, all schools and universities were shut down and draconian security measures were imposed following a call by Frolinat for a two-day general strike in the city at the end of April. The regime warned the population that "all attempts to disturb the public order will be vigorously put down." The strike failed to materialize.

The current unrest in Chad threatens to undermine one of French imperialism's important footholds on the African continent.

Strategically located in central Africa, Chad was first colonized by the French at the end of the last century. Important deposits of oil, platinum, iron, uranium, and other minerals have been discovered over the past few years.

It was to protect its interests in Chad that Paris maintained a strong military presence there, even after the country achieved its formal independence in 1960.

The pro-French regime of François (later Ngarta) Tombalbaye adopted policies in the early 1960s that led to a sharpening of the social conflicts in Chad. Besides supporting a large French presence, his regime, based on the Sara people of the south, instituted discriminatory measures against the eastern and northern peoples, who are predominantly Muslim and who have many cultural links with the Arab world.

In 1963, Tombalbaye's troops massacred more than 100 Muslim protesters in the capital. Two years later a massive peasant uprising erupted in eastern Chad, and hundreds more were killed when troops moved in to crush it.

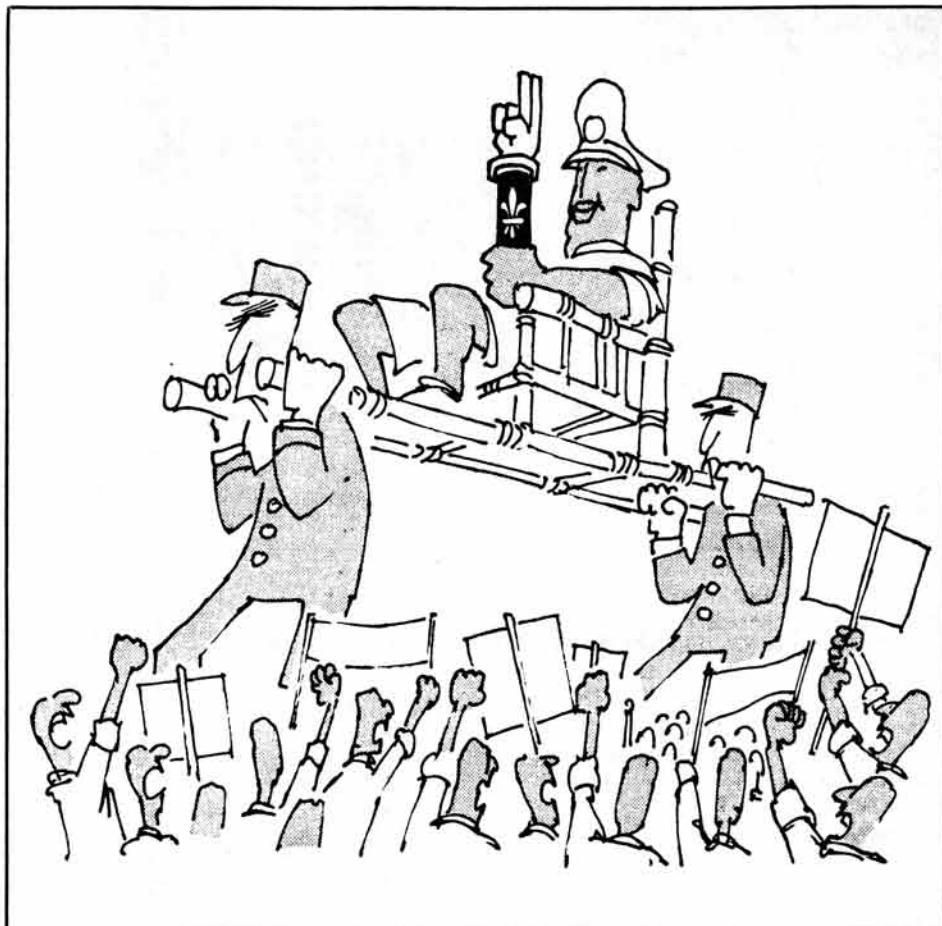
A group of dissidents formed Frolinat in 1966. Though it denies that it is a regional or ethnic organization, its main base has always been among the peoples of eastern and northern Chad, especially among the Toubou nomads in the Saharan regions. Frolinat describes itself as a nationalist group that is opposed to both the French presence and the neocolonial regime in Ndjameña.

Between 1968 and 1972, French troops in Chad, bolstered by a few thousand reinforcements from France, conducted major counterinsurgency operations against the Frolinat guerrillas and carried out reprisals against the civilian population in the areas of Frolinat activity.

Severely weakened by the French attacks and plagued by internal factional conflicts, Frolinat went into a lull for several years. Many of the French reinforcements were withdrawn, although two garrisons were maintained until they too were withdrawn in 1975. The French nevertheless kept several hundred "advisers" in Chad, assigned to the Chadian armed forces. The Chadian intelligence and security services are under the direction of Camille Gourvenec, a French officer.

In the meantime, Tombalbaye was overthrown and killed in a military coup in 1975. General Malloum took over. He made a gesture of offering to negotiate with Frolinat, but at the same time continued the close ties with the French. Although a few guerrilla leaders gave up their struggle, the bulk of Frolinat remained in opposition.

Beginning last year, some of the Frolinat forces, with Libyan backing, started to make a few military gains. The French sent more aid to Malloum and announced in July that they had provided "logistical



Plantu/Le Monde

support" in his war against the guerrillas.

Early this year, in February, Frolinat forces captured Faya Largeau, an important administrative center in the north and one of the last government-held positions in that region. About the same time, three French military personnel were killed when their plane was shot down. The guerrillas captured more than 2,000 Chadian soldiers, according to an official from the International Red Cross who visited the area. This was nearly half of

Chad's regular army of 5,000 soldiers. The morale of the government troops has reportedly dropped sharply.

Despite a brief cease-fire that was negotiated in March, the fighting continued to escalate and Frolinat started to attack government positions in the central and eastern parts of the country. By late March, the French troops began to arrive, marking the beginning of another phase in French imperialism's long and brutal intervention against the peoples of Chad. □

## French Jets Bomb Saharan Rebels

While French troops and planes were being rushed to Chad, French jets continued bombing operations against guerrillas fighting for the independence of Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony that was partitioned between Morocco and Mauritania in 1975.

A representative of the French Defense Ministry announced May 5 that French Jaguar fighter-bombers had helped Mauritanian forces attack a column of guerrillas belonging to the Polisario Front. He said that the attack had taken place about sixty-five miles from Zouérate, a major Mauritanian mining center.

A May 5 Reuters dispatch from Paris reported that, according to officials there, dozens of Polisario guerrillas had been killed by cannon and rocket fire during the attack.

In December, French planes were involved in three similar attacks against Polisario columns operating against Mauritanian forces. Paris admitted two of the bombing raids, and napalm bombs were used in at least one of them. Although the recent attack was the first Paris has acknowledged since December, Polisario charged that another had taken place on January 27. □



Demonstration in Panama City April 18 demanding new vote on canal treaty.

## Panama—Trotskyists Say 'No' to Canal Treaty

The following interview with José Cambra was obtained in Panama City April 26. Cambra is a leader of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria (LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League), the Panamanian sympathizing group of the Fourth International.

\* \* \*

*Question. What is the significance of Torrijos's decision to allow the return of the exiles?*

*Answer.* First of all, not all the exiles have been allowed to return. Some—those accused of participating in guerrilla activities, and political opponents of the regime accused of being common criminals—are still in exile.

The decision to allow some exiles to return is a concession that the masses have won through struggle. In bending to this popular pressure, Torrijos wants to create the impression that he favors democratic rights.

*Q. Why has Torrijos made the decision at this particular time?*

*A.* It is an attempt to blunt the anger that many Panamanians feel over the canal treaty; especially the final form in which the treaty was adopted, which is a further blow to our national sovereignty.

*Q. Do you mean that there is greater anger now than before the treaty was ratified?*

*A.* Oh, yes. the Panamanian people have reacted to the discussions on the treaty in the U.S. Senate with great indignation and repulsion.

All sides in the Senate—Democrats and Republicans, pro-treaty and anti-treaty—

were united in opposition to the interests of the Panamanian people. This was clearly shown in the Senate debate. Remember, too, that the Senate discussion was carried live on Panamanian radio stations. A great many people were able to listen, so they got a clear picture of the thinking of the U.S. government. They realize that Washington always intended to maintain ultimate control over the canal, and to intervene whenever it sees fit, and that none of the various versions of the canal treaty is in our interests.

*Q. How did Torrijos react to the Senate decision?*

*A.* Once the Senate debate was over, after the vote, Torrijos spoke out immediately, saying the treaty had been accepted with no basic change. He said that Byrd's reservation had neutralized DeConcini's position<sup>1</sup> and eliminated any U.S. intention to intervene.

Then Torrijos called a national holiday to celebrate the "victory." Public employees were obligated to participate in the demonstrations that he called. But there was no national celebration by the people as a whole.

There was, however, a demonstration of 5,000 to 7,000 persons in Panama City on April 18. The main slogans were "No to the treaty, no to the pro-Yankee amend-

ments," and "For a new plebiscite."<sup>2</sup>

*Q. Why a new plebiscite?*

*A.* First, out of general principles: No bourgeois government, especially not one like Torrijos's, has the right to decide on the question of our national sovereignty. Only the people can do so.

Furthermore, the Panamanian constitution says the people have the right to vote on any treaty concerning the canal. Since the treaty approved by the U.S. Senate contains so many changes, it can be considered a new treaty. So we are demanding a new plebiscite.

*Q. What is Torrijos's position on this?*

*A.* He, of course, is against a new plebiscite. He says the changes introduced by the U.S. Senate are not very important and do not change the basic terms of the treaty.

But in reality the Senate's discussion exposed the real meaning of the treaty to many more Panamanians. If the final version of the treaty were submitted to a new vote, it would surely be rejected. As it was, the vote on the original version of the treaty was not really democratic and did not accurately reflect the thinking of the people.

*Q. What has been the LSR's activity around the canal question?*

*A.* The LSR, together with other groups, has been actively involved in demonstrations and meetings to mobilize public opposition to the treaty. We think this activity has met with some success. The

1. The "DeConcini reservation" to the first Panama Canal treaty specifies Washington's "right to take such steps as it deems necessary . . . including the use of military force" to keep the canal open. A reservation to the second pact sponsored by Senator Robert Byrd said that such action "shall not have as its purpose nor be interpreted as a right of intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Panama. . . ."

2. Panamanian voters approved the unnamed treaty by a 2-to-1 margin in October 1977.



Torrijos government is being unmasked—both because of its pro-Yankee role in relation to the canal and because of the attacks it has carried out against the political rights and living conditions of the masses. This will drive the masses toward independent class positions against the bourgeois government.

We intend to continue this campaign. One of the main focuses of this effort now is to mobilize opposition to Carter's visit to Panama.<sup>3</sup> This offers another opportunity to expose the canal treaty and Washington's imperialist role in Panama.

We would like to call upon all organizations in the mass movement in the United States to join with us in a solidarity campaign against U.S. intervention in Panama and for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Panama. □

3. Carter is scheduled to visit Panama June 16-17.

## 200 Greet Miguel Antonio Bernal

PANAMA CITY—Exiled revolutionist and former University of Panama law professor Miguel Antonio Bernal returned here April 24. He was warmly welcomed at the airport by 200 supporters.

Bernal was accompanied by attorney Jorge Turner, another left-wing exile. They were among the first to return following a decision by the Torrijos regime to allow deported political opponents back into the country. Bernal and Turner came to determine the extent of the amnesty firsthand and report back to other exiles remaining in Mexico.

In remarks at the airport, Bernal blasted the new Panama Canal treaty. It is "against the interests of the Panamanian people," he said, "and we are

going to struggle against it."

Referring to Jimmy Carter's visit to Panama scheduled for June 16-17, Bernal said, "We don't want Carter here. You can tell him that he's not welcome here, and that he should stay home in the United States. We don't want his hypocritical smile in our country."

The crowd responded by chanting, "¡Bernal, seguro, a los Yanquis dales duro!" (Bernal, for sure, hit the Yankees hard!)

The airport rally was organized by Bernal's party, the Revolutionary Socialist League, and a number of other groups including People's Vanguard, the Revolutionary Student Front—29, Guaycucho, and the Law Students Center.

## Escalating Repression Across India

### Hundreds of Workers Gunned Down by Desai's Police

Barely a year in power, the Janata Party regime of Prime Minister Morarji Desai has given its police a virtual free hand to deal with the mounting class, caste, and religious conflicts in various parts of India. As a result, hundreds of persons have been gunned down over a period of just a few weeks.

One of the worst massacres took place on April 14 at the agricultural university at Pantnagar in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It followed a strike against impending layoffs by 1,200 casual workers at the university.

According to a report in the *Indian Express*, small groups of workers approached the police and shouted, "The police and the workers are brothers." The police began shooting without provocation. Some students tried to intervene, but they too were fired on. About ten of the police kept on shooting for more than twenty minutes.

The death toll in the Pantnagar massacre has been estimated at between 150 and 200.

During the preceding weeks, serious clashes took place in a number of other states as well.

In Bihar, the landlord class has been encouraged by sectors of the Janata Party (Home Minister Charan Singh represents landlord interests) to escalate attacks on poor farmers and landless agricultural workers. Since the landlords are of the upper castes, and the poor peasants and

farm workers are usually "untouchables" or tribespeople, these conflicts take the form of caste antagonisms.

In March there were a number of incidents in which upper-caste elements attacked and killed "untouchables" and tribespeople, in some cases by burning them in their huts. The police generally sided with the upper castes.

In Mordabad, in Uttar Pradesh, Hindu chauvinists of the paramilitary Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Protection Union, affiliated to Charan Singh's former Jan Sangh party) assaulted Muslims March 29, initiating a series of religious clashes that left at least fifteen persons dead.

In Hyderabad, the capital of the Congress Party-ruled state of Andhra Pradesh, police fired indiscriminately into crowds of demonstrators April 3, killing at least nine persons. The demonstrations had been called by the local Janata Party after a protester was beaten to death by police and his wife raped.

Police also gunned down striking iron miners at Bailadilla, in Madhya Pradesh, April 5.

According to a report in the April 15 issue of the *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly*, "Once the order was obtained, the policemen went berserk and let loose a reign of terror. After the indiscriminate firing, three labour colonies [housing areas] were set on fire, reducing to ashes hundreds of hutments. The workers and

their women and children fled for their lives. Thousands of them ran towards the nearby jungle."

The Janata Party regime admits that eleven persons were killed in the massacre, but many bodies were known to have been secretly buried or burned by the police after the attack. Most news reports put the number of those killed at more than two dozen. Even Raghu Thakur, the general secretary of the Janata Party in the state, acknowledged that the number of deaths was "more than the official figure." Some reports say as many as fifty were killed.

Five days later, on April 10, protesting farmers were fired on by police, leaving nine dead, in Madurai in the southern state of Tamil Nadu. □

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# Selections From the Left

## Young Socialist

Monthly newspaper reflecting the views of the Young Socialist Alliance. Published in New York.

In the April issue, John Linder comments on the split in the Revolutionary Communist Party, the largest and most influential Maoist organization in the United States:

A minority claiming the support of 40 percent of the membership openly broke with RCP Chairman Bob Avakian in January. It has established the "Revolutionary Workers Headquarters of the RCP" and is led by Mickey Jarvis.

The minority appears to have taken a majority of the RCP's youth affiliate, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB). . . . Jarvis supporters have established a rival youth group called the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB).

Both sides trace the origin of the split to the purge of the "gang of four." However, Peking's foreign policy, particularly the contention that the Soviet Union represents the "main danger" in world politics, was clearly also at issue. Linder explains:

This ["main danger"] position led to a three-way debate among the major Maoist currents in this country: the RCP, the *Guardian* newspaper, and the October League (OL—now called the Communist Party [Marxist-Leninist]).

While the *Guardian* criticized Peking's foreign policy, the October League endorsed the "main danger" line and did its best to implement it.

The RCP leaders straddled the fence—attempting to maintain both their alliance with Peking and their anti-imperialist image. But these two pillars on which they were built had become mutually incompatible.

At a conference held in New York City in November 1976, Bob Avakian said that the RCP viewed the Soviet Union and the United States as "equal dangers." At the same time he insisted that he spoke for the Chinese Communist Party on this.

Following the conference the RCP's newspaper, *Revolution*, carried a four-page article stating that the October League's position placed it in "objective unity with U.S. imperialism." . . .

The RCP correctly spelled out the implications of OL's foreign policy. But as much as the RCP leaders denied it, this was also China's foreign policy.

Any RCP members who were taken in by their leaders must have been shocked in July 1977 when the Chinese government publicly endorsed the October League as its U.S. representative. Clearly, the source of "objective unity with U.S. imperialism" was none other than Mao and his heirs! Both followed an identical foreign policy.

The purge of the "gang of four" brought fresh difficulties for the RCP:

If the RCP accepted the charges against the "gang" it was implicitly condemning Mao. And having uncritically defended Mao and his government for the last decade, the RCP would be condemning its own history.

On the other hand, if the RCP denied the

charges it would be rejecting the current Chinese government and the prestige of being associated with it.

For more than a year the RCP leadership attempted to sidestep this dilemma by saying virtually nothing about the purge. However, events in China made it increasingly difficult to remain silent.

The split came when Avakian, supported by a narrow majority of the RCP Central Committee, decided to back the "gang of four." The minority that walked out has given full support to the Hua government. The conclusion of the dispute was far from amicable, Linder reports:

Once the split had occurred, the leaders of both factions wrote off their former comrades as enemies of socialism. An article in the February issue of the RCP's *Revolution* calls the current leaders of the RSB a "clique of careerists," guilty of "full-blown revisionist opportunism."

The RSB's response is an "Open Letter to Pipsqueak Avakian," published in the *Young Communist*. Next to a cartoon caricature of Avakian, they write, "This short person's got no reason to live."

Both wings are also using violent tactics against other forces on the left, Linder writes. "In Houston the RCP organized fifty club-swinging thugs to attack a miners' solidarity meeting on March 3, sending six people to the hospital. During the last month, RSB members in New York City have physically threatened YSA members who were selling the *Young Socialist*."

## was fun

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

The April 27 issue contains a report on an antifascist demonstration of 20,000 persons in Cologne on April 22:

"A call was issued for this demonstration by all the international organizations representing victims of the Nazi regime. This action was timely in view of the growth of militant fascist groups, the toleration of radical-right groups in the civil service, and the flood of books, newspapers, badges, and toys identified with Nazism that has gone along with this. It was necessary. And the political breadth of participation in the demonstration showed that this was well understood. Along with the sponsoring organizations (which the DKP [the pro-Moscow Communist Party] 'discreetly' hid behind), nearly the entire left movement was present.

"While unity was an achievement (overlooking the usual jostling by the DKP marshals), nevertheless, speakers at the rally limited themselves too much to mere warnings about the brown plague, to ex-

posing its atrocities. What was lacking was an explanation of why youth in particular are flocking to the right-wing goon gangs today, why the ossified German Nazi Party is getting fresh blood. Doesn't the "heroic unit of Mogadishu" convey the image of troops who will do anything for the fatherland? Isn't it the job of one and all in this official climate to beat the leftist swamp dry once and for all? Don't the government's great-power actions foster fascist-like thinking, i.e., 'under the protection of the Reich'? And aren't court decisions like the one in Mannheim, which said that the Nazi Party was not banned by the constitution, intended to give a boost to the fascists? These questions must be answered in order to deal with the activities of these gangs. And we must think over how to actually do this.

"Thus, the demand for banning the SS groups does not point in the right direction. What we are dealing with here is not some broad, recognizable movement whose internal structure could be smashed by a government ban (assuming that the state wanted to do this), but rather with tiny goon squads that can be fought on the level of direct action—not through some kind of private war, but by mobilizing broad unity from the Social Democratic Party to the far-left groups."

## The Weekly People

Newspaper of the Socialist Labor Party. Published in Palo Alto, California.

The lead article in the May 6 issue discusses the threat of fascism and how socialists can most effectively fight it, in connection with the controversy that has erupted over a projected Nazi march in Skokie, Illinois. Skokie is a suburb of Chicago with more than 40,000 Jews among its 70,000 residents, many of them survivors of Nazi death camps.

Last year the city government passed ordinances designed to keep the Nazis off the streets. The American Civil Liberties Union has defended in court the Nazis' right to march. On January 26 three of the ordinances were ruled unconstitutional by a federal district court, and on April 7 the U.S. Court of Appeals lifted an injunction that had delayed implementation of the district court ruling. Subsequently, Nazi fuhrer Frank Collin announced that the march may take place on June 25.

Residents of Skokie and a number of groups in the Chicago area are planning a massive counterdemonstration against the Nazis. However, one anti-Nazi organization, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, opposes militant protest on the grounds that it plays into the Nazis' hands by giving them free publicity. Anyway, they say, the present Nazi groups are "politically impotent."

The *Weekly People* answers that the



"fragmented assortment of small fascist groups . . . is only the tip of the iceberg as far as right-wing extremism is concerned," and that "the Nazis reflect a latent fascist sentiment far more extensive and threatening than would appear at first glance."

The article continues:

"Even among those who acknowledge the seriousness of the fascist threat, however, efforts to counter and oppose it have been marked by a dividing debate over the Nazis' civil rights.

"At the center of this dispute has been the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). . . . The ACLU's official position on behalf of the Nazis has embroiled it in a controversy that has cost it over 30,000 members during the past year, according to one estimate. . . .

"The position of the ACLU majority is that 'the issue is pure First Amendment.' It brings to the question no class or political perspective, treating it instead as a question of abstract, civil libertarian principles.

"Workers, however, do not have the luxury of assuming such a benign posture with respect to a fascist ideology that directly threatens their class interests. As the Weekly People recently noted, 'the question (for workers) is not how to defend fascism, but how to defeat it.'

"Clearly, efforts to defeat fascism will not be enhanced in the long run by urging the state to pass repressive measures to stifle Nazi groups. In the first place, asking the courts to ban Nazi groups sets a dangerous precedent of encouraging workers to look to the capitalist state for protection from fascism. In the second place, history has shown time and again how such measures can be used against workers' movements.

"But at the same time, workers have no obligation to lift a finger to help fascists propagate their vicious racism. While civil libertarians will continue to use Skokie as a vehicle for spreading illusions about the common democratic interests of workers and fascists, socialists urge workers to use it as an opportunity to vigorously protest the fascist threat. Nazi efforts to march in Skokie should be countered not by petitioning the government for repressive laws but by organizing protests, rallies and demonstrations that counter the fascist groups with massive displays of opposition. For, in the final analysis, the defeat of fascism depends on the vigilance and militancy of the workers' own organizations."

## COMBATE

"Combat," organ of the United Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist League and the Communist League, Fourth International. Published weekly in Madrid.

The April 27-May 3 issue contains a report on a recent meeting in Madrid of the

Coordinating Committee of Homosexual Liberation Fronts in the Spanish State, which includes groups from Catalonia, the Basque country, and Andalusia.

"The Coordinating Committee agreed to jointly organize International Homosexual Liberation Day on June 25, a day that is celebrated around the world as 'Gay Pride Day.' Held on this day last year was the first homosexual demonstration in the Spanish state, which drew more than 5,000 persons in Barcelona. The theme this year will be the struggle against repression—given the antihomosexual laws in force in our country, the fact that 600 homosexuals are in prison, and the repressive conditions facing homosexuals. The common slogans decided upon are:

- "Sexual freedom.
- "Amnesty for homosexuals.
- "Total amnesty.
- "Abrogation of the Law on Social Danger and Rehabilitation.
- "Decriminalization of homosexuality."

## rouge

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

In the April 22-23 issue, Henri Wéber reports on a national congress of the Lotta Continua (The Struggle Continues) current, which drew 1,000 participants to Rome in mid-April:

"Lotta Continua, the largest and most diversified of the Italian revolutionary groups, broke up as an organization at its Rimini congress in February 1976. Its members dissolved into the various movements (women, youth, homosexuals, unemployed, and others). Its daily paper proclaimed itself 'an open forum for all forms of protest,' refraining from offering any viewpoint or strategy of its own. It became a sort of Italian *Libération*, the paper of the 'movement,' a decision that resulted in an amazing jump in sales (to 30,000 copies) when the 1977 youth upsurge, the 'second 1968' in Italy, broke out.

"But the youth mobilization began to ebb last fall, after the Bologna assembly, under the boomerang effect of the devotees of "picking up the gun." The activities of the various mass movements were blocked by the progress of the 'historic compromise,' on the one hand, and the takeover of all joint actions by the 'autonomous groups' on the other hand.

"It became difficult to act as the 'paper of the movement,' when there was no movement, without giving way to nonsense. Meanwhile, the private war against the state declared by the Red Brigades led to a polarization of attitudes and thus demanded a clear political choice. . . .

"The editors' position on the Moro case has obviously come under fire. 'Neither with the state nor with the Red Brigades,' the *Lotta Continua* editorials proclaim.

'We refused to howl with the wolves,' said a member of the editorial staff, 'so as to avoid drowning out the gains of these last few years, of mass civil disobedience, to avoid everything being overshadowed by the obligation to be for or against the Red Brigades.' A position most often criticized for its mildness and humanism, with the audience obviously displaying sympathy for the Red Brigades, although with reservations about their strategy.

"With the breakup of Lotta Continua into sectors, and its inability to provide even tentative answers to the real problems raised by the activists, its ultraleft essence shows up clearer than ever."

## rood

"Red," Flemish weekly paper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International.

The April 21 issue has an interview with the editors of *Tegenkrant* ("Counter Press"), the new monthly magazine of the Socialist Young Guard (SJW), a youth organization in solidarity with the Revolutionary Workers League.

*Rood*. Why has the Socialist Young Guard decided all of a sudden to put out a paper for Flanders as a whole?

*Tegenkrant*. Since it broke from the Belgian Socialist Party,\* including in the period after the formation of the Revolutionary Workers League, the SJW has put out regular publications. From 1966 to 1968, it had *Barrikade*, which was published in Antwerp, Brussels, and Ghent. After 1968, it collaborated in the production of *Rood*. In 1973, when the need began to be felt again to have a paper for the SJW itself (at the time of the actions against the VDB [education "reforms"], *Barrikade* appeared again, in a different format. This operation broke down after a few months because of internal difficulties, and subsequently papers of the same name were published in 1975 in Ostende and Antwerp.

For two years now, it has been becoming clearer and clearer that the youth sections of the revolutionary socialist movement (for example in various other countries where there are relatively strong sections of the Fourth International, such as France and Spain) cannot be built up unless they can lead an organizationally autonomous life.

This need has been made still more acute here in Belgium by the political options adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Revolutionary Workers League, most importantly that the organization should orient to the workers movement. At this congress it was decided to devote all possible resources to building an autonomous youth organization.

At the moment, the level of political activity among the youth is low, and it is very difficult to build a youth organization simply around a correct program and ongoing agitation in all areas in which youth are involved.

Therefore, the SJW Coordinating Committee, which worked out the projections for Flanders, decided to give impetus to the building of a revolutionary youth organization in the initial period by working around a paper that will be put together entirely by young people.



## New York Rally Celebrates Completion of Trotsky 'Writings'

By Susan Wald

NEW YORK—Three hundred and fifty persons gathered at a rally here April 30 to celebrate the completion of Pathfinder Press's twelve-volume series, *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)*.\*

The featured speaker was George Breitman, who coedited all the volumes in the series from its beginning in 1969 to its completion earlier this year with the publication of the final volume covering the 1936-37 period.

Breitman joined the Trotskyist movement in 1935, and was a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, later serving as editor of the *Militant*. He has written books and pamphlets on Malcolm X, and on Black nationalism and its relationship to revolutionary Marxism.

Breitman began by describing how the nine-year publishing project had vastly increased the amount of Trotsky's work in print:

"When we began in 1969, there were in print books and pamphlets written in Trotsky's last exile, consisting of a little less than 4,000 book pages. That included some of his best-known titles, such as the *History of the Russian Revolution*, *My Life*, and *The Revolution Betrayed*. Counting 400 pages to a book, that was the equivalent of around ten books. So when we added twelve *Writings* volumes, averaging over 400 pages each, we more than doubled the total."

But this does not tell the whole story, Breitman said, because Pathfinder Press has also published eleven other books by Trotsky in the last nine years. These are "companion" volumes to the *Writings* series, consisting of articles and documents on selected subjects. The most recent of these, *Leon Trotsky on France*, will appear in bookstores later this year.

"Adding these eleven companion volumes to the twelve *Writings* volumes makes the equivalent of over twenty full-sized books," Breitman said.

He added that if Pathfinder Press had known it was embarking on a project of such scope, "the very idea might have intimidated us or even have discouraged us from making the attempt. Fortunately, no one was around at the time to point out the magnitude of our ignorance."

"The *Writings* series was not motivated by any illusion that publishing it was a

way of making money," Breitman explained. "Nor was the decision to go ahead with it based mainly on literary considerations." The primary purpose of publishing the books was to strengthen the political arsenal of the Trotskyist movement, "to advance the political education of young revolutionary cadres."

"Trotsky is the most accessible of the great teachers to young people seeking to master Marxist ideas and the Marxist method. Not because Trotsky was a greater thinker than Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but because he lived later than they did and had the benefits of their thinking to build on, and because he dealt with problems that did not arise until after they were dead, problems that we still have to grapple with. Stalinism is one example."

A huge collaborative effort was required, Breitman said. "It was a collective project, involving hundreds of people here and abroad, who contributed to the final product in one or another way. . . . To list all these contributors by name is not possible here. But I cannot help mentioning some.

"Among the many institutions, the two to whom our debt was greatest were the Houghton Library in Cambridge, where Harvard's Trotsky archives are stored, and the Library of Social History in New York.

"Among the individuals who were not part of the staff here the greatest assistance came from the dedicated and indefatigable Louis Sinclair of Glasgow, Scotland, the author of the monumental 1,100-page bibliography of Trotsky compiled after decades of work and research in many countries; it would have been foolhardy to even think of starting our project without his help and advice.

"Among editors abroad our biggest help came from Pierre Broué of Grenoble, France, the historian, scholar, and author of many books on revolutionary themes. No one will be able to write the history of the Fourth International in the thirties without consulting the books by Trotsky he has edited and the wealth of information he supplies in such works as Trotsky's book on Spain."

Broué is research director of the newly established Leon Trotsky Institute in Paris headed by Marguerite Bonnet, who is executrix of Trotsky's estate. The Institute's staff consists of members of different Trotskyist currents as well as several unaffiliated individuals. Its first project will be to begin systematic publication of Trotsky's works in French.

Both Broué and Bonnet sent messages to the rally (see below).

In concluding his remarks, Breitman explained that plans for publishing Trotsky's complete writings had by no means come to an end with the final volume in the series. He pointed to the enormous tasks that lay ahead when the closed portion of the Trotsky archives are opened in 1980.

Shortly before his assassination in 1940, Trotsky arranged to have his archives transferred to Harvard University, stipulating that his personal correspondence from 1929 on should be separated from the rest of his papers and kept in a special section closed to the public for forty years. This wish has been scrupulously respected, Breitman explained, and outside of the Harvard staff, no one has seen these papers except for Isaac and Tamara Deutscher. Deutscher obtained special permission to see them when he was writing the third volume of his biography of Trotsky in 1959.

"According to Deutscher, there are around 20,000 separate items in the closed section," Breitman said. He estimated that at least 6,000 of them were letters or documents written by Trotsky, which, when published, would fill at least fifteen volumes of 400 pages each.

Just examining the entire archives, most of which are in Russian, German, or French, will be a big job, while translating, annotating, editing, and publishing them will cost a great deal of money, Breitman explained.

Members of the audience contributed \$1,400 toward future publishing expenses.

Other speakers at the rally included Osborne Hart of the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee; Susan LaMont of the SWP Political Committee, who chaired the proceedings; and Doug Jenness, a member of the SWP Political Committee and managing editor of Pathfinder Press.

Jenness noted that this year marks the fiftieth anniversary of American Trotskyism and of the *Militant*, and the fortieth anniversary of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party.

"We've honored a lot of people here today who are responsible for the completion of the Trotsky writings project," Jenness said, "and it's praise well deserved. But we should also salute the members and supporters of the SWP, each and every one of you here, and those throughout the

\*Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

country. . . . We've done something for ourselves, we're proud of it, and we're celebrating."

Contrary to the views of some academics, he continued, Trotsky in the 1930s—the period covered by the *Writings*—was not primarily concerned with writing history, nor was he a sideline commentator on world events. Despite tremendous personal hardships, "Trotsky . . . was a political organizer. He led the International Left Opposition which tried to reform the Communist International, and then led the struggle to establish the Fourth International. . . ."

"This is why this collection of materials

is so valuable for us today. It was written for our kind of people, for revolutionists. . . ."

"Trotsky dealt with all the big political questions of the day—the fascist victory in Germany, the Spanish civil war, the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the development of Stalinism, the rise of popular frontism; the economic crisis of world capitalism, and World War II. His goal was to explain these from the standpoint of the objective needs of the working class and point a road to action. These questions are similar to many we still have with us today, giving added relevance to the writings and the companion volumes."

Despite a massive effort by Stalin to suppress Trotsky's ideas, using all the resources of state power, these ideas had survived, Jenness said, because they represent the continuation of genuine Leninism and Marxism. He added:

"Where will Mao's writings stand in ten years or even five years? And who today reads the collected works of Stalin? This year, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death, he was scarcely mentioned in Moscow. What will they say next year about the centenary of Stalin's birth when thousands around the world will be commemorating the hundredth anniversary of Trotsky's birth?" □

## Messages Sent to April 30 Rally in New York

[The following are major excerpts from the messages sent to the April 30 New York rally celebrating the completion of the Trotsky *Writings* series.]

\* \* \*

### United Secretariat of Fourth International

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International throughout the world are grateful to Pathfinder Press on the occasion of the completion of the twelve-volume series of Trotsky's *Writings*.

The members of the Fourth International throughout the world are grateful to the dedicated band of workers who made this ambitious publishing project possible.

The *Writings* are not merely a record of Trotsky's living thoughts as he grappled with the complexities of political development during his last exile. They are also an example of the utilization of the Marxist method to solve key problems of theoretical and political analysis to aid revolutionists to effectively intervene in the class struggle. The topics covered in the *Writings*—tactics and strategy of the united front, the fight against fascism, the nature of the Soviet Union and the struggle against Stalinism, revolutionary strategy in the imperialist countries and colonies, the call for and practical steps in building a new revolutionary Marxist international, the concrete problems of constructing new parties in difficult circumstances, to name just a few—show a rounded revolutionary leader in action. Generations of revolutionists throughout the world will be able to draw upon the *Writings* to assist them in understanding the political problems of today and tomorrow.

The publication of the *Writings* is also a powerful blow to the Stalinist project of "eliminating Trotskyism as a political tendency." At a time when the Stalinists want to consign their mentor's so-called

works to oblivion, and even forget the anniversary of his death, we Trotskyists can proudly present the full and complete record of the development of Trotsky's ideas in the most fruitful period of his life.

This would not have been possible without the unstinting labor of the translators, editors, proofreaders, printers, and others, as well as the sacrifices of those who made financial contributions to the project. These comrades are to be congratulated not only for their fine political work, but for the good technical quality of the *Writings* as well.

Finally, we wish Pathfinder Press success in its ongoing work of making available works of revolutionary Marxism which otherwise would not be so.

### Socialist Workers Party, Australia

In carrying through this project over almost a decade—which is all the more impressive given the still small size and limited resources of the movement in the United States—Pathfinder Press has rendered a great service to the world Trotskyist movement, especially, of course, in English-speaking countries. For us, these volumes have played and will continue to play an invaluable role in the education of Trotskyist cadres in this country.

### Tamara Deutscher

I would like to join all those who will congratulate you on bringing to a successful conclusion the tremendous task of publishing and editing Leon Trotsky's *Writings*, covering the years of his final exile. You have every right to be proud of your achievement. You have rendered a great service not only to students and scholars but also to the growing numbers of young people who, in their yearning for a genuine socialist society, turn to Trotsky

for an understanding of the past, for guidance in action, and inspiration for the future.

### International Marxist Group, Britain

In 1940, James P. Cannon said, "Only a very few individual comrades have ever met Trotsky face to face. Yet everywhere they knew they knew him. In China, and across the broad oceans to Chile, Argentina, Brazil. In Australia, in practically every country of Europe. In the United States, Canada, Indochina, South Africa. They never saw him, but the ideas of Trotsky welded them all together in one uniform and firm world movement. So it will continue after his physical death. There is no room for doubt." The publication of his books is one important part of strengthening that movement.

### Pathfinder Press, Britain

Congratulations on completing the impressive twelve-volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky*. These books are indispensable to all those struggling to build a revolutionary party and the Fourth International.

### Pathfinder Press, Canada

Pathfinder now has over forty books and pamphlets by Trotsky in print in English. What an achievement!

### Revolutionary Workers League, Canada

We are proud of the small contribution the Canadian Trotskyists have made to the production of this series, through helping to translate some of the articles and letters. We look forward to collaborating with Pathfinder Press (U.S.) in the work



that now awaits us—translating and publishing the remainder of Trotsky's work when it becomes available in 1980.

This remarkable achievement of the American Trotskyists has blazed a path for the Fourth International. We hope it will be emulated in other languages, in particular French—the language of almost a third of the people who currently inhabit the Canadian state.

### **Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan**

In the years between 1929 and 1940, Trotsky's entire energies were devoted to two historic tasks: building the Left Opposition as an international current against the tide of Stalinist reaction, and, after Stalin's treacherous betrayal in the face of Hitler's rise to power in 1933, building the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.

During these years Trotsky also wrote about the German, French, and Spanish revolutions.

Now these writings are brought together under one roof.

The next chapters in the history of the Trotskyist movement will be written by the dedicated revolutionists of the Fourth International who will learn from these *Writings*. This collection will educate revolutionaries around the world and help bring the day of the world socialist revolution that much closer.

### **Nahuel Moreno**

This accomplishment, which is unique in the history of publication of Trotsky's works, has a profound value in the publishing field, but it also has a far more important significance: it is the most powerful tool of Marxist education on the building of our international and its parties that I have known. It is to the credit of Pathfinder, the SWP leadership, and Comrade George Breitman that they were aware of this exceptional importance of the writings of Trotsky and that they undertook their publication.

### **Jorge Posada Lalinde**

The present growth of the world Trotskyist movement, and the situation in the Fourth International, where a new, very positive, and instructive debate is beginning, makes these works indispensable to all Trotskyist parties—especially those that do not as yet have a long international experience. These parties can rely on the theoretical support that above all is based on the very rich internationalist experience of Comrade Trotsky. If the Latin American Trotskyist parties, and some of the European parties as well, had had this tool at their disposal, they could

have avoided many setbacks and errors in their international positions.

Had the multitude of experiences that Comrade Trotsky analyzes in his *Writings* been taken into account, the internal life of these parties might not have been so distorted in some cases.

### **Marguerite Bonnet**

On the occasion of the publication of the twelfth volume of Trotsky's *Writings*, I wish to congratulate you for having brought this remarkable project to a successful conclusion. The richness of your collection, which provides readers with articles either unpublished elsewhere or hard to locate, helpfully elucidated by your substantial editorial notes, is most useful to our understanding of Trotsky's thought and action. Its completion coincides with the beginning of a similar project in France—the publication of Trotsky's collected works—the first volume of which has already gone to press in Paris. We have also undertaken a similar edition in Germany. In both cases, your efforts have blazed a path, and your work is an invaluable asset for all of us. I regard its successful completion as a good omen for our own undertaking.

### **Pierre Broué**

Your work in publishing these twelve volumes of Trotsky's writings is a trail-blazing feat that holds great value. You have cleared the way to publishing Trotsky's work on an unprecedented scale, and thus not only have you published a collection, but you have made many others possible. We can only hope they will be as valuable as yours. You have done this without any feeling of competition, in the best spirit of comradeship and solidarity.

Furthermore, you have set an example, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is you who have made it possible to establish the Leon Trotsky Institute and launch our project of publishing Trotsky's works in French. This project is under the direction of a team of comrades who belong to different currents, but who share a desire to make Trotsky's method accessible to the present generation of activists and of those to come.

I might add, on a personal note, that without the *Writings*—which proved it could be done—and without the aid and constant encouragement of George Breitman and his colleagues, I would probably never have had the confidence that enabled me to overcome the many obstacles on the way to establishing the Institute and publishing the collected works in French.

Let me say in closing that on April 30, the thoughts of all comrades who understand the historic importance of your work will be with all of you, but particularly

with George Breitman, who throughout this period has been the embodiment of courage and energy at work for a just cause.

### **Leon Trotsky Institute, France**

The newly established Leon Trotsky Institute, whose first task will be to publish Trotsky's collected works in French along the path charted by the *Writings*, takes great pleasure in greeting the publication of the twelfth and final volume in your series.

This event is a milestone. Our first volume, which will be published by the time you read this, begins a series in which we hope to outdo you—but we could not have such ambitions today if it wasn't for your having gone before us. We know that you approve of our ambitions, and that, as consistent internationalists, you have sought to arouse them in others.

We have begun publication of the collected works from 1933 on, with the intention of eventually coming back to the years 1929 and after. We will publish at a rate of four volumes a year, using the chronological approach that your series has shown to be vastly superior. For our work, we will have access to new sources and to documents, many of which you have given us, from the archives of James P. Cannon—thanks to you of course—as well as those of Sneevliet, Wolf, Vereeken, and others.

We know that you will give us as much help as you did previously, and that is one of the reasons why we have great confidence, besides our conviction that this task is a political priority at this time. The Institute's initial success, in setting out to follow in your footsteps, came in enlisting the aid of all those long associated with the movement, as well as of the various currents today that stand on Trotsky's tradition and politics.

The Leon Trotsky Institute salutes you, and George Breitman especially, for having made the publication of the key political writings of this century a reality.

### **Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, France**

We learned from reading the *Militant* that on April 30 you are going to celebrate the publication of the twelfth and final volume of the *Writings* of Leon Trotsky. We join wholeheartedly in this celebration,

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for two reasons. First, because your work has enabled a considerable number of English-speaking members and sympathizers of the Fourth International, as well as other readers, to become acquainted with a large portion of Trotsky's work never before published or out of print for decades. Second, because your project has served as a model and impetus, recently culminating in the establishment of the Leon Trotsky Institute headed by Marguerite Bonnet, with which several LCR comrades are closely associated. We know that the vast publishing program planned by the Institute could not even have been envisioned without constant collaboration between you and the Institute's organizers.

We think that revolutionary Marxism has everything to gain by maintaining such collaboration in the future.

### Entesharate Fanus, Iran

The completion of Leon Trotsky's *Writings* series is indeed a happy event and a cause for joy and celebration. Thanks to Pathfinder's remarkable efforts, the result of twelve years of uninterrupted literary activity by one of the most outstanding geniuses of our time is now available to English-language readers. What is more, this successful project, like many other Pathfinder contributions, is of international significance. It has eliminated the gigantic task of compiling and editing hundreds of Trotsky's articles and letters in the *Writings* series, for those publishers around the world who share Pathfinder's outlook and aims.

We at Entesharate Fanus have even more reason to express our gratitude to Pathfinder Press on this special occasion. We have already translated into Persian and published several Pathfinder titles—*The Permanent Revolution*, *The Communist Manifesto* along with Trotsky's introduction, *Women and the Family*, *Dynamics of World Revolution Today*, and *The Transitional Program*.

Other titles translated and scheduled for publication in the near future are *The World Political Situation and Immediate Tasks of the Fourth International*, *Logic of Marxism*, *The Revolution Betrayed*, and *History of the Left Opposition*. Pathfinder will certainly continue to act as a major guideline for future Fanus publications.

Once more, we extend our warmest greetings to you and wish the greatest success for your rally.

### Revolutionary Communist League, Japan

We are very glad to hear that the last volume of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929-40)* will be published in April. We would like to send our wholehearted congratulations to Pathfinder Press on the

completion of publication of the *Writings*, and to send our warmest greetings to your rally on April 30.

We think that the completion of this project is an epoch-making event for the world Trotskyist movement and the international workers' movements. The *Writings* series is a great contribution to our revolutionary movement, and will be an extremely important and valuable part of the common property of the world's people forever.

Here in Japan, Tsuge Publishers, a revolutionary publishing house, has already produced eight volumes of the *Writings* in Japanese. Japanese revolutionary Marxists will soon complete the series, thanks to your pioneer work in this area, and will spread the revolutionary teachings of Leon Trotsky among the Japanese working class.

We conclude this message by sending our appreciation and sincerest thanks to all the people who worked on the *Writings*.

### Sieva Bronstein

We send you fraternal greetings and want to let you know of our admiration for the extraordinary labor you have carried out in spreading the writings and thoughts of Lev Davidovich.

Without respite, you have always kept the beacon of historical truth lit in the turbulent sea of counterrevolution and cruel imperialism.

Forward toward a world where violence and all forms of slavery and exploitation are eradicated forever.

### Socialist Action League, New Zealand

Trotsky's writings of the thirties have been crucial in helping us to come to grips with the national question in New Zealand, in orienting us to the youth and to the most oppressed layers of the working class, and in inspiring and guiding us in many other areas of party building.

Pathfinder Press, George Breitman, and all the many others who have helped in editing, producing, and financing this venture, should be commended for making Trotsky's *Writings* available to our generation of revolutionary activists.

### Fontamara Press, Spain

In solidarity with your endeavor, we feel proud to be able to announce the upcoming publication by Fontamara Press of Trotsky's writings on Spain and Germany.

In addition, we will soon be able to announce other projects based on your *Writings* series. In the coming months we will publish for the Spanish-speaking public *Understanding History* by George Novack, *Sexism and Science* by Evelyn Reed, and some of James P. Cannon's writings on building the revolutionary party, works whose importance we don't need to emphasize to you.

With the confidence that your effort is recognized by thousands of men and women of all races and nationalities, Fontamara Press sends to you from Spain our sincere and comradely solidarity. □

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## 'I Am Fighting to Make the U.S. Respect Right to Asylum'

[The following article by José Reveles appeared in the April 10 issue of *Proceso*, a widely read weekly newsmagazine published in Mexico City. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press/Interprecor*.]

\* \* \*

NEW YORK—Do you know when it will be possible to speak of political reform in Mexico?, Héctor Marroquín Manríquez was asked. "When there is not one political prisoner. When no one is persecuted or disappears because of his ideas. Without amnesty for political prisoners, what they are calling political reform means nothing."

Héctor is twenty-four years old. The object of persecution since 1974, he was forced to enter the United States and work illegally. In 1974 he was a Mexican student, active in politics at the Autonomous University of Nuevo León [UANL]. And he was accused—"ridiculously, absurdly," he says—of taking part in violent guerrilla actions.

He asked for political asylum in the United States when "La Migra"—the American police who arrest undocumented *braceros*—took him prisoner and were preparing to send him to Mexico. "Even if the absurd charges against me should be withdrawn, I don't think I would return to Mexico now—there are too many political murder cases that have never been cleared up; too many persons have disappeared."

He is now awaiting a U.S. government decision on his request for asylum. "But my case is not a personal matter; I am fighting to expose political repression in Mexico and make the United States respect the right to asylum. Asylum here has been discriminatory. Just to cite one example, 100,000 Vietnamese arrived in this country at the same time Pinochet was massacring Chilean citizens, thousands of whom were systematically rejected by the United States because here they accept only exiles who are fleeing from countries or regimes that are not U.S. allies."

Héctor Marroquín had to flee when the police singled him out as "one of the murderers" of UANL librarian Joel Rojo Hernández. "I was teaching a class at High School No. 8 when that occurred, leaving aside the fact that I have never agreed with the practice of political terrorism, individual terrorism—which only brings adverse consequences for those seeking change by other means and which miseducates the people, since it involves an act isolated from the struggle and



Arnold Weissberg/Militant

HECTOR MARROQUIN

consciousness of the workers and peasants."

Four other youths were denounced as "guerrillas" at that time along with Héctor, who was then twenty years old. They met with a worse fate: two died in purported confrontations with the police, one was sent to jail, and the fourth, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, disappeared several years ago after being detained by the police. His mother, Mrs. Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, has explained this to all the authorities and in all kinds of ways.

She came to the United States to lend support to the campaign for political asylum and to denounce political persecution and repression in Mexico. "She is a very courageous woman," Héctor says.

The story of Héctor Marroquín could fill pages. He would later be accused—once he was already in the United States—of participating in a confrontation with the police on April 23, 1974. "It was strange to be sitting in my house in Houston, and at the same time read about a shootout in Monterrey in which, according to the police, I had been wounded in the shoulder."

But the crudest accusation against Héctor was that he took part in an attack on a bakery on August 29, 1974. Marroquín had been in the University of Texas hospital since August 10 with a fractured leg, a

punctured lung, and other injuries suffered in an auto accident.

"Besides all that, I am accused of conspiracy and sedition, the classic charges the Mexican police make when they want to eliminate someone or justify jailings or even criminal acts," explains Héctor, who in recent weeks has been on a tour of various U.S. cities (he intends to go to the eighty principal ones, at least), seeking support and solidarity for the causes to which he has committed himself. He is doing this full-time, since the American authorities have prohibited him from working so long as his asylum case remains unresolved. "They wanted me to die of starvation, but they didn't count on there being so much support for my case, which is the cause of all who want the right of asylum respected."

One of the main problems that has set the U.S. authorities against Héctor Marroquín is the verification of his identity. In order to work in this country, Héctor used two assumed names—Roberto Zamora and José Angel Macías. His attorney, Margaret Winter, explains to us:

"We are going to present irrefutable proof that these are all the same person. The most impressive will be the testimony of an X-ray expert who analyzed Roberto Zamora's leg fracture and Marroquín's to see if they were the same individual."

Héctor might never have asked for political asylum, and in any case might have done so in another country, had he not been detained by the immigration police. But faced with the threat of deportation—"we know how those accused on political grounds are tortured and killed," he explains—he sought political asylum.

Today the case is receiving very broad publicity in the United States. He has the support of the most progressive groups and individuals, from Aileen Adams of Amnesty International to Joan Baez, Angela Davis, Noam Chomsky, Herbert Marcuse, and many others. There is a Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, which paid the extraordinary bail of \$10,000 the judge imposed in order to free the Mexican.

The documentation assembled by attorney Winter and by the whole Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is impressive both in its quantity and its persuasiveness. It includes everything from pay stubs in the United States for the dates when Héctor was supposedly participating in some criminal action in Mexico, to documents from the hospital where he was treated, clippings from newspapers in which his photo appeared as a man wanted by the police, and clippings report-



ing the murders of other youths accused of the same crimes.

"One of the saddest galleries of enemies of the people," was the caption in a 1974 issue of a scandal-mongering Mexican newspaper that focuses exclusively on police cases. Accompanying it were "guerrilla" photos provided by the Monterrey police. There was Héctor, in a normal photo, in another with a mustache, another with glasses, yet another with a whole series of additions—all circulated by the police throughout the entire country. That was when he finally made up his mind to leave Mexico. (At that time he was hiding in Baja California: "I wanted to turn myself in to the authorities, but two lawyers told me that my physical well-being would never be respected and that it was best not to go to the police even if I was innocent.")

"Why did they impose \$10,000 bail on Héctor, when for similar offenses—attempted illegal entry into the United States—other undocumented persons are asked for \$1,000 to \$2,000 at most? Perhaps because they consider him a 'danger' to U.S. security. But he openly belongs to a legal party, our party—the Socialist Workers Party," the young attorney Margaret Winter tells us.

She recalls ironically the statement of Leonel Castillo, director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, who claimed that there is no political repression in Mexico. "We are going to show that there certainly is," the attorney says. "And also that there is a very long list of persons who have disappeared or who are being held prisoner for political reasons."

Using documents, the attorney shows how the U.S. authorities have committed a series of violations in Marroquín's case. While they were telling the young Mexican that they couldn't verify if he was actually being persecuted in his country, the same immigration authorities had already sent a memorandum to the State Department including photographs and a letter from the chief of the federal police in Monterrey requesting Marroquín's deportation.

Héctor Villagra Caletti, chief of investigations for the Nuevo León state judicial police, sent a letter to U.S. immigration officer Robert Krueger requesting the "holding and safeguarding" of Héctor Marroquín, alias "El Pecas," whom he accused of having wounded two police officers on April 23, 1974. And, worst of all, the police chief attached a photo of Marroquín under the title, "Wanted." There were some "observations" in capital letters, which read:

"Subject confronted the police in an armed manner and is quite dangerous; responsible for firearm wounds suffered by CC agents Ricardo Condell and Carlos Alvarez in the city of Monterrey, Nuevo León, April 23, 1974."

"With such recommendations as that they were declaring me an individual who

## Message From John Conyers

[Following are excerpts from a message sent by U.S. Congressman John Conyers to an April 19 defense rally for Héctor Marroquín held in Detroit.]

\* \* \*

The appeal for Héctor Marroquín goes to the heart of America's human rights policy and presents a major test of the administration's commitment to that policy.

When nations such as Mexico have flagrantly violated human rights through torture, forced detention, and homicide, it is the responsibility of nations that profess to defend human rights to offer asylum to individuals who are denied them.

I shall do all I can to support the appeal of Héctor Marroquín for political asylum.

was to be shot on sight," Héctor comments.

For her part, attorney Winter explains to us that she intends to solicit sworn testimony from the present and former Nuevo León chiefs of police. She intends to call to the stand ex-chief Carlos G. Solana Macías, who has a reputation as a terrible torturer.

"Could you do that, even if they are in another country?" we ask her.

"There is a procedure for doing it—complicated, but legal. First they would be consulted to see if they were willing to testify voluntarily. Later they could be cited for contempt of court if the U.S. federal courts ask the Mexican courts to do so."

So, for what reason would they be called? "To demonstrate that there are any number of violations of the law in Mexico. We intend to make that quite clear in every way," the attorney says.

Héctor does not hide his convictions. He speaks with *Proceso* in the office his defense committee has rented. "I am a socialist," he says. "I think socialism is the only way to solve the economic crisis facing Mexican society.

"I believe that only the workers, peasants, teachers, and students can carry out this change, organized independently of official control—that is, the PRI<sup>1</sup>—which does not represent their interests but those of the ruling class and the big corpora-

1. Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party). The PRI has effectively dominated political life in Mexico since 1929.

tions. What's needed is a party that really represents the workers. I think it's necessary to be patient, to try to educate and organize to bring this about."

Here are some more of his opinions:

On the political reform:<sup>2</sup> "I think the Mexican government has come under strong pressure owing to an awakening of people's consciousness. It feels obliged to make a certain concession. But still it is not proposing a political reform to make possible the free play of democratic forces. This political reform has its limitations—the Senate and Chamber of Deputies will continue to be controlled by the party that has dominated Mexico for so many decades. But this is also an opportunity, one that the parties and progressive groups must take advantage of in order to express their views openly and legally. At the same time, however, they must denounce repression and government manipulation."

Concerning guerrillism: "I think a guerrilla movement really did exist in Mexico. And part of the youth, the same revolutionary generation that suffered the repression of October 1968 and June 10, 1971,<sup>3</sup> joined in that guerrilla process. It has to be understood in context: the youth found no alternatives in face of severe official repression. It was a mistaken option nonetheless—an unfortunate one, costing many courageous lives. Now I think a process of degeneration is going on among the so-called guerrillas. The September 23 Communist League, for example, has openly gone over to terrorism. I am opposed to a guerrilla-war strategy for Mexico. It has turned into personal terrorism, totally degenerate. And those who once participated are today recognizing their error. At present there is no guerrilla movement in Mexico; all there is are some groups that are totally isolated from reality and the historical process."

Finally, Héctor expresses his "enthusiasm and optimism" that his asylum request will be favorably resolved. "Whatever happens I will stay active in the struggle against deportation of undocumented workers, and I will certainly do as much as I possibly can to defend politically persecuted Latin Americans. Those are the two sides to my case, and I've realized that if what I've gone through is good for anything, that is how to take advantage of it." □

2. The López Portillo government has made some electoral reforms that will allow some opposition parties to gain legal status and participate in the 1979 congressional elections.

3. On October 2, 1968, troops opened fire on a student demonstration in Tlatelolco Plaza, Mexico City, killing dozens of persons. On June 10, 1971, squads of heavily armed right-wingers assisted by police and riot troops launched a wave of violent attacks on student demonstrators in Mexico City.

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Millions Celebrate May Day

Hundreds of thousands of persons marched and rallied throughout Spain on May 1. It was the first time in forty years that May Day was legally celebrated as a workers' holiday.

In Madrid, about 500,000 persons gathered at a rally called jointly by the trade-union federations and Workers Commissions.

An outpouring of nationalist sentiment took place in the Basque provinces, where 150,000 persons took part in demonstrations in the four major cities. In Pamplona, police fired rubber bullets and smoke grenades at a rally of 35,000, injuring twelve demonstrators.

In Chile, about 2,000 persons attended an unauthorized trade-union rally in Santiago, the first such meeting since the 1973 coup that brought the Pinochet dictatorship to power. Police armed with billy clubs did not attempt to break up the rally but arrested hundreds of workers, according to press reports. Among those arrested were two prominent Christian Democratic labor leaders, and the former secretary general of the Central Union of Chilean Workers, Clotario Blest.

In France, an estimated 19,000 persons marched in Paris at the call of the General Confederation of Labor, French Democratic Confederation of Labor, and the National Education Federation.

The demonstration was attacked by about 1,500 pipe-welding members of "autonomous" groups, yelling, "Down with the bureaucrats!" Police charged the demonstration, lobbing tear-gas grenades and arresting forty-eight persons. A number of demonstrators were seriously injured.

In Israel, groups of demonstrators waving flags with peace symbols and chanting "Peace Now!" were among the 6,000 who took part in a Histadrut-sponsored labor demonstration. Marchers jeered the governing Likud coalition and shouted for it to colonize the Negev desert instead of the West Bank. Demonstrations in the occupied territories were outlawed by Israeli military authorities.

In Japan, more than two million persons gathered at 1,000 rallies throughout the country to protest inflation and unemployment.

In Portugal, a crowd estimated at more than 100,000 jammed the May 1 stadium in Lisbon at a rally called by the Intersindical "in defense of the nationalizations and agrarian reform" and "against layoffs

and the high cost of living."

In Turkey, 100,000 persons attended a peaceful rally in Taksim Square in Istanbul, where thirty-four persons died when police attacked last year's May Day demonstration.

### Cops Occupy La Paz Campus

Police occupied the University of San Andrés in La Paz, Bolivia, on April 29.

Students had taken over the main building of the university on April 27 but withdrew the next day. They were protesting the appointment of a dean by the National Council on Higher Education. The students said the dean represented the "fascist government," and that the appointment was an attack on university autonomy.

The University of San Andrés has 15,000 students.

### Message for Marcos

The months preceding the April 7 elections to an interim National Assembly in the Philippines, which President Ferdinand E. Marcos claimed to have won, were marked by a series of strikes and other signs of labor ferment. The April 14 issue of the *Philippine Liberation Courier*, published monthly in Oakland, California, reported on some of these workers' actions.

From November 30 to December 4, 1977, about 200 delegates and observers attended a labor conference in Manila, forming the Kapatirang Anak Pawis Foundation (Association of Workers Foundation) to provide labor services and help coordinate workers activities. It was initiated by about fifty unions in the Greater Manila area and has begun publishing a journal, *Ang Kapatiran*. The founding congress agreed to support a strike of Filipino Warehouse workers and a boycott of Nestlé products.

On January 21, about 2,000 workers at the Eastern Textile Mills, north of Manila, struck over the refusal of the management to certify a collective-bargaining agreement. The company is owned by Agriculture Secretary Arturo Tanco, Jr.

Around the same time, dock workers at North Harbor in Manila began protests against wage deductions.

During the election campaign, more than 20,000 workers demonstrated in Manila against Marcos's martial-law regime

(see *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, April 24, 1978, p. 478).

In addition, *Philippine Liberation Courier* reported, workers in more than twenty factories in the Greater Manila area went out on strike during the campaign. The strike followed a call by the Kilusan ng mga Mamamayan para sa Kalayaan (People's Freedom Movement) to resist the regime. The Kilusan is a coalition of workers, students, urban poor, and religious figures formed during the campaign. Many of the factories affected by the strikes were wholly or partly American owned.

### St. Paul Voters Repeal Homosexual Rights Law

A four-year-old city ordinance banning discrimination against gays and lesbians was repealed by voters in St. Paul, Minnesota, April 25. The vote for repeal of the human-rights law was 54,096 to 31,694.

"The human rights implications of the vote are frightening," said City Councilwoman Joanne Showalter. "Who knows what rights they may seek to take away next."

The fight to repeal the ordinance was led by Baptist minister Richard Angwin and his group Citizens Alert for Morality. Angwin counterposed to the human rights of gays and lesbians "parents' rights" to control the "moral caliber" of people who come into contact with their children. About 5,000 persons attended a repeal rally the week before the vote, at which the featured speaker was scheduled to be Anita Bryant, who led a successful drive against Miami's gay-rights ordinance a year ago.

The vote was a shock to supporters of gay rights. The mayor of St. Paul, the two U.S. senators from Minnesota, the majority of the City Council, and other public figures had called for keeping the ordinance on the books. An April 19 rally of more than 1,500 persons supported the gay-rights law against the repeal drive.

A representative of the St. Paul Citizens for Human Rights, which was organized to counter the repeal drive, told the *Militant* newspaper: "I think the election results made a mockery of the democratic process that claims to provide equal protection under the law and equal rights for all people."

About forty U.S. cities have gay rights ordinances similar to that just repealed in



St. Paul, and in other cities efforts are under way to win such antidiscrimination legislation. In a number of places, antigay forces have succeeded in placing referendums on the ballot to repeal existing gay-rights laws. Wichita, Kansas, and Eugene, Oregon, will vote on repeal motions within the next month. And California State Senator John Briggs claims to have collected more than 300,000 signatures to place an initiative against homosexual teachers on the state ballot next November.

### Panama Exiles Protest Treaty

Panamanian exiles in Mexico City held a twenty-four-hour hunger strike April 18 to protest the new Panama Canal treaty ratified that day by the U.S. Senate.

Among the participants gathered at the offices of the Latin American Federation of Journalists were socialist leader and former law professor Miguel Antonio Bernal, poets Diana Morán and Ramón Ovieiro, attorneys David and Jorge Turner, and political leader Federico Britton.

At a news conference the Panamanians said "the interventionist formulas contained in the new treaties and their amendments demonstrate clearly the inability of President James Carter's government to be consistent in practicing human rights . . . and reopen the era of gunboat diplomacy."

"To accept the new treaties," the exiles said, "means to accept intervention, in perpetuity, in Panama."

### Protests over Dismissal of Zimbabwean Official

Byron Hove, a Black who served as a joint justice minister in the Rhodesian coalition regime, was dismissed by order of the Executive Council April 28, just two weeks after he was appointed to the post.

Hove had aroused the displeasure of Prime Minister Ian Smith and other white officials when he demanded the promotion and upgrading of Blacks in the police force and the civil service. Hove explained that for the coalition regime "to win over the

black people, we have to be seen to be making changes."

Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the leader of the United African National Council (UANC) and a key figure in the regime, claimed that he had not approved the dismissal. The UANC demanded Hove's reinstatement.

The dismissal, which further undermined the credibility of the agreement between Muzorewa, Smith, and two other Black figures, brought an angry response from Blacks, who put pressure on the UANC to withdraw from the government. A demonstration of 1,500 young Blacks in Salisbury April 30 included placards that read, "To Hell With Agreement," "No Hove, No Settlement," and "Bishop Must Pull Out."

Though some UANC leaders have threatened to pull out, Muzorewa himself has ruled out withdrawing.

Hove, who flew to London after his dismissal, explained his view of the "majority rule" agreement. "What Smith envisages," he said, "is a situation in which the civil service, the police, the judiciary, the army, and all the state apparatus remain in the hands of white people. In other words, he believes in the substance of power remaining in white hands, with the shadow of authority passing to blacks. That is his majority rule."

### Black Leaders Arrested in Soweto

Within just a few days of the formation of a new Black South African political group, the Azania People's Organization (Azapo), two of its leaders were arrested by the police.

Azapo Chairman Ishmael Mkhabela and Secretary Lybon Mabasa were seized at their homes in Soweto, the large Black township outside Johannesburg, early on May 4. Also arrested was Letsatsi Msala, vice-president of the Soweto Action Committee.

Azapo was established during the last weekend of April, a representative of the group told reporters May 1. Using a Black nationalist name for South Africa, one of

the group's slogans is "One People, One Azania." Reflecting opposition to the apartheid regime's Bantustan policy, this was also a slogan of the Black Consciousness movement, whose founder, Steve Biko, was killed in police custody in September 1977. Many of the organizations identified with the Black Consciousness movement were banned in October.

The inaugural meeting of Azapo, Mabasa said, was attended by about sixty delegates. According to a report in the May 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, Azapo "said it will direct its efforts toward the black worker and will work for a society with a common education system for all people and one parliament in a unitary state."

### Coup in Afghanistan

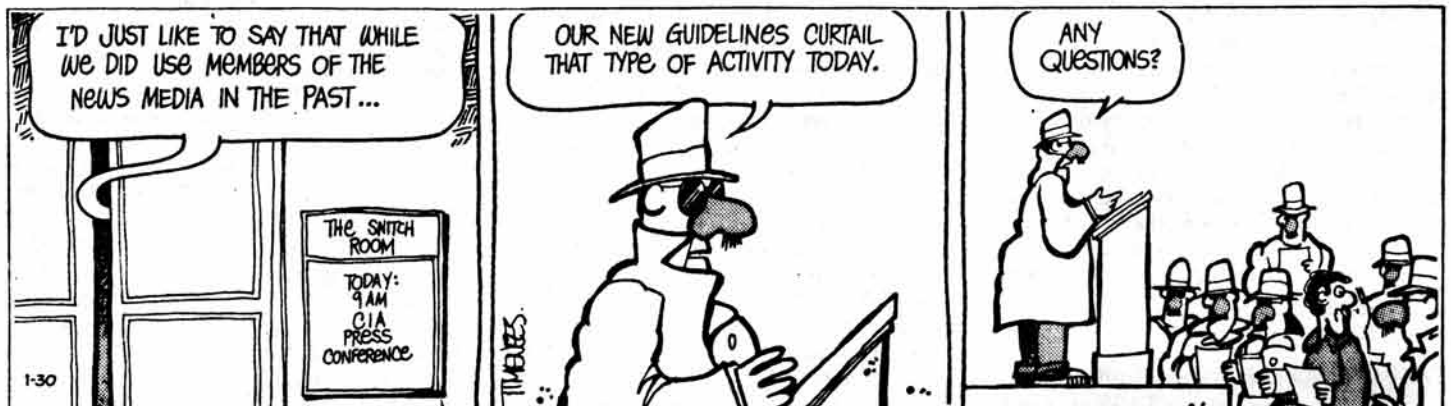
President Mohammad Daud was killed during a military coup April 27, according to an announcement on Afghanistan's Kabul Radio. The new regime declared a few days later that several other top government officials had been killed as well.

Reporters who visited Kabul shortly after the coup found evidence of extensive fighting. A number of government buildings were badly damaged by shelling and were marked by thousands of bullet holes. The new regime claimed that 200 persons had died during the fighting, but some estimates reported in the press put the number in the thousands.

At first, the radio announced that a Revolutionary Council had been set up to run the country, and that it was headed by Lieut. Gen. Abdul Khadir. The constitution was abolished, and the council announced that it would rule by military decree.

But when the Revolutionary Council was officially announced April 30, it was said to be headed by Noor Mohammad Taraki, who was described as "the founder of the revolution." No mention was made of Khadir.

American officials in Washington, cited in the May 2 *New York Times*, claimed that Taraki was a leader of the Khalq-Parcham Party, which was said to be a Communist party. However, Taraki, who



Tim Menees/Washington Post

has also been named prime minister, said May 4, "In Afghanistan, there has never been a party under the title of Communist Party."

The statements of the new regime have stressed adherence to Islam, a foreign policy of "active positive neutrality," and "individual freedom and the fight against social evils and injustice."

Moscow was one of the first governments to recognize the new regime. Because of the close economic ties between the two countries (the Soviet Union is Afghanistan's major trade partner), the previous regimes in Afghanistan had close relations with Moscow as well.

### Starvation in Indonesia

Infant mortality on the island of Java, inhabited by more than 80 million of Indonesia's population of 135 million, is between 130 and 144 per 1,000—thirty to forty times higher than in the West, according to a recent study.

Indonesian and American health and population experts estimated that one-fifth of the children born in Java die before the age of five.

An estimated 60 percent of Indonesia's population suffers from malnutrition. Daily per capita protein intake is said to be less than 40 grams, the minimum necessary.

According to an April 27 *New York Times* report, an average Indonesian drinks about a pint of milk a year, and eats only eleven eggs a year.

### Brazil—More Demands for Human Rights

Political prisoners being held in Itamaraca, Brazil, have declared a hunger strike to protest the holding in solitary confinement for three years of two of their fellow detainees. The two are serving life terms.

Martin Ennals, general secretary of Amnesty International, sent a telegram to Brazilian President Geisel on April 27 noting that an end to the isolation of the two prisoners had been promised last November. The human-rights organization also sent a protest to Admiral Hélio Leite, head of the Supreme Military Tribunal, demanding an end to inhuman conditions at the Barreto-Campelo penitentiary.

On April 26, 250 Catholic bishops attending an episcopal conference at Itaici, near São Paulo, issued an appeal for amnesty and the reestablishment of democracy in Brazil. It was the first formal statement by the church hierarchy since a broad amnesty campaign began in Brazil several months ago.

### TASS Denounces French Unionists

The Soviet news agency TASS on April 21 issued a scathing attack on four French

trade-union federations for their statements condemning repression of dissident workers in the Soviet Union.

On April 18, representatives of the General Confederation of Labor, French Democratic Confederation of Labor, Labor Force, and the National Education Federation took part in a press conference in Paris in response to an appeal for support from the Association of Free Trade Unions in the USSR.

According to a report in the April 23-24 *Le Monde*, TASS said the press conference had been organized by "a handful of renegades . . . in order to disparage socialism."

"No trade-union association or anything of that nature exists or has ever existed in the Soviet Union," Tass said in an earlier statement.

### ILO Dismisses Soviet Workers' Appeal

The International Labor Organization has refused to consider an appeal for recognition by a group of Soviet workers

## Vietnam Abolishes 30,000 Capitalist Operations

According to a report in the April 14 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the Vietnamese government has dealt a "death-blow" to capitalist control of trade in the south. A sweeping decree March 24 did away with some 30,000 major capitalist trading operations. Small businessmen and retailers were allowed to reopen after a two-day shutdown.

Previously, 70 percent of the trade in the south had been in private hands. *Far Eastern Economic Review* reporter Nayan Chanda says that the action "in one swoop brings the southern economy to a closer alignment with that of the socialist north."

Chanda attributes the move to the fact that speculation and hoarding by the businessmen had been contributing to the annual inflation rate of 80 percent and to economic dislocation. Earlier efforts to bring trade under control without actually abolishing capitalist ownership had been unsuccessful.

The traders, Chanda says, "previously managed to elude socialist regulations and carry on business, hoarding and blackmarketeering as if nothing had changed. When an attempt was made earlier this year to compile an inventory of their goods, they dispersed stocks among relatives and friends."

The announcement caught businessmen by surprise and they had no time to hide or disperse their assets. Chanda contrasts this to the currency changes instituted in September 1975, which the capitalists had time to circumvent by dispersing large sums of money.

For several months before the decree there was a weeding-out of administrators

who have formed the Association of Free Trade Unions in the USSR, *Rouge* reported April 10.

The ILO stated that it was not empowered to help the independent trade unionists because its statutes permit it to consider only grievances brought by a recognized international trade-union organization.

The ILO's response was made public by Amnesty International in London, which had served as an intermediary between the Soviet trade unionists and the ILO.

### Dissidents Barred From Writers Congress

The East German writers union has barred seven authors from its upcoming congress in East Berlin.

The seven, including Stefan Heym and Christa Wolf, signed a statement in November 1976 protesting the exiling of dissident singer and poet Wolf Biermann to West Germany.

suspected of helping the businessmen to evade controls. According to Chanda, "several thousand cadres from the north were sent south to take over administrative and managerial jobs from incumbents believed to be incompetent and corrupt."

In addition, Politburo member Nguyen Van Linh was removed from his post as head of the committee for the transformation of private industry and trade. He was "held to be responsible for not being able to reform the capitalists faster."

Chanda describes the implementation of the decree in Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon:

Before the announcement, a large police and military force was mobilized to surround Cholon, the city's Chinatown, which has been an unreformed capitalist heart beating within the socialist body of Vietnam. Thousands of young boys and girls were called to emergency ward committee meetings on the night of the 23rd (and kept isolated to avoid any leak) and were sent accompanied by soldiers to visit every single shop and businessman's house to make an inventory of assets and goods.

Although no official information is available, the surprise raid is believed to have produced a large amount of goods as well as money and gold bars. While the search was under way, the sale of any item which had not been inventoried was banned.

Private trade in the south had been dominated by ethnic Chinese, who number about one million. According to Chanda, the government stressed that "the abolition of capitalist trade is not aimed at the Chinese community but against 'bourgeois traders . . . regardless of nationality or religion.'"



## International Marxist Group Holds Conference in London

By Alan Jones

The International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, held its conference in London April 15-18. The conference, which is the highest decision-making body of the IMG, followed a three-month preconference discussion carried on both internally and in three special supplements to *Socialist Challenge*, the weekly newspaper sponsored by the IMG. The conference adopted documents on the political situation, on women's liberation, on tactics, on trade-union tactics, on norms of democratic centralism, and on women's caucuses within the IMG.

The general political debate before and during the conference resulted in the putting forward of two positions for the line of the organisation. The position of the outgoing National Committee received 71% of the delegates' votes and that of the chief minority 23%. A new Central Committee was elected reflecting support for these different positions.

The voting on the other political documents at the conference revealed 94% of delegates for the document on women's liberation, 2% against, and 4% abstaining. On the document spelling out trade-union tactics, the vote was 68% for, 5% against, and 27% abstaining.

On the question of women's caucuses within the IMG, three positions were put forward. One opposed the formation of women's caucuses. Two supported the formation of women's caucuses but differed on the framework within which they should operate. The position opposing the formation of women's caucuses received 14% for, 85% against, 1% abstaining. The position advocating the formation of women's caucuses that was passed received 61% for, 25% against, and 13% abstaining.

### For a Class-Struggle Left Wing

The line adopted by the conference on political perspectives and tactics centres on five points:

- The building of a class-struggle left wing in the mass organisations. This above all means building oppositions within the trade unions. But in addition it involves work in the antiracist and antifascist struggle, in the women's movement, and in the student field. Where appropriate it also involves the work of supporters of our politics inside the Labour Party. Such a class-struggle left wing has to be based on the fight for an action programme embodying the key objective demands

flowing from the needs of the present political, economic, and social situation.

- In the present situation the key fields of work are the trade unions, the antiracist and antifascist struggle, the women's movement, the students, and taking steps towards the creation of a youth organisation. Work directed at gaining supporters in the Labour Party has a lower priority.

- The present political situation of a Labour government pursuing an openly anti-working-class political line calls for a maximum effort to put up candidates in elections who present a class-struggle alternative to the policies of the Labour bureaucracy. The conference reaffirmed that it was principled, and tactically correct, to enter into a bloc with other individuals and organisations who support the most important demands of our programme for the present political situation.

It therefore reaffirmed support for the building of the Socialist Unity electoral alliance. In constituencies where it is standing, and Socialist Unity is not, the conference called for a vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists). In all other constituencies, it called for a vote for the Labour Party.

- The conference reaffirmed the necessity for posing unification of revolutionary forces on the basis of fundamental agreement on programme and rejected the concept of requiring agreement on tactics as a condition for unity. This question is particularly important in Britain where the immense sectarian pressures created by its society lead to totally wrong conceptions of justifying organisational division on the basis of tactical differences.

- The conference voted to continue to sponsor *Socialist Challenge* and to seek to involve in its editorial board organisations agreeing with, or moving towards, a revolutionary programme.

### Organizational Gains

In addition to the political debate, the conference also registered important changes in the size and social composition of the IMG.

The organisation had grown by approximately 20% since the last conference two years ago. In addition, an important geographical expansion had occurred with the establishment of IMG branches, or supporters of *Socialist Challenge*, in almost

twice as many towns as at the previous conference.

Of the delegates to the conference 18% were industrial workers and 56% white-collar workers, making a total of 74% of delegates in the labour force. Ten percent of the delegates were students, 8% were unemployed, and 8% fell into other categories.

A total of 79% of delegates were in trade unions, of whom 74% were currently in work and 5% unemployed. By comparison, in the organisation as a whole 55% were members of trade unions.

These figures show a major shift from the situation of the IMG as it emerged out of the student movement. The organisation is now overwhelmingly based inside the labour force. The next task in this field is to build on the individual recruitment of industrial workers achieved in the last period to shift the proportion between white-collar and industrial workers. The conference voted to consolidate and extend existing union fractions and to give increased attention to winning industrial workers to the organisation.

The second shift revealed by the conference was in the fact that 43% of the delegates were women. In addition, 32% of the new Central Committee are women. While it would be totally wrong to believe that all problems have been overcome (the proportion of women delegates is higher than the proportion of women comrades in the organisation, for example), nevertheless these figures do show that some initial very modest progress has been made in this field.

The decisive question now is whether all members of the organisation, male and female, are able to build on this initial step forward. The proportion of women in the organisation, the proportion of women delegates, the proportion of women on the Central Committee and Political Committee, the number of women working full time for the organisation and leading all fields of work through commissions and other posts will be key facts at the next conference.

Other trends revealed at the conference were a modest increase in the number of Black members (around 3% of the organisation is now Black) and evident gains in consolidating a more experienced local cadre (the average length of membership of the delegates was four years and three months). However, the increase in Black membership does not reflect as yet a real

implantation in the Black communities and work force. And the increased layer of more experienced comrades in the organisation has occurred at the expense of somewhat decreased recruitment of young people.

Delegates voted to correct these weaknesses by stepping up work in schools and colleges of Further Education (which in Britain are chiefly composed of persons sixteen to nineteen years of age), by moving towards establishing a youth organisation, and by taking steps to better integrate Black comrades in the activities of the organisation and to increase work in the Black communities.

Put in a nutshell the conference confirmed the political turn made by the IMG

in the last two years. This involved a sharp struggle against economist and sectarian concepts that dominate the left in Britain. This fight is embodied strategically in the IMG's perspective of building a class-struggle left wing in the labour movement and in its support for the women's liberation movement, Black self-organisation, independence for Ireland and self-determination for Scotland and Wales, and the building of a united anti-fascist and antiracist movement. It is embodied in the struggle for constructing a revolutionary organisation united on programme and with democratic internal discussion within that framework. Tactically, this line is also applied in support for *Socialist Challenge* and *Socialist*

Unity.

On the basis of this orientation, the IMG has already significantly shifted its social composition—with a much larger number of union members, a modest increase in the weight and numbers of women comrades at every level of the organisation, and the recruitment of a number of Black members. Consolidating and extending these gains through greater practical attention to all fields of work, ensuring a continuing shift in the social composition of the organisation, and above all consolidating and extending our forces in the trade unions, women's movement, Black communities, and youth—these were the decisive decisions of the 1978 IMG conference. □

## Moscow Forced to Back Down

# Protests Over Language Rights in Georgia and Armenia

By Marilyn Vogt

Opponents of Moscow's policy of Russification in the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republics scored a victory in mid-April. They forced the ruling bureaucrats to retain Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani as the official languages in these three republics.

Pushing through new draft constitutions for all fifteen republics of the USSR, Moscow had hoped to drop from the constitutions of these three republics the clauses guaranteeing to each their native languages as their republics' official language.

Opposition to this move brought hundreds of protesters into the streets of Tbilisi, capital of the Georgian republic, on April 14. The protesters, many of whom were university students and faculty members from Tbilisi University, according to the April 18 *Washington Post* "marched from the campus about a mile through downtown to the steps of the government building where the Georgian parliament was meeting to adopt the new constitution." They carried placards demanding their "native language."

Similar demonstrations reportedly took place in the Armenian republic.

Confronted with such opposition the bureaucrats were forced to back down. The final texts of the constitutions for all three republics restored the clause guaranteeing the indigenous language as the official language of the republic.

The attempt to make this change in the Transcaucasian republics' constitutions was part of Moscow's drive to impose the Russian language and culture on Soviet

national minorities. The new clause that would have guaranteed only "the possibility of using the native language" would have legally cleared the way to further "the possibility" of extending the Russian language into ever broader spheres of life in these three republics.

In the Georgian republic, Georgians outnumber Russians eight to one. This is true despite the efforts of the ruling bureaucrats to increase the number of Russians in non-Russian republics—particularly in positions of administrative authority—and disperse non-Russians outside their republics.

Nevertheless, according to the 1970 census, there were 3.1 million Georgians in the Georgian republic and only 400,000 ethnic Russians. Only 13,000 Georgians listed their first language as Russian.

The chauvinist nationalities policy implemented by Stalin and his heirs on non-Russian peoples is the opposite of the policy advanced by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky.

It was, in fact, Lenin's opposition to the Russian chauvinist practices Stalin was enforcing with respect to Georgians in 1922 that helped precipitate Lenin's political break with Stalin in the final months of his political life.

After the White and imperialist forces were defeated by the Red Army in 1921 the practical question of the formal relationship between Russians and non-Russians in the new Soviet state came on the agenda.

Stalin's proposal was that the non-Russian republics of the Ukraine, Byelo-

russia, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan be made autonomous republics of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic that had been proclaimed after the Revolution in 1919.

Lenin opposed Stalin's plan. He insisted that the non-Russian republics and the Russian republic should be united only as equals in a Union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia, with each republic having the right to secede from the union.

In his article "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomization,'" written December 30 and 31, 1922, Lenin said that every possible measure had to be taken to protect non-Russian nationalities from Great Russian, great-power chauvinism.

"The union of socialist republics must be retained for its diplomatic apparatus," Lenin said. But "the strictest rules must be introduced on the use of the national language in the non-Russian republics of our union. . . . There is no doubt that our apparatus being what it is, there is bound to be, on the pretext of unity . . . a mass of truly Russian abuses."

The Georgian and Armenian oppositions today are conducting a fight Lenin would have supported against the chauvinist policies of Stalin's heirs.

Three Georgians—Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Merab Kostava and Victor Rtskhiladze—imprisoned members of the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group, have been outspoken opponents of the Great Russian nationalist abuses in the Georgian republic.

In addition to championing civil rights, Kostava and Rtskhiladze have actively



publicized the fight of the Meskhi people for the right to return to Georgia. The Meskhi, a Georgian Muslim people, were deported from their homeland by Stalin during World War II and are still denied the right to return, largely because of their irreconcilable commitment to their national rights. If they were resettled together in their homeland, instead of dispersed throughout Central Asia, the Meskhi people would present added obstacles to Moscow's Russification plans for the Georgian republic.

Gamsakhurdia, a Georgian scholar of English language and American literature, has been a prominent figure in the Georgian opposition since the early 1970s when, with Kostava and others, he organized the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights to expose cases of political repression. He has written extensively about the corruption in the Georgian Orthodox Church—of which he is a member—and in the state and party hierarchy.

All three imprisoned activists and other Georgians have campaigned against the desecration and officially sanctioned destruction of monuments of Georgian culture and history.

Gamsakhurdia, Kostava and others have established Georgian samizdat journals to print Georgian literary and historical materials banned by authorities and to defend victims of repression.

In January 1977, Gamsakhurdia helped found the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group, which gathers information on the Kremlin's violations of human-rights provisions of the Helsinki accords.

Gamsakhurdia, Kostava, and Rtskhiladze were arrested in April 1977. Rtskhiladze, released shortly afterward, was rearrested in January 1978.

In an open letter to the Presidium of the Eighth Congress of the Georgian Writers Union issued April 24, 1976, Gamsakhurdia condemned the official Georgian literature as "deaf to the pains of its people. . . ."

He protested the fact that the struggle to defend Georgian language and the demand for a fuller, more objective teaching of Georgian history are called "displays of nationalism." In the course of his argument, he defended his position by quoting Lenin's article referred to above.

The Armenian opposition has also opposed the campaign to Russify their republic.

In a communiqué addressed to the Belgrade conference of governments that had signed the Helsinki Accords, the Armenian Helsinki Monitoring Group charges that Russification has brought their language and culture to the edge of destruction.

"On the average," they state, "every year in Yerevan [capital of the Armenian republic] one Armenian school is closed and in its place a Russian school is opened. Russian kindergartens and

schools are kept in better condition than are the Armenian, and are provided with more qualified specialists and receive more material resources from the state.

"All the business correspondence of the state, cultural, and economic apparatuses and of the scientific-investigative institutes is conducted in Russian. From book-keeping sheets to scientific records—every bit of documentation is in Russian. The majority of radio and television broadcasts are in Russian. The only way to have contact with world culture is through the Russian language; and publication of translations into Armenian is not encouraged and is hampered in every way."

The communiqué lists more than a dozen books, some by Armenians or translations into Armenian, that had been removed from Armenian libraries and burned in a period of two months.

In Georgia, Communist Party boss Eduard Shevardnadze was forced to confront the demonstrators in Tbilisi April 14.

"My children, what are you doing?" he asked, as if he didn't know. Some of the demonstrators responded with curses, according to a report in the April 18 *New*

*York Times*. Shevardnadze left but later re-emerged and assured the demonstrators that the Georgian language would be maintained as the official language of the Georgian republic.

"Proceeding from the democratic nature of our society, and the constitution," he said, "we have arrived at the conclusion that it is expedient to leave in effect the known formulation of the acting [1922] constitution, which proclaims Georgian the state language."

He then added, however:

"Again we have to tell our native people and our youth that equal with our esteem for the native language, equal with studying the native language, if we want to aspire to the light, if we want to take possession of sciences and keep in touch with current world civilization, it is necessary to respect and study the wonderful and rich language of the Russian people!"

Millions of non-Russians in the USSR would like to change this present-day reality. The victory of the opponents of Russification in the Transcaucasian republics has pointed the way forward. □

## London Rally Demands 'Free Ngugi Now!'

Several hundred persons rallied in London March 21 to demand the immediate release of Ngugi wa Thiong'o, according to the March 27 issue of the London weekly *West Africa*. Ngugi is a prominent Kenyan writer who has been imprisoned without charge by the Kenyatta regime.

The meeting, which was called around the slogan, "Free Ngugi Now!" was sponsored by the Pan African Association of Writers and Journalists and by the Ngugi wa Thiong'o Defence Committee.

Among the speakers were two Black South African writers, Lewis Nkosi and Alex la Guma. Nkosi noted that the attainment of purely formal independence by most African countries was now generally considered "a major con trick." He said that writers like Ngugi, who gather and disseminate information, can rightly be regarded as "potential revolutionaries."

La Guma declared that Ngugi "is one of the giants of literature and we cannot allow him to continue to be held in custody by Lilliputians."

A representative of Amnesty International, which has adopted Ngugi's case, also spoke. The prominent Black American writer James Baldwin was scheduled to speak as well, but could not attend.

At the end of the meeting, the audience was urged to continue protesting Ngugi's detention in whatever way they could.

Ngugi, whose novels, short stories, and plays have been highly critical of the Kenyan regime and ruling class, was arrested at his home in Limuru on De-

cember 31, 1977. Nearly two weeks later the regime announced that he had been detained under the Preservation of Public Security Act.

According to the Ngugi wa Thiong'o Defence Committee, "Under this act, detained persons may be held indefinitely without trial, and they have no opportunity to make a legal defence in court against any charge made against them. Detainees have no right of *habeas corpus* and no court may challenge a detention order. As far as is known, detainees rarely receive family visits, they are denied correspondence and writing materials, and they have access to only a few books. Detainees' whereabouts are not made public. Those detained since independence have been held for periods ranging between two and nine years. Other detainees include parliamentarians, but Professor Ngugi is the first writer or academic to be detained in Kenya." □

### \$1 Million a Minute

Military spending by all countries averages out to \$1 million a minute, according to a report made public April 27 by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Current worldwide arms expenditures total \$400 billion, and at that rate "will top \$1 trillion by the end of the century," Dr. Frank Barnaby, the institute's chairman, said.

## Sharp Debate on Political Issues at Canadian Labor Congress

By Nancy Cole

[The following are major excerpts from an article that appeared in the May 12 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

\* \* \*

QUEBEC CITY, Québec—Political discussion is nothing new for labor gatherings in Canada. But the recent convention of the Canadian Labor Congress—the cross-country labor federation—opened new doors for a debate on perspectives that is urgently needed in English Canada and Québec.

More than 2,400 delegates representing the federation's 2.3 million members met here April 3-7. The expected announcement by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau of new federal elections this June was a focus for the convention.

Delegates approved a proposal for a vigorous effort to back candidates of the New Democratic Party, English Canada's mass labor party.

The right of the predominantly French-speaking province of Québec to choose independence is sure to be one of the hottest issues in the elections, and it was an important question before CLC delegates.

Another question debated was the CLC leaders' strategy of "tripartism"—a strategy that exchanges the labor movement's independence for a "partnership" in decision making with government and industry.

These discussions of perspectives for the labor movement occurred against the backdrop of Canada's economic crisis and the resulting government attacks on workers' rights and livelihoods.

The Canadian economy has gone through three years of economic stagnation. The unemployment rate—which reached 9.7 percent in March, the highest since the 1930s depression years—is the greatest of any advanced capitalist country. More than 1 million Canadian workers are officially out of work.

It was no surprise then that the official theme of the convention proceedings was "jobs first." Banners around the room proclaimed in French and English, "We want action, Jobs . . . Jobs," "The Right to a Job Is a Basic Freedom," and, "Full Employment Is Possible [illustrated with a drawing of a mass demonstration]."

But many delegates here questioned whether the proposals presented by the



Nancy Cole/Militant  
CLC PRESIDENT MORRIS: "We did not have the power to resist wage controls."

CLC leadership would do anything to prevent labor from losing more ground or to block new attacks.

The owners of Canada's wealth escalated their assault on working people in 1975 with the imposition of wage controls. Since that time, real wages have declined, social services have been cut, and unemployment benefits restricted.

The 1976 CLC convention had responded to Trudeau's wage controls with a call for a one-day protest strike.

On October 14, 1976, more than 1 million Canadian workers gave up a day's pay to join the first cross-Canadian political strike. It was the largest united action ever of English Canadian and Québécois workers. One-third of the organized labor force participated.

In assessing that action for delegates at this year's convention, outgoing CLC President Joe Morris called it an "outstanding success." It established the CLC "as the national voice of labor," he said.

The same convention that authorized October 14 also adopted with little debate the CLC "Manifesto." This policy document formally okayed the turn toward tripartism. Concretely, it proposed bodies at the government level that would include CLC representatives, along with those

from government and industry.

After the 1976 convention, almost every provincial labor federation across Canada voted to reject tripartism.

By the time of the convention here, tripartism had been so totally discredited that the *term* was dropped from official policy proposals.

In its place was the "industrial strategy," a more loosely formulated equation that would allow for a new try at tripartism or bipartism, or multipartism, as CLC President Morris put it in his opening speech.

"We did not have the power to resist wage controls, which we set as a prerequisite for getting into a tripartite body," Morris said, neatly dispensing with all the CLC's failings over the last two years.

The new policy statement called on the labor movement to "develop its own countervailing power."

"Our efforts must be directed to organizing the unorganized to increase labour's base of power. That power must be used to expand the scope of collective bargaining; it must be channeled into electoral support for the New Democratic Party to give labour parliamentary and political influence; and it must be expressed through the Canadian Labour Congress to give labour a strong national voice and the capacity to protect the collective rights of all workers."

This new policy statement, Jean-Claude Parrot told the delegates, is "all words and rhetoric." Parrot is president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers [CUPW].

"There's no action in it," he declared. "It doesn't say what we are to do. It reads well on paper . . . but how will we get this power? How will we build the strength and power of our membership?"

Montreal Postal Workers President Marcel Perreault charged the CLC was "missing the boat" with this strategy because it looked to the government instead of offering leadership for the federation's membership.

"The labor movement has to return to its roots," he said. "The root of the labor movement is fighting."

Included in the CUPW proposal was a campaign around the thirty-hour workweek with no loss in pay and a commitment by the CLC to organize a general strike if the government announces new wage controls.

One United Electrical Workers delegate objected to Morris's declaration of the organization's lack of power. "We did have



the power to defeat the wage controls," he argued, "but we abdicated to the corporations."

He went on to say that a labor action campaign was not counterposed to support for the NDP in the upcoming elections. "We just can't always wait for elections, because the working class will never vote the NDP into power that way." He contended that working people would be won to support the NDP as a result of "mobilizing workers in action."

As with most other votes at the convention, the official policy document passed—with several hundred opposed.

The CLC has never taken a stand on Québec before. But events since the last convention made it impossible to continue that abstention.

In November 1976, the capitalist Parti Québécois (PQ) took office in Québec, elected by a militant working class that believed the PQ's pledge to achieve independence for the province.

Canadian rulers answered the election of the PQ with a massive anti-Québec propaganda offensive—masquerading as a plea for "Canadian unity." Trudeau threatened to use the "sword" to block Québec independence, even if the majority of Québécois people vote for it in a referendum scheduled for 1979.

But national conventions of the United Steelworkers, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, and the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) have all adopted resolutions in support of self-determination for Québec.

The CLC Executive Council worked overtime to come up with a statement that could skirt the issue of self-determination yet not totally alienate the Québec wing of the federation.

It came up with a resolution on "national solidarity," which asserted the right of CLC members in Québec "to determine our political and constitutional future." But on the other hand it called for the "commencement of negotiations among Québec and the rest of Canada."

As the next day's *Toronto Globe and Mail's* headline put it, "CLC goes both ways in unity debate."

CUPE delegate Kathy Beeman hit the Québec resolution as "insufficient" and "open to several interpretations." Beeman is a member of the Revolutionary Workers League.

Beeman argued that solidarity among English Canadian and Québécois workers is absolutely necessary to fight unemployment, inflation, and the cutbacks in social services. "Such solidarity can only be based on clear, unambiguous, unequivocal support for each others' struggles," she declared.

"Negotiation is the opposite of self-determination," Beeman said. "If we mean self-determination, we should say so" and "dissociate the workers movement from

the chauvinist 'national unity' campaign."

Before the convention session, the several-hundred-strong Québec caucus had split over the resolution, with only a narrow majority voting to support it.

In the last minutes of the floor debate,



Nancy Cole/Militant  
POSTAL WORKERS LEADER PARROT:  
Demands action instead of "words and rhetoric."

Québec Federation of Labor President Louis Laberge spoke—in English—from the platform to push for the statement's approval.

Laberge dubbed the division on the statement "shameful," arguing that the labor movement must be united on the important economic issues.

"I have to live in Québec," he demagogically proclaimed. "Do you think I would support this resolution if it shied away from self-determination?"

About 85 percent of the delegates voted for the statement, probably most of them believing it a vote for self-determination.

When New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent addressed the delegates on the fourth day of the convention, he was greeted both before and after his speech with a prolonged standing ovation.

The NDP has mass support in English Canada, including the formal endorsement of the CLC and individual unions. In the province of Saskatchewan, the NDP controls the government.

"I say to you," Broadbent announced to cheers, "if we have one more unemployed Canadian, let that person be Pierre Elliot Trudeau."

"We need a government today that will

commit itself to the goal of full employment," Broadbent said.

In a news conference afterward, Broadbent said the NDP had "no intention of an alliance with the Tories or Liberals." He called the two capitalist parties "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" and said it would be "disastrous" if either were to continue governing the country.

Despite recent polls that indicate only 17 percent of voters support the NDP, Broadbent spoke confidently of the elections. He said the NDP had "more committed support from labor leaders in Canada than ever before."

And he pointed to the general attitude among working people that the Liberals had betrayed labor with the imposition of wage controls.

However, like the CLC leadership, Broadbent offered no concrete steps to mobilize unionists in a fight for jobs, promising the NDP's own detailed "industrial strategy" program in the near future.

The convention proceedings were tightly controlled, for the most part shamelessly so by CLC President Morris. When he wanted to cut off debate, he merely called the question from the chair.

Delegates who protested this violation of parliamentary procedure were ignored. When a CUPW delegate complained and then flicked Morris an unflattering hand gesture as he walked away from the microphone, the CLC president had him physically removed from the convention floor.

It was shortly after this display that Lloyd McBride, international president of the United Steelworkers, brought greetings from the AFL-CIO.

McBride earned distinction as the biggest red-baiter of the entire convention. Departing from his prepared remarks, he began, "We've done a better job in the United States of identifying our enemies."

He went on to describe the "outsiders"—who he said were extreme right-wingers and extreme left-wingers. "We must make sure that our decisions are not made at meetings of the Chamber of Commerce or by caucuses of people outside the union," he declared in a direct attack on the militant postal workers.

It was not the only red-baiting nor the only attempt to isolate the convention's militant left wing. The CLC officials frequently resorted to red-baiting in hopes of silencing delegates' challenges to their policies.

But the debate and discussion occurred nonetheless. A clear political alternative to the self-defeating course of the CLC leadership was consistently voiced.

"For union militants," wrote Judy Rebeck in the revolutionary fortnightly *Socialist Voice*, the CLC convention "marks the beginning of a real struggle for a mass-action strategy and for union independence." □

## Argentina Two Years After the Coup

By F. Heredia

"A Bolshevik line is characterized not only by its revolutionary sweep but by its political realism. These two aspects of Bolshevism are inseparable. The most important task is to be able to recognize a revolutionary situation at a given time and to exploit it to the fullest. But it is no less important to be able to understand when this situation has become exhausted and been transformed, from a political point of view, into its antithesis. . . . You should turn your back contemptuously on anyone who tells you that this is pessimism and lack of faith. Closing your eyes to the facts is the most wretched form of lack of faith."—Leon Trotsky

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Two years may be no more than an episode in the history of the social struggles of a people, but it is more than enough time for revolutionists to draw the essential conclusions about a defeat. However, this has not been done.

On the eve of the second anniversary of the establishment of the most barbarous military dictatorship in the history of Argentina, illusions are still being encouraged that bourgeois-democratic institutions in this country are going to resume functioning. Illusions are being fostered about a counteroffensive by the workers that will shortly overthrow the dictatorship, as well as about the capacity of the structures that existed before the coup to organize and lead such a counteroffensive.

In my opinion, such predictions represent a grave error in analyzing the series of social developments we have seen in the Southern Cone of Latin America and in assessing their scope.

In order to characterize the situation prevailing in Argentina two years after the establishment of the military dictatorship, it is necessary to clarify the reasons why this dictatorship was established and how it was possible to impose it.

### A Counterrevolutionary Trend

In my opinion, the establishment of the military dictatorship on March 24, 1976, represented the consolidation of a counterrevolutionary trend that began in this region with the triumph of the counterrevolution in Chile on September 11, 1973, the ouster of the Campora government that occurred about the same time in Argentina, and the defeat of the general strike and the annihilation of the people's and

revolutionary organizations in Uruguay.

This turn was foreshadowed by the toppling of the Torres government and the dissolution of the People's Assembly in Bolivia. It culminated in the coup in Argentina.

It is necessary to characterize the objective conditions in which a coup such as the one in Argentina could take place. There are some who contend that this operation was the only way out, the regime's last resort in defending itself against a mass upsurge that could no longer be contained. That is, they argue that it was the only way the regime could stop a prerevolutionary situation from developing into a revolutionary one. In my opinion, this is an incorrect assessment.

The coup in Argentina was a simple exercise of setting up a military junta to fill the power vacuum left by the crisis and disintegration of the final expression of Peronist Bonapartism. This crisis and collapse were not the result of the emergence of a revolutionary class-struggle tendency within the Peronist mass movement that could have challenged the Peronists' operation. It was the result of the exhaustion of the material basis for the Peronist mass movement and the absence of any alternative leadership with a mass following, authority, and a national organization capable of coordinating struggles and offering a socialist solution.

In Chile, the military junta led by Pinochet had to confront and slaughter a vanguard that was on the advance, which was developing embryonic organs of dual power that were undermining the structure and stability of the bourgeois state. But in Argentina, the counterrevolutionary coup came as the result of the exhaustion of a prerevolutionary situation, in the absence of any revolutionary solution. This is the general framework in which the process has developed.

The process clearly sharpened with the beginning of the end of Peronist Bonapartism, which was marked by the ouster of Campora in 1973 and the establishment of a bourgeois coalition allied with imperialism against the autonomous mass movement.

This turn was consummated by the return of Peron and the installation of the third Peron government. Its effects were shown in the bureaucracy's losing its authority and control over important sectors of the workers movement, in particular in the north (the sugar workers), in

Cordoba, as well as in the steel industry and important sections of the automotive and other growth industries in Greater Buenos Aires. Likewise, it led to the appearance of embryonic forms of workers self-organization, such as the Coordinating Committees.

The union bureaucracy and Peronist government's loss of authority over the workers vanguard was shown by the fact that the Peronists could no longer offer a program of national liberation to contain and canalize the masses but rather had to resort to the terrorism of gangs of armed thugs, which were maintained by the union bureaucracy and worked in conjunction with the police and army intelligence services.

A dress rehearsal for the counterrevolutionary terror campaign of the military junta was staged with the help of the big bureaucrats such as Lorenzo Miguel, Smith, and others under the third Peron government. As has always happened historically in such cases, by discouraging independent mass action and keeping it disorganized in order to defend its special interests, the bureaucracy dug its own grave. When the workers movement was thoroughly disoriented, the military junta put the bureaucrats in jail. Like the Social Democratic ministers without portfolio, the Peronist ministers without portfolio got their reward. But the masses paid the price.

### Decline of Peronism

This contradictory process of different class tendencies emerging within the Peronist mass movement could not fail to occur, and will inevitably continue. When I spoke of the exhaustion of the Peronist mass movement, I was referring to the elimination of the material bases that made it possible for a mass movement of historic dimensions to continue within the framework of the capitalist system and under bourgeois ideological domination. I was not speaking of the exhaustion of this political and organizational experience for the workers. I did want to emphasize that such a movement could not be maintained unless it made the dialectical leap to becoming an independent class-struggle movement.

This did not occur, for both objective and subjective reasons. In the process of the decline of Peronism, we cannot fail to take into account the role played by the bureaucracies of the workers states, by the



Communist Party, or by the fact that worldwide imperialism has become more experienced in dealing with such phenomena. In other words, the crisis of leadership in the workers movement has been demonstrated most dramatically in the wearing out of the Peronist mass movement.

This is why I said that the consolidation of the counterrevolutionary course in Argentina, with the military coup of March 24, 1976, was not the result of a counter-revolution staged to prevent a revolutionary leap but rather of a prerevolutionary situation becoming exhausted in the absence of a revolutionary solution. This was the difference with respect to Chile.

In an article of this scope, I cannot place the exhaustion, crisis, and breakup of Peronism in its broader and more complex context. But this fate was not peculiar to the Peronist mass movement. In the worldwide economic crisis of capitalism, the margins for maneuver have narrowed in the so-called third world. And this affects the general range of nationalist populist movements that arose in the postwar period.

Moreover, the role of the traditional bourgeois parties has been undermined by the new forms of imperialist penetration, the restructuring of the ruling class, and the association of the old sectors of the classical "native bourgeoisie" with the classic "landowning oligarchy of growers and ranchers." This process produced a profound crisis in these parties. Thus, along with the Peronist bosses, the traditional bourgeois parties gave up their place in running the crisis-wracked state in a gentlemanly manner to the military junta. While carrying it on their shoulders, they avoid the blame for its "excesses" in violating democratic rights.

#### Scope of Defeat

The organized workers movement in Argentina has suffered the most extensive defeat in its history. Making such a statement has nothing to do with saying that there has been a historic defeat. No one can say whether or not there will be a historic defeat. But if there is, this will occur not in the Argentine context but on a world scale. And we have no basis for making such a prediction, although we continue to maintain that the alternative is between "socialism or barbarism," and it is still to be determined which way the world will go.

When I said that this has been the most extensive defeat, I meant from the standpoint of the scope of the mass movement that ended in failure, and which failed not because of the force of the repression but because of its own intrinsic weakness.

From the time of the coup to the present, more than 10,000 persons have been killed. According to the government's own figures, more than 7,000 persons have been

imprisoned. More than 22,000 persons have been kidnapped and have subsequently disappeared. More than 300,000 persons have been forced into exile. We might say that an entire revolutionary generation has been shattered. The figures are eloquent. The entire politically organized vanguard in Argentina could not have been much larger than the total number of those imprisoned, killed, kidnapped, and forced into exile.

However, it is not the numbers of the dead, the imprisoned, and the exiled that determine the extent of the defeat. Victory might have been even more costly. It was more costly for the Vietnamese people, for instance, and for the Algerian revolution.

Nor is the extent of the defeat determined by the mere loss of all the gains the workers had achieved, by the imposition of military tutelage on the trade-union organizations, the banning of all political organizations, the trampling on the most elementary democratic rights, and the fact that completely uncontrolled secret bodies have been given the power of life and death over every citizen.

In a civil war no one demands or gets democratic rights. But in Argentina all this is taking place without a civil war. That is where the tragedy lies.

The extent of the defeat is shown by the absence of any political perspective for organizing the masses on the national level, by the absence of any credible political perspective, by the absence of a vanguard with any confidence in itself or with any authority for the working class, and by the absence of any authority by the working class itself for the rest of the exploited population.

The political vacuum left by the breakup of the Peronist mass movement has not been filled, and there is no workers organization in the country capable of advancing any slogan or political perspective other than fighting for elementary economic gains.

The entire workers and revolutionary movement has been encouraged by the emergence of two factors: (1) The military junta's plans have failed, and unmistakable signs have appeared of internal disputes and contradictions in the regime. (2) Along with this, large-scale strikes have developed.

#### What the Wave of Strikes Showed

It is claimed that the power of the workers remains intact, that there has not yet been a general test of strength, and that the resistance by the workers is growing and spreading throughout the country.

Argentina has undergone modern capitalist development; 82% of its working population consists of wage workers; it has a stable national industry. So, the working class cannot be destroyed; it can only be suppressed. The strikes show the power of a working class driven to desperate mea-

asures in order to survive. Its wages today are half what they were in 1960, lower than they have been at any time in the last thirty-five years. Inflation is expected to run at about 400% this year, the highest rate in the world. Unemployment is estimated at 20%, which is one of the highest rates in the world.

I am not trying to minimize the importance of the strikes but rather to place them in their concrete context so that we can utilize the existing possibilities to the fullest. If we confuse the struggle for survival by superexploited workers with a stage in which the workers movement is regrouping its forces for a prerevolutionary advance, such as that exemplified by the Córdoba uprising in 1969, we are going to assume that what we have to do today has already been done.

Moreover, as important as they have been, the strikes have not succeeded even in making up for the lost buying power of wages. And in a series of cases, while such actions have won certain material gains, these have gone hand in hand with layoffs, sometimes massive in scope, and with the decapitating of factory organizations, jailings, kidnappings, and executions.

The most important thing about the recent strikes is that they show that the workers' standard of living has been reduced to an intolerable level and that the regime has been unable to destroy the factory organizations of the old Peronist mass movement. Some of these organizations, as well as some cadres of the workers movement, have survived the repressive offensive of the military junta. The problem has been posed of what road revolutionists should follow in responding to these developments and how they can pull together these elements.

I do not discount the fact that a section of the ruling class, especially the middle or small industrialists dependent on the internal market, dream of an alliance with sections of the displaced bureaucracy in order to press for a redistribution of profits, which today are monopolized by the big companies linked to the multinationals.

I do not deny that some imperialist forces cherish the notion that they can compete for the raw materials and cheap labor offered by the Latin American market by promoting antifascist democratic fronts headed by Frei in Chile, Lanusse or someone else in Argentina, General Seregný or some other bourgeois "progressive" in Uruguay, and the old leaders of the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] in Bolivia. They have in fact raised such a perspective. The Social Democrats have spoken quite explicitly about it. The time is favorable for trying to organize Social Democratic parties, since the vanguard of an entire gener-

ation has been physically and politically liquidated.

### What Kind of Alliances?

To seek an alliance with those bourgeois and imperialist forces interested in such fronts, to promote the idea of such an alliance in the name of fighting for the democratic rights of the masses, when the masses have no organization, policy, or program of their own, means helping to tie the masses to the chariot of these "democratic" bourgeois elements. It means "forgetting" once again the principle of the united front: "strike together but march separately."

In the conditions created by the defeat of the workers movement, the centrists and former bureaucrats can be a useful and easily manipulated tool. So, in Argentina, for example, why not promote a labor party headed by the bureaucrats who prepared the way for the defeat, who murdered the vanguard, and today are being kept in comfortable conditions in the military junta's prisons as extra pawns in case they might be needed?

As Marxists we cannot fail to recognize that one step forward by the class as a whole is more important than ten or a hundred taken by its vanguard. But as Marxists we can also distinguish the first tentative attempts of the workers to organize themselves from the bourgeoisie's plans to take advantage of the defeat they have suffered and prolong its own existence. I think that if such plans materialize, we Marxists will have to develop a line and tactics to deal with them. But I maintain that we cannot adopt an orientation today toward such a labor party.

History never repeats itself exactly. And it is unlikely that we will see a reedition of the kind of mass movement that dominated the past thirty years of political history in this country. There is no material basis for it.

### Effect of World Economic Slump

The deepgoing economic and social crisis in Argentina is the result of the impact of the worldwide crisis of capitalism on a country dominated by imperialism and subjected to the new forms of imperialist domination and penetration. We have no basis whatever to say that the capitalist system will find the means for overcoming its crisis and still less to say that an economically dependent country such as Argentina will find the means for maintaining the rate of profit and exploitation of surplus value while at the same time carrying out a redistribution of income.

In the best days of the Peronist mass movement, wages accounted for 50% of the national income (and some statistics put this at 52%). Today they represent 31%. In some industries, such as textiles, wages now amount to no more than 13.7% of cost

price and in cement 10.7% of cost price, while the cost of capital in these industries amounts to 25% and 30% respectively (*Prensa Económica*, October 1977). Even so it has not been possible to moderate the crisis of the system.

I do not discount the possibility that there may be attempts, even by sections of the army itself, to reconstruct a bureaucratic layer that could serve as a mediator in regulating national wage levels, based on a new equilibrium in the internal market. This cannot be excluded in view of the failure of the junta's economic plans—and let's make it clear once again, these are not the plans of the junta as such but of the Argentine bourgeoisie—and of the deteriorating role of an army occupying its own country.

However, I do maintain that, if it occurs, any such reconstruction of a bureaucratic layer will be designed to hitch the proletariat to the cart of imperialism and to block the possibility of the workers organizing independently.

In the objective conditions in which the restructuring of the organized workers movement in Argentina will have to take place, the experience of the Spanish Workers Commissions, which were built in a long underground struggle against the Franco regime, has inestimable value. I am not talking about any mechanical transposing of this, but about a dialectical assimilation of a very rich social experience.

Restructuring the politically organized workers movement in Argentina with a perspective of establishing its class independence must be the central concern of the revolutionary-Marxist vanguard. Since the consolidation of the counterrevolutionary trend, objective conditions have changed. But our line has not. It continues to be for organizing the workers on the basis of class independence and revolutionary principles.

To illustrate this, let me give an example. The Second World War confronted us with the need to conduct our unconditional defense of the USSR in a different context, but it did not oblige us to change our line toward the Soviet bureaucracy. The establishment of the military dictatorship makes it necessary to fight for democratic rights, but we do not change our line on the role of bourgeois tendencies, or on the character of the bourgeois democratic institutions or bourgeois parliamentarianism.

The fact that the unions have been put under military trusteeship means that freeing them from this control becomes a primary task. But we do not change our characterization of the Peronist trade-union bureaucrats, who are no less betrayers because they are being held in reserve in the prisons of the military or because some of them have paid for their treachery with their lives.

All sorts of tactics are theoretically possible, and none can be ruled out in advance. However, it must be understood that what sort of tactics you use and what kind of alliances you seek is conditioned by whether or not a politically organized workers movement exists.

The Fourth International was planned and founded in the context of one of the most extensive defeats in the history of the workers movement. It is possible to build revolutionary organizations in periods of defeat, but these can be no more than the bases for building mass parties when the masses erupt onto the political scene. It is impossible to try to build a mass workers party in the context of defeat, unless what you have in mind is something other than the conscious and organized expression of at least a section of the working class.

In taking up the task of restructuring the workers movement and its vanguard, we face modern, sophisticated methods of counterrevolutionary terror. We face not simply a military junta in one country, but a repressive policy coordinated and applied by imperialist centers. In the Southern Cone of Latin America, the military juntas are trying out policies that were tested in Algeria and Vietnam and then updated and perfected.

It would be incorrect, in view of their social base and character, to define these military juntas as fascist regimes. But it has to be understood that the repressive methods they are using have been taken from the fascist arsenal and applied in a modernized and improved form. The Nazi regime had its laws, its courts, and its official hangmen. These military dictatorships have perfected the system.

In such a situation, it is hard to conceive of any other form of struggle but underground, conspiratorial organization. It is for this reason that the experience of the Workers Commissions in Spain is so important. The Argentine working class is going through a tragic experience but a rich and profound one as well. Underground forms of struggle are becoming part of everyday experience. The battles for day-to-day economic demands and to parry the repressive measures are giving form to underground political organizations.

The workers know how to utilize every legal chink that may appear in the repressive apparatus. But they do not rely on such openings, and are spontaneously organizing themselves in clandestine or semiclandestine forms. Alongside every union organ, every plant committee, every body of shop delegates, and every union, where these exist, the new vanguard is spontaneously turning to clandestine ways of operating.

Now that the military junta has been in existence for two years, there can be no illusions that the failure of its economic plans, or the interbourgeois or interimpe-



rialist conflicts in the country are inevitably going to clear the way for a rapid return to the normalcy of bourgeois parliamentarianism.

Although in carrying out the tasks of restructuring the working class, all such conflicts must be taken advantage of, the struggle is still going to be a long and hard one. The alternative we face is not "fascism or democracy" but "socialism or barbarism." For the vanguard, this alternative poses the need for building a solid nationwide network of clandestine organizations. This must be done within the perspective of struggling for power and for socialism, based on economic planning and the running of society by the workers.

In view of the wearing out of the dictatorships, we cannot rule out the possibility that attempts will be made to replace them by less bloody civilian governments.

However, if we start out from an understanding of the fact that these regimes are the result of a general crisis of the system in the backward areas dominated by imperialism, if we realize that they are necessary to prolong the death agony of this system, then it is wildly speculative to advance the perspective of these dictatorships being defeated in a peaceful political process.

To the contrary, it may be foreseen that the organization and growth of resistance by the working class will give rise to very violent social struggles, with all their implications.

The revolutionary teams that developed in the final stage of Peronist populism are going through a very deep crisis. The Social Democrats and Stalinists are trying to take advantage of the disarray of these groups for their own ends. By formulating a program for the resistance, a program for this stage, and by working to restructure the workers movement, revolutionary Marxists will play a very great role in reconstituting these teams around the task of making the socialist revolution.

It is difficult to conceive of a task of such scope being achieved in the framework of one country. The Latin American revolutionary movement as a whole faces a new and difficult historic challenge. It is more than ever necessary to pool our experience and coordinate our forces on a continent-wide basis. The resistance faces not only the down-at-the-heel Argentine bourgeoisie but the might of the world imperialist system, whose trump cards include the compliant attitude of the bureaucracy in the workers states.

International solidarity, proletarian internationalism, and the revolutionary upsurge in Europe will be of vital importance for the organization of the continent-wide resistance of the Latin American workers and for reducing the pains of a difficult birth.

February 19, 1978

## Nationwide Strike Supports Political Prisoners

## High-School Students Challenge Somoza



SOMOZA

Time

President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua announced April 28 that he was granting the demands raised by a nationwide strike of high-school students that had lasted more than three weeks.

The strike began April 5 at the Masaya National Institute where students demanded the resignation of teachers supporting the government. The movement spread quickly and by April 11 dozens of schools had been occupied throughout the country. Soon 50,000 students were on strike and had shut down 80 percent of Nicaragua's public and private schools.

The student movement was accompanied by street demonstrations and other protests against Somoza's dictatorial rule. This latest wave of actions began April 10 when memorial masses were held in many churches to mark the third month since the assassination of publisher and opposition leader Pedro Joaquín Chamorro. The ceremonies were followed by demonstrations by thousands of students and occupations of schools and churches.

Protesters clashed with National Guard troops in several cities on April 10. One woman was killed in Diriamba and six youths were wounded in Managua, Granada, and Jinotepe.

Developments such as these continued throughout the month. In an April 24 dispatch from Managua, *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding said that "clashes between demonstrators and National Guardsmen take place almost daily

in cities throughout the country. So far this month, at least five protesters . . . have been killed."

Riding quoted one opposition leader as saying "the country is in an insurrectional mood. I would never have believed the masses could become politicized so quickly."

In addition to the student strike and other actions, a hunger strike was initiated March 30 by Albertina Serrano de Jaén, mother of imprisoned Sandinista guerrilla Marcio Jaén. She was demanding that her son and Sandinista leader Tomás Borge be removed from solitary confinement in Tipitapa prison.

The hunger strike gained wide support, and by April 13 more than 100 persons were participating in churches and seminaries and at the Red Cross hospital in Managua where Mrs. Jaén was staying. The high-school students added the hunger strikers' demands to their own.

Somoza at first attempted to break the students' movement. On April 14, when forty-eight churches and more than fifty schools had been occupied by students and other protesters, Somoza told the occupiers they would have seventy-two hours before the National Guard dislodged them. But only one such effort came, on April 20, when soldiers shooting into the air and firing tear-gas grenades removed forty students from the Masaya National Institute. Thousands of persons came into the streets to protest the attack and were dispersed with tear gas.

The strike continued. The regime's Ministry of Education decreed that all high schools would be closed for the rest of the term and that all students would lose a year of studies. Somoza withdrew this decree April 25, and three days later announced that he was giving in to the demands of the high-school students. □

### Banzer Claims Divine Assistance

"God is a nationalist," Bolivian dictator Hugo Banzer told an election campaign rally April 21. "He has helped me in carrying out my policies, which benefit the country through order, peace, and labor; and in throwing out the foreign and destructive interests."

Bolivia's military regime is backing Gen. Juan Pereda in the presidential elections it has set for July 9. Banzer told those attending the rally in Cliza that they should vote for Pereda because "he will perfect my policies and correct the errors I have committed involuntarily."



Mary Imo/Militant

Part of demonstration of 6,000 at Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Facility in Colorado April 29.

## Thousands Protest Nuclear Power

Six thousand persons rallied in Rocky Flats, Colorado, on April 29 in the largest antinuclear protest yet held in the United States.

On April 30, 1,200 persons marched six miles to the site of a nearly completed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Barnwell, South Carolina.

Hundreds more participated in U.S. anti-nuclear actions during the April 29-30 weekend in Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New Hampshire.

The target of the Colorado protest was the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Facility sixteen miles northwest of Denver. The plant manufactures plutonium "triggers" for the Pentagon's hydrogen bombs. It is also the main research and production center for the neutron bomb and provides facilities for refurbishing outdated nuclear weapons.

According to the Rocky Flats Action Group, the main organizers of the April 29 protest, there have been more than 200 fires at the plant since 1953. Several hundred workers have suffered excessive radiation and 11,000 acres of land have been contaminated. Water supplies in the Great Western Reservoir near Denver have also been polluted with radioactive tritium and plutonium.

Demonstrators demanded that the

Rocky Flats plant be shut down and that workers there be retrained and provided with alternative employment elsewhere.

The protest at the plant itself was preceded by a rally of 1,500 persons in Denver. Black activist Stokely Carmichael spoke at the Denver rally and received loud applause when he blamed capitalism for the threat of nuclear destruction.

In Barnwell, South Carolina, the 1,200 protesters demanded that Allied General Nuclear Services' \$300 million fuel reprocessing plant not be operated as a nuclear facility. The plant is 95 percent complete but has not been licensed because of legal and environmental objections to the use of plutonium as a nuclear fuel. The U.S. government is now considering making the Barnwell site a storage facility for radioactive wastes.

The day after the Barnwell rally, 280 demonstrators were arrested and charged with trespassing on Allied General's property. Most were later freed on fifteen-dollar bonds.

The protests at Barnwell were organized by the Palmetto Alliance, a South Carolina antinuclear group, and supported by similar organizations throughout the South.

Both the Colorado and South Carolina protests received international greetings and support. Japanese victims of the U.S.

bombing of Hiroshima spoke at the Rocky Flats rally, and representatives of the Japanese antinuclear movement made a presentation at the Barnwell action. Messages of solidarity to one or both protests came from Australia, the Netherlands, Britain, and Ireland. Dr. Helen Caldicott, a founder of the Australian movement against uranium mining, spoke at the South Carolina rally.

More than 200 persons protested the building of a nuclear power plant in Taft, Louisiana, on April 30. In Hartford, Connecticut, 150 persons demonstrated at the state capitol against shipments of nuclear wastes through the state, and in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 200 persons called for an end to nuclear weapons and the neutron bomb.

Seven hundred supporters of the Clamshell Alliance held an "anniversary ball" in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on April 29. The event marked the April 30, 1977, occupation of the construction site of the Seabrook nuclear power plant and the subsequent arrest of 1,414 demonstrators. The dance was held at the same Portsmouth National Guard armory where many of those attending had been incarcerated one year before.

The Clamshell Alliance has announced plans for another demonstration at the Seabrook site on June 24. □