

Racist Terror in Boston



White racist opponents of school desegregation, armed with bats, tire irons, and other weapons, fought a bloody battle with Boston cops February 15.

Supporters of Black rights have issued call for nationwide protests to counter rising racist offensive and to demand implementation of school busing.

The CIA's Secret Game in Iraq and Angola

By Steve Clark

To the oppressed and exploited masses of the world, the Central Intelligence Agency must appear not unlike an invisible, odorless, poisonous gas.

It performs its noxious work silently and insidiously. Only its paralyzing effects are noticeable, and by that time the damage is often already done.

Recently, however, a few peepholes have been chiseled out here and there in the wall of secrecy that encloses the CIA. The latest has been provided by the report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, chaired by Congressman Otis Pike. Portions of these findings have been reprinted in the *Village Voice*, a New York weekly.

The Pike report confirms the agency's awesome and terrible resources: "A huge arsenal of weapons and access to ammunition have been developed by CIA," it says, "giving it a capability that exceeds most armies of the world."

The report also gives us a glimpse into the thinking of those who set the agency's policies: the guardians of American capitalism who walk the halls of the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon. One fact that emerges clearly from this investigation is that U.S. foreign policy is unmatched in its ruthlessness and deceit.

A careful reading of the report discloses that Washington's ultimate aims and motivations can be quite complex in any given situation, sometimes even two or three times removed from a seemingly more immediate objective.

CIA operations in Iraq and Angola provide two relatively recent examples.

The Kurds of northern Iraq are an oppressed nationality, suffering from extreme economic, educational, and cultural discrimination. Only 3 percent of Iraqi industries are located in Kurdish areas, while many raw materials are extracted from the region to be processed elsewhere. Although Kurds comprise nearly a quarter of the population, they make up only 7 percent of the university population and benefit from only 7 to 12 percent of the national budget.

Beginning in 1972, Washington—at the request of its ally, the shah of Iran—began to supply arms aid to the Kurdish national liberation struggle. The shah's aim was to weaken his rival regime in neighboring Iraq, a goal that coincided with American imperialism's interests in the Middle East.

Some organizations, such as the Communist party USA and other pro-Moscow parties, seized on Washington's diplomatic maneu-

ver to justify their opposition to the Kurds' just struggle for self-determination.

In reality, however, the Stalinists themselves spoke favorably of the Kurdish struggle until 1972, when the Kremlin signed a fifteen-year treaty with the Iraqi regime, and two members of the Iraqi CP were brought into the cabinet.

Suddenly the pages of Stalinist newspapers around the world were filled with articles hailing the "progressive" government of Iraq and denouncing the alleged "proimperialist turn" of the Kurdish leaders. In fact, nothing had changed but the current diplomatic wheeling and dealing of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Revolutionary socialists refused to be hoodwinked by these demagogic arguments, pointing out that the right to national self-determination remained the central question.

The Kurds were not the first nationalist movement to accept arms from an imperialist power in order to improve their odds against a better equipped oppressor, and no one can deny them the right to do so. At the same time, Washington was not the first imperialist power temporarily, and for tactical reasons, to feed support to a national liberation movement.

As David Frankel said in the November 17, 1975, *Intercontinental Press*:

When a government chooses to supply arms to one side in a war, it is a natural assumption that it is interested in seeing the side it is supplying win. However, that is not always the case.

Iran and Turkey are Washington's only allies bordering the Soviet Union's southern boundary. Both of them have considerably larger Kurdish minorities than does Iraq, and both of them have suppressed Kurdish nationalist movements in the past. An independent Kurdistan, or even the success of the Kurds in winning autonomy within the Iraqi state, would threaten the equilibrium of both the Iranian and Turkish regimes. . . .

Washington . . . had no desire to upset the status quo among its own allies. Its aim was simply to maintain the Kurdish rebellion as an ongoing internal problem for the Iraqi regime, while not giving the Kurds enough aid to attain their objectives. This plan had to be abandoned when the shah decided he had more to gain from a deal with Baghdad than by backing the Kurds.

The findings of the Pike committee fully confirm this analysis of Washington's devious game.

The report quotes a CIA memo on the Kurdish struggle dated March 22, 1974: "We would think that [our ally] would not look with favor on the establishment of a formalized autonomous government. [Our ally] like

ourselves, has seen the benefit in a stalemate situation . . . in which [our ally's enemy] is intrinsically weakened by [the ethnic group's] refusal to relinquish its semi-autonomy. Neither [our ally] nor ourselves wish to see the matter resolved one way or the other."

U.S. intervention in the Angolan civil war, although quite different in most particulars, bears some similarity to the case of the Kurds.

Once again, for example, the fact that Washington was providing arms aid to two of the three warring liberation groups led some to the incorrect conclusion that imperialism favored the victory of these organizations.

Pro-Moscow Stalinists have even charged that the two groups were nothing more than CIA-manipulated outfits from the start. As "evidence," they point to recent revelations that in the early 1960s the CIA did send minimal aid to the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front).

Such "reasoning," however, skips over several relevant facts.

Most importantly, those who resort to such arguments forget that Washington's overwhelmingly predominant aid commitment during the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa was to Lisbon, which used the U.S. planes and other matériel against all three Angolan nationalist organizations. CIA crumbs thrown in the FNLA's direction were simply a case of "keeping some options open."

In addition, imperialism's "just in case" overtures were hardly limited to the FNLA. The CIA made contact with the late Eduardo Mondlane, the principal leader of Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front). Frelimo, now the ruling party in an independent Mozambique, has certainly never been labeled a "CIA operation" by the Stalinists.

In fact, it was not from any lack of willingness that the FNLA's chief rival, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), was not also on the receiving end of Washington's small favors.

By the MPLA's own admission, it sought U.S. assistance in the early 1960s, but was turned down. At that time, the MPLA was still a small, faction-ridden group, while the FNLA could already boast significant strength and mass support.

If the MPLA had received some aid from Washington, however, that fact would not have made its fight against Portuguese colonialism any less worthy of support from revolutionists. In the same way, the fact that the MPLA later turned to the Soviet Union for assistance—and received it—did not make it somehow "more revolutionary" than the two other groups, which did not get help from Moscow.

Given all these considerations, it was

Intercontinental Press

reasonable to suspect that Washington's maneuvers in the Angolan civil war were not so straightforward as they might at first have seemed. Ernest Harsch commented on this question in the December 22, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*:

By funneling arms to the FNLA and UNITA [União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], Washington is attempting to perpetuate the fratricidal war with the aim of weakening the entire Angolan nationalist movement.

The imposition of a feeble and divided coalition regime . . . would also give Washington and the other imperialist powers the opportunity to continue playing the rival nationalist groups off against each other. Their aim would be to press for further concessions from each of the groups to ensure the continued imperialist exploitation of the country's vast natural resources, as well as hamper Moscow's efforts to expand its influence.

That Harsch's estimate of imperialism's true intentions hit the mark was corroborated by the Pike committee findings. "CIA officials have testified to the Committee that there appears to be little hope of an outright MPLA military defeat," the report states. "Instead, U.S. efforts are now aimed at promoting a stalemate, and in turn, the ceasefire and the coalition government urged by the long-forgotten NSC [National Security Council] task force."

The Pike committee's questioning of former CIA chief William Colby sheds further light on Washington's strategy in Angola. When Colby was asked to explain his opinion of the three groups, he answered:

"They are all independents. They are all for black Africa. They are all for some fuzzy kind of social system, you know, without really much articulation, but some sort of let's not be exploited by the capitalist nations."

According to the report: "The Committee also attempted to discern why certain nations were supporting different groups if they were all similar in outlook:

"MR. ASPIN. And why are the Chinese backing the moderate group?

"MR. COLBY. Because the Soviets are backing the MPLA is the simplest answer.

"MR. ASPIN. It sounds like that is why we are doing it.

"MR. COLBY. It is."

In 1938, in an article entitled "Learn to Think," Leon Trotsky pointed out: "The policy of the proletariat is not at all automatically derived from the policy of the bourgeoisie, bearing only the opposite sign—this would make every sectarian a master strategist; no, the revolutionary party must each time orient itself *independently* in the internal as well as the external situation, arriving at those decisions which correspond best to the interests of the proletariat."

The point is well taken, as the Pike committee's findings should serve to remind us. □

March 1, 1976

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South Africa Seeks Accord With MPLA

By Ernest Harsch

Following the failure of the American and South African intervention in the Angolan civil war, the major imperialist powers have quickly shifted their policy and are now seeking to reach an accommodation with the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). As of February 20, more than seventy governments had recognized the MPLA regime in Luanda.

The imperialist power most immediately affected by the MPLA victory, South Africa, still has between 4,000 and 6,000 troops stationed in southern Angola.

A February 15 United Press International dispatch from Johannesburg reported, "South Africa is exchanging secret peace feelers with the Soviet-backed faction in Angola in a last-minute attempt to avoid a racial confrontation, Johannesburg newspapers reported today."

There has been some speculation that negotiations between Pretoria and the MPLA were already under way through intermediaries. According to newspapers in Johannesburg, the intermediaries were thought to be the governments of Mozambique and the Ivory Coast. South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller refused to comment on the question, stating, "That is a very important and sensitive issue which has to be treated in the strictest confidence."

When the MPLA and Cuban troops swept through central Angola in early February, South African newspapers predicted an imminent clash with the South African forces stationed along the Angola-Namibia (South-West Africa) border. They modified their predictions after the MPLA halted its advance and indicated that it was willing to reach a deal with Pretoria.

The one action taken so far by the MPLA and its backers in Moscow that probably contributed the most to Pretoria's hopes for a negotiated settlement was the "restraining" of the Cuban troops, who had spearheaded the MPLA's drive against the forces of the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) in central and southern Angola.

Associated Press reported from Washington February 17:

Officials here said today that the Luanda Government had apparently decided to withdraw Cuban troops from its victorious forces in southern Angola.

The Cubans reportedly wanted to press on toward the area where South African forces hold a defense line protecting a hydroelectric project at Calueque [on the Cunene River], 15 miles inside Angola. . . .

The officials here said that while the Cubans saw themselves as "liberators," and wanted to go on to Angola's border with South-West Africa, the Soviet Union apparently was urging restraint in the interest of détente with the United States. This advice, the officials said, appeared to be prevailing.

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* reported February 15, "South African troops could pull out of Angola within days. This emerged at the weekend after firm indications of the start of peace negotiations between South Africa and the Popular Movement."

The MPLA's most important overture to Pretoria was made by Foreign Minister José Eduardo dos Santos in an interview published in the February 14 *Le Monde*. He said that "the government in Pretoria should recognize one thing: the existence of our state as the independent, sovereign, and legitimate representative of the Angolan people. Then we can adjust all the problems concerning South African interests and investments in Angola."

One of the interests Pretoria had demanded protection of was the Cunene hydroelectric dam project, in which it has more than \$200 million invested. According to an agreement signed between Pretoria and the Portuguese colonialists in 1969, all the power generated by the project during the first phase of its operation was to be supplied to South African-occupied Namibia.

In his interview, Santos hinted that the Luanda regime would review the terms of that agreement. (Pretoria has already indicated that it would accept a modification of the agreement allowing some of the power to be used in Angola.)

Pretoria has also demanded some assurances that the MPLA would not allow the guerrillas of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) to use southern Angola as a base for their operations into Namibia.

Noting that Pretoria's second demand was "stickier" than the question of the Cunene project, *New York Times* reporter Michael T. Kaufman commented in a February 19 dispatch from Johannesburg that "the Angolan government could not very well pledge to curb the liberation

movement without losing face and credibility as a nation committed to African liberation."

Although MPLA officials have continued to express their support for SWAPO, MPLA leader Agostinho Neto has at the same time said that the MPLA itself has no intention of intervening in Namibia. The MPLA coupled this assurance with the demand that the South African troops get out of Angola.

As long as the South Africans remain in the country, the danger of a major attack against the Angolan nationalists is a real one.

While Pretoria was seeking an accommodation with the MPLA, most of the other major imperialist powers of the world rushed to formally recognize the MPLA's People's Republic of Angola.

Within a few days, all nine members of the European Economic Community, in addition to the governments of Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Austria, Canada, and Japan, recognized the MPLA regime. Paris, which had previously collaborated with the U.S. and South African intervention in Angola by funneling arms, money, and mercenaries to the MPLA's rivals, was the first imperialist power to recognize the MPLA.

Following an emergency cabinet meeting in Lisbon February 21, the Portuguese regime—the former colonial power in Angola—also decided to recognize the People's Republic of Angola. An important wing of the ruling military junta in Portugal had in fact favored recognition of the MPLA regime as the only "legitimate" government of Angola as early as November 11, 1975, when the former colony was granted its independence. Divisions within the Lisbon regime, however, blocked recognition until the MPLA had won a clear military victory.

The MPLA has assured the imperialists that their investments in Angola are not threatened. In his *Le Monde* interview, Santos pointed out, "A general principle is written into our constitution. We are ready to respect the interests of the multinational companies in Angola if they aid the development of our country and are of benefit to our people. We are therefore open to investments from the East as well as from the West. As a general rule, we have no intention, at the moment, of proceeding with nationalizations, except for those foreign commercial and industrial enterprises that have been abandoned by their owners."

The MPLA's immediate neighbors, the regimes of Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaïre and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, have also indicated that they may establish formal relations with it. Both regimes backed the UNITA and FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National

Liberation Front) during the civil war.

Washington, while it has not yet recognized the Luanda regime, has moved toward establishing better relations with the MPLA.

"The Ford Administration," Leslie H. Gelb reported in the February 22 *New York Times*, "has given its approval to the Gulf Oil Corporation and the Boeing Company to resume normal business transactions with the Angolan nationalist faction backed by the Soviet Union, according to State Department officials."

In December 1975, when Washington was pouring arms and money to the FNLA and UNITA, the State Department blocked the delivery to Luanda of two Boeing 737 aircraft that had already been paid for. It also pressured Gulf Oil, the largest foreign investor in Angola, to suspend its drilling operations in the Cabinda enclave and to place its tax and royalty payments to the Angola regime in escrow. (Gulf had already paid the MPLA \$116 million in September and October.)

The resumption of Gulf's operations in Angola would enable the MPLA to collect the \$125 million in payments that had been placed in the escrow account. According to the State Department officials cited by Gelb, Gulf had been dealing indirectly with the MPLA since late January through Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, the current Nigerian head of state.

Gulf was eager to get its Cabinda operations functioning again. Angolan oil accounted for 20 percent of all the oil processed by Gulf in the United States last year. The continued loss of this oil would have lowered Gulf's profits by at least 10 percent, according to an assessment in the March 1 *Business Week*.

Gelb said that Gulf was also afraid that if it did not resume oil production, "Luanda would otherwise give the concession to a foreign competitor. The French Government, which recently recognized Luanda, is said to be interested in obtaining the concession for a French company."

The State Department officials said that Washington would not recognize the MPLA regime before the governments of Zaïre and Zambia did. "Since the downturn in fortunes of the United States-backed groups," Gelb said, "Mr. Kissinger has been letting Luanda know that the American door is open to them only if they take steps to disassociate themselves from Moscow."

A State Department spokesman, John H. Trattner, told Gelb, "It should be kept in mind that our quarrel is not with the M.P.L.A. per se, but rather with the Soviets and Cubans who are engaged in armed intervention."

In a secret memorandum to Kissinger, the MPLA sought to reassure Washington on this point. Syndicated columnists Jack Anderson and Les Whitten reported Febru-

ary 17 that the memorandum was brought to Kissinger by Mark Moran, an aide to Senator John Tunney, who had a series of discussions in January with MPLA leaders in Luanda. The Luanda representatives who compiled the memorandum were Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento, Defense Minister Iko Carreira, and MPLA General Secretary Lucio Lara.

"We have no desire for a permanent Soviet or Cuban presence," they said. "When the other foreign forces withdraw, so too will the Soviets and Cubans. . . ."

"You may assure your government that we will never permit the establishment of any foreign bases on Angolan soil, air or naval, including those of the Soviet Union. This is superpower business, and we want none of it."

'Final Edition' Published February 14

'Workers Press' Closes Down

Workers Press, the daily newspaper of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary party in Britain, ceased publication February 14.

In a front-page box, the paper's editorial board said, "*Workers Press* regretfully announces that it has no alternative but to cease publishing after today's edition. This follows the decision of our printing firm, Plough Press, to cease trading from midnight last night."

The final edition of *Workers Press* contained no article recounting or evaluating the paper's history. The only explanation

When asked about private or public talks with Washington, the three MPLA leaders replied: "We are not only ready, we would welcome the opportunity." When asked if formal U.S. recognition or an end to U.S. aid to the FNLA and UNITA were preconditions for such talks, they answered no, stating, "the MPLA recognizes the political difficulty of the United States recognizing our movement."

Although the failure of the direct U.S. intervention in Angola was a political setback for Washington, the American imperialists have maintained their economic holdings in the country. They can be expected to use this foothold to try to expand their economic dominance, while also seeking to turn it to their political advantage. □

given for its demise was a paragraph stating, "The background to Plough Press's financial situation is well known. The British Printing Industries Federation issued a statement on Thursday saying: 'Rises in general expenses over the last three months have increased average printing costs, excluding materials, by 1.3 per cent, bringing the total rise since January 31, 1975, to 27.6 per cent.'"

A more extensive account, by Anthony Holden, appeared in the February 15 London *Sunday Times*. "What went wrong?" asked Holden. "The money quite simply stopped coming in. *Workers Press* was launched on capital of £28,000, and has since run a monthly fighting fund to keep going. A £50,000 crisis appeal launched last December had brought in only £30,000 by its February 1 target date. Another £6,000 has since dribbled in, but the £14,000 deficit proved too large to survive."

According to Holden, *Workers Press* Editor Alex Mitchell accepted an estimate of 10,000 to 20,000 for the paper's circulation.

"He angrily denies a popular theory that both party and paper have never really recovered from the defection last year of Alan 'The Mole' Thornett, its crucial trade union power-base. . . ."

"That was another episode grossly inflated by the capitalist Press," says Mitchell.

Healy's next move remains unclear. Holden's article leaves the impression that the equipment at Plough Press will be sold when it says, "Going weekly was not feasible, as it would have left the Plough presses expensively idle too much of the time." □

Syrian Regime Tries to Stabilize Lebanon

By David Frankel

Premier Rashid Karami promised "a new Lebanon which will be a model of liberty."

President Suleiman Franjeh spoke of a "new foundation" for that war-torn country.

Both were talking about the political agreement whose terms were publicly announced in Beirut February 14. Sponsored by the Syrian regime, the accord comes after a civil war between Lebanon's Christian and Muslim communities that has left roughly 10,000 persons dead and at least twice as many wounded.

A more realistic assessment of the accord than that presented by Karami and Franjeh was given in the February 14 issue of the *Economist*. An article in that British financial weekly said, "The reforms may bring a period of calm but this will be more because of exhaustion than from any true meeting of minds and hearts."

Al Moharrer, one of Beirut's leading newspapers, has openly accused right-wing Christian organizations of importing heavy weapons in preparation for more fighting in the spring.

The great majority of Lebanese, both Christians and Muslims, are Arab. But the historically privileged Christian community—in particular the Maronite sect—has developed what amounts to a racist attitude toward the Muslim majority. Describing the views of the Maronite monks of Kaslik, a monastery north of Beirut, *New York Times* reporter Henry Tanner said in a February 10 dispatch, "They see the Lebanese Christians as a determined, superior, Western oriented elite that pits individual excellence and better education against superiority in numbers on the Moslem side. They insist on the Christians' right to shape the political and cultural character of Lebanon."

The Christian rightists acceded to the January 22 cease-fire that led to the current agreement only after a series of military reversals. However, they were not decisively defeated in the civil war. In fact, none of the basic issues that led to the civil war to begin with have been settled.

The terms of the agreement announced February 14 made adjustments in the apportionment of governmental posts that will increase the representation of the Muslim population. However, the Christian minority will continue in a privileged position, guaranteed 50 percent of the seats in the legislature and the post of president.

In a further concession to the Christian rightists, the Syrian regime has guaranteed



SYRIAN PRESIDENT HAFEZ AL-ASSAD

to curb the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon. The enforcement of restrictions on the Palestinian movement was specifically mentioned February 7 after a meeting in Damascus between President Hafez al-Assad of Syria and Franjeh. A similar promise was made January 29 by Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam.

In announcing the terms of the accord February 14, Franjeh said at the outset that the political changes agreed to would be implemented only after the "careful execution" of the 1969 Cairo agreement. The Cairo agreement was concluded after sharp fighting between the Lebanese army and Palestinian guerrillas. A further agreement was negotiated in 1973 after another round of fighting.

The complete terms of these agreements have never been released. However, in addition to clauses limiting the type and areas of guerrilla operations, they called for the removal of heavy weapons from Palestinian refugee camps and their redeployment in specific zones near the Israeli border.

The article in the February 14 *Economist* pointed out, "In 1969, the camps were armed to face attacks from lightly-armed Israeli commandos. The danger to them now comes from Maronite militants who have attacked the camps with artillery and

rockets, homemade armoured cars and phalanxes of bulldozers. If the Palestine Liberation Army, on Syrian orders, tries to disarm these camps there could well be intra-Palestinian violence."

The Syrian government itself has fed speculation that it might sponsor a crackdown on the Palestinian movement. In a January 26 dispatch from Beirut, *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan C. Randal reported on a meeting between the Syrian foreign minister and various Lebanese politicians.

"Syria is particularly concerned," Randal reported, "about enforcing discipline in Palestinian ranks, a hitherto seemingly impossible goal. Especially upsetting to Syria, Khaddam told visitors, were the so-called Rejection Front radicals. They are opposed not only to negotiating with Israel or recognizing it, but also to Syria's Baath Party regime and its general Middle East policy, Khaddam said."

Less than a week later, pro-Syrian guerrillas of the Saiqa group attacked the offices of two Beirut newspapers, killing seven journalists, wounding seven, and kidnapping five. One of the newspapers, *Beirut*, is reportedly published by the rival pro-Iraqi wing of the Baath party. The other, *Al Moharrer*, frequently disagrees with the policies of the Syrian regime as well.

The attackers, who set fire to the presses, were referred to in a statement by the Palestine Liberation Organization leadership as "undisciplined elements" of Saiqa. However, the raid was carried out by a unit of 100 men, according to the Lebanese Press Association. The Saiqa forces arrived on the scene in twenty-two Land-Rovers and used rockets and light artillery in their assault.

In light of this attack, a section of Franjeh's declaration on the new accords was particularly ominous. He declared that the cabinet had agreed on measures for "responsible press freedom to insure the harmony of the press in realizing national unity and in strengthening Lebanon's Arab and international relations."

As Franjeh's threat indicated, the logical extension of any attempt to curb the rights of the Palestinians in Lebanon is an attack on democratic rights in general. This is certainly understood by the Syrian regime which has had plenty of experience in suppressing the democratic rights of the Syrian people. In a February 19 dispatch from Beirut, *New York Times* corresponden

James M. Markham said that in the view of Syria's Khaddam, the "germ" of Lebanon's crisis was "too much freedom, bordering on license."

Markham added that in light of their experience, "... Pierre Gemayel and Camille Chamoun, the two pillars of the Christian right, seem far more pleased with the 'Syrian initiative,' as the imposed peace is called, than do its nominal benefactors, particularly on the Lebanese left."

The Damascus regime's expanding role in Lebanon has drawn threats from Israel, but so far Washington has restrained its pugnacious client. *Washington Post* reporter Jim Hoagland referred in a recent dispatch to "the new American confidence in the stability and relative moderation of Assad's regime. . . ."

Also, Damascus has not acted alone.

John K. Cooley reported in the February 2 *Christian Science Monitor* that the outline for the Syrian-sponsored agreement was first proposed by King Hussein of Jordan, and agreed to by King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. Eric Rouleau explained some of their considerations in a January 22 article in the Paris daily *Le Monde*. He said:

Arab leaders quite rightly do not regard the Lebanese conflict as a war of religion. Most of them have misgivings about a victory of the progressive forces (even Muslim), or "Reds" as they still say in the [Arab-Persian] Gulf oil states. While for obvious reasons they do not wish to see a Fedayeen rout, none wants to see a victory for the Palestinian resistance, whose intransigence is embarrassing for several regimes that pin hopes on Henry Kissinger's Middle East policy. Most of the Arab governments, pro-American, anti-Communist, or merely conservative, may in fact be considered sympathizers, friends, or generous allies of Lebanon's Christian militia groups.

It remains to be seen how successful Assad's attempt to stabilize Lebanon will be. One complicating factor is the state of the Lebanese economy. Estimates of the economic losses caused by the nine months of fighting range from \$2.8 billion to \$8 billion. In the Beirut suburbs alone, about twenty-five factories were destroyed; also, hundreds of thousands of Lebanese were left jobless. The tourist industry has been shattered, and most of the big banks and corporations that maintained regional offices in Beirut were driven out by the civil war.

Any rise in economic struggles by the working class is sure to call into question once again the discriminatory political system, since it is that apparatus that defends the capitalist rulers against the demands of the masses. □

Royal Tour Flops

Juan Carlos Met by Strikes and Protests in Barcelona

King Juan Carlos I arrived in Barcelona February 16 to begin an official tour of Catalonia. He was greeted by a strike of 7,000 municipal workers and continued protests against his regime.

The royal trip came after large demonstrations in Barcelona February 1 and 8 demanding amnesty for political prisoners, democratic rights, and autonomy for Catalonia.

The Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, estimated the February 1 demonstration at 60,000. In the February 4 issue of their newspaper, *Combate*, they described "the attitude of total solidarity of the population, which applauded from the balconies or interposed their cars to impede the advance of the police."

Although the protests of February 1 and 8 were not repeated during the king's visit, from Juan Carlos's point of view that was about the only good thing that happened. "There appeared to be more people today demonstrating their discontent than were showing sympathy for the King," reported a February 16 dispatch in the *New York Times* that described the royal arrival.

"While Mayor Joaquín Viola was greeting the King and Queen in the former throne room of Catalonian kings, 150 yards away municipal policemen, firemen, teachers, doctors, nurses and hundreds of other city employees were marching around the square in front of City Hall protesting his refusal to negotiate with them."

The following day, expecting to escape

the protests in Barcelona, the royal visitors traveled to the Benedictine monastery of Monserrat. However, the monastery's abbot preached a sermon calling for amnesty and "full recognition of the rights of our people."

Apparently Juan Carlos had enough "democratization" for one week. That night riot police stormed the Barcelona city hall, driving out hundreds of striking municipal employees with tear gas. On February 18, the king followed up by signing an order drafting the Barcelona firemen and municipal police into the army.

"Spain's second largest city and the capital of one of its most dissident regions took on a besieged look as combat-ready Government police patrolled the streets to stamp out the agitation flaring up almost constantly from such disparate groups as municipal employees, construction workers and teachers and students," Henry Giniger reported in the February 19 *New York Times*.

According to Giniger, "... thousands of striking building workers . . . tried to concentrate around headquarters of the Government-run Syndicate organization to demand wage negotiations and to protest the high unemployment rate."

Official attempts to organize a mass demonstration to show "affection and adherence" to the king fell flat. However, in another attempt to gain some favor for the monarchy in Catalonia, the cabinet met in Barcelona February 20. It appointed a commission to study the establishment of a

special administration covering the four Catalan provinces of Barcelona, Lérida, Tarragona, and Gerona.

Such feeble measures are hardly likely to satisfy the people of Catalonia. The real plans of the government are widely known, having been publicly outlined by Premier Carlos Arias Navarro January 28. As *Combate* explained, "In respect to the nationalities, his statement on 'the necessity of a strong unitary state' reaffirmed the traditional Francoist doctrine of the forced unity of the peoples of the Spanish state, which denies any rights whatever to the oppressed nationalities." □

Kissinger Hails Geisel's 'Concern for Human Dignity'

As one stop on his swing through Latin America, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger met with top leaders of the rightist military government in Brazil. The regime of President Ernesto Geisel has made torture a way of life in Brazil's prisons and keeps a tight lid on dissent.

While in Brazil, Kissinger signed a "Memorandum of Understanding Concerning Consultations on Matters of Mutual Interest" with the Geisel government. In his remarks February 21 at the time of the signing, Kissinger said:

"There are no two people whose concern for human dignity and for the basic values of man is more profound in day-to-day life than Brazil and the United States."

Racists Mount Reign of Terror Against Blacks in Boston

By Noah Ellsworth

The steering committee of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) issued a call February 21 for local and national teach-ins, picket lines, demonstrations, and rallies to answer the renewed rise in racist violence against the Black community in Boston, Massachusetts.

The 300 persons attending the steering committee meeting, held at Boston University, set plans for local activities around the country April 3-4, the eighth anniversary of the assassination of civil-rights leader Martin Luther King.

The steering committee also voted to support any call by Boston's Black community for a united national march in Boston in support of school desegregation for April or May. They empowered the NSCAR coordinators to approach Black, student, and labor organizations in Massachusetts and elsewhere to gain support for this perspective.

The latest round of racist violence is aimed at halting the busing of Boston students to achieve desegregation, a measure ordered in June 1974 by Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity. Garrity ruled that the all-white Boston School Committee had for several decades "knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers, and school facilities and . . . intentionally brought about and maintained a dual school system."

The first phase of the desegregation order was implemented as schools opened in September 1974, and the plan was expanded to involve more students the following school year. Next September, busing is slated to be extended to East Boston, a racist stronghold.

The racists suffered a setback last December, when Garrity stripped the school committee of its jurisdiction over South Boston High School, placing the school under direct court control. In a suit brought by the Boston NAACP,* Black students at the high school had testified before Garrity that police, teachers, and administrators had done nothing to halt the verbal and physical abuse they were subjected to daily.

In fact, the students testified that several teachers and aides took part in the name-calling and—on at least one occasion—even egged on the assault of a Black student.

*National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the oldest and largest U.S. civil-rights organization.



Ivan/Militant

The racists were at first stunned by this ruling. The NAACP headquarters was fire bombed the night the decision was announced, but incidents inside the schools were limited to sporadic fistfights.

The current antibusing offensive began in late January and has steadily gained momentum since that time.

• *January 19-30.* White students at Hyde Park High School, claiming that they were "retaliating" for the burning of an American flag by a Black student, let it be known that "the niggers are going to get it." On January 20, gangs of white students assaulted individual Blacks in the school.

For the next two days thugs wielding bats and pipes roamed school corridors and grounds searching out Black students. Fighting broke out on January 21, as parents from the neighborhood and white students from South Boston High School joined in the attacks on the Black students.

Hyde Park was closed by school authorities January 22-23. Throughout the rest of the month, white students at South Boston, Charlestown, and East Boston high schools stepped up their harassment of Black students and staged walkouts, traffic disruptions, and other antibusing protests.

• *February 3.* A white terrorist was arrested in an unsuccessful attempt to plant bombs in Judge Garrity's car.

That evening members of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), which has spearheaded the anti-Black drive, broke up two meetings organized by the court-appointed City-wide Coordinating Council (CCC) to discuss further desegregation planned for September 1976.

• *February 8.* Three racist toughs assaulted Reba Williams, a young Black woman, as she walked home. Yelling, "Get the nigger bitch," the three choked and beat Williams, who is an NSCAR staff member. A Black man walking his large dog spotted the attack and managed to chase the racists away.

• *February 12.* Two hundred thugs organized by ROAR broke up another CCC meeting, this one held in Boston English High School on the edge of the Black community. Some of the racists had traveled to the meeting in school buses from South Boston and East Boston, accompanied by a police escort.

As the meeting of Black and white parents began, the ROAR hooligans chanted, booed, and sang "God Bless America." They seized the microphone, threw books into the air, and threw Afro-pick combs purchased specially for the occasion.

When the organizers of the meeting announced it was being canceled, Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, a school committee member and East Boston ROAR leader, took the stage and led the disrupters in chants and jeers.

Although U.S. marshals, FBI agents, Justice Department officials, and local cops were on the scene, none attempted to halt the disruption of the meeting. Since the meeting hall was located in a predominantly Black school, the ROAR bigots did their best to leave the place in shambles. They broke chairs and doors and scrawled racist slogans on the walls.

• *February 15.* In the most serious of the racist rampages, 1,000 antibusing marchers engaged in a two-hour battle with city cops. Organized by the South Boston Marshals Association, the bigots wielded bats, sawed-off hockey sticks, golf clubs, and rocks and bottles.

According to news accounts, they were also equipped with tear-gas canisters, which they threw at the cops, and with walkie-talkies, with which they monitored police movements.

The two-hundred-member marshals association has in the past served as a "security" force for ROAR demonstrations. Last December, this highly secretive group invited Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke to Boston for advice on tactics.

The two-hour battle broke out when the racists demanded that they be allowed to enter the grounds of South Boston High School. The cops refused, and the crowd

attacked the police lines.

Seventy-four cops were treated for injuries. Thirteen arrests were made. Among those taken into custody were residents of East Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester, as well as South Boston.

Reporting on the incident in the February 27 issue of the American socialist weekly the *Militant*, Jon Hillson and Larry Seigle noted: "There were no Black students inside the school because it was a Sunday. . . . But the message of the rioters was crystal clear: Black students being bused into South Boston High School take their lives in their hands."

On the following night, smaller-scale rioting erupted in Charlestown. About 200 racists smashed windows in Charlestown High School, lit bonfires, and battled with cops. A white reporter for the daily *Boston Globe* was seized and beaten.

The antibusing forces have scheduled another local march for February 29—with or without a permit. They are also organizing for a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., on April 24.

Not since busing was first instituted in Boston in September 1974 have the racist mobilizations reached this level. At that time, segregationist mobs stoned school buses carrying Black students; white students insulted and assaulted Blacks in the schools; and Black citizens who happened to walk or drive near or through racist neighborhoods risked near lynchings.

Protesting forces countermobilized by the thousands in Boston on two separate occasions during the school year. NSCAR was formed by students who helped mobilize nationwide participation in a December 14, 1974, march, which drew a crowd of 12,000. A demonstration the following May 17, initiated by the NAACP, drew 15,000. The call for the march was announced by Boston NAACP leader Thomas Atkins at NSCAR's founding conference in February 1975.

These demonstrations, and other actions throughout the year, were a blow to the racist forces. When the second phase of the desegregation order was implemented in September 1975, both local and national authorities were forced to provide protection for the Black students being bused into all-white areas. The presence of hundreds of cops around the schools, combined with a total of 100 federal marshals, helped prevent a repeat of the previous September.

As enforcement measures were scaled down later in the school year, however, the racists once again began to pick up steam.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties have spurred the combativity of the anti-Black movement by their total default on the busing issue. As Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers party, put it February 20:

"Vying with each other for the racist vote, the liberals and conservatives alike fall all over themselves expressing 'sympathy and understanding' for the antibusing movement. Many have echoed President Ford in his denunciations of 'forced busing.' Leaders of both parties call for a constitutional amendment to outlaw busing for desegregation.

"The few candidates who have not openly capitulated to the racists stand silent on the question."

In Boston itself, ROAR leaders hold important positions on the school committee and the city council. They set the tone and most of the policies for both bodies.

The school committee, for example, has recently certified two all-white "private academies"—South Boston Heights Academy and another in West Roxbury. The committee's aim in granting certification is to legally sanction *resegregation* of Boston schools. The white student population in the public school system has reportedly declined by 8,000 already as a result of the ROAR-organized school boycott and transfers to private institutions.

The courts have done nothing to halt accreditation of the new racist "schools." Under the pressure of the antibusing offensive, Judge Garrity is reportedly even considering granting East Boston an exemption from the third phase of the desegregation plan next September. As a report in the February 20 *Militant* warned, "This would be a clear concession to the racist mobilization and an obvious cue to bigots across the city to jump into the breach."

Garrity has also approved a \$7 million to \$8 million cut in the school budget, including significant layoffs of teachers and aides. Mayor Kevin White and the city council have tried to pin the blame for Boston's sagging finances on the costs of the busing plan.

Lawyers for the Black parents who filed the Boston desegregation suit have announced that they will fight to ensure that no Blacks or other minority teachers are fired as part of the layoffs. These minority employees, although a small percentage of the overall teaching staff, comprise a large percentage of the nontenured teachers and a majority of the teachers aides.

Boston's busing controversy has given the city's capitalist politicians a demagogic excuse for carrying out the cutbacks and layoffs hitting urban workers all across the country. The mayor and city council want to divert the anger of laid-off employees away from their own doorstep, where it belongs, onto that of the Black community.

As evidenced by the NSCAR steering committee meeting, some forces in the Black community and other sections of the protesting forces have begun to respond to the racist onslaught.

Black, Latino, and white parents who had

attended the February 12 CCC meeting that was broken up by ROAR goons held a news conference February 14 to denounce the disruption and to demand police protection for future meetings.

Rayleen Craig, one of the parents at the news conference, said: "There are an awful lot of parents really tired of what's been going on with ROAR. That organization is just set up to keep alive a climate of hate and fear. They have organized and intimidated people around the city, and now it's time for people to organize against them."

NSCAR's call for April 3-4 actions around the country, building toward a national demonstration in Boston, is the kind of response that is necessary to cow the racists and force the government to enforce desegregation in Boston.

"ROAR's organized terror squads number several hundred, at most a thousand," the February 27 *Militant* pointed out. "But they know that bold actions by even a relatively small group can shift the political climate to the right—provided there is no united response from antiracist forces."

Failure to mount such a response would have repercussions far beyond the Black community itself, as socialist candidates Camejo and Reid warned in a statement issued February 20.

"The racist strongholds in Boston have become fertile ground for the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis, the right-wing demagogues of all kinds," they said. "These forces are virulent opponents of Chicano and Puerto Rican rights, women's rights, and the rights of undocumented ['illegal' immigrant] workers.

"The leaders of the antibusing drive masquerade as defenders of 'white workers' interests.' But behind the antibusing mobs, as Paul Jennings, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, pointed out last fall, stand 'persons who generally oppose everything that labor stands for and who have as their objective the total destruction of trade unions.' They are the sworn enemies of the entire working class—white and Black."

An important demand of the upcoming demonstrations will be that federal authorities take whatever measures are necessary—including the use of troops—to halt the racist attacks and ensure the implementation of desegregation. What is needed is a show of force on a larger scale than that which kept the situation relatively cool last September.

As NSCAR national leader Maceo Dixon said recently, "We've got to turn this situation around. We've got to mobilize the Black community and its allies among whites to demand that the rights of Blacks be protected. If it's going to take U.S. Army divisions in South Boston, in East Boston, and in Charlestown, then that's what we've got to have." (*Militant*, February 27.) □

Where Is the Nation of Islam Going?

By Malik Miah

[The following article appeared in the February 27 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

* * *

On February 25, 1975, Elijah Muhammad, the founder and leader of the Nation of Islam, popularly known as the Black Muslims, died. Since that time a number of significant changes of potentially great importance to Black people and our allies have taken place within the Nation.

The latest is the announcement that the Nation's temple in Harlem has been renamed the Malcolm Shabazz Mosque No. 7 in honor of Malcolm X, a key figure in the Nation of Islam and second only to Elijah Muhammad when he broke from the Nation a year before he was assassinated in 1965.

These changes have aroused speculation (and hopes) on the part of many Blacks that the Nation of Islam can contribute to the emergence of the new militant leadership urgently required by our community.

What follows is some information about the changes of the past year, mainly gathered by reading the Nation's paper, *Bilalian News*, and from impressions obtained from remarks made by members of the Nation. I had no access to "inside" information, and my conclusions are necessarily tentative.

When he died, Elijah Muhammad, who called himself the "messenger of Allah," was replaced by one of his sons, Wallace Muhammad. Wallace Muhammad now bears the title of chief minister of the Nation.

This selection was not made by the members of the organization, but by the inner circle of leadership in Chicago, presumably members of the Muhammad family.

The new chief minister, who is responsible for the changes since then, had a certain reputation for independent thinking before he assumed command. Around the same time that Malcolm X began to have doubts about certain Muslim policies in the early 1960s, Elijah Muhammad suspended Wallace from the Nation because of ideological and organizational differences over the direction the movement was taking. These differences were never publicly clarified, but Wallace was reinstated in 1965.

Last June Wallace Muhammad announced the change that attracted the most

attention: a shift away from the previously overwhelming emphasis on race (and racial mythology) as the chief factor of society and ideology. From now on, he said, membership in the Nation would no longer be restricted to Blacks and would be open to whites, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Arabs, Asians, and others.

Some observers predicted that such a change would wreck the Nation and destroy its influence in the Black community. But it hasn't turned out that way at all. The number of non-Black recruits still seems very small, but even if it was larger the Nation would remain a basically Black movement.

The Nation was founded more than forty years ago by Elijah Muhammad and his followers to improve the condition of Afro-Americans. This remains its basic goal. In my opinion, the move away from some of the racial mythology and rhetoric of the past will in fact make the Nation more appealing to many Blacks.

Wallace Muhammad also announced that the Nation was going to become more closely involved in the life and struggles of the Black community. But he did not explain publicly how and to what extent this was going to be done.

One problem connected with this is the fact that the Nation is a religious movement. This hasn't changed at all, except, according to some reports, that the Nation is moving closer to the practices and norms of orthodox Islam. This may be important to a small minority of Blacks, but the overwhelming majority are not interested in the Nation's religion. What interests most Black people is the hope that the Nation can contribute to the struggles of Blacks to change their economic, social, and political conditions.

With temples in more than fifty cities, the Nation's economic assets include restaurants, bakeries, stores, a bank, and the largest-circulation Black newspaper in the country.

Meanwhile, more attempts are certainly being made to get involved in community struggles. Both officials and members seem more outgoing—readier to discuss and exchange ideas, more interested in what other organizations are doing, and more willing to speak at non-Muslim meetings. Recently, for example, when I was in Boston and Philadelphia speaking about the civil war in Angola, members of the

Nation helped build and came to my forums.

But there are limits to this. The Nation remains a strictly hierarchical organization, as in Elijah Muhammad's time; and local leaders are unwilling to sponsor united activities with other organizations without approval from Chicago.

And the leadership in Chicago has apparently not decided, as yet, to do more than probe the possibilities of "greater involvement."

Other changes have occurred. One of the most welcome has been a change in the status of women. They are no longer barred from becoming ministers merely because of their sex and are beginning to play more prominent roles in the organization.

Styles or codes of dress are no longer as stringent as they used to be. I have been told there is less direct pressure on members for high financial contributions and high quotas of newspaper sales.

All in all, such changes must make membership more attractive for the average person.

In November, the Nation announced a new name for people of African descent: Bilalians, after a former Black Ethiopian slave, Bilal, who was prominent in Islamic history. All Black members of the Nation are now called Bilalians. The same term is used for all non-Muslim Afro-Americans or Blacks, and the term "Black Muslim" is strongly rejected.

The Nation's weekly paper changed its name from *Muhammad Speaks to Bilalian News*. It is still the biggest Black paper in the country. The February 13 issue, for example, reported the sale of more than 320,000 copies of the previous issue by the twenty mosques having the highest sales.

When Wallace Muhammad announced the new membership policy last summer, there were many rumors that this represented the first step by the Nation away from Elijah Muhammad's ban on Muslim participation in electoral politics. If so, the second step—participation—has still not been taken.

However, according to Minister Abdul (formerly Louis) Haleem Farrakhan, national spokesperson for Wallace Muhammad, Muhammad is scheduled to announce at the Nation's annual gathering on February 29 the decision to have their members register and vote. It is not known for what party members will register.

Bilalian News carries a lot of stories about politics; it must if it intends to report the condition of people whose oppression is enforced by the two-party political structure of this country. But most of its reportage is uncritical of the two-party system, and it is especially uncritical of the Black politicians promoting that system.

In the January 9 issue of *Bilalian News*, for instance, they refer to Black Democratic

Mayor Thomas Bradley as "an example of the kind of governmental and political leadership which practically every large American city desperately needs." And in the same issue Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley, no friend of Black people, is portrayed as a "true statesman" because he welcomed Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to Chicago last year.

In 1963 Elijah Muhammad toyed briefly with the idea of endorsing and having the Nation help found an independent Black political party. But when nonmembers began to rally to that idea and tried to form the Freedom Now party in several states, Muhammad gave orders that his ministers and members were not to get involved.

Until now the Nation's policy in political matters has been abstention—which is also a form of politics. If the Nation is really going to become more involved in politics and community struggles, it will have to resolve the question of what kind of politics to support.

And unless that means breaking with the political parties of the Fords, Reagans, Wallaces, and Kennedys, it's hardly worth doing at all.

Taken together, the changes so far seem significant. They show an awareness by the Nation's leaders that the Black community has serious needs not being met, and a desire to adapt their organization to play a bigger role. It took courage for them to discard some of Elijah Muhammad's most rigid dogmas.

But will they also have the courage to abandon his main strategy? That strategy is to abstain from the struggles of the Black community, to stand on the sidelines and restrict the Nation to propaganda (mainly religious propaganda), justifying the abstention on the grounds that this is the only way to preserve the organization from governmental repression.

Will they dare to join and help lead the battles of Black people for busing and school desegregation in cities like Boston and Louisville? Will they join the fight for more jobs, better housing, and decent schools? Will they join the struggle for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, for more child-care centers, and for women's rights in general?

And most importantly, will they organize independent political action, or help create a new nonsectarian movement dedicated to such an objective?

I don't think the answers to such questions have been decided yet. At the same time they seem to be under consideration. It is from this two-sided perspective that I think the recent decision to honor Malcolm X is significant.

The renaming of the Harlem mosque was decided by Wallace Muhammad in late January. And it was publicly announced by Farrakhan on the "Black Journal"

television program presented by the Public Broadcasting System on February 15. He explained the decision along the following lines:

Recognizing "the great work that Mal-



MALCOLM X: Nation of Islam has renamed Harlem temple in his honor.

colm X did when he was among the Nation of Islam" was not a "departure from previous teachings of the Nation of Islam."

"It is historically true and world-known that Minister Malcolm made great contributions to the Nation of Islam," he said. "But when he departed from the Nation of Islam there was no mention of Malcolm's accomplishments."

"Now, since the Honorable Wallace D. Muhammad has taken over and his mind is a mind of balance and justice," Farrakhan added, "he wants to give balance to the whole Nation of Islam."

Thus the matter is presented as purely a case of historical justice, balance, and accuracy. If that is so, it surely would be more just, balanced, and accurate to add the history of how Malcolm was treated and viewed by the Nation of Islam after he left the organization.

Besides making "no mention of Malcolm's accomplishments," the Nation's leadership, at Elijah Muhammad's orders, harassed and slandered Malcolm after he left the Nation. This, in my opinion, at the very least contributed to the atmosphere in which Malcolm's enemies, organized or protected by the government, felt they could assassinate him with impunity.

Much more is involved than historical justice for Malcolm, important as that is. What is involved is an understanding of the

future of the whole Black struggle, including the future of the Nation of Islam.

Farrakhan tries to portray Malcolm as having been ahead of his time and impatient. In an interview he gave Charlayne Hunter of the *New York Times* on February 1, he said that Malcolm X's "mistake" was that he "knew where the Nation [of Islam] should go and would ultimately go, but as a leader he lacked the patience to wait for the development of the minds of the followers toward that direction."

The opposite is actually the case. Malcolm X was the first leader in the Nation to recognize the blind alley that Elijah Muhammad's abstentionism was leading to. He was the first to realize the absolute necessity for "greater involvement" in the real, ongoing Black struggle. He tried to convince Elijah Muhammad of this necessity, and when that failed, he left the Nation to try to achieve it anyhow.

Malcolm had a gigantic impact on America and the Black community. His militant views spread rapidly. In his all-too-short life he tried to develop a program of militant action to unite Black masses in a struggle for our liberation.

No, Malcolm was not ahead of his time or impatient. The perspective he fought for is the same perspective we as a people are fighting for today.

The leaders of the Nation should especially honor this contribution of Malcolm as they try, in their own way, to cast off abstentionism and become involved in the struggles in the Black community.

Hopefully, the Nation of Islam's changes and new attitude toward Malcolm, which is very welcome, will encourage more Blacks to study the example and perspectives of Malcolm X as we seek to build the kind of movement we as Black people need to win our liberation. □

Kim Il Sung's Heir Apparent

North Korea's President Kim Il Sung has named his son, Kim Jong Il, to the No. 2 post in the Communist party. This places the younger Kim in a direct line of succession to his father.

According to a February 21 dispatch from Tokyo by *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran, "The North Koreans defended his selection as successor to President Kim on grounds that it would provide for continuity of a true revolutionary family and for the stability of the regime."

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The Fight to Win the Right to Abortion in Canada

[Dr. Henry Morgentaler was interviewed January 29 by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president of the United States, and Suzanne Chabot, staff writer for the Québec revolutionary-socialist monthly *Libération*. The February 27 issue of the *Militant* published excerpts from the interview, which we print below.]

* * *

Camejo. What is your goal as far as the abortion laws are concerned?

Morgentaler. My view is that abortion should not be something that is regulated by the state, that it should be a woman's individual decision, and that freedom of choice is an important issue.

A woman should have the right to control her body. She should have the right to decide whether she wants an abortion or not for an unwanted pregnancy. If she has decided she does want an abortion, the state should not interfere in any way. She should be allowed to have a safe medical abortion. It's just as simple as that.

This is basically what happened in the United States. This is not achieved overnight. It comes as a result of many groups and the feminist movement and others fighting for it.

In the United States this resulted in the Supreme Court declaring the abortion laws unconstitutional. Well, in Canada you have a different situation in the sense that the power structure is much more based on and related to the Catholic hierarchy. That makes it harder to advance in this particular area.

Chabot. What do you think is the significance of the appeals court decision in your case to uphold the jury verdict of not guilty?

Morgentaler. The appeals court's decision is perhaps a step forward. A small step forward.

I don't think that this was a big victory. The only thing you could call a big victory is the repeal of the abortion law, which will allow women to obtain abortions on demand; that is, when they need and want one.

The fact that the federal justice minister ordered a new trial is also a step in the right direction, even though I was expecting to have all the charges against me dropped. I think that the struggle must continue until the day when we achieve real victory—when Canadian women have the same rights as American women.

The Case of Dr. Henry Morgentaler



Labor Challenge

MORGENTALER

Dr. Henry Morgentaler was released from prison in Canada on January 26. He had served more than ten months of an eighteen-month sentence for performing an illegal abortion.

Morgentaler was arrested in the summer of 1973. He operated a clinic in Montréal and made no secret of the fact that he had performed thousands of medically safe abortions and believed that the restrictive Canadian abortion laws should be repealed.

The French-speaking jury that heard

the case acquitted Morgentaler, but the government appealed the verdict to a higher court.

In an unprecedented move, the Canadian Supreme Court upheld the higher court's decision overturning the jury's verdict, and sentenced the doctor to jail.

During his trial Morgentaler had suffered a mild heart attack. In prison he was denied medicine for his condition; he had a second heart attack after being confined naked in an unlit isolation cell.

In addition, Morgentaler was subjected to another trial on a second charge of performing an abortion. Again the jury acquitted him, and again the government appealed.

Meanwhile, the Canadian abortion-law-repeal movement organized a campaign throughout Canada to demand Morgentaler's release.

On January 20, 1976, a Québec appeals court upheld the jury acquittal on the second charge. Shortly after, Justice Minister Ronald Basford ordered a new trial for Morgentaler on the original charge, and the doctor was released on bail. A hearing on March 1 will set the trial date.

Morgentaler is faced with eleven more charges after this one is heard.

Telegrams and letters demanding that all charges against Morgentaler be dropped can be sent to Fernand Lalonde, Soliciter-General, Province of Québec, 225 Grande Allée Est, Québec City, Québec, Canada, with copies to the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws, Post Office Box 460, Station Z, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5N 2Z6.

A lot of work and a lot of energy are still necessary.

People should remain active in the struggle. It is far from won.

Camejo. In the United States we formed very broad coalitions to fight for abortion rights. Do these exist in Canada?

Morgentaler. Well, I'm not sure that there is one big coalition. I think there are many movements that have as their goal the

repeal of the abortion law.

There have been a number of Gallup polls similar to Gallup polls carried out in the United States, which showed that at least two-thirds of the people interviewed were in favor of abortion being a private matter between a woman and her physician.

There was a poll taken in the French-Canadian newspaper *La Presse* that asked French Canadians—who were all brought up as Roman Catholics—their opinion about abortion. A surprising majority of

about 84 or 85 percent thought that for reasons of physical or mental health, women were entitled to have medical abortions.

So I think we have won the battle as far as public opinion goes. I think the obstacle now is in the power structure.

Camejo. Do you think that public actions are an effective way to make clear the majority support for repeal of the abortion law in Canada?

Morgentaler. I think this is happening already in the sense that many groups that were considered conservative a while ago have now come around to the point of view that abortion should be a private matter.

There was a recent declaration by the Fédération des Femmes du Québec, [Québec Federation of Women], which is not noted for being very progressive. It has now come out in favor of repealing the abortion law and allowing abortions up to twelve weeks for any woman on demand.

One of the biggest labor unions, the Québec Federation of Labor, has come out in support of me and also has come out for the right of women to have legal abortions on demand.

Even the Parti Québécois, which is the independentist, middle-of-the-road party here in Québec, asked for my release for the first time a few days ago.

Camejo. Your case has taken on several different aspects, I understand.

Morgentaler. Yes, it has taken on the aspect of a symbolic fight for repeal of the abortion law, and the aspect of the right of a jury to be supreme—that is, the right of any citizen to be tried by a jury of his peers without higher courts being able to reverse the jury verdict.

This is what happened in my case and it's a unique case. Just yesterday, the amendment [to the criminal code] was passed through the House of Commons that will prevent the state or higher courts from reversing a jury verdict of not guilty.

I'm very proud of the fact that it's called the Morgentaler amendment. It's my small contribution to extending civil rights for Canadians.

Chabot. Is this a good moment to relaunch actions by women for repeal of the law?

Morgentaler. Yes, I hope so. I think this is a good time to relaunch the struggle. There's been a sort of "breakthrough" in the situation—a kind of sharp turn, really. The majority of people have understood that the law as it stands is truly unjust and victimizes women.

Chabot. What are your immediate plans?

Morgentaler. I understand there's a conference of CARAL [Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws] coming up, and I'll certainly be there. My first goal, above all, is to regain my health a bit, so that I can once again apply myself to the struggle.

Camejo. What do you think Americans could do to help your situation in Canada?

Morgentaler. As far as public protest goes, I think the best thing at the present time would be to ask the Québec justice minister to drop all the charges against me. I have been harassed legally for the past

six years. I have been acquitted by two juries. There are still eleven outstanding charges against me that they might proceed with. And, frankly, I've had enough. I don't think that the arbitrary, awesome power of the state should be used against one individual in that way. It is unfair and unjust and everybody recognizes that this is so in Canada.

Camejo. Is there any message you would like to send to American women?

Morgentaler. Yes. It is always necessary to remember that justice is not automatic. Justice can only exist if we keep fighting for it, fighting to protect it. And it is a process that we must repeat constantly. □

A Founder of Trotskyist Movement in Chile

Appeal for Humberto Valenzuela Montero

[The following statement was issued February 20 by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).]

* * *

Thousands of Chileans have fled to Argentina in order to escape the torturers and concentration camps of the Pinochet regime. A typical case is that of Humberto Valenzuela Montero, a founder of the Trotskyist movement in Chile. He entered Argentina in February 1974, fleeing the persecution of the junta.

Humberto Valenzuela Montero has been unable to work. His condition is made even worse by the staggering rate of inflation in Argentina. He needs financial support in order to survive.

Born in Santiago in 1910, Valenzuela has been a trade unionist since the age of fourteen, when he assumed his first union post. An organizer and leader of several unions during the 1930s, in 1945 he was elected to the provincial board of directors of the Obreros Municipales (Municipal Workers) of Santiago.

In 1953 Valenzuela was a delegate to the founding congress of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (Central Workers Union), the main trade-union federation in Chile, and from 1955 to 1957 he served as director of the CUT in Santiago Province. From 1954 to 1957, Valenzuela also served as a national leader of the Obreros Municipales.

In addition to being a trade unionist, Valenzuela is a veteran revolutionary leader. He joined the Communist party in 1926, and in 1931 sided with the Left Opposition. The following year he was one

of the founders of the Izquierda Comunista (Communist Left), the first Trotskyist group in Chile and one of the first in Latin America.

With the formation of the Fourth International in 1938, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers party—POR), which Valenzuela had helped to form, became the Chilean section of the world Trotskyist movement. Valenzuela served as a member of the POR's Central Committee from 1941 to 1965, and as the party's general secretary from 1955 to 1965. He ran as the POR's presidential candidate in 1941.

From 1965 to 1969 Valenzuela worked in the Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionario (Revolutionary Left Movement—MIR), which he helped found. He was a member of its National Secretariat and Central Committee until 1967. In 1969, when the MIR split, Valenzuela helped organize the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Socialist party), the present Chilean section of the Fourth International.

Exiled and with no prospect of finding employment, Humberto Valenzuela Montero is in urgent need of financial assistance. Contributions of any size are welcome. They may be sent to USLA Justice Committee (Humberto Valenzuela Fund), 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

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Portuguese Workers Fight Lockout at Timex Plant

By Ric Sissons

[The following article appeared in the February 12 issue of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

During the past three weeks two important workers' struggles have occurred in Portugal. One, at the textile factory of Manuel Gonçalves, represented a setback for the working class; the other, at the multinational firm of Timex, shows the likely future development of struggles in Portugal.

On 4 February the government decided to hand back the factory of Manuel Gonçalves to its owner of the same name. This is the first time that a company previously taken over by the state has been returned to private ownership.

The bourgeoisie, both in Portugal and internationally, hope that this move will be the first of many. The latter are concerned not because their interests have been taken over in the past, but because a systematic attempt to denationalise the economy can only be carried through in a situation of political stability where the working class has suffered a decisive defeat.

It is quite obvious that the present militancy of the workers movement will not permit the generalisation of such moves. Indeed, the Azevedo government has been forced to insist that no workers can be sacked for attempting oust Gonçalves. He had wanted to purge seventeen of those responsible for his removal.

Gonçalves was kicked out of the factory last August for "financial malpractices." From abroad he conducted a campaign to get back, and eventually managed to win the backing of over half the work force.

Using the cover of the sectarian campaign of the Socialist Party leadership over the summer months against the Communist Party and the revolutionary left, right-wing parties like the PPD (Popular Democratic Party) and the CDS (Social Democratic Centre) began to encourage the more politically backward workers to engage in violent attacks against the left. In the town of Vila Nova de Famalicão those supporting the purging of the Gonçalves management were attacked. Since 25 November the right has intensified this policy of intimidation.

These provocations provoked the Vila Nova Socialist Party to issue the following statement:

"Taking account of recent events which have occurred at the textile factory of Manuel Gonçalves and elsewhere, the Socialist Party:

"(1) Denounces the climate of intimidation existing in various factories—physical threats, some carried out, and black lists which precede nothing other than a fascist process, which brings back sad memories.

"(2) Supports the struggles by workers threatened by political victimisation which are taking place in numerous factories. We will struggle against mass redundancies by all means at our disposal.

"(3) Reaffirms, to all the workers, that the real solution to their problems will come through the destruction of capitalist society and the construction of a classless society."

Statements like this show the clear possibility of building a united front of the whole working class against the advance of economic and political reaction. They also indicate the tensions within the Socialist Party, where since the events of November a left current has emerged led by the minister of agriculture, Lopes Cardoso. He now ranks alongside CP leader Cunhal as the person the northern small farmers, egged on by the CDS and the fascist ELP [Portuguese Liberation Army], would most like to hang.

A recent national plenum of the trade union federation Intersindical also came out strongly against divisions within the working class. This meeting was attended by members of both the SP and CP. It also agreed on the following motion:

"To study the possibilities of coordinating the struggles for the reconversion of sectors, the application of workers control, and the fixing of the hours of work, with a perspective of the necessity to establish a national working day."

It is within this framework that a number of recent struggles have broken out, the most notable being that at the multinational Timex factory. Timex announced 700 redundancies and a three day week for a further 500. After protests the bosses generously offered an alternative—610 redundancies and half pay for the rest, or 1,200 lost jobs and full pay for the lucky few.

When the workers—who have a history of struggle since the days before 25 April 1974—still refused, the Timex management locked them out. Something which was made illegal after 25 April! Preparations are now being made to occupy the plant, with

the support of the local trade unions.

When Timex built their factory in Caparica in 1971 it was as part of a general pattern of multinational investment. Their new plants in Scotland, France, and Portugal gave them access to the EEC [European Economic Community], EFTA [European Free Trade Association], and Brazilian markets. In Portugal they had a work force of mainly women—unqualified, young, badly paid, and working a nine hour day with an unpaid forty-five minute break.

None of the Timex factories in Europe produce and assemble complete watches. For example, in Portugal they merely assemble the parts. Clearly that makes it difficult for the workers to "do a Lip"—that is, use the factory to produce watches to finance their own struggle.

Instead, as has been demanded in other industries—for example, the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards—they are calling for the reconversion of the whole sector. As they say themselves:

"Portugal spends a fortune in currency to import precision pieces. We know that we can reconvert the machinery in the Timex factory in Portugal to produce such instruments."

Demands like this are increasingly being raised in Portugal today, simply because the generalised world recession has hit hardest at its weakest capitalist link—the Portuguese economy. Large sectors of the economy are working under capacity; unemployment stands at 17 percent of the labour force; and the multinationals are still refusing credit and spare parts (for example, fifty buses stand idle in Lisbon garages due to the failure of British Leyland to dispatch spares).

The only solution for the working class lies with the reconversion of sectors of the economy; the development of generalised workers control and the elaboration of a workers plan to solve the crisis. To do this will mean extending the tentative steps so far taken towards the coordination of the workers commissions.

The Timex workers have called for the coordination of workers employed by the multinationals; Fiat, Havas, General Electric, and General Motors have replied favourably. Already Plessey and ITT workers have joined forces against their respective multinational bosses.

British workers can play their part in the Portuguese revolution by taking up the role of the multinationals and the Labour government in sabotaging the Portuguese struggle. Almost all the British firms involved have been engaged in this. To give just one example, all stocks from the Portuguese Timex subsidiary have now been moved to the Dundee factory.

Previously the Scottish workers sent a message of support to their Portuguese counterparts when they went on strike.

Similar acts of solidarity are now called for. The conference on 13 March being organized by the Solidarity Campaign with the Portuguese Working Class is a crucial part of this solidarity campaign in aiding the

socialist revolution in Portugal. From it a real, broad-based campaign of solidarity can be launched.

Details of the conference from: SCPWC, 12 Little Newport Street, London W.C.2. □

The Need for an Independent Mass Organization

Perspectives for the Peasant Movement in Peru

By Hugo Blanco

[The following article appeared in the January 10 issue of *Palabra Socialista*, a revolutionary-socialist newspaper published in Peru. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The peasant struggles at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s brought about major changes in the Convención and Lares valleys, and had a powerful impact in the rest of the department of Cuzco.

In La Convención and Lares the system of haciendas was virtually abolished and replaced by small- and medium-sized landholdings. The repressive forces that caused a retreat on other gains did not dare touch the fundamental one.

In the rest of the department it was different. Repression by the bourgeois governments caused a backsliding, notably on such gains of the peasants as the recovery of communal lands and the marked reduction of power of the big landowners.

The current regime's agrarian reform, designed to promote capitalist development of the nation and to diminish tensions in the countryside, in great measure achieved its objectives. For all practical purposes, the big haciendas in the department were liquidated. This is a major capitalist advance that we must take note of if we want to act logically in the countryside.

But watch out! This does not mean that the local bosses have stopped being powerful men nor that the peasantry has stopped being the poorest and most exploited sector. It means only that the big landowners exploit the people in another way—as owners of factories, big merchants, or functionaries—and that the peasants experience exploitation by the capitalists and their state. The cooperatives, SAIS,¹ and now the Social Property enterprises are

nothing but poorly disguised forms for exploiting the peasantry. The commercial cooperatives of La Convención and Lares stopped being such vehicles thanks to the consciousness and experience of the peasantry of that zone.

Peasant Organizations

The repression and the subsequent reformist course followed by the government were the main causes of the weakening of the Peasant Federations of La Convención and Lares and of the department of Cuzco.

The bourgeois government—with the help of old fighters like Vladimiro Valer, Justo Huallpa, Saturnino Willca, among others, and a lot of demagogy—presented Sinamos,² the agrarian leagues, and FARTAC³ as conquests of the big peasant struggles against the local bosses and the government.

So, for objective and subjective reasons these bodies financed by the bourgeois government were strengthened.

The weakening of the traditionally anti-government Departmental Federation of Cuzco and Provincial Federation of La Convención eased their conversion into new battlegrounds for the ultraleft university sects, which, out of ignorance and lack of interest in the daily problems of the peasantry, favored still more the weakening of the class-struggle federations. That is, the dominance of these sects in the leadership of the two federations is both cause and effect of the decline of the federations.

In La Convención and Lares, when the issue was a struggle for land, it generally took place through the unions and the federation. Now the main struggle is over the marketing of what they produce, and as a result it takes place through the commer-

cial cooperatives in COCLA.⁴

What has happened is that the conflicts between the Cuzco peasantry and the capitalists and their state have grown more intense. The peasantry complains that the cooperatives and the SAIS took away their land. They complain that those bodies are exploiting them. They complain about the low prices paid for their products and the obstacles placed in the way of marketing them. They complain about the exorbitant rise in the cost of living.

Of course Sinamos, the leagues, and FARTAC are useless for fighting against such things. They are useful only for organizing mass gatherings in homage to the functionaries and rulers who are directly or indirectly guilty of these wrongdoings.

That is why the peasantry is once again beginning to seek its own channels of struggle, and why the moment for breathing new life into the independent organizations of the peasantry—against the state bodies and over the heads of the ultraleft sects—is approaching.

The National Leadership Meeting of the Confederación de Campesinos del Perú

In November an expanded National Executive Committee meeting of the Confederación de Campesinos del Perú⁵ was held in the department of Cuzco.

This meeting served to confirm and give a focus to the radicalization of the peasantry both in the mountain zone, as shown by the meeting in Chancán, Anta, and in the valleys on the edge of the jungle, as shown by the reorganization of the federation of Lares Valley. This federation was relaunched with seventeen units ratifying their affiliation to the CCP. The radicalization is also shown by the massive assemblies in Huadquiña and Chaupimayo, two units that fought against the local boss Romainville.

Unfortunately a sour note was sounded in the Provincial Federation of La Convención and Lares, where Patria Roja⁶ and other ultraleft sects convinced the provincial federation to disaffiliate from the CCP.

It must be noted that the person who headed this action was the special representative of the Peruvian Student Federation, Tani Valer. We do not know if the Peruvian students really gave Valer the mission of splitting our peasant federation. But we do know that this individual who cannot say enough about the "glorious struggles of the federation," was one of

1. Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social (Cooperative Agricultural Societies).

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

3. Federación Agraria Revolucionaria "Tupac Amaru II" del Cuzco (Tupac Amaru II Revolutionary Agrarian Federation of Cuzco).

4. Central de Cooperativas Agrarias de La Convención y Lares (Federation of Agrarian Cooperatives of La Convención and Lares).

5. CCP (Peruvian Peasant Federation).

6. Red Homeland, the main Maoist group in Peru.

those who attacked it harshly thirteen years ago, when he was also a student.

Our Position on the CCP

We consider the CCP to be a peasant organization independent of the bourgeois state. We believe it is the only organization of such a character that encompasses broad sectors of the masses.

These two considerations are sufficient for us to support and defend the CCP and fight to make it stronger.

Patria Roja and other sectors make serious accusations of bureaucratism against the leadership of the CCP. Even if all these accusations are correct, we will fight with all our might to end such methods and to correct whatever political deviation that might exist. But we will do all this while defending the CCP, and from inside it.

Let us recall our policy toward the CGTP⁷—defense of the organization and a fight to strengthen it. We carry this out precisely by fighting against the bureaucratic, sellout leadership from inside the organization.

This is the policy that Marx and Lenin followed, and it has nothing to do with the divisive, ill-fated sectarianism of the self-styled “Marxist-Leninist” ultraleft.

Moreover, there is an essential difference between the leaderships of the CGTP and the CCP. The leadership of the CGTP, which is in the hands of the CP-“Unidad,” supports the bourgeois government and practices class collaborationism. The CCP leadership, with its VR⁸ majority, points to the government as one of the main enemies of the peasantry and in general has a class-struggle policy.

Our initial attitude toward the comrades of the VR, PCR, and MIR⁹ who have done peasant work is to congratulate them for their work. Starting from such a position we will begin a discussion on the analyses made, the line to follow, and the functioning of our peasant organizations.

For now, let us only point out our fundamental point of difference. For us the revolution it is our job to make is the socialist revolution. This is even more true given the reforms made by this bourgeois government—including the agrarian reform. Our task is an anticapitalist and thus

7. Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (General Confederation of Peruvian Workers).

8. Vanguardia Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Vanguard).

9. Partido Comunista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Communist party, a split from VR); Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

a socialist one. On this matter we disagree with all branches of Stalinism—from the CP-“Unidad” to “Bandera Roja,” the VR, and the PCR.

Organizationally the main difference is that we believe the CCP should fight inside the CGTP against the sellout leadership of this federation.

We believe that more unites us with the

members of the CCP than separates us. We think that in general our differences will be overcome through common work.

It is with this spirit that we go to work in the CCP and for this reason that I have agreed to become a member of the National Executive Committee of our peasant federation.

December 7, 1975

A Deceptive Political Stability

Costa Rica—Bourgeois Democracy on Crutches

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica—For several decades Costa Rica has succeeded in projecting a democratic image, mainly because of the contrast with neighboring countries. Since it is a dependent capitalist country, with the claws of imperialism deeply embedded in all sectors of its economy, the political stability it has maintained since 1948 seems truly surprising and exceptional.

From the continual alternation in power between the political parties of the bourgeoisie through elections to the absence of a regular army, bourgeois “freedom” of the press, and so forth, there are many features that form the well-known outline of a politically stable, bourgeois-democratic type of government.

Of course, powerful student mobilizations and occasional upsurges of workers struggles have been part of the recent history of the country. At those times we have seen the bourgeois state’s technical preparation to repress the workers struggles and student mobilizations. In fact, at such tense moments strong contingents of well-equipped riot troops have appeared, as if out of nowhere.

Such occasions have been the exception, however. In general, Costa Rica has succeeded in projecting an image of its urban police as traffic directors carrying screw drivers in their holsters instead of revolvers.

Thus it is logical that any political analysis of Costa Rica must necessarily attempt to explain the social reasons for this political stability. It is commonly accepted that the political stability of Costa Rica has rested on the existence of an enormous middle class.

The general structure of agriculture, for example, shows that the small landholding has been the fundamental type of landownership until very recently, at least in the zone of greatest population concentration. So too, each urban center still maintains a close relationship with small agrarian holdings. The city does not have defined

limits separating it from the country. At a certain moment the city simply blends into small agrarian properties.

Among the urban social classes, the industrial proletariat has been small with a low level of class organization and with no great traditions of struggle. The petty bourgeoisie, on the other hand, has been dominant, both numerically and socially. Electoral contests among the different sectors of the bourgeoisie have been, from a social point of view, political and ideological battles to win the support and confidence of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie.

The ruling classes and imperialists have been able to make improvements in the infrastructure and grant reformist concessions, using the economic resources other countries would have spent on their armies. All this has been possible thanks to the existence of a middle class that has served as a broad cushion helping to reduce the impact of class contradictions.

A political stability has emerged from this situation, serving to provide imperialist capital with a social guarantee for its investments. If the imperialists have not been more attracted toward investing their capital in Costa Rica, it is because of the country’s small internal market, a consideration that outweighs the facilities offered by the Central American common market. Furthermore, the widespread existence of small agrarian holdings, along with the small urban proletariat, has kept the value of labor power relatively high in comparison with other Central American countries.

Nonetheless, there has been a rapid deterioration of the entire social base on which political stability and bourgeois democracy have rested in Costa Rica. In fact, in recent years there has been a process of impoverishment and decline in the number of small landholders and a slow but constant increase in the urban and rural proletariat. At the same time, the urban petty bourgeoisie has been hit particularly hard by inflation, which reached a

rate of 50 percent in the last six months.

This new social situation has created the objective conditions for a qualitative change in the class struggle. In all sectors of social life tensions are growing and agitation is on the agenda; Costa Rican bourgeois democracy is beginning to feel the tottering of the weak crutches on which it has been supported up to now.

The university has witnessed an enormous increase of leftist political activity. The left organizations have won and kept control of the student governments. The issue of the university budget provides a constant source of agitation for which the bourgeois government is incapable of offering a definitive solution. The university deficit keeps thousands of students out of college and makes it impossible to fulfill the university's plans for development. In response to this situation, the student organizations present an anti-imperialist program, directed mainly at overcoming the chronic budget deficit through special taxes on foreign companies, especially the banana companies.

Large layers of the peasant population swell the ranks of the urban proletariat each year. Their lack of experience and class tradition makes these sectors easy prey to a particularly intensive exploitation. Harassment, open or veiled, is the rule in these cases, preventing most of them from being unionized. Inflation becomes an additional factor, considerably strengthening the tendencies toward class agitation that foreshadow imminent battles.

In the countryside, the massive indebtedness of the small landowners, the lack of a favorable credit system, and the penetration of capital in the form of intensive cultivation make the situation unbearable. Land is sold, or lost through debts, and large sectors of the peasant population are reduced to poverty.

Here the piecemeal approach of bourgeois agrarian reforms is completely incapable of opposing the expansive tendencies of capitalism. Land occupations are on the rise, becoming a constant expression of the growing militancy of the peasantry.

The urban petty bourgeoisie is deeply in debt. Loans at exorbitant interest keep their income tied up for years on end. The discontent of this social class is expressed on the one hand in a considerable coolness toward the parties of the ruling classes, and is deepened by the parties' more and more unabashed administrative corruption. On the other hand, the petty bourgeoisie, traditionally indifferent to the left parties, is beginning to show receptivity toward the socialist alternative.

The interests of the ruling classes have been represented by two big political groupings—the Partido Liberación Nacional [National Liberation party], which is in power, and the Partido Unificación [Unifi-



Washington Post

cation party]. However, in recent years the Partido Liberación Nacional has been the arena of the main conflicts of interest of the ruling classes, which has led to a tendency for it to become the arbiter of these conflicts. This creates a real possibility that the government will become a decadent bonapartism tied to imperialism. That tendency is accentuated by the growing social tensions, by the inability of the ruling classes to pay for reforms and concessions that "ease" the tensions, and particularly by the increasingly diversified presence of private imperialist capital.

Throughout 1975 military training was held in different regions of the country, and the threat of the creation of a regular army was denounced on numerous occasions. The truth is that the different sectors of the ruling classes are far from being disarmed; several rightist paramilitary groups have always existed in a more or less concealed fashion.

On the basis of all the above, it is perfectly possible to understand the weakness of the pillars on which bourgeois democracy and the stability of class political rule rest. This means that the coming years will inevitably see violent class

battles, along with determined attempts by the ruling classes to restrict democratic rights in a significant way.

However, this threat will be met by a larger urban proletariat, which is in the process of being educated through the experience of its class battles. At the same time, it will deepen still more the radicalization of the middle classes.

It is in this context that the defense and extension of democratic rights is closely linked to the most basic interests of the exploited classes and to their most elementary forms of consciousness. Even a limited exercise of democratic rights has permitted the proletariat and the middle classes to mobilize with greater energy around that type of demand. The process of deterioration of bourgeois democracy in Costa Rica could create objective conditions that would serve as the basis for understanding that the most uncompromising defense of democratic rights means the destruction of the weak capitalist pillars on which they rest.

Thus a prerevolutionary crisis in Costa Rica is not excluded in the coming years. Everything will depend, in part at least, on the extent of class organization achieved by the proletariat during the immediate years ahead.

Today the Costa Rican political scene is dominated by the growing radicalization of the most diverse sectors of the population. An index of that radicalization is the unprecedented growth of all the organizations of the left and the increase in all sectors of the trade-union movement.

That is why Costa Rica can become a highly explosive volcano of revolution in the years ahead. Its current democracy has had sufficient impact on the masses for the slogans of defense and extension of democratic rights to acquire a revolutionary dynamic. □

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up

India's Tarapur Reactor—A Deadly U.S. Export



An article by Paul Jacobs in the February-March issue of *Mother Jones*, a newly launched magazine, provides some powerful arguments for opponents of the nuclear power programs now being pursued by governments around the world.

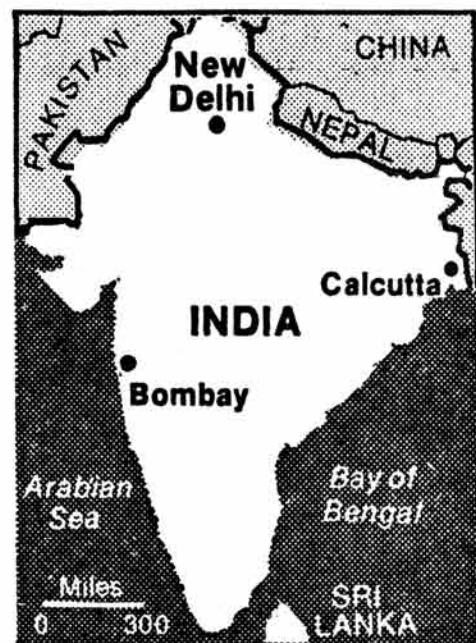
Jacobs focuses on the Tarapur nuclear plant, which is located near Bombay on the western coast of India. It is the largest such installation in Asia, according to Jacobs.

Tarapur was built jointly by two American companies: General Electric and the Bechtel Corporation, the world's largest privately owned construction and engineering firm. Financing was provided by an \$80 million loan from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).

In December 1972 Clifford Beck, an officer of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission,* visited the Tarapur plant on what Jacobs describes as a "routine protocol tour" of nine nations.

Beck was alarmed, however, at what he

*The AEC was divided into the Energy Research and Development Administration and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in October 1974.



New York Times

found at Tarapur. Jacobs reports: "Inspecting reactor vessels in which the plant's atomic power was generated, he saw large deposits of radioactive material that were not supposed to be there. He also saw drums of highly contaminated radioactive waste, stored long after they should have been removed. Indian officials did nothing to allay his fears, telling him that atomic fuel shipped to Tarapur from the U.S. had been leaking 'substantial radioactivity,' and that radioactivity had been found along the shoreline, not just in the water, but in the bodies of the local fish-eating population. Radioactivity levels in the plant in fact were so high, Beck was told, that although it was designed for operation by 250 workers, more than 1300 had already 'burned up' their maximum allowable dosages of radiation and had been replaced."

When Beck returned to the United States he told AEC headquarters, "Tarapur is a prime candidate for a nuclear disaster."

Jacobs said that he was unable to obtain a copy of Beck's report from Washington until he finally threatened to sue for it under the Freedom of Information Act.

Although the AEC tried to keep the lid on Beck's findings, other warnings about the Tarapur reactor continued to crop up. In 1973 three Indian physicists released a report on the power plant. According to Jacobs, they found that "radioactivity levels were higher than allowed for by design; radioactivity had now been traced along the shoreline up to a distance of 40 kilometers; one worker had already been killed (by suffocation) and three others injured trying to solve problems allegedly caused by bad engineering on the part of the U.S. contractors. Moreover, radiation leakages were continuing, unabated, at a level that was often forcing the Indians to bring in untrained personnel just to maintain minimal operations."

Bechtel Corporation, in an effort to quash further findings that might cast a shadow over its lucrative operations, decided in 1973 to conduct its own investigation at Tarapur. It sent John Walker, one of its chief engineers, to do the job.

Walker, however, did not perform the

whitewash that Bechtel was angling for. He reported, "Condenser leaks cause a very serious problem. . . . Some reluctance to inerting also exists due to the suffocation death which occurred in the suppression chamber. . . . Leakage from the primary systems in the drywells is a continuing problem at Tarapur. . . ."

According to Jacobs, Walker discovered that "leakages are causing unscheduled shutdowns, that the vital radioactive waste systems are being overloaded, that electrical insulation problems have developed in the reactor's drywells."

Reporting further on Walker's findings, Jacobs said, "All of the key plant personnel have received maximum allowable dosages of radiation for the past three years; many of them, including all of the first level operators and most of the second level, have departed . . . leaving untrained replacements. During one refueling operation, the leakages are so enormous it is the equivalent of 'burning out' 400 people for an entire year."

General Electric also sent an investigator to Tarapur, but it refuses to release its report.

Jacobs cited an internal company memorandum written by Bechtel official Ken Davis, a former AEC employee. Commenting on Walker's report, Davis wrote, ". . . I find it far from reassuring and indeed think it is most disturbing. . . . I am becoming concerned that some incident or other may arise out of the situation at Tarapur which might have international publicity and repercussions. This doesn't sound good."

Jacobs traveled to India toward the end of 1975 to look into a government report on radiation-induced cancer at Tarapur that he had caught wind of. He was unable to obtain the secret report, but he interviewed two physicists and a writer who had read it.

Two deaths were verified, they told him. They said that many other deaths were assumed to have occurred, but the high turnover rate of workers at Tarapur—as a result of the "burn up" factor—made the figures difficult to track down. Most of the employees had drifted away and could not be found.

This doesn't even take into account the

many possible deaths of local inhabitants due to the ingestion of irradiated fish. Fish is the local staple.

Nonetheless, the Indian government has joined with American authorities in downplaying the dangers of nuclear power. According to a February 7 United Press International dispatch, J.C. Shah, chair-

man of India's Atomic Power Authority, recently explained, "Being an atomic power plant, there is bound to be some radioactive fallout, but the authorities have kept it at a level lower than tolerable and there is no concern at all." (Emphasis added.)

In New Delhi and Washington, that appears to be the truth. □

Cites Threat to Safety of 'Millions' in New York

Nuclear Expert Scores Government Cover-up

Robert D. Pollard, a former project manager for the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, charged at a February 9 news conference that the agency is covering up health and safety dangers at two New York State nuclear power plants.

"The magnitude of the hazards associated with these plants," Pollard said, "has been suppressed by the Government because the release of such information might cause great public opposition to their operation."

The two plants are located at Indian Point along the Hudson River. Both Indian Point No. 2 and Indian Point No. 3—as the plants are called—are operated by Consolidated Edison Company, a privately owned utility. Indian Point No. 3, however, is owned by the New York State Power Authority. The first of the two plants is already generating electricity, while the latter is still undergoing preoperational testing.

Pollard resigned from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission January 13, citing his safety concerns as the reason. He has worked as the government's project manager for safety evaluations at seven nuclear power plants around the country. Pollard was serving in that capacity at the Indian Point installations at the time of his resignation.

"If I had the authority, I would close down Indian Point Plant No. 2 at once," Pollard said. "It's almost an accident waiting to happen."

"I believe that the Indian Point nuclear power station constitutes an unconscionable threat to the health and safety of the millions of people who live in the metropolitan New York area," he said.

Pollard pointed out that the plants are badly designed and poorly built, making them susceptible to accidents "that could cause large-scale loss of life and other radiation injuries, such as cancers and birth defects."

He said that reactor No. 2 depended on valves submerged in water and that these could become inoperative under certain

conditions. He pointed to several other specific flaws in the two plants that could lead to massive radiation leakage.

Consolidated Edison and Nuclear Regulatory Commission authorities blasted Pollard for calling the news conference and for exposing these dangerous faults on two national television broadcasts.

Pollard answered them in the spirit that has given Washington increasing headaches ever since Daniel Ellsberg made the Pentagon Papers public in 1971. "In all cases of a government agency not doing its job," Pollard said, "the answer is to open up the system. The day of the 'for official use only' document should end."

Pollard plans to become the Washington representative of the Union of Concerned Scientists, a group that conducts independent research on nuclear power and other scientific matters. □

Tainted Flour Kills 17 Jamaicans

Contaminated flour imported from West Germany has taken the lives of at least seventeen Jamaicans and left seventy-eight others ill. The flour was tainted with the insecticide parathion.

Parathion was banned in Jamaica in 1968 after five persons were fatally poisoned and fifty made ill by parathion-contaminated flour.

Deadly Cargo in Adriatic

Residents along the Adriatic coast of southern Italy are endangered by the deadly cargo of a sunken Yugoslav freighter, *Cavtat*. The freighter went down in 1974 in the Strait of Otranto, three miles off the Italian coast. It was carrying 600,000 pounds of lead tetraethyl and lead tetramethyl, used as antiknock additives in gasoline.

Professor Derek Bryce-Smith of the University of Reading in Britain said that "anyone coming into contact [with the chemicals] would absorb it through the skin



Herblock/Washington Post

into the brain. It could kill divers or make them insane."

"The lead compounds are not water soluble," he pointed out. "They could be taken up by marine organisms and eaten by fish that are likely to become unfit for human consumption."

"If ingested by humans they can cause hallucinations, convulsions, coma, mental confusion, depression, apathy, insomnia, mysterious neurological diseases and death."

Nonetheless, the Italian government has so far balked at the estimated \$20 million cost of a thorough salvage operation.

Tehran Hazard—Waiting for Taxi

Air pollution in Tehran has reached such dangerous levels that "if the situation is not dealt with, people will have to leave their homes wearing oxygen masks," according to Dr. B. Soraya, head of Iran's Environmental Protection Organization.

Speaking at a recent news conference in Tehran, Dr. Soraya said that a substantial part of the city's pollution is caused by the exhaust emission of the more than 700,000 cars on the streets of Tehran.

Testifying to the danger such pollution levels pose to the health of Tehran's residents, Dr. Soraya reported that "in more than 1,000 cases of deaths related to lung disease, a majority were caused by the city's polluted air."

He said that the amount of carbon dioxide in the air is "ten times more than its normal level," adding that this is why "people sometimes faint while waiting in line for taxis."

AROUND THE WORLD



Frank Stagg Buried in County Mayo

Irish freedom fighter Frank Stagg died February 12—after a two-month hunger strike—because British authorities refused his request to be transferred to a prison in Northern Ireland. But even his death did not halt the arbitrary denial of Stagg's wishes.

Stagg had requested a burial with military honors by the Irish Republican Army. On his deathbed, he asked that his body be laid alongside that of Michael Gaughan, another Irish militant who died in 1974 from a hunger strike in Britain's jails.

Dublin authorities ignored both requests. They conducted the burial themselves and selected a gravesite some distance from Gaughan's, although in the same cemetery. To enforce these decisions, Dublin mobilized 1,000 soldiers and policemen. As a February 21 *New York Times* dispatch put it:

"There were two soldiers or policemen for every mourner. The funeral cortege resembled a military convoy, with twenty-one armored cars, personnel carriers and other vehicles."

On the following day, Irish police attempted to break up a march to Stagg's grave in the village of Ballina by 7,000 supporters of the freedom struggle in Northern Ireland. The marchers gathered in another section of the cemetery for a ceremony in Stagg's honor.

Washington to Sell \$120 Million Jet Squadron to King Hassan

In a show of support to King Hassan II's land-grab in the former Spanish colony of Sahara, the White House has announced plans to sell the monarch a squadron of up-to-date F-5E jet fighter planes.

The sale of the twenty-four jets, valued at \$120 million, was made public by the U.S. State Department February 21.

Kremlin Detains Amalrik for 36 Hours

Apparently jittery lest dissident activity mar their upcoming party congress, the Kremlin sicced its political police on Soviet historian Andrei Amalrik February 21, shuttling him from one police station to another for thirty-six hours.

Amalrik was then released, but three

secret policemen followed him to warn that no "disturbances" would be tolerated during the Communist party congress, scheduled to begin February 23.

The arrest was the fourth time Amalrik has been detained since returning from five years of internal exile and imprisonment last May.

Italy Bailed Out Again

The European Common Market "approved in principle" a \$1 billion loan to the Italian government February 16 to help shore up the country's sagging foreign-currency reserves. Those reserves have now dropped to \$591 million as a result of speculation against the lira.

The capital for the loan will be provided largely from Saudi Arabian funds and will be handled through a consortium of West German, British, and French banks.

Rome reportedly may also seek \$530 million from the International Monetary Fund and request an extension from West Germany in repaying a prior \$1.5 billion loan.

Coup Attempt in Nigeria Stirs Furor

A small group of army dissidents seized the Nigerian state radio in Lagos February 13, announcing that "the Government has been overthrown by the young revolutionaries." About the same time, the limousine of Nigerian head of state Brig. Gen. Murtala Muhammed was ambushed. Muhammed and three aides died in a hail of gunfire.

The leader of the coup attempt was Lt. Col. B.S. Dimka of the army's physical training program. His reasons remain obscure. Aside from citing "difficulties" with the Muhammed regime, Dimka offered no justifications for his bid for power.

Except for the killing of a military governor in Kwara state, the actions were confined to the capital of Lagos. All the divisional commanders remained loyal to the regime, and within hours the coup bid failed. Dimka fled as the government forces began arresting alleged plotters.

The next day Lt. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, the second most powerful figure in the military after Muhammed, was named the new head of state. He pledged to continue the policies of his predecessor.

Following a disclosure that Dimka had visited the British high commissioner during the coup in an effort to place a call to England to deposed head of state Yakubu Gowon, the government charged London with complicity in an attempt to return Gowon to power. It was also hinted that Washington may have had a hand in the failed coup.

Such charges found a ready audience. On February 16 demonstrators marched through downtown Lagos carrying placards that read, "Death to Dimka" and "Down with the C.I.A."

In the days that followed, the demonstrations grew in size and intensity. Several hundred protesters demonstrated at the offices of the British high commissioner as well as at the U.S. embassy on February 17. On February 20, tens of thousands of persons packed the National Stadium and chanted, "The British must go" and "Break ties with Britain."

An editorial in the February 22 *New York Times* charged that Lagos "is trying to gloss over the extent of unrest caused by its own policies through the old tactic of blaming scapegoats and outsiders." The *Times* editors concluded by expressing the American imperialists' concern that the charges of U.S. complicity in the coup could provoke "a xenophobia in Nigeria that will be difficult to control."

Iceland Cuts Relations With Britain

Iceland has severed diplomatic ties with Britain to protest violations of the 200-mile fishing limit declared by Iceland last October.

According to a dispatch in the February 20 *New York Times*, "This was the first formal breach between two members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

Iceland's Foreign Minister Einar Agustsson said the decision would not affect the NATO air base at Keflavik. More than 3,000 U.S. soldiers are stationed at the base.

Japanese City Dwellers Face Cutbacks

Of Japan's 3,257 local government areas, 157 are currently running substantial deficits. Two medium-size cities, Takeda and Buzen, were recently declared bankrupt and taken over by the national government.

According to *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*,

Japan's financial daily, thirty-nine of the country's forty-seven prefectures, or states, would show deficits this year. Two of them may fall under fiscal control by the national government.

In Tokyo, the nation's capital, a 10.4 percent pay raise for city employees was postponed one year, and paychecks were delayed for several days last September in order to "dramatize" to workers the need to "tighten their belts."

Until 1973, Japan's gross national product had expanded at an average yearly rate of 10 percent. Since that time, however, the annual growth rate has dropped to 4 or 5 percent.

Reopen Case on Bombing That Killed Four Alabama Black Women in 1963

Alabama Attorney General Bill Baxley has reopened the investigation of the bombing of a church in Birmingham's Black community in 1963.

Four young Black women were killed in the explosion: Cynthia Wesley, Denise McNair, Carol Robertson, and Addie Mae Collins. Nineteen other persons were injured.

Renewal of the inquiry was disclosed February 17 by the *Birmingham Post-Herald*. The newspaper said that Gary Thomas Rowe, a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, had named nine men who were involved in the murderous bombing.

Last December, Rowe testified before a Senate committee that he had personally taken part in several racist assaults against Black citizens and civil-rights activists in Alabama. Rowe was doing undercover work in the Ku Klux Klan at the time.

Rowe testified against Klansmen convicted of the 1965 killing of civil-rights worker Viola Liuzzo, but his knowledge of many other instances of racist violence was never explored. His appearance before the Senate committee brought renewed demands from the Black community in Birmingham that the investigation into the 1963 church bombing and other terrorist acts be reopened.

British Labour Government Slashes \$10 Billion from Social Services

A "white paper on public expenditure" released February 19 by Britain's Labour party cabinet called for major cuts in spending for social services.

Commenting on the white paper, Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey said that the equivalent of \$3.6 billion will be axed from the projected spending for 1977-78, and that \$6 billion would be slashed from the 1978-79 budget.

Among the proposed cutbacks are programs the Labour party government an-



nounced less than a year ago. Reduced funding will be allotted for housing, health, education, libraries, road construction, and other budget categories.

One area in which spending will be accelerated, however, is aid to private industry. "If we want to regenerate manufacturing industry," Healey said, "then we must leave enough resources free from public expenditure."

Ethiopian Patriarch Loses His See

Accusing the country's top Christian patriarch of corruption, the military regime in Ethiopia removed Abuna Theophilos from his post as head of the Orthodox Church.

Among the crimes attributed to the patriarch are the theft of relief funds and the illegal accumulation of millions of dollars.

The Addis Ababa radio broadcast announcing the dismissal gave no indication of Theophilos's current whereabouts.

Cuba Reports Constitution Approved

The Cuban government announced February 16 that its proposed new constitution has been approved by 97.7 percent of the country's 5.5 million voters. Only 1 percent voted "no," the government said.

Elections for local assemblies established

by the constitution will take place in late 1976, after an administrative reform dividing the country's six provinces into fourteen.

Thailand Shuts Borders to Refugees

Thai Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhaven has announced that any Cambodians, Vietnamese, or Laotians who enter Thai territory without proper documents will be detained and deported.

Choonhaven said, "The wars in Indochina have ended and we can't allow people from Indochina to continue crossing the border to our country anymore."

Thai officials said that the 100,000 refugees now in Thailand would be allowed to remain.

6,000 Political Prisoners in Uruguay

One out of every 450 Uruguayan citizens is a political prisoner—the world's highest per capita figure.

That is one of the findings of a report released February 19 by Amnesty International. According to the report, nearly 6,000 persons are in Uruguay's jails for political reasons. Twenty-two are known to have been tortured to death since 1972.

The report said that prisoners are subjected to beatings, electric shocks, and drugs, including Pentothal and hallucinogens.

'We Almost Lost Detroit'

Reviewed by Steve Clark



Three engineers resigned from their management-level posts with General Electric's nuclear energy division February 2.

Their reason? As one of the three put it, "a deep conviction that nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons now present a serious danger to the future of all life on this planet."

One week later, Robert Pollard, an expert on safety evaluations for the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission,* held a news conference in New York to explain the cause of his resignation.

Washington, he charged, purposely hushes up the dangers of atomic power to stifle public opposition to its plans for expanded reliance on this energy source.

These two events intensified the debate on what is fast becoming a central political issue around the world: Do unjustifiable dangers accompany the construction and operation of more and more nuclear power plants each year?

"Yes" is the opinion offered by John G. Fuller in *We Almost Lost Detroit*.

The book takes its title from the comment of an engineer at the Enrico Fermi atomic reactor in Michigan. An accident at that plant in October 1966 imperiled hundreds of thousands of persons in the heavily populated surrounding area.

This incident provides the axis of Fuller's suspenseful account, around which his case against nuclear power is tightly constructed.

The idea for the Fermi reactor originated in the early 1950s with Walker L. Cisler, president of Detroit Edison, a privately owned utility. By January 1956 Cisler had applied to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for permission to construct a nuclear breeder reactor at Lagoona Beach, Michigan, near Detroit. A breeder reactor differs from others currently operating in the United States in that it produces more fissionable material (that is, nuclear fuel) than it uses up.

All atomic reactors carry with them the chance of potentially catastrophic accidents. Both critics and proponents of nuclear power agree on this, differing mainly in their estimates of the likelihood of such disasters and the degree of risk they deem tolerable.

The most dangerous of these accidents—a "meltdown"—results from a failure in the

We Almost Lost Detroit, by John G. Fuller. Reader's Digest Press, distributed by Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1975. 272 pp. Cloth \$8.95.

cooling system at the reactor's core. The molten uranium-238 and uranium-235 fuel can then melt through the reactor's protective container and concrete foundation, releasing massive amounts of deadly radioactive gases and particles into the atmosphere.

A breeder reactor poses an added danger. Not only does it produce plutonium, a particularly lethal radioactive element, but its core is capable of melting into a "critical mass."

In nontechnical language, this is equivalent to an *atomic bomb*.

Convinced that the information available was not adequate to justify construction of the Lagoona Beach breeder reactor, the AEC's Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards advised that Cisler's permit be denied.

Despite the recommendation from this scientific advisory body, the AEC granted construction rights. AEC Chairman Lewis Strauss, a former investment banker, even tried to suppress the findings of the safeguards committee. They were later released.

Work on the Fermi reactor began in mid-1956, but it took an entire decade to prepare the plant for operation as a generator of electrical power for Detroit and the surrounding area.

The United Auto Workers and several other unions protested the positive ruling to the AEC, but they got nowhere. The unions then took their case to the federal appeals court, which on June 10, 1960, ordered a halt to the construction. This decision, however, was overturned by the Supreme

Court one year later.

However, on the day in October 1966 when the Fermi plant began its first major trial run, all the warnings of the preceding ten years came back to haunt its builders. A coolant nozzle was blocked by a small piece of stray metal, and a meltdown occurred in the reactor.

As Fuller put it: "A coal mine disaster, a chlorine explosion, an ammunition ship blowing up—all were tragic sorts of things that could happen. But none of them threatened to contaminate a whole state or to kill in such potentially massive quantities. None would threaten the soil, the vegetation, the water tables, the air for thousands and thousands of years."

Fortunately, the worst did not occur.

It took until May 1970 to ready the Fermi plant for renewed operation, but by that time the AEC's fingers had been burned too badly. It denied permission to reactivate the plant, pinning its hopes on another breeder project, which is scheduled to begin construction in Tennessee later this year.

Closing down a reactor is no simple task. The plant's radioactive wastes must be buried, or stored for generations. The reactor itself will remain "hot" with radioactivity for thousands of years, so it must be sealed tight and constantly checked for radiation leakages. Fuller eloquently summed up the fruit of Detroit Edison's investment: "The dead Fermi breeder had spawned a \$130 million ghost—a ghost that cannot be laid to rest."

The story of the Fermi reactor's birth, near disaster, and ultimate demise is told by Fuller with almost mystery-story suspense. In the process, however, accuracy and informativeness are not sacrificed. Interwoven throughout *We Almost Lost Detroit* are useful accounts of other nuclear meltdowns and near meltdowns in the United States, Britain, and Canada.

The book also helps to demystify what to the uninitiated must seem a mass of highly technical terms, making an intelligent "lay" judgment on nuclear power impossible. Fuller explains what an atomic reactor is and how it works; how the dangerous nuclear cores of different types of reactors are constructed; the varieties of potential accidents that can occur; exactly what is

*The Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Energy Research and Development Administration are the successors to the Atomic Energy Commission, which was reorganized in October 1974.

involved in a meltdown; and much more.

We Almost Lost Detroit also discloses the collusion between the AEC and the rapacious corporations that rake in profits from this grisly game of chance, among them General Electric, Westinghouse, and public utilities like Cisler's Detroit Edison.

As previously mentioned, one of the most startling examples of this collusion was the AEC's decision to allow construction of the Lagoona Beach breeder reactor. But Fuller's detailed account of another of the AEC's efforts to keep the American public in the dark about the dangers of nuclear power is of particular interest today.

The White House has recently proposed legislation that "would make it a crime for a Government employee who has access to certain highly classified information to reveal that information improperly."

Although Ford's immediate targets are those who "leak" information from the Central Intelligence Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Department of Defense, such legislation could be extended to victimize individuals like Robert Pollard, who feel compelled by conscience to reveal "trade secrets" of the atomic power industry and its government "overseers."

Fuller zeroes in on the AEC's campaign to suppress a 1964 study that revealed the likely outcome of a core meltdown at a major nuclear reactor. The agency was dissatisfied with the shocking figures that were arrived at by a 1957 government-sponsored study, entitled WASH-740. The AEC commissioned the Brookhaven Laboratories to perform an update on WASH-740, hoping that the results would be more palatable. The results of the update, however, did not conform to these expectations. Instead, comparing the two studies, the results were as follows:

"instead of 3,400 deaths, there would be 27,000.

"instead of 43,000 injured, there would be 73,000.

"instead of \$7 billion in property damage, there would be \$17 billion."

Moreover, these results assumed unrealistically optimistic conditions, such as the possibility of an effective and swift evacuation of the population from areas contaminated by the hypothetical accident. In addition, the study did not even address the potential result of a disaster caused by a breeder reactor such as the one at Lagoona Beach.

Before the study was even completed, AEC and corporation officials who caught wind of the probable findings became alarmed. One AEC official, according to Fuller, "suggested that perhaps the ground rules for the study could be changed, so that only those accidents that did not breach the containment vessel would be presented. He felt that the steering committee should meet and discuss what the new report would do

to block the whole progress of reactor development and construction, before publication, not after—when it might be too late."

Another agency official "suggested that corporations like the Phillips Petroleum Company be brought in to help steer the Brookhaven scientists back onto what he and [the other official] thought was the right track."

The proponents of nuclear power hoped that figures could be derived to demonstrate that a reactor accident, no matter how potentially destructive, was highly improbable. But the most optimistic projection that even a top AEC official, Clifford Beck, could come up with was the following: "The possibility that such accidents might occur cannot be excluded, and there has been accumulated some evidence that a few failures may have almost occurred which could have resulted in more serious accidents than any which have thus far been experienced."

Since the report's results were stubbornly pessimistic, "the search for euphemisms was obvious," as Fuller puts it. For example, the decision was made to drop the use of the term "near miss" from sections of the report dealing with reactor mishaps. The Brookhaven scientists even decided not to include in the report the figures on potential deaths, in order to avoid "talking in emotional terms."

According to Fuller, this pursuit of reassuring language is part and parcel of the nuclear energy business. He reports that most atomic physicists prefer "energy release" in place of "explosion," "incident" in place of "accident," "excursion" in place of "runaway," and "rapid critical assembly" in place of "potential atomic bomb."

Fuller's most appalling example is the suggestion by one AEC official that the term "radiation" be replaced by "sunshine units."

Even the attempts to soften the study's language did not mollify its critics in the AEC and the nuclear power industry. In March 1965 the AEC decided to suppress the report altogether, issuing in its place a brief "unclassified version" that included none of the study's specific findings. When rumors of the report began to circulate later in the year, AEC officials publicly denied the existence of the report.

Not until eight years later, facing the threat of legal action under the Freedom of Information Act, did the AEC finally release the report. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 24, 1975, p. 1652.)

The fact is that nuclear power is *not* safe and that the energy industry and its AEC cronies have conspired to lie about this to the American public. One body of opinion that has not been fooled by this fraudulent publicity effort is the American insurance industry.

In 1957 Congress passed the Price-Anderson Act, which provided "war risk" insurance to cover the costs of a potential reactor disaster. Of the \$560 million liability allotted under this bill for any one nuclear accident, *the billion-dollar insurance concerns as a whole were willing to foot only a total of \$65 million in damages.* The figure was later raised to \$125 million.

"If nuclear power is so safe, why won't the insurance industry insure it?" Ralph Nader has asked. It's a good question.

Fuller's case against atomic reactors is both convincing and frightening. His indictment of the collusion between the AEC and big business provides a glimpse into the inner workings of all federal "regulatory" agencies.

At the same time, Fuller does not draw the radical conclusions that seem almost irresistible, as he piles one tale of near catastrophe on another of government corruption and deceit.

Although the whitewash of safety standards at the Fermi reactor almost cost hundreds of thousands of lives, for example, Fuller still says of Detroit Edison's Walker Cisler: "There were few who doubted Cisler's sincerity. He was a man dedicated to the social good, and his motivations were honest."

So, while *We Almost Lost Detroit* offers little in the way of solutions to the perils created by capitalism, it is an excellent place to start exploring one of the most critical problems. □

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A Disagreement With Trotsky Over Tactics

By Farrell Dobbs

[The following selection¹ is from the third chapter of *Teamster Bureaucracy*, a forthcoming book by Farrell Dobbs. The book is the final volume in a four-volume series.² The first three volumes tell the story of how the International Brotherhood of Teamsters grew during the 1930s from a weak craft union to the largest labor organization in the United States. This growth was spearheaded by a militant Teamster organization in Minneapolis, under the guidance of veterans of the Trotskyist movement.

[Dobbs, the key figure in the Teamsters' first over-the-road organizing drive, writes in this volume of Roosevelt's attack on the American labor movement in preparation for bringing the United States into a new imperialist bloodbath. Included are accounts of the Teamster newspaper *Northwest Organizer's* campaign against the war; the FBI's role in framing up Teamster militants in local cases; and Roosevelt's attack on leaders of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 and the Socialist Workers party, culminating in the notorious 1941 Smith Act trial and the subsequent sentencing of eighteen Teamster and SWP leaders to prison for their opposition to the war.

[Apart from its historical interest as an account written by a participant, this selection is of value for its description of how Trotsky and the SWP leadership handled a disagreement over a tactical question of critical importance in light of Roosevelt's preparations for war—what course to follow in the upcoming 1940 presidential election.]

* * *

In January 1940 my wife, Marvel Scholl, and I went to Mexico for a visit with Leon Trotsky and his companion, Natalia Sedova. I had just resigned from the organizational staff of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in order to concentrate on political activity as national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. While making the change, the party felt, it would be helpful to talk with Trotsky, and both of us welcomed the opportunity to meet the famous revolutionary.

One of the topics we discussed with him was the coming United States elections. He offered practical suggestions in that connection, prefacing them with an outline of objective considerations involved.

Heavy pressures were being applied, Trotsky observed, to line up the labor movement in support of the capitalist government's war preparations. A dangerous situation resulted for the workers because of capitulatory tendencies within the movement, which took the general form of backing President Roosevelt for reelection. Therefore, revolutionists should use every available means to counter that trend by pushing for independent working-class political action.

Projection of the latter course required, moreover, that a labor program be concretized around a set of transitional demands.

1. To be published by Monad Press. Copyright © 1976 by the Anchor Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed by permission.

2. The three volumes already in print are *Teamster Rebellion* (1972), *Teamster Power* (1973), and *Teamster Politics* (1975), all published by Monad Press. (Monad Press books are distributed exclusively by Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. They are also available at Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE11 8LL.)

Measures should be called for that would protect the workers' purchasing power and assure them job security. Labor should also demand the right to live at peace with other nations, to control production, to examine the capitalists' books and expropriate their holdings, etc. An election platform drafted along those lines would not only chart a course toward solution of the workers' immediate problems; it would prepare the way for them to learn through further experiences that their class interests could be defended only by taking governmental control away from the capitalists.

To assure that key programmatic issues were stressed during the elections, Trotsky urged, the SWP should run a candidate against Roosevelt. Parallel with that action a proposal should be made that the labor movement put up its own presidential ticket, and to help press the point, the Minneapolis Teamsters should suggest the nomination of Daniel J. Tobin, head of the IBT, for the presidency.

When I got to the party center in New York a special leadership session was held to hear my report on the discussions with Trotsky. On the question of electoral policy all present agreed that his proposals were good ones, but in the situation then existing other matters got in the way of carrying them out.

Demands of the kind he listed were, of course, raised in our general propaganda. That had been done consistently since the Fourth International adopted a broad transitional program in 1938. We did not concretize those demands, however, as planks in an election platform because of a number of difficulties.

The SWP was small and it had limited financial means. Besides that, we faced discriminatory election laws, rigged against radical parties. In those circumstances the fielding of a presidential ticket required an all-out effort by the organization.

There was also another complication. An intense faction fight had developed within the party, stemming from capitalist pressures on the war issue. A petty-bourgeois minority was demanding that the SWP abandon its policy of defending the Soviet Union, a workers' state, against imperialist attack. The dispute involved revolutionary principles and a majority of the membership fought to uphold them. A deepgoing split resulted in the spring of the year.

Up to that point the factional struggle had claimed the main attention of the party leadership. Then, after the split, much effort had to be concentrated on reconsolidation of the organization, which had suffered a severe loss in numerical strength. Because of those preoccupations, the national leaders gave insufficient thought to electoral activity and failed to take the initiatives that were needed. Hence, nothing was done either to develop some way of putting up an SWP presidential ticket, or to propose through Teamster action the nomination of Tobin against Roosevelt.

That is how matters stood the following June, at which time a delegation of party leaders went to consult with Trotsky about several problems. The delegation consisted of James P. Cannon, Sam Gordon, Joseph Hansen, and myself. Three party rank-and-filers—Charles Cornell and Harold Robins, who were serving in Trotsky's guard, and Antoinette Konikow, who was there for a personal visit—sat in on the talks.³

When we came to the agenda point on the United States

3. A stenographic draft of the discussions appears in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40)*, 2nd ed., Pathfinder Press, 1973, p. 251.

elections, Trotsky summed up the existing situation as follows: There had been no campaign in the party press for labor's nomination of a presidential candidate. Nothing had appeared in the *Northwest Organizer* on the subject. The SWP had not put up its own candidate, and it was too late to do so. Consequently, the party had no answer when workers asked who they should vote for. No concrete way had been developed to insist—in trade unions where we had influence—that Roosevelt was not our candidate.

Complete abstention from the campaign, he stressed, would be highly inadvisable. Instead of taking a negative stance, we needed to apply dynamic politics. As an independent party, it was imperative that we have a line in relation to the presidential campaign.

Lacking our own slate, Trotsky continued, we had to choose between Earl Browder, who headed the Communist Party's presidential ticket, and Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party's candidate for president. Thomas was ruled out, though, because of his ties with Social Democrats standing at the left tip of the defenders of U.S. imperialism. So that reduced options to Browder or Roosevelt.

In presenting his recommendations on electoral policy the previous January, Trotsky reminded us, he had not proposed critical support of Browder. But he now thought we should take that course, since we appeared to have left ourselves with no other alternative. Such a step should not be viewed, however, as an opening move in a longer-range strategic policy. It should be seen as nothing more than a tactical line for the current presidential election.

By giving Browder critical support, he added, still another problem could be handled more effectively. With the signing of the Soviet-German pact in 1939, the CP leaders had begun to oppose U.S. entry into the war. A similarity had thus developed between their abstract slogans and ours. In addition, they had a larger organization, which enabled them to shout louder than us. As a result they had become a major obstacle to the SWP in the struggle to win leadership among trade unionists opposed to Roosevelt's foreign policy. At the same time we had been walled off from any prospect of influencing Stalinist workers on the war issue.

Therefore, we should keep in mind that it was only a matter of time until the Communist Party would again turn toward support of U.S. imperialism to meet Moscow's changing diplomatic needs. When that happened an internal explosion could be expected in the CP. The 1939 shift away from the prowar, "people's front" line had been welcomed by workers in that party's ranks, who had become radicalized through class-struggle experiences. Many would resent a new shift back to a patriotic stance, and we could introduce a wedge to start some of them moving toward us when the new reversal came. While giving critical support to their presidential candidate on the basis of the transitory coincidence in antiwar slogans, we would warn the Stalinist workers that they would again be betrayed by their leaders. Meantime, we would go through a common experience with those workers in the struggle against war, so as to be in a better position to attract them politically later on.

After motivating his proposal as described above, Trotsky remarked that it constituted a daring undertaking. He believed, though, that the cohesion of our party was such that we could succeed in the maneuver, which would be a short one, conducted with strong criticism of the CP.

The SWP delegation did not favor the tactic of critical support to Browder. We felt that it would run into indignation among anti-Stalinist militants in the trade unions. While reactionary prejudices would be involved to a certain extent, there was also a good deal of sincere, well-grounded hatred of the Communist Party. It stemmed from major crimes the CP had committed, such as violations of trade-union democracy and betrayals of working-

class struggles against the bosses.

In several industries we were building party fractions on the basis of opposition to Stalinist control. For that purpose tacit blocs had been formed with elements who could be classified as progressive trade unionists. Although weak numerically, we were strong politically; and that quality had enabled us to play a significant leadership role in blocs of that kind, through which our forces were gradually being strengthened. Hence, we believed, adoption of the proposed tactic would disrupt our trade-union work by giving anti-Stalinist militants a mistaken impression that we were moving toward collaboration with the CP.

In Minnesota, especially, the tactic would be widely misunderstood, we thought, in view of the Stalinists' criminal record. Among the counts against them were wrecking operations in the Farmer-Labor Party, disruption of the trade-union movement, and sabotage of struggles against the boss class.

Under those circumstances, the SWP delegation argued, any gains registered through the contemplated approach to worker-members of the CP would be more than offset by loss of influence among anti-Stalinist trade-union militants.

Trotsky replied that his proposal was intended as a means of combining two objectives: namely, to provide us, as an independent party, with a line in the presidential campaign; and to support the Stalinist workers against their treacherous leaders in the hope that some could be won over. The latter objective, he said, did not mean that we should turn away from the progressive trade unionists. It had been a correct maneuver for us to penetrate the mass movement with their help. That phase had opened doors for us in the unions, but there were dangers involved.

As he viewed the situation, the progressives were found primarily at the top of the unions, rather than as a rank-and-file current. If we counted on success in impressing those elements politically, it could prove fatal. Officials taking a progressive stance were a reflex of the new union movement that had sprung up during the social crisis of the 1930s, but they were not a direct reflection of the rank and file. Their line was determined by pressures to serve the workers' needs and by fear of the Stalinists, who sought to build their own bureaucracy in the unions. Mainly, the officials friendly to us were seeking advice in their fight against the CP.

Playing the role of advisers to the progressive bureaucrats, Trotsky remarked, didn't promise much in the long run. Although they opposed the Stalinists, we didn't seem to be winning many of them to our party. In general they were Rooseveltians, who would turn against us when the U.S. entered the war. Our real role, he added, had to be that of a third competitor, against both the progressive bureaucrats and the Stalinists.

We agreed, of course, on the need to create our own independent forces in the contest for leadership of the working class. Exception was taken, however, to the implication that we acted mainly as attorneys for progressive union officials. Among the progressives, we answered, were rank-and-file unionists who had been organized by us. They were militants who had good cause to be against the Stalinists, and our main line had to be oriented toward those workers, seeking to win them politically. So far as relations with progressive bureaucrats were concerned, we insisted, nothing more was involved than a bloc over trade-union policy; it was not a political bloc.

What we had outlined was a trade-union policy, Trotsky responded, not a Bolshevik policy. While gains for the party had been accomplished through a certain degree of adaptation to trade-union realities, measures were needed to offset inevitable dangers. Many comrades appeared to have become more interested in trade-union work than in party activity; and to a certain extent we were adapting politically to the labor bureaucracy.

Bolshevik policies, he stressed, begin outside the trade unions. The worker is an honest unionist who can develop politically, but that is not identical with being a Bolshevik. Political backward-

ness in the workers' ranks necessitates a certain degree of adaptation by party members engaged in trade-union activity. That is why pressures from backward elements are reflected by them inside the party. It is also why trade-union functionaries, especially, tend to form the right wing of the party; and symptoms of that nature had become noticeable in the SWP.

There was need for more emphasis on the party, he advised us, more systematic theoretical training, sharper maneuvering. First and foremost the comrades had to be party members and only in a secondary sense trade unionists.

After hours of discussion, it became evident that we were at an impasse on the question of critical support to Browder. At that point Trotsky, who could be tough in an argument, gave a further demonstration of his remarkable ability to think objectively. There was no question of principle at stake. Our differences centered on nothing more than a matter of tactics, and even though the Browder candidacy was an important matter, disagreements of the kind were not uncommon in hammering out plans for day-to-day activity. Account had to be taken, as well, of the fact that we would have to carry out whatever decision was reached. So he decided not to press further on the question of critical support to Browder.

A tactic, to be valid for a working-class party, must conform with revolutionary principles and serve strategic needs in the struggle for socialism. Trotsky's proposal, of course, met those basic requirements. But it does not follow that the step he recommended, if carried out, was certain to prove effective. Tactical maneuvers are designed to achieve limited results in concrete situations of the moment. Therefore, the potential of a given maneuver cannot be definitively ascertained unless it is applied in the specific situation for which it is intended, so that the actual results are evident. That being the case, one can only speculate today as to whether it might have been advisable for the Socialist Workers Party to give the tactic of critical support to Browder a try, as Trotsky urged.

After examining the question in retrospect, I now think we should have done so. Not because there was serious danger at the time of party comrades succumbing to the trade-union milieu. They passed that test with flying colors when the SWP came under severe attack in 1941. A tendency did exist, though, to give "practical" considerations undue weight concerning our approach to political tasks in the mass movement, and I believe the Browder tactic could have been helpful in correcting that shortcoming.

Our acceptance as trade-union leaders resulted mainly from demonstrated ability to fight the bosses and to cope with Stalinist disruption. While the winning of leadership roles on that basis put us in a favorable position to propagate our revolutionary views, a necessity remained to use all possible means of speeding the political development of worker-militants. Viewed in that light, Trotsky's proposal did more than present certain difficulties in our work; it afforded us a political opportunity. Although extensive anti-Roosevelt sentiment existed in the trade-union ranks, the top bureaucrats—most of whom favored his reelection—rejected the idea of nominating a labor candidate. Therefore, if workers opposed to the warmonger in the White House were to have a concrete alternative, it had to be Browder.

Anti-Stalinist militants would, of course, have bridled at the thought of giving critical support to a candidate of the treacherous CP, but it does not seem excluded that initial reactions of the kind could have been overcome to some extent. We could have stressed the importance of distinguishing between the Stalinist hacks and workers who had been sucked in by them. Careful explanation could have been made as to just what critical support meant, why the tactic had been developed in the course of labor history, and how it could be applied in a principled way to facilitate the current struggle against imperialist war. In presenting such explanations, moreover, party trade unionists

would have needed to bone up on Marxist fundamentals, thereby deepening their own political education.

Possibilities of influencing Communist Party members also seemed to exist at the time. The CP had recruited thousands of workers, especially CIO members in basic industry, and not all of them had been fully Stalinized. With the switch in party line after the Soviet-German pact was signed, many became enthused at the prospect of conducting a struggle against imperialist war. If we had solidarized ourselves with those workers in that effort through critical support to Browder, some would most likely have taken an open-minded attitude toward us. Besides that, they were more political than the average union militant, even though their thinking was warped by Stalinist concepts. So the prospect of having purposeful discussions with them was not excluded.

Among the subjects that might have been explored were the reasons for the Kremlin's new attitude toward the Nazis, which caused uneasiness within the CP. With a bit of adroitness the discussion could then have been steered toward a critical review of Stalinist policy as reflected in the German CP's inability to prevent Hitler from seizing power. In that way an opening could have been found—without being provocative—to predict that the CP hacks in this country would again betray the workers on the war issue, as they were to do in 1941. One cannot say with certainty that such an approach would have enabled us to win over substantial numbers of Stalinist workers. Yet it seems possible that we could have influenced them to a significant extent, and in any case the SWP trade unionists would have enhanced their own grasp of revolutionary politics in making the try.

Since the Socialist Workers Party did not have its own candidate for president, there is another reason why I now think we should have given critical support to Browder. Our failure to take that step left us with serious problems in finding a way to differentiate ourselves from Roosevelt's supporters in the trade unions. One of the stickiest difficulties of that nature cropped up in the Minneapolis Teamsters—a subject to which I shall return later.

Concerning the outcome of the June 1940 discussion, the head of the Fourth International showed full understanding of his responsibilities toward us as leaders of a national section. Trotsky knew how costly it could be for the movement if he light-mindedly used his great authority in a way that would undermine our ability to carry out the leadership tasks assigned to us by the SWP membership. Therefore, even though confident of his correctness on the Browder issue, Trotsky was careful to avoid doing anything that would imply a break with us. Instead, he took the initiative in proposing a compromise.

An understanding was then reached, as follows: An approach would be made to the Stalinist workers through proposals for united-front activities against the imperialist preparations for war, in defense of workers' rights, etc.; and a propaganda campaign would be conducted for the nomination of a labor ticket in the presidential election.

Soon afterward the *Northwest Organizer* raised the question of an independent labor slate for president and other governmental posts. On July 18 it published an editorial, which said: "The other day the daily press reported that a certain U.S. Congressman was frantically scribbling a plank for 'the defense of democracy' to be included in the platform of the Republican or Democratic parties, we forget which party. . . .

"Democratic rights are roughly divided into three broad groups.

"(1) The first group consists of those special 'rights' which defend capitalist property relations. . . .

"(2) The second group of democratic rights . . . include many of the civil liberties: the rights of free speech, free assembly. . . .

"(3) The third group of rights that exists under capitalist democracy are not properly 'democratic' rights at all, but rather working-class rights, as have been won in the struggle of the

workers against the employers. . . .

"The one group of democratic rights that the capitalists wholeheartedly defend is the first group of rights, those guarding capitalist property relationships. The second group of democratic rights are manipulated by the capitalists to their own ends. The capitalists are actively hostile to the third group of rights, and always seek to curtail them or abolish them completely in practice. . . .

"So far as the working class of people are concerned, we have no interest in defending the first group of 'democratic' rights which protect property relations only in the interests of the wealthy monopolists.

"But the working class, foremost of all groups in society, has a definite interest in protecting the second and third groups of rights that constitute democracy.

"The workers cannot defend these democratic rights by supporting either of the two old boss-dominated political parties. . . .

"The workers can only defend democracy by strengthening their own unions, by seeing to it that the unions themselves are democratically controlled, that they follow militant policies. And just as important and necessary, the workers must have THEIR OWN POLITICAL PARTY, a national labor party, based on and directed by the unions, to challenge the Democratic and Republican parties. . . .

"As a starter, we would like to nominate Daniel Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, for President of the United States. And we would like to see the trade unions in every state nominate loyal trade unionists for every post in the elections, including the posts of United States senator and congressman, and governor."

Issue after issue, the Teamster paper continued its propaganda along the above lines, and Trotsky expressed approval of the steps taken. In a letter of August 20, 1940, written to Henry Schultz about other matters, he added: "The *Northwest Organizer* becomes more precise—more aggressive—more political. We enjoyed it very much."

Our campaign for a national labor ticket coincided with an attack on the Democratic Party from another quarter. On January 31, 1940, John L. Lewis, president of the CIO, had publicly denounced Roosevelt for "breaking faith" with the workers. Lewis, who was sensitive to the mounting discontent among trade unionists, wanted to prevent the development of a revolt against class-collaborationist politics. He began with demands upon Roosevelt for a few concessions to the workers as the price to be paid for continued trade-union support of the Democrats.

During the following months, however, the White House turned a deaf ear to the pleas of the CIO leader. Then, about a week before election day, Lewis went on national radio to deliver an address that had been widely publicized in advance. He opened with a telling indictment of Roosevelt. Militant workers throughout the country listened eagerly, hoping against hope that a ringing call would follow for labor to build its own party in opposition to the capitalist two-party swindle. Instead, the CIO head went off the air, not with a bang but with a whimper. "I recommend," he told the bitterly disappointed worker-militants, "the election of Wendell L. Willkie [the Republican candidate] as the next President of the United States."

As matters stood, the workers had no presidential candidate of their own, and they were not about to follow Lewis's advice to support the Republicans. So they wound up voting for Roosevelt, considering him a lesser evil than Willkie. In Minneapolis the AFL Central Labor Union took the same position. While backing a straight Farmer-Labor slate in the state elections, the CLU went on record in support of the national Democratic ticket.

A problem resulted for the Trotskyists because of the formal control exercised over the *Northwest Organizer* by the Teamsters Joint Council. Apart from ourselves, the council generally

supported the CLU position on the presidential election, as did many members of Local 544. Demands came from those quarters that the Teamster paper back Roosevelt. We interposed objections, asking that—in view of the differences over the question—nothing be said in the council's official organ. Our request was rejected, however, due in part to pressure from Tobin. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee's Labor Committee, the IBT head insisted that all Teamster units support the Democratic presidential slate.

After considerable argument within the Joint Council a compromise was reached. It was agreed that a factual report would be made of the position taken by the Minneapolis AFL, but there would be no editorial in favor of the Democrats. A news account of the CLU stand followed in the *Northwest Organizer* of October 31, 1940. The key paragraph in the story read: "Without concealing its differences with Roosevelt, nor its criticism of certain actions of the Farmer-Labor Party in recent years, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union feels the best interests of organized labor will be served if every union member supports the straight Farmer-Labor ticket and Roosevelt-Wallace nationally."

Since the matter had been handled in a manner that did not put us on record in support of a capitalist candidate, the compromise involved no violation of revolutionary principles. It remained advisable, though, to make doubly sure there would be no misconceptions as to our stand. Steps toward that end were taken in the next issue of the Teamster paper. Through an editorial, and in a column written by the editor, Miles Dunne, we emphasized and reemphasized our advocacy of a national labor party.

If we had extended critical support to Browder, as Trotsky advised, our problem in Minneapolis would surely have been less complicated. I do not mean to imply that a Teamster majority could have been induced to accept that tactic. In my opinion, forces in the Joint Council would still have pressed for some expression in the union paper of their pro-Democratic stand in the presidential election. But a compromise of the kind that was worked out would then have left little or no confusion. Most everyone would have clearly understood that the Local 544 leaders remained flatly opposed to Roosevelt.

In addition, some political headway might have been made among Stalinist workers with whom the Trotskyists could have established contact through critical support of Browder's candidacy. There was nothing anticapitalist about his campaign. Insofar as the Communist Party opposed Roosevelt it did so by giving veiled support to Willkie; and that was especially the case after Lewis came out for the Republican hopeful. Sneakily backing the CIO head's pro-Willkie line, the *Daily Worker* urged "complete support for John L. Lewis' leadership of the CIO." An opportunity thus developed to raise questions about the CP's devious methods while conversing with workers in its ranks and to discuss principled labor politics with them. It seems likely that some could have been helped to straighten out their thinking.

Lacking a direct means of opposing Roosevelt in the elections, the Socialist Workers Party cadres in Minnesota did the best they could by running a candidate for U.S. senator. Grace Carlson was the nominee. A technicality in the election laws barred her from appearing as the candidate of the SWP. So a successful petition drive was conducted to put her on the ballot in the name of the Trotskyist Antiwar Party.

Carlson's campaign focused mainly on war-related issues. Key planks in her platform included: against imperialist war; for trade-union control of military training; trade-union hours and wages on all defense and public-works programs; for the 30-hour week; for the defense and extension of civil liberties and workers' rights; for a national labor party based upon and controlled by the trade unions; defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and Stalinism.

Copies of the platform were distributed by the thousands, mainly in the major cities of the state. With antiwar sentiment

running high among the masses, the SWP campaign material was well received.

Carlson's opponents in the senatorial race were Elmer Benson, a Stalinist stooge who won the Farmer-Labor nomination in the primaries; Henrik Shipstead, a renegade Farmer-Laborite who had recently deserted to the Republicans; and John Regan, a Democrat. In confronting them the SWP nominee stressed that war was the central issue of the campaign; that the ability of the candidates to meet the problems posed by war was the basic measure of their fitness to defend the workers and farmers against Roosevelt's proimperialist line.

When the November election returns came in, the combined radical vote in the state was close to 17,000—more than double the

1936 total. Party by party, the key figures broke down as follows: For U.S. senator, Carlson, 8,761; and Carl Winter, the Communist Party's write-in candidate, 256. Among the presidential candidates Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party got 5,454 votes in Minnesota, and Earl Browder of the CP received 2,711. Apart from those specific figures, the overall radical vote included ballots cast for other candidates of minor parties.

Carlson not only outpolled Winter. Her vote for U.S. senator was greater than the combined tally on a state scale for Thomas and Browder in the presidential contest. As the election returns showed, the SWP had become the leading party appealing to radicalized workers in the area; and many were coming closer to the organization upon learning of its program. □

'META'—A New Voice in the Ukrainian Movement

Reviewed by Marilyn Vogt

META,¹ a new English-language quarterly, is a product of the growing radicalization of Ukrainian youth in North America who in the course of defending Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet Union have become concerned about far-reaching historical, political, social, and economic questions.

Radicalized during the 1960s, they have rejected the anti-Communism that prevailed for many years in most North American Ukrainian communities. At the same time, these Ukrainian youths have been instrumental in the international efforts to mobilize prosocialist forces in defense of the victims of Stalinist repression in the Soviet Union.

Issue No. 1 of *META* includes a review of the two major articles that appeared in the Ukrainian *samvydav* journal *Ukrainsky Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald), No. 6-7, analyzing some of the views expressed there; a survey of reactions to events in Chile since the 1973 coup, focusing on those of East European and Soviet dissidents and of "leading Ukrainian nationalist circles" in Europe and North America; and a major article, "The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement and the Galician Reality," by Alexander Motyl.

The latter, which deserves particular attention, is an extremely valuable contribution to understanding not only the recent history of the Ukrainian national movement but also the origin of some groups that continue to function outside the Soviet Union today and wield a degree of influence in Ukrainian communities outside the USSR.

The article traces the origin of the principal Ukrainian nationalist organizations, such as the UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization), the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), and the UPA

(Ukrainian Insurgent Army), that emerged in the Ukraine from the 1920s through World War II. It also outlines the forces that shaped the political orientation of these groups and describes the effects major historical events had on their development.

Motyl emphasizes that Galicia, a Ukrainian area, was the organizing center for Ukrainian nationalist groups and explains why this was the case.

Galicia, now the western area of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, became part of the Soviet Union only after it was annexed by Stalin as a result of his 1939 pact with Hitler. Before that time it was under Polish rule; and before World War II it was part of the Hapsburg Empire, although the land was primarily Polish owned.

Within Galicia, opposition to foreign domination was intense, and despite the despotic governments they were forced to live under, Galician Ukrainians had more opportunities to organize, communicate, and travel than did Ukrainians who lived in the eastern Ukraine under the tsars and then under Stalin.

Motyl states: "From the end of the Revolutionary period to the elimination of the UPA in the 1950s, Galicia acted as the center of the organized Ukrainian national movement. In terms of both intellectual ferment and revolutionary fervor, it was Galicia that played the role of the leading nationalist province."

Galicia, whose capital is Lviv (Lvov in Russian), is still the center of opposition activity today. For example, Valentyn Moroz, sentenced to fourteen years confinement in 1970 for his activities defending Ukrainian national rights, is from that area.² And in Lviv alone, 1,000 persons were victims of arrests and searches in

January 1972 as the secret police intensified their crackdown on opponents of Russification (*Ukrainian Herald*, No. 6-7).

The lead article in *META*, "The Meaning of the New *Ukrainian Herald*" by Taras Lehkyj, was somewhat disappointing, however. The author makes a number of unsubstantiated generalizations, comparing the opposition of the 1960s unfavorably to the opposition of today.

Other features in the first issue include two items related to the struggle for women's rights. The first is a commentary on the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City last June written by a member of the Toronto-based Action for Women's Rights in the USSR who attended the conference.

The second is a document, "The Status of Women Under Soviet Law." The document, written in 1925, discusses the gains that had been made by women in the Soviet Union as a result of the 1917 revolution. As *META*'s introduction to the document states, these advances in women's rights in the 1920s "were undone by Stalinist reaction."

The editors of *META* invite contributions from anyone who is "for an Independent Socialist Ukraine" and supports "all anti-capitalist struggles." Future issues are scheduled to contain articles on developments within the Ukraine, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe, as well as related international developments; discussion of debates related to the Ukraine; and news articles, reviews, and documents.

As a bulletin of information and exchange of views, *META* has a valuable role to play. Not because it is "going beyond defence work," as the editors state, but because it can be an important complement to ongoing defense campaigns to free political prisoners in the USSR. □

Forward by Max Hayward. Woodhaven, New York: Crisis Press, 1973. 268 pp. \$2.50.

1. *META*, a quarterly journal of Ukrainian affairs, P.O. Box 376, Station B, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. 118 pp. \$2.00 per issue.

2. The book *Ferment in the Ukraine* contains a detailed account of the numerous organizational efforts and cases of repression in the western Ukraine in the 1960s. Edited by Michael Browne.

Joint Electoral Platform of the Mexican CP, MOS, and LS

[The following is the joint electoral platform of the Partido Comunista Mexicano, Movimiento de Organización Socialista, and Liga Socialista (Tendencia Militante),¹ as published in the January 16-31 issue of *El Socialista*, newspaper of the Liga Socialista (TM). For an account of the split in the Liga Socialista that preceded the TM's adherence to this platform, see *Intercontinental Press*, February 9, p. 195.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The Partido Comunista Mexicano, Movimiento de Organización Socialista, and Liga Socialista are jointly participating in the current federal election campaign, without diminishing the autonomy of any of the organizations. They are presenting a common platform and are supporting the presidential candidacy of Compañero Valentín Campa, along with a single slate of deputies and senators for Congress.

They propose to encourage united action by the masses, particularly by the working class, for immediate demands and in defense of their economic and political interests. At the same time, they propose the following: to advance the unity of the forces that support democracy and socialism, with the aim of increasing their political weight and mass influence; to strengthen the struggle of the Mexican people against imperialism; to compel respect for the political rights of the Mexican people, including their electoral rights; to combat the repressive political climate of intimidation arising from current governmental practices; in short, to contribute to the organization and development of an autonomous political force capable of challenging the bourgeoisie for power, defeating it, and building Mexican society on a new basis, without capitalist wage slavery, with a higher economic and cultural standard of living for the masses of people, and with truly human conditions of existence.

The organizations that have united together to act in this electoral process do not hide their socialist objectives, nor their revolutionary method to achieve them.

1. Mexican Communist party, Movement for Socialist Organization, Socialist League (Militant Tendency).

They consider it their duty to labor stubbornly to achieve them.

They propose limited objectives of struggle to the working class, peasants, students, to all manual and clerical workers—objectives that take into account the degree of seriousness of the problems requiring solution, the level of class consciousness and organization of the masses, and the necessity that the masses undergo their own experiences, enabling them to understand fully the need for a revolution to bring about deepgoing, radical changes in Mexican society.

The PCM, MOS, and LS recognize that the elections scheduled for the first Sunday of next July will not decide who will become president of the republic, nor the fundamental composition of Congress. Given the undemocratic way in which the electoral system is set up, the question of who will be the next president has already been decided. The highest circles of government will also handpick the vast majority of deputies and senators.

Consequently, these revolutionary organizations are not going to contest the presidency and the congressional seats in the polling booth. They are taking part in the electoral campaign with the aim of helping to raise the consciousness of the masses, whose rights it is their duty to defend. At the same time, they seek to strengthen the independent movement of the people, with the aim of enabling it to influence the nation's political life in a decisive way.

With full clarity of objectives, without illusions of any sort, and placing confidence solely in the power of the masses and their own organization, the Partido Comunista Mexicano, the Movimiento de Organización Socialista, and the Liga Socialista propose to citizens who support democracy and public well-being a platform of struggle that includes the positions, objectives, and immediate demands that correspond to the present situation in the country.

This platform contains both demands on the present government and objectives that are realizable only with the taking of power by the working people. Everything depends on the organized and united strength of the masses and on the mettle of their political leadership.

The platform of the Partido Comunista Mexicano, the Movimiento de Organización Socialista, and the Liga Socialista is the following:

I. Political Rights for All Citizens

It is a well-known fact that Mexico has an undemocratic political system that prevents the majority of citizens from participating in the solution of the most pressing national problems. Paternalism and despotism reign in this country, not democratic methods of rule. The political and social rights of citizens, especially of those who oppose the system and fight for democracy and socialism, are respected by neither the government nor the law. They cannot legally organize in independent political parties, and efforts at democratic trade-union organizing encounter endless obstacles. They cannot freely exercise either the right to vote or to assemble in the streets and public places, particularly in Mexico City, so as to put forward their views on the political issues before the country or on topics of interest to the masses of people. They suffer repression—murder, imprisonment, kidnapping, threats, and so forth—for dissenting from the official point of view, and for taking political and social action independent of the government. The hundreds of political prisoners are a telling example of this reality. Some have been sentenced to prison, others have simply been kidnapped by the government. Many are under indictment, out of jail on bail or "freed under protest," with their political rights suspended. More than a few have been persecuted and forced to seek exile abroad.

The exercise of political freedom would begin to become a reality under the following conditions:

1. The passage of a general amnesty law that would free all those imprisoned for political motives, while voiding all political trials and halting all persecution of a similar nature.

2. A halt to the repression of the trade-union, peasant, student, and people's movement in general, a practice carried out by the present government.

3. Elimination of Title II of the Federal Penal Code and of other legislation of this sort that involves political repression.

4. Abolition of the present Federal Election Law and the corresponding laws in the states. Replacement of this law by one that would institute proportional representation in Congress; establish a system of registering political parties not on the basis of their

membership strength and the recording of each member with the secretary of state, but on the basis of their actual political existence; institute an autonomous body to organize the electoral process; form an electoral tribunal independent of the government to certify the elections impartially; and finally, establish guarantees that all citizens may freely exercise the right to vote.

5. Elimination from police and traffic regulations of all obstacles to the right to hold demonstrations and public assemblies, especially in the Federal District [Mexico City and the surrounding area].

6. Respect for the right to strike. Freedom of political affiliation for workers and other unionized sectors, and a ban on the incorporation of unions as such into any political party. Elimination of the government requirement that unions be "registered" and an end to any government interference whatsoever in the trade unions.

7. Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

8. Defense of the right of every citizen to hold any creed or religion, or none at all.

II. Means for Improving the Standard of Living of All Workers

Workers and their families experience living conditions that grow worse daily. At the same time the exploiters, especially the most powerful capitalists, not only enjoy all the necessities but live in luxury and riches.

Real wages are declining constantly despite nominal increases because the cost of goods and services, particularly the ones that are most necessary, increase systematically. The share of the social wealth that goes to the workers is constantly diminishing, while the bourgeoisie's share grows. The rate of exploitation of the workers is also increasing. The masses of people live in poverty. Lack of the most basic needs marks their lives.

In addition to the insufficient number of housing units and the unhealthy conditions under which the families of workers and peasants live, rents are very high, amounting to as much as half a worker's wages. As if this were not enough, the leases are weighted heavily in favor of the landlords. If they wish to rent housing, tenants are forced to relinquish their rights. Judges almost always rule against tenants; they are paid off by the landlords.

Unemployment is at a very high level. This includes not only those who have been laid off from a large number of companies but also the lack of jobs for hundreds of thousands of youths, men and women, who enter the labor market each year.

For these reasons the organizations that have joined together put forward the following as objectives of struggle:

1. An across-the-board increase in wages, salaries, and pensions.

2. Reduction of the workweek to forty hours, with fifty-six hours pay.

3. Establishment of a sliding scale of wages, that is, pegging them at regular intervals to the increase in the cost of goods. This must be complemented by genuine price controls, on a national scale and with the participation of consumers.

4. Institution of a rent freeze in public housing and passage of legislation making leases a matter of public concern and containing inalienable rights for tenants. Reinstitution of Section XII of Article 123 of the constitution, a provision that compelled employers to provide comfortable and decent housing for their workers. In sum, a struggle for decent, cheap housing for workers.

5. Subsidies for the unemployed from the government and the employers and coverage for the unemployed under Social Security.²

III. Demands of the Agricultural Workers

Bourgeois agrarian reform in our country has not and cannot resolve the pressing problems of the rural masses. More than half a century after the proclamation of land reform, a great proportion of the best land remains private property in the hands of a few persons. The big estates continue to exist up to this day, either openly or in a concealed fashion. The right of landholders to exemption, reestablished under the government of Miguel Alemán, serves to prevent the handing over of land to the peasants. Those who farm public land held in common [*ejidos*] usually lack water for irrigation and farming machinery, as well as sufficient, readily available, low-cost loans. The trend is toward agribusiness combines, through the intervention of the industrial, commercial, and financial capitalist monopolies. Millions of agricultural workers have neither land nor jobs. Field workers do not receive the minimum wage, and their right to an eight-hour day and a day off each week with pay is not respected. Governmental authorities make a mockery of their right to organize in trade unions. An agricultural crisis reigns in our country.

In face of this situation in Mexican agriculture, the organizations united in the present electoral campaign put forward the following demands:

1. Turn over the land to those who work it. Total elimination of the landed estates and the big capitalist landholdings. Encourage collective farming of the common lands on a voluntary and autonomous basis, under the peasants who work them.

2. Repeal Paragraph III, Section XIV of Article 27 in the constitution, which pro-

2. The national health system, which provides certain medical and hospitalization benefits.

tests landholders who have obtained a certificate of exemption.

3. Reduce exempted property to twenty hectares of irrigated land and its equivalent in land of different value.

4. Priority in the allocation of irrigation water to those who farm land held in common and those who hold fewer than twenty hectares.

5. Sufficient, readily available, low-cost loans for those who farm land held in common, and for those who are genuine small landholders. Supervision of the Banco de Crédito Ejidal by genuine representatives of the peasants.

6. An independent organization of the peasants to oversee the sale of crops and all matters related to production in agriculture, cattle raising, and forestry.

7. Respect for the right of wage workers in the fields to unionize and bargain collectively, as well as for the right to an eight-hour day, one day off a week with pay, a minimum wage, social security, and other benefits established under the federal labor act.

IV. Measures to Reorient Government Economic Policy

The crisis of the Mexican economy is reflected in the low rate of growth in production (in agriculture, the rate of growth is lower than the annual rate of increase in the population); in the enormous and growing deficit in foreign trade; in monetary inflation, which in recent years has reached an annual rate of 25 percent; in the government's budget deficit, which is constantly increasing; and in the foreign debt, which now totals more than 250 billion pesos [about US\$20 billion]. All of this is expressed in the very low standard of living of the masses of people.

In its main aspects the government's economic policy is aimed at protecting the interests of the big bourgeoisie, and more narrowly, those of the financial oligarchy.

Consequently, big business pays less than its proportionate share of taxes; the biggest banks and financial holdings are in reality given the most favorable treatment; and the state enterprises are placed at the service of private capital, turning over to it fuel, electrical energy, railway transport, and credit at prices lower than cost.

In short, the government uses inflation, fiscal policy, state capital, state-guaranteed loans, and other measures to stimulate the most exorbitant profits for national and foreign concerns. As these capitalist profits increase, the income of the masses of people decreases proportionally.

This state of affairs can be confronted, in a way that conforms to the public interest, only by adopting these proposals:

1. A fiscal policy that places a heavy and

graduated tax on the huge profits of foreign capital and on those of the big Mexican capitalists.

2. Control of foreign trade and exchange. Effective means to halt the increase in foreign debt.

3. Nationalization of private banks.

4. Nationalization of basic industries, whether in the hands of national capital, foreign capital, or mixed national and foreign capital, as well as of the food and drug industries. Workers control of these nationalized concerns, which means giving the workers access to their real records so that they can report irregularities thereby revealed and demand rectification of them. This would include such questions as workers' share of the profits, payment of taxes, and the possibility of increasing wages, taking into account increases in productivity, the level of profits, and the cost of living.

5. Reorientation of the state sector of the economy, mainly toward productive activity and putting an end to its role as a prop for private enterprise.

6. A halt to monetary and credit inflation through economic measures that will permit an increase in industrial and agricultural production and a limitation on capitalists' profits.

V. A Foreign Policy of Independence and Peace

Despite the establishment of relations with a growing number of countries, including socialist countries, and its participation in some independent-type actions in Latin America, Mexico's foreign policy continues solidly in the orbit of the United States. It continues to remain part of the Organization of American States and has not renounced the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. The Mexican government is seeking to attract a greater investment of Yankee capital and encourages the joining of Mexican and American capital, thus increasing the country's dependence. In the field of propaganda, the government defends the fallacy of considering the United States and the Soviet Union in equal terms, viewing both as rich countries opposed to the poor ones, including Mexico.

This foreign policy, indelibly imprinted by the crisis of American domination and the present international situation, is neither anti-imperialist nor fully autonomous. For that the popular masses must struggle for:

1. The immediate incorporation of Mexico in the group of nonaligned countries. This camp is composed of both underdeveloped capitalist countries dependent on imperialism and socialist countries. Their foreign policy fundamentally goes in an anti-imperialist direction. It is for that reason

that the Mexican people must demand the inclusion of our country in this group.

2. The strengthening of relations of economic and political collaboration with the Latin American governments that are fighting for the recovery of their resources and for their full autonomy. This category includes Peru, Panama, and Ecuador, which, in varying degrees, tend to carry out the policy described above.

The withdrawal of Mexico from the OAS. Renunciation of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. A policy of action against colonialism in Latin America, supporting in particular the people of Puerto Rico, who are fighting for the national independence of their country; the national self-determination of the people of Belize; the autonomy the peoples of the French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe are fighting for; and in general the elimination of colonialism in Latin America.

3. An active defense of world peace, and solidarity with the peoples who are struggling for their independence and against imperialist aggression.

4. Effective measures to put into practice the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.³ In addition to the general points concerning peaceful coexistence among the various states, particular importance is attached to the right to nationalize foreign investments and to trade with all countries, including those under a socialist system—a right that Mexico must exercise. Diversification of foreign trade and defense of the prices of exported raw materials must be put into practice by Mexico, as called for in the charter. The public interest demands the realization of some of the measures called for in the charter—which is subscribed to by 120 countries, including all those under a socialist system, and rejected only by the major imperialist countries—if it is not to become simply a moral statement rather than a document of practical application.

5. The entry of Mexico into the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), that is, into the association of countries that sell raw materials, in this case oil, to protect price levels and the conditions of sale, would be an anti-imperialist measure. It must be pointed out that Venezuela and Ecuador are discriminated against in foreign trade by the United States for being members of OPEC. Mexico must unite with these countries and strengthen the resistance in all matters that concern the export of this raw material.

6. Expansion of commercial and techno-

3. An economic charter proposed by Mexican President Luis Echeverría Álvarez. Adopted by a vote of 120 to 6 in the United Nations General Assembly December 12, 1974.

logical exchanges with the socialist countries.

7. The establishment of diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations with the People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Laos, the democratic state of Cambodia, the People's Republic of Angola, and the other countries that are on the path of liberating themselves from colonialism.

It should be noted that the Liga Socialista differs with some points in this section. However, the three organizations declare their support to the anti-imperialist struggles of the Latin American peoples and of those of other colonial and semicolonial countries, including the struggle of the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) against imperialist aggression and the forces of reaction in Africa. They call for Mexico to withdraw from the OAS and to denounce the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. The three organizations also declare their defense of the Soviet Union and other socialist states against any imperialist attack and call for Mexico to establish diplomatic, commercial, and cultural relations with the aforementioned countries.

VI. Democratization of Education

The backwardness of our people, which stems from capitalist exploitation and the country's dependence on Yankee imperialism, is shown in the field of education, to take just one example. There are millions of functional illiterates, the vast majority of whom have not even been able to finish primary school, while only a tiny minority of those who enter secondary school or the university manage to attain a professional career. The children of workers and peasants are practically excluded from higher education.

Education in general is at a low scientific and technical level. It is carried out in an authoritarian and undemocratic way, guided by the interests of the bourgeoisie. The national educational system is in crisis. The organizations that have joined together in this electoral campaign propose to fight for the following:

1. Education for all Mexicans, compulsory and free of charge up to the ninth grade (primary and secondary school).

2. Total elimination of illiteracy. A state monopoly of education at all levels and the elimination of private schools.

3. Autonomy for the university and for all other institutes and schools of this level even if they are not called universities. An end to authoritarian structures in all higher education (universities, institutes, and industrial and agricultural technical schools). Replacement of such structures by forms of self-management exercised by the teachers, students, and workers. Assistance benefits

for students, such as free room and board at school.

4. Professional, economic, and social improvements for the teaching profession at all levels.

5. Unification of the entire national educational system and institution of long-range planning in education. Jobs for all who come out of the secondary schools.

The above represents only the fundamental points that make up the broad electoral platform of the forces of the left that have united in electoral political action. The objectives of struggle they set forward can be won only by a united and organized movement of the masses, by the independent action of the working class, and by an

alliance between the working class, the peasantry, and other sectors of the people. Some points represent demands on the present bourgeois government. Others, which affect above all the property and economic interests of big business, will only be fulfilled with a revolutionary change in which political power passes to the hands of the working people, under the leadership of the working class, and with a reorganization of society leading toward socialism.

The Partido Comunista Mexicano, Movimiento de Organización Socialista, and Liga Socialista call on the working class, the peasants, the students, all manual and clerical workers, men and women, the youth, to hold this platform high, to fight

for it, and to join together in a great independent force opposed to the dependent capitalist system and to the government, to fight the reactionary and profascist forces—so as to emerge from the election campaign stronger in forces and in social and political influence.

Political freedom to advance toward democracy and socialism!

Mexico City
January 12, 1976

Central Committee of the Partido Comunista Mexicano. Political Committee of the Liga Socialista. Secretariat of the National Committee of the Movimiento de Organización Socialista. □

Is the Mexican CP No Longer a Stalinist Organization?

[The following article appeared in the February 1-15 issue of *El Socialista*, fortnightly newspaper of the Bolshevik Leninist Faction of the Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Previous issues of *El Socialista* (Nos. 35 and 36 of the first and second fortnights of January) have informed our readers of the process that has taken place in the Liga Socialista, which culminated with our decision to make public our fight to rescue the traditions of our party.

Since both organizations claim to be the Liga Socialista and since the Tendencia Militante [Militant Tendency] has published an issue of *El Socialista* with the same name and format, in this article we will identify them as Liga Socialista (TM) and their newspaper as *El Socialista* (TM) so as to avoid confusion. In turn, we will identify ourselves as Liga Socialista (FBL) and our newspaper as *El Socialista* (FBL).

On January 12, 1976, the Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM), the Movimiento de Organización Socialista (MOS),¹ and the Liga Socialista (TM) signed a manifesto that stated they had formed a front to promote the candidacy of Valentín Campa, leader and presidential candidate of the PCM, on the basis of a common platform. This platform was published in No. 35 of *El Socialista* (TM).²

1. Mexican Communist party, the pro-Moscow Stalinist party in Mexico. Movement for Socialist Organization, a group that split from the opportunist formation Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party), which is considering supporting the official candidate. The MOS has become a satellite of the PCM.

2. Printed elsewhere in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

By signing such a programmatic agreement with the Mexican Communist party, a Stalinist party whose program and course for more than fifty-five years have shown its reformist character and its inclination toward class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the Liga Socialista (TM) shouldered the task of providing the PCM with left cover for its attempt to vindicate itself before sectors of the vanguard.

Still more serious, the Liga Socialista (TM), in its eagerness to play this shameful role, has signed and endorsed a reformist minimum program that in structure and content is nothing more than a slightly modified version of the PCM program.

These acts are sufficiently important in and of themselves to deserve examination. But they also help clarify which of the two organizations that call themselves Liga Socialista really represents the tradition and continuity of that organization and of revolutionary Marxism in Mexico. They also help clarify the Liga Socialista (TM)'s course and explain the positions and actions it took during its fight to usurp the Liga Socialista and smash the obstacle represented by the FBL.

Tail-Ending the PCM

In past issues of *El Socialista* (FBL) we have already explained why we think that in general it is incorrect to form electoral fronts with other political parties. Although we consider it valid and necessary to seek and promote *unity in action* of all working-class forces, an electoral front to propagandize a program is something radically different. In the former case, what is involved is the formation of fronts for struggle and mobilization around concrete points and issues.

When participating in elections, we socialists do not act with the illusion that this is the method to obtain changes in our

country or the road through which the workers will take power.

What we propose to take advantage of is the fact that the bourgeoisie and its government are opening a period in which supposedly the question is posed of who should govern the country, in what way, and with what measures.

Nonetheless, without creating any illusions, we socialists can take advantage of this period to pose our solutions, publicize our program, and make as broadly known as possible the most important struggles the workers and their allies are carrying out against the bourgeoisie.

In doing this, we can in no way afford to create confusion about what we represent, what we propose to solve the problems of the nation, and what differentiates us from other parties.

We certainly do think it is valid at such times to support a candidate of a workers party against the candidate of the bourgeoisie, converting the elections into one more class battleground.

That is why at this time we support the candidacy of Valentín Campa against that of López Portillo,³ and why we call for a vote for him as a way of registering a class vote. At the same time we will explain how incorrect and dangerous his program and line are.

What we cannot do is negotiate our program or mix our banner with that of other, nonrevolutionary parties in an electoral front. We believe there is only one solution to each of the country's problems, and that is the one we indicate in the different points of our program.

For socialist participation in the

3. José López Portillo, the 1976 candidate of the ruling party in Mexico, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party).

elections—the terrain of the class enemy—to be fruitful, the socialist program, and what the organization that holds it up represents, must be expressed openly, clearly, and sharply. We must also counterpose this program to the reformist program of Valentín Campa and his party, and to that of other organizations, as well as to that of the bourgeois government.

We also explained previously the PCM's policy toward the elections. We pointed out how it at first attempted to initiate a process that would lead to the formation of an electoral front that would group the workers organizations together with the supposed "progressive forces" and "partisans of democracy" of the bourgeoisie and the government.

Upon seeing their attempts at implementing this policy frustrated for *this* election period, the PCM *adjusted* it to try to attract what forces it could indeed win over to its politics. Thus, it made several calls for unity and signed several agreements with various organizations.

It was in this sense that we explained why we considered we had made a political error on August 26, 1975, when we signed a joint electoral platform with the PCM, a platform that was abstract, general, and ambiguous.⁴ Furthermore, without respecting the agreement, the PCM later launched *its* campaign, with *its* politics and *its* program, inviting us to participate on the basis of it.

By signing the agreement and platform of January 12, the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) not only have agreed to play the PCM's game and help it vindicate itself in the eyes of sectors before which it is deeply discredited, but have also decided to endorse and accept its program and politics, and even to become its defenders.

Is the PCM Revolutionary?

In the manifesto and platform of January 12, the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) tell us that the three organizations—the PCM, the MOS, and LS (TM)—"propose to encourage united action by the masses, particularly by the working class, for immediate demands and in defense of their economic and political interests. *At the same time*, they propose the following: to advance the *unity of the forces that support democracy and socialism*, with the aim of increasing their political weight and mass influence; to strengthen the struggle of the Mexican people against imperialism . . . in short, to contribute to the organization and development of an *autonomous political force capable of challenging the bourgeoisie for power*, defeating it, and building Mexican society on a new basis, without capital-

ist wage slavery . . ." (Our emphasis.)

What is meant by this famous "unity of the forces that support democracy and socialism," this "autonomous political force" that is supposed to be capable of wrenching power from the bourgeoisie, which they propose to promote *outside* of the unity in action of the masses?

Does it refer to the PCM's conception of the collaboration of workers organizations with "progressive" bourgeois forces in a "popular front"? Is this what the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) propose to promote? Or does it refer instead to the political unity of the workers in an organization with a revolutionary program? If the latter is true, the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) would be telling us that the PCM does not propose to promote class collaboration, that it has stopped being a Stalinist party, and that it proposes to follow a revolutionary policy.

Whatever conclusion the *compañeros* come to, they are telling us that they are willing to help the PCM and other "forces that support democracy and socialism" in "increasing their political weight and mass influence . . ."

We, on the other hand, will fight with all our forces against this. We do so precisely because we believe the PCM is a Stalinist party that seeks to win over the working class to a disastrous policy that sooner or later culminates in collaboration with bourgeois forces and finally in the defeat of the workers.

The most recent example that shows we are not mistaken is the fact that despite what they have said, they followed a traitorous policy, contrary to the interests of the workers, in the strike at Fundidora de Monterrey.

But the *compañeros*—very frank, clear, and sharp so as to avoid confusion—make plain what they think. They have made the surprising discovery that the PCM leaders do not propose to implement a class-collaborationist plan and slow down the advance of the *independent, revolutionary* workers movement. What is proposed is nothing less than "challenging the bourgeoisie for power, defeating it, and building Mexican society on a new basis, without capitalist wage slavery . . ."

Since when, *compañeros*? Or do you believe that the way to defeat the bourgeoisie is by supporting it and joining it in "popular fronts" like the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano (PRM—Mexican Revolutionary party, currently the PRI) was in the days of Cárdenas.⁵ Did the policy of the

PCM during the 1968 student movement help to advance in that direction? Were the railroad workers wrong to withdraw their confidence in the Stalinists after the disastrous policy they followed in that sector's struggles in 1958-59?⁶

Were the *compañeros* of Fundidora de Monterrey wrong in feeling a deep aversion toward the leaders of the PCM in Monterrey during and after the strike?⁷

Perhaps the more than fifty-five-year course of the PCM does not count. Perhaps they were small errors in the long struggle to achieve socialism and "to strengthen the struggle of the Mexican people against imperialism."

To leave absolutely no room for doubt, the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) tell us: "The organizations that have united together to act in this electoral process do not hide their *socialist objectives*, nor their *revolutionary method* to achieve them." (Our emphasis.)

And further on, they say, ". . . these revolutionary organizations. . . are taking part in the electoral campaign with the aim of helping to raise the consciousness of the masses. . . . With full clarity of objectives, without illusions of any sort, and *placing confidence solely in the power of the masses* and their own organization, the Partido Comunista Mexicano, the Movimiento de Organización Socialista, and the Liga Socialista . . ." (Our emphasis.)

So, the PCM is a revolutionary organization with socialist goals (about which it has complete clarity)? It uses a revolutionary method and seeks to raise the level of consciousness of the masses, whose strength is the only thing it trusts in?

Is the PCM revolutionary? Has it stopped being a Stalinist organization?

We must thank the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) for having provided us in so short a time (ten days! from January 2 to January 12) with such a clear illustration of where one ends up using the method they defended during their fight to usurp the

4. This platform appeared in No. 30 (September 15-30, 1975) of *El Socialista*, under the title "Programa Electoral Conjunto PCM-LS."

5. Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940. During his term broad reforms, such as the nationalization of oil and the so-called agrarian reform, were carried out. It was in 1935 that the Mexican Stalinists began to put forward their line of forming a popular front with the ruling party.

6. The "disastrous policy" of the Stalinists in these struggles refers to the fact that Valentín Campa and his group signed a separate collective-bargaining agreement with the firm and ended the strike in one branch of the railroad system. Meanwhile, the rest of the strikers—led by Demetrio Vallejo—found themselves confronting the regime alone in pursuit of a wage increase and recognition of their democratically elected leadership. The Stalinists' action divided the movement, facilitating repression of it.

7. The latest strike at the Fundidora de Fierro y Acero de Monterrey in December 1975 was the result of a revolt by the workers against layoffs and violations of the collective-bargaining agreement carried out by the company, which had the support of the local trade-union leadership, controlled by the Stalinists.

Liga Socialista, culminating in the so-called Second Congress.⁸

Now it turns out that for not having been "immersed in the class struggle" we did not notice that the PCM is an organization with revolutionary goals and methods.

Reformist Minimum Program vs. Transitional Program

The compañeros of the Liga Socialista (TM) have concluded not only that the PCM is revolutionary but also that its program and method are the route to reach the socialist revolution.

In examining the joint PCM-MOS-LS(TM) platform, its strange and surprising similarity—in structure and presentation, as well as in content—to the program of the PCM stands out immediately. In spite of the fact—as it states—that it contains some demands realizable only with the taking of power by the workers, as a whole it is a reformist minimum program.

Conscious of this fact, the author of the manifesto supported and upheld by the three organizations tells us:

"... the Partido Comunista Mexicano, the Movimiento de Organización Socialista, and the Liga Socialista propose to citizens who support democracy and public well-being a platform of struggle that includes the positions, objectives, and *immediate* demands that correspond to the present situation in the country." (Our emphasis.)

And he explains to us:

"They propose limited objectives of struggle . . . objectives that take into account the degree of seriousness of the problems requiring solution, the level of class consciousness and organization of the masses, and the necessity that the masses undergo their own experiences, enabling them to understand fully the need for a revolution to bring about deepgoing, radical changes in Mexican society."

We are also aware of the level of consciousness and organization of the workers at present and of what is required for this to develop to the point that the masses acquire consciousness of the need for a revolution—a long process, a fundamental part of which is the experiences of the masses themselves in the struggle.

But this process also requires a revolutionary leadership, no matter how small it may be at the outset. At the same time that it struggles at the side of the masses around their immediate problems, such a leadership continues to propose and explain *steps that actually deal with* the problems they are afflicted with and are mobilizing around.

Such an organization proposes transitional demands, demands that help raise the consciousness of the masses from the current level to a level of socialist consciousness.

For example, faced with the problem of unemployment, we not only fight with the workers who have been laid off and who are mobilizing to win back their jobs. We also pose the need to fight for the government to create a program of services and public works so as to provide jobs, for a reduction of the workweek to forty hours with fifty-six hours pay, and for the establishment of a sliding scale of hours.

This last demand means reducing the workday with no cut whatever in wages, so that all unemployed persons are provided with a job.

In this way the workers, while continuing to fight for their minimum demands, learn through their experience that the reinstatement of some workers or a wage gain does not resolve once and for all the problem of unemployment or poverty. They also come to understand little by little the need to fight for a step that really resolves those problems. At the same time, they come to understand the need to fight for a government that *does* implement such measures.

That is, through their struggles the workers are not only acquiring confidence in themselves and learning the need for mass mobilization and united struggle and organization. They are also raising their level of political consciousness.

But this too requires that in posing solutions at the propaganda level—as in the case of the elections—a revolutionary leadership must put forward a series of demands that includes both those that respond in an immediate fashion to the needs and consciousness of the masses and those that would genuinely solve the problems once and for all. That is, it must propose a program that combines minimum, democratic, and transitional demands. It must hold aloft a transitional program.

That requires as well an explanation of why only a workers government, a workers and farmers government, can implement all those demands, thus resolving the problems facing the masses. In other words, it is necessary to constantly explain—and to include as the crowning programmatic demand—the call for a *workers and farmers government*.

The compañeros of the Liga Socialista (TM) have abandoned these basic concepts of revolutionary Marxism. They have agreed to sign not only a reformist program of immediate minimum demands, but also a manifesto that admits this and attempts to justify it.

Isn't there a contrast between the solutions proposed in that program and the ones we have always called and agitated for

in *El Socialista*, in our political resolution and publications, in our proposals for the workers movement, and in our intervention in conflicts and mobilizations?

And what happened to the extremely important demand for *trade-union independence and democracy*, which more than 150,000 persons mobilized for in Mexico City November 15, 1975, and which thousands of electricians and tens of thousands of workers are fighting for?

How then are we going to complement the process of raising workers' level of consciousness, a process whose fundamental axis is the experience of the masses themselves in struggles around such general questions?

How are we going to do this without trying to educate—at the same time that we fight with the workers for their demands around a particular issue—on the steps we believe will genuinely and definitively resolve that problem? How, without focusing in a timely way on such measures—along with some of the minimum demands offered in their platform—through our newspaper, our electoral propaganda, and our activity?

How are we going to do it without presenting a transitional program that flows from the necessities posed by the objective situation and is formulated in such a way as to be easily understood by the masses, while pointing toward the formation of a workers and farmers government and the establishment of better forms of economic, social, and political organization?

Oh! We forgot. This is only their "platform of struggle . . . that correspond[s] to the present situation in the country," their minimum program for the current stage. Surely they have their maximum program for the future when we pass into the second stage of the revolution.

How are these two programs linked? How do we use the program to help raise the level of consciousness of the masses? How, without a revolutionary program, a transitional program? Nonsense! Those are just Trotskyist inventions!

Of course, references to socialism and to the fact that some of the demands could be achieved only by a workers government could not be missing from their manifesto. You always find that in reformist programs to cover up their true character.

The compañeros of the Liga Socialista (TM) might possibly argue that their program does contain some "transitional demands," like the sliding scale of wages and the nationalization of industry under workers control.

In the first place, the fact that a demand sounds like what was written in the Transitional Program does not make it into a demand of that type.

8. An article by Joseph Hansen, entitled "The Split in the Liga Socialista" (*Intercontinental Press*, February 9, p. 195), reports the matters in dispute during the factional fight that culminated at the "Second Congress."

Galván,⁹ for example, also calls for a sliding scale of wages, but one implemented by a tripartite commission representing the trade unions (read, bureaucrats), the government, and the bosses.

The only way this step can be effective is if the commissions are democratically elected by the workers who frequently and periodically determine, on the basis of their own studies of the prices in the places where they do their shopping, how much wages should be raised. This must be stipulated in the clause in the collective-bargaining agreement that determines the implementation of a sliding scale of wages.

Nonetheless, the fact that the workers have "access to their real records so that they can report irregularities thereby revealed and demand rectification of them . . ." including "such questions as workers' share of the profits, payment of taxes . . ." and the real possibilities of raising wages, in no way constitutes workers control.

In fact, such a concept is in marked contrast to the Marxist view of workers control, which is that the workers have the right to determine not only their working conditions, but also the social and political goals of production. That is, whether production is going to be oriented toward increasing the bosses' profits or toward satisfying the needs of the workers and peasants.

We also raise the demand of *workers' access to the books* of the companies, but we do not confuse it with workers control. Moreover, we maintain it is important to stress in our propaganda the need to fight for the latter.

Furthermore, even if the program contained a couple of transitional demands, this would not give it a revolutionary character. On the contrary, by being presented in the setting of the perspectives put forth by a reformist program, these demands lose their value. They serve only to win a sector that is struggling to a reformist policy, and not as a bridge to bring it toward a socialist consciousness.

To be sure, they can also serve to make the "Trotskyist" heart of confused activists beat strongly, and to lead them to sign and endorse a reformist program.

We really are compelled to acknowledge that the method of the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) produces rapid results. In only ten days of "total immersion in the class struggle" not only have they discovered that the PCM is revolutionary, but it even turns out that the Stalinist method

of the minimum and maximum program is as well.

Perhaps Trotsky, who up until his death exerted himself to teach us the method of the transitional program and the need to be true to the revolutionary program, also shared our "methodological deviation." After all, "he was noted not only for his great capability, but also for his propensity to concentrate too much on the administrative aspect of things." Oh! Those damned desk-bound leaders!

Everything Is Possible With Peace

Perhaps one of the most serious aspects of the break of the *compañeros* with the program and principles of revolutionary Marxism is the foreign policy they propose. Although under other points the program offers only minimum and partial demands, in this section it puts forth positions that break completely with the basic principles of Marxism.

Point V of the platform, entitled "A Foreign Policy of Independence and Peace," proposes, among other things, economic and political collaboration with several Latin American bourgeois governments, such as those in Peru, Panama, and Ecuador. It also calls for a struggle for the "immediate incorporation of Mexico in the group of nonaligned countries." (Non-aligned!)

The "Platform" accepts and defends the formation of an international class-collaborationist "popular front" between the workers states and the "progressive" bourgeois governments. It proposes to fight in "active defense of world peace" and for "peaceful coexistence among the various states." Between the bourgeois states and the workers states!

What happened to the basic principles of class struggle?

Throughout history we socialists have presented ourselves as the genuine and most consistent fighters for peace. But we point out that there can be no peace between classes while a minority class exploits and lives off the fruit of the labor of the majority, which is submerged in poverty.

Under these conditions, to accept peace between classes means to condemn the laboring majority to poverty and exploitation.

We also point out that we are opposed to workers of different countries annihilating each other to defend the interests of their bourgeoisies in imperialist wars of plunder.

We point out that the cause of wars and conflicts, whether within a country or between countries, is the existence of this unjust system of exploitation of one class by another, of oppression of weak countries by imperialist countries, and of wars of plunder over the division of the spoils among the imperialist countries.

It is for this reason that we say that the only way to achieve a real and lasting peace is through struggle, the fiercest war, against this system.

In this struggle we cannot call for "peaceful coexistence" or "economic and political collaboration" with exploitative governments, regardless of how serious their quarrels are with other, stronger capitalist governments. At certain times, when a dependent bourgeois government takes some *concrete step* that is progressive against some imperialist country, we can support the *step* and fight for it to be carried to its logical consequences.

But we can never collaborate, *politically* support, or create the slightest illusions about its reasons for carrying out such steps. We can never contribute to its attempts to give a progressive, anti-imperialist, or revolutionary cover to its passing quarrels with stronger countries, when it takes advantage of their conjunctural weaknesses to obtain a bigger share of the spoils that are the fruit of the exploitation of the workers.

Of course, the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) had to try to make their capitulation less obvious. Thus, they add that "the Liga Socialista differs with *some* points in this section." (Our emphasis.)

Some! Which points? Why do they disagree with them? Why then are the points, whatever they were, that they disagreed with included in the platform? Why did they sign a platform that contained points they do not agree with? What did they get in return for endorsing Stalinist positions?

The least they could demand in exchange for the Trotskyist program is that their position on the points expressed also be included. But let's be reasonable. *At least* they could have included clarification on which points they disagreed with and why.

But not even in a separate article in their newspaper do the *compañeros* explain the reasons for their behavior, and why it was necessary or advantageous to give in on those points. Nor do they explain their differences. Should we assume that they are minimal and secondary?

The *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) have gone so far in their capitulation to Stalinism that when they "declare their defense of the Soviet Union and other socialist states against any imperialist attack"—a position with which we are totally in agreement—they don't bother to clarify at the same time that the Liga Socialista (TM) favors the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy that is encrusted on the conquests of the workers revolution and prevents the flowering of socialist democracy.

But for the *compañeros* this is not necessary, because for them the USSR and the other workers states are no longer deformed or degenerated workers states.

9. Rafael Galván Maldonado, leader of the Tendencia Democrática (Democratic Tendency) in the Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana (United Electrical Workers Union of the Mexican Republic). See the article entitled "150,000 March in Mexico City for Trade-Union Democracy" in *Intercontinental Press*, December 15, 1975, p. 1759.

They are "socialist states" where such a bureaucracy does not exist. They now accept *in fact* the Stalinist thesis of "socialism in one country."

It seems that they have abandoned the perspectives for the advance of the world revolution in one of its three sectors—the *political revolution* in the deformed workers states, carried out by the proletariat of those countries and its allies, the oppressed nationalities within them.

But that is enough. With what we have shown, there is sufficient reason to ask the *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) the following questions:

What is your aim in endorsing this program and Stalinist organization? What are you getting in return for agreeing to sign this program? What was your aim in making this concession? Some propaganda in *Oposición*?¹⁰ To win the respect of the Stalinists and their friends?

To be noticed and viewed favorably by Juan José Arreola¹¹ and Stalinist circles? The friendship of Raquel Tibol?¹² To receive publicity as a reasonable, progressive organization struggling for peace and "the public well-being" from the circles that are for peace, a humane existence, and democracy?

Is that what you are pursuing? "Spectacular actions" to make yourselves known, regardless of the sort of prestige you get?

Or is this really your answer to the question posed at this time of who should rule and with what program? Perhaps the *compañeros* actually think that the government Mexico needs is one shared between the bourgeoisie and the "revolutionary" PCM, MOS, and Liga Socialista (TM), and that the institution of their minimum program would resolve the most pressing national problems.

In that case, *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM), if you have reached fundamental programmatic agreement with the PCM and if you agree with their "revolutionary methods," why propose a front only for the elections?

If you don't single out programmatic differences on problems as fundamental as the ones touched on, and have no methodological differences, why don't you fuse? Why go only halfway? Come now, *compañeros*, don't be sectarian.

We think that what we have revealed provides the elements to judge who really

represents the tradition and continuity of the Liga Socialista and of revolutionary Marxism in Mexico. Because, in effect, this is shown in practice, and the *compañeros* of the Militant Tendency of the Liga Socialista (TM) have taken only ten days to give us the material with which to judge from their practice.

What is the goal of the *compañeros*? To get a little publicity? To carry out a maneuver?

Now we understand what they meant during the so-called Second Congress when they defended the necessity to "intervene in the class struggle" independently of how and leaving to one side the question of program.

They have done this in the elections, and the PCM has taken responsibility for providing them with a program. Now we understand clearly that *the FBL, the traditions of the Liga Socialista, and its program were an obstacle for the implementation of a policy of "astute maneuvers,"* in which principles and program are only a nuisance.

What are they looking for? Shortcuts in the construction of the party through spectacular actions and maneuvers? Their policy has already led them, in less than two weeks, to break with the program and method of revolutionary Marxism, and to violate class principles in supporting a class-collaborationist foreign policy. It has set them on a course that, if they do not break with it, will lead them to become satellites of Stalinism.

Now we also understand why the *compañeros* needed to impose vertical structures on the organization, to wipe out internal democracy, and to make discussion impossible. Now it is clear why they needed anti-Leninist organizational methods. To carry out such a break from Trotskyist, revolutionary Marxist principles required that the ranks of the organization not have the slightest possibility to question it.

Up until January 2, the possibility of this PCM-MOS-LS(TM) agreement was not even suspected, let alone *openly* considered, in what was then the unified organization. When did discussions about it begin? Could the ranks discuss and evaluate whether they accepted such a policy? Were they able to evaluate if what they were getting in return for the capitulation to Stalinism was worth it? Could they discuss whether they agreed on supporting the government of Laos or the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)?

The *compañeros* also have to explain why they carried out *secret negotiations* with the PCM. To start with, *when did they begin?* How many discussions were there prior to the agreement and what was their character? How was the joint platform arrived at? What were the differences, proposals, amendments? Why are they willing to hide

such differences from public knowledge of the workers? Why was it justifiable to sign a program with which they say they have "some" differences on foreign policy?

Their error in principle is made worse by not explaining either how they reached this agreement or what their fundamental differences are (that is, if there still are some) with the PCM and MOS. What differentiates them from these two "revolutionary organizations"? Why did the negotiations have to be secret?

The *compañeros* of the Liga Socialista (TM) have embarked on an extremely dangerous course. Their policy of "intervention in the class struggle" on the basis of "astute maneuvers," leaving aside the question of program, has already led them to accept the PCM's program for the popular front, the program the CP is using to try to convince "progressive" forces to participate in its class-collaborationist plan.

They are doing this when the campaign of the PCM and the front is not legal; when it will not win over millions, let alone thousands, of workers; and when it does not have the slightest chance of succeeding or yielding some parliamentary seats, offering the possibility of agitation for socialist ideas.

What will happen when the PCM manages to attract "progressive" bourgeois forces on the basis of this program, when the popular front wins over millions, and when there is the possibility that its election campaign will succeed, as happened, for example, in Chile?

If the Liga Socialista (TM) accepts the program of the popular front now, in return for a few bits of publicity, what would they do in such a situation? Sacrificing program in order to carry out "astute little maneuvers" in the electoral arena—the class enemy's territory!—has set them on a course that leads to abandoning the territory of revolutionary Marxism.

On the other hand, the PCM has not abandoned its class-collaborationist plan of building a united organization of the forces "that support democracy and socialism." It has merely discovered that it is not yet in a position to implement it.

It must show the bourgeoisie that it is an "important force" with the capacity to mobilize broad sectors behind it, and that it can count on a chorus of "useful idiots" made up of left sects and groups. Likewise, it must show that it is capable of using proposals and agreements to maneuver with other important political organizations of the working class, thus helping to lead them away from a correct policy on any important issue.

For the present it has already been provided with the caboose for its election campaign and for publicizing its program. The leaders of the PCM know how to be patient. After more than fifty-five years of

10. Official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist party.

11. Leader of the Sindicato de Trabajadores y Empleados de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma (Union of Personnel of the National Autonomous University), who is linked to the Stalinists.

12. Well-known art critic linked to the Communist party.

experience they have learned the art of betrayal, as well as the science of winning over to its politics those who are willing to be fooled.

Vote for Campa Without Supporting His Program

Previously and in other articles we have stated and explained our position on the elections and the PCM campaign. We call on the workers and the workers organizations to vote for Valentín Campa against the bourgeois candidate, José López Portillo, to demonstrate our class independence. At the same time we in no way endorse the program that he and his party defend, which we believe incorrect and dangerous. Moreover, we are willing to debate his electoral platform with him publicly.

In these elections, at the same time that we call for a class vote we will also try to publicize and explain our program, and to publicize and seek support for the mobilizations that occur during the period. We will put forward our solutions and make clear the need for a workers and farmers government to implement them.

Moreover, we believe it is necessary to call for the formation of a united front of all workers organizations to encourage *mobilizations and actions* around the immediate obstacle of the Federal Election Law.

Something that stands out in the manifesto of the PCM, MOS, and Liga Socialista (TM) is that they do not call for the carrying out of any concrete action. They do not call for a mobilization around one or more concrete demands. They do not even challenge the undemocratic Federal Election Law by denouncing the fact that legally they do not have the right to carry out their campaign. Nor do they call on all workers and democratic organizations to fight to defend their right to carry it out.

A united front around concrete needs and events, a front for action and mobilization around a burning issue, does much more to educate and promote the unity of the working class than does any declaration of good intentions.

In the current situation a very real, concrete possibility is the establishment of a front for the political rights of the workers, against the undemocratic Federal Election Law, and in support of legal recognition for all political parties. We urge all workers organizations to unite with us in forming such a front. We call on the "astute" compañeros of the Liga Socialista (TM) to stop the "little maneuvers" that only lead them to move away from revolutionary Marxism, and to join us in carrying out this urgent task of the workers and revolutionary movement. □

Roberto Jaramillo of the MOS, Ricardo Hernández for the TM of the Liga Socialista, and Valentín Campa for the PCM. When Hernández took the floor he began with a "denunciation" of the FBL for selling *El Socialista*. He merely alluded to his differences with the position put forward in the newspaper, stating that the Liga Socialista (TM) had been subjected to certain criticisms for having signed a joint platform with the MOS and PCM. According to Hernández, the masses don't "give a flying shit" about the programmatic differences between the Trotskyists and the Mexican CP.

The aim of this article, however, is not to explain our areas of disagreement or agreement with the MOS, PCM, and TM, but to report the facts of the assault.

As the meeting was ending and a few persons began to file out the doors, sales of *El Socialista* began again; however, "G" organized a group of TM members to resume the attacks.

The intention of this group was to carry out a threat by "N," who had said that if the members of the FBL did not stop selling their newspapers, "more drastic measures would be taken" against them.

When this group of TM supporters entered the fray, Israel had to protect his papers with his body to avoid having them wrenched away; he was pushed and shoved from one side to the other.

"S," in a new act of provocation, grabbed another compañero by the neck. The latter had to twist away to avoid being kned in the face.

Despite these repeated efforts, however, it proved impossible to seize the newspapers from the compañeros, who eventually left the area. Plainclothes police officers who had the meeting under surveillance from their automobiles came onto the scene to try to stir up a general brawl—something that would have suited them perfectly. □

Mexico—A Physical Assault on Members of the FBL

[The following article appeared in the February 1-15 issue of *El Socialista*, newspaper of the Liga Socialista-Fracción Bolchevique Leninista (Socialist League-Bolshevik Leninist Faction). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On the evening of January 23 a number of comrades selling *El Socialista* [FBL] were physically attacked by members of the Tendencia Militante [Militant Tendency]. (As we have explained, the Liga Socialista is divided into two public factions—a majority grouping, the Tendencia Militante [TM]; and a minority, the Fracción Bolchevique Leninista [FBL]. The name of the newspaper of both factions is *El Socialista*, a fact that has been seized on by the TM as an excuse for threatening the FBL in an effort to halt the sale of its paper.)

The events took place in Mexico City in front of the Salón Riviera, where the Mexican Communist party (PCM), Movement for Socialist Organization (MOS), and Tendencia Militante of the Liga Socialista were holding a "united meeting of the left" as part of the campaign of Valentín Campa (of the PCM) as candidate for the presidency of the republic.

In front of the two entrances to the hall, five members of the FBL were selling the issue of *El Socialista* in which the FBL puts forward its position on the Campa campaign.

At one of the entrances at 7:00 p.m., a member of the TM (whom we shall call "E") tried to take the newspapers away from Compañeros Cadenas and Hoyos. The two compañeros declined to be drawn into a violent confrontation but at the same time insisted on their right to sell their newspaper. In front of a number of members of the TM, "E" began to rough up Hoyos, threatening to "beat him up."

"L" backed up "E" but did not physically assault the members of the FBL. Instead, he simply demanded that they not sell their newspaper there and not "try to cause a provocation" (!). This prompted a discussion, which for the moment halted the pushing and shoving of Hoyos and Cadenas.

At the other entrance to the hall, "S" (of the TM) struck Israel from behind while the latter was selling *El Socialista*. But other members of the TM pulled "S" aside, and the selling of the newspaper continued until the meeting began inside the hall.

Those who spoke at the meeting were

Inflation, Unemployment Spur Protests in Portugal

Intersindical, the Portuguese labor confederation, announced February 18 that it will demand an increase in the minimum wage "to cover the rise in the cost of living." While prices continue to surge, unemployment also remains high. According to the Ministry of Labor, the current jobless rate has reached 15 percent.

Workers at an electric-cable factory outside Lisbon downed tools for two hours February 17, issuing an eight-point list of demands. According to a dispatch from Lisbon by *New York Times* correspondent Marvine Howe, the striking workers won "control . . . of production and the filling of 90 empty posts."

Against Violence in the Workers Movement

[The following article appeared in the February 1-15 issue of *El Socialista*, newspaper of the Liga Socialista-Fracción Bolchevique Leninista (Socialist League-Bolshevik Leninist Faction). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Throughout its existence, the Trotskyist movement has opposed the use of physical violence between democratic and revolutionary currents in the labor movement. In its view, threats and violence should not be used as a way to "convince," or rather eliminate, individuals or political tendencies just because they disagree with certain political positions.

This has a bearing on a number of actions taken by the Tendencia Militante [TM—Militant Tendency], a formation that represents one of the public factions of the Liga Socialista. These compañeros have refused to discuss in political terms the current situation within the Liga Socialista and its origins.

To this end, they have used an evasion characteristic of political weakness to avoid a political discussion of the differences that exist between the Bolshevik Leninist Faction (FBL) and themselves (TM).

They advance the following argument as the principal means of avoiding political questions: "We do not discuss with thieves." And they have not settled for simply refusing to hold political discussions but have resorted to violence and to attempts to take away newspapers from the comrades of the FBL. This occurred recently in the Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales [School of Political and Social Science] of the UNAM [Universidad Autónoma de México—Autonomous University of Mexico] and in the University of Puebla.

In our view, a policy of physical violence against those in the workers movement who oppose our views benefits nobody but our class enemy.

For many years Trotskyists have fought against this form of cutting off political discussion. Those who have opposed us on this question have mainly been the Stalinists.

They are the ones who have introduced violence against their revolutionary opponents. Not long ago in Mexico, they persecuted the Trotskyists, expelling them from the trade unions, beating them up, and suppressing their ideas.

In the workers states where the Stalinists constitute the caste that ties the hands of the proletariat, their long, permanent, and continuing campaign of terror against all those who demand their basic rights is well known. This is the case in the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, China, North Korea, etc.

In addition to the Stalinists, the ultra-lefts also resort to blows and insults to conceal their political weakness. On the occasions when they have resorted to this method, as did the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre [September 23 Communist League] in Sinaloa, we have denounced their incorrect and destructive attitude as well.

To be sure, violence has also occurred within the ranks of the labor movement, introduced by the bosses and the formations at the disposal of the government. This occurs, indirectly, through the labor gangsters and other bureaucrats. As a direct means, the bosses use provocateurs.

In any case, and regardless of its origin, violence within the labor movement, and

An Appeal From the Family of Mustafa Dzhemilev

[The following appeal on behalf of imprisoned Crimean Tatar Mustafa Dzhemilev was one of several documents made available at a news conference organized in Moscow December 3, 1975, by Andrei Sakharov and dissident communist Pyotr Grigorenko. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 9, p. 198 for another of the documents released.)

[Mustafa Dzhemilev's hunger strike, which he began June 19, 1975, is believed to be continuing. It would now be in its ninth month.

[The translation from the Russian is by Hilary Jaeger.]

* * *

Kind people!

All who can sympathize with another's grief:

Help save our Mustafa before it is too late.

He is not a criminal. His guilt is his great love for his long-suffering Crimean Tatar people and wanting happiness for them, an end to discrimination and genocide, and the return of his people to their own land. Those whom this displeases again, for the fourth time, want to use lies to shut him away for years in prisons and camps. In protest against this he has gone on a hunger strike in the Omsk prison, which is already in its sixth month. He has grown so thin and weak that we fear for his life. We ask you to raise your voice to save him!

We ask the International Red Cross and Amnesty International to obtain the right to visit Mustafa and to do all that is within their power to save his life.

In addition, we call on the leadership of Communist parties to appeal to the party-governmental leadership of our country,

especially within the groups on the left, benefits only the bosses.

In their version of *El Socialista*, the Tendencia Militante warns that some persons within their organization "have reached violent conclusions" and that the leadership is "trying to stop them."

We hope that the compañeros of the TM come to understand in time the serious error they have committed and that there will be no more violent attacks against members of the FBL.

It was inevitable that the profoundly antidemocratic methods used by the TM in its attempt to usurp the Liga Socialista would continue to be put into practice. The only difference is that now that they cannot try to silence us with maneuvers designed to behead and crush us "morally," they have to try to eliminate us physically. □

Maybe they will heed at least your voice.

People—help us!

Shakhfire Mustafaeva (Mustafa Dzhemilev's mother), Abduldzhemil Mustafaev (father), Shefkhe Asanova (sister), Vasfie Khairova (sister), Gulzar Abduramanova (sister), Dilyara Seitvileva (sister), Asan Dzhemilev (brother), Anafi Dzhemilev (brother). □

Of Nixon, Ford, China, and Reagan

Washington just can't seem to shake the Watergate hangover.

Former President Nixon's trip to China is a case in point. It has reopened the wound caused by Gerald Ford's pardon of his disgraced predecessor in September 1974.

Revival of this issue comes at a bad time for Ford. On February 24 he faces a challenge in the New Hampshire Republican party primary election that could affect his chances of being the party's candidate in the November presidential elections. Conservatives in the party are pushing the candidacy of Ronald Reagan, a former governor of California.

According to one of Ford's New Hampshire campaign workers, "Nixon's trip revives memories of the pardon, and that's a problem." While some potential Ford backers resent the pardon, the aide said, conservatives still seem to believe that Nixon "got a raw deal."

While campaigning in New Hampshire, Ford ran into the thorny problem while speaking at a local high school. When questioned about why he had granted the pardon, Ford answered in his usual honest and disarming manner, "I thought it was right at the time and for good reasons—period."

Plataforma Electoral Conjunta del PCM, MOS y LS

[La siguiente es la plataforma electoral conjunta firmada por el Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM), el Movimiento de Organización Socialista (MOS), y la Liga Socialista (Tendencia Militante), que apareció en el número del 16-31 de enero de *El Socialista* (Tendencia Militante), el periódico de la Liga Socialista (TM). Para un informe sobre la escisión sufrida por la Liga Socialista, ver el número del 16 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*, p. 235.]

* * *

El Partido Comunista Mexicano, el Movimiento de Organización Socialista y la Liga Socialista, sin menoscabo de la autonomía de cada organización, participan coaligadas en la presente campaña electoral federal con una plataforma común y sosteniendo la candidatura presidencial del compañero Valentín Campa y una sola planilla de diputados y senadores al Congreso de la Unión.

Se proponen impulsar la acción unida de las masas, en primer lugar de la clase obrera, por demandas inmediatas y en defensa de sus intereses económicos y políticos; se proponen, asimismo, avanzar en la unidad de las fuerzas partidarias de la democracia y el socialismo con el fin de acrecentar su peso político y su influencia de masas; fortalecer la lucha del pueblo mexicano contra el imperialismo; imponer el respeto a sus derechos políticos, incluidos los electorales; combatir el ambiente político represivo e intimidatorio derivado de los métodos gubernamentales en vigor; contribuir, en suma, a la organización y desarrollo de una fuerza política autónoma que sea capaz de disputarle el poder a la burguesía, vencerla y constituir la sociedad mexicana sobre otras bases, sin explotación del trabajo asalariado por el capital, con niveles económicos y culturales de vida más altos para las masas populares y con una convivencia verdaderamente humana.

Las organizaciones que se unen para actuar en este proceso electoral, no esconden sus objetivos socialistas, ni su método revolucionario para alcanzarlos. Consideran su deber laborar tesoneramente para alcanzarlos.

Al proponer a la clase obrera, los campesinos, los estudiantes, a todos los trabajadores manuales e intelectuales, objetivos limitados de lucha, lo hacen tomando el grado de madurez de los problemas que requieren solución, los niveles de conciencia de clase y de organización de las masas y la necesidad de que éstas hagan su propia

experiencia para llegar a comprender cabalmente la necesidad de cambios profundos y radicales en la sociedad mexicana por medio de una revolución.

El PCM, el MOS y la LS, son concientes de que en las elecciones del primer domingo de julio próximo no se decidirá quien habrá de ocupar la Presidencia de la República, ni la integración fundamental del Congreso de la Unión. En vista del sistema electoral antidemocrático en vigor, la imposición del futuro Presidente está resuelta. También el poder público en su más alta esfera, determinará la absoluta mayoría de los diputados y senadores.

En consecuencia, estas organizaciones revolucionarias no van a disputar en las urnas electorales la Presidencia de la República ni las curules de diputados y senadores. Participan en la campaña electoral con el objetivo de ayudar a elevar la conciencia de las masas, cuyos derechos ellas mismas deben defender, y a fortalecer el movimiento independiente del pueblo para que llegue a influir decisivamente en la vida política nacional.

Con plena claridad de objetivos, sin ilusiones de ninguna índole y confiando únicamente en la fuerza de las masas y en la de su propia organización, el Partido Comunista Mexicano, el Movimiento de Organización Socialista y la Liga Socialista proponen a los ciudadanos partidarios de la democracia y del bienestar del pueblo, una plataforma de lucha que recoge las posiciones, los objetivos y las demandas inmediatas que responden a la situación presente del país.

En esta plataforma electoral hay exigencias al gobierno actual y objetivos alcanzables sólo con el poder político del pueblo trabajador. Todo depende de la fuerza organizada y unida de las masas y de los acertados de su dirección política.

La plataforma del Partido Comunista Mexicano, el Movimiento de Organización Socialista y la Liga Socialista es la siguiente:

I. Libertad Política para Todos los Ciudadanos

Es un hecho notorio la existencia de un régimen político antidemocrático que impide la participación de la mayoría de los ciudadanos en la solución de los grandes problemas nacionales. El paternalismo y el despotismo, en contraposición a los métodos democráticos de gobernar, imperan en el país. Los ciudadanos, sobre todo los que impugnan el sistema y luchan por la

democracia y el socialismo, no son respetados por el poder público ni por la legislación vigente, en sus derechos políticos y sociales; no pueden legalmente organizarse en partidos políticos independientes, y la organización sindical democrática encuentra trabas sin fin; no pueden ejercer libremente el derecho de voto ni reunirse en calles y lugares públicos, sobre todo en la ciudad de México, para exponer sus opiniones sobre problemas políticos del país o asuntos del interés de las masas populares, y sufren represiones—asesinato, encarcelamiento, secuestro, amenazas, etc.—por disentir del punto de vista oficial y actuar política y socialmente con independencia del Gobierno. Como ejemplo lacerante de esta realidad, existen cientos de presos políticos, unos enjuiciados penalmente y otros simplemente secuestrados por el Gobierno, numerosos procesados, fuera de la cárcel bajo fianza o "libertad bajo protesta," con sus derechos políticos suspendidos, y no pocos perseguidos y exilados en el exterior.

El ejercicio de la libertad política empezaría a cobrar realidad con las siguientes medidas:

1. La promulgación de una ley de amnistía general en virtud de la cual obtuvieran su libertad todos los presos por motivos políticos, quedarán cancelados todos los procesos penales y cesarán las persecuciones de igual carácter.

2. Cese de las represiones contra el movimiento sindical, campesino, universitario y popular en general, que el actual gobierno practica.

3. Supresión del Título II del Código Penal Federal y otras normas legislativas que implican la represión política.

4. Abolición de la actual Ley Federal Electoral y sus correspondientes en los estados. Sustitución de esa ley por otra que instituya la representación proporcional en el Congreso de la Unión, establezca el registro de partidos políticos no sobre la base del número de miembros y la ficha de cada uno en la Secretaría de Gobernación, sino que tome en cuenta su presencia política real; ordene la organización de un órgano autónomo que organice el proceso electoral; forme un tribunal electoral independiente del Gobierno para calificar con imparcialidad las elecciones y, en fin, dé garantías a todos los ciudadanos para ejercer libremente el voto.

5. Eliminar de los reglamentos de policía y tránsito todas las trabas al derecho de manifestación o de reunión pública, espe-

cialmente en el Distrito Federal.

6. Respeto al derecho de huelga. Libertad de afiliación política para los obreros y demás sindicalizados y prohibición de que los sindicatos sean incorporados como tales a cualquier partido político. Supresión de la exigencia gubernamental del "registro" de los sindicatos y eliminación de cualquier intervención gubernamental en los sindicatos.

7. Eliminación de toda forma de discriminación a la mujer.

8. Defensa del derecho de cada ciudadano a tener o no credo o religión.

II. Medidas para Mejorar las Condiciones de Vida de Todos los Trabajadores

Quienes viven de su trabajo y sus familias cada día experimentan peores condiciones de vida, en tanto que los explotadores, especialmente los más grandes capitalistas, no sólo disponen de todo lo necesario, sino incluso viven entre lujos y derroches.

El salario real baja constantemente no obstante los aumentos nominales, porque los precios de las mercancías y servicios, particularmente los de consumo indispensable, aumentan sistemáticamente. La parte de la riqueza social que corresponde a los trabajadores disminuye en proceso constante y la de los burgueses se acrecienta. El grado de explotación de los obreros también aumenta. Las masas populares sobreviven en la pobreza. La carencia de lo indispensable es su atributo.

Además del insuficiente número de casas habitación y del estado insalubre de la vivienda para las familias de obreros y campesinos, las rentas son altísimas y consumen hasta la mitad del salario. Como si esto fuera poco, los contratos de arrendamiento son verdaderamente leoninos a favor de los casatenientes. Los inquilinos, para poder arrendar casa son obligados a renunciar a sus derechos y los jueces actúan casi siempre en su contra, pues reciben iguales de los casatenientes.

La desocupación es enorme. No solamente se trata de los despidos en numerosas empresas, sino de la falta de plazas para los cientos de miles de jóvenes, hombres y mujeres, que cada año deberían obtener empleo.

Por estas razones las organizaciones coaligadas, presentan los siguientes objetivos de lucha:

1. Aumento general de los salarios, sueldos y pensiones.
2. Reducción de la semana de trabajo a 40 horas, con pago de 56.
3. Establecimiento de la escala móvil para fijar los salarios, lo que significa aumentarlos en la medida y frecuencia en que suben los precios de las mercancías; esto debe complementarse con el control real de los precios a escala nacional con participación de los consumidores.
4. Congelación de rentas de la vivienda

popular y legislación sobre la materia declarando de interés público los contratos de arrendamiento, con derechos irrenunciables para los inquilinos. Restablecimiento de la Fracción XII del Artículo 123 de la Constitución, que señalaba a los patronos la obligación de entregar habitaciones cómodas e higiénicas a sus trabajadores. En resumen, luchar por la vivienda digna y barata para los trabajadores.

5. Subsidios para los desocupados por cuenta del Gobierno y los patronos e incorporación al Seguro Social.

III. Reivindicaciones de los Trabajadores del Campo

La reforma agraria burguesa de nuestro país no resolvió, ni podía resolver, los graves problemas de las masas rurales. Más de medio siglo después de haber sido proclamada, subsiste una gran concentración de la mejor tierra en propiedad privada de unos cuantos. Los latifundios existen abiertamente o fraccionados en forma simulada. El derecho de amparo a favor de los terratenientes, restablecido por el gobierno de Miguel Alemán, sirve para nulificar entregas de tierras a los campesinos. Los ejidos, por los general, carecen de agua de riego, de maquinaria agrícola y de crédito suficiente, oportuno y barato. La agricultura de tipo capitalista se encuentra bajo la intervención de los monopolios capitalistas industriales, comerciales y financieros. Son millones los trabajadores del campo sin tierra ni empleo. Los obreros del agro no reciben el salario mínimo, ni se les respeta la jornada laboral de 8 horas y el día de descanso semanal pagado. Su derecho de sindicalización es pisoteado por las autoridades gubernamentales. La crisis agraria impera en nuestro país.

Frente a la situación reinante en el agro mexicano, las organizaciones unidas en la presente campaña electoral, presentan los objetivos siguientes:

1. Entrega de tierra a quienes la trabajan. Eliminación total del latifundio y de la gran propiedad capitalista de la tierra. Impulso al ejido colectivo sobre la base de la voluntad y autonomía de los propios campesinos.
2. Derogación del párrafo III de la fracción XIV del Artículo 27 Constitucional que permite el amparo a los terratenientes que poseen certificado de inafectabilidad.
3. Disminución de la propiedad inafectable hasta 20 hectáreas de riego y sus equivalentes en tierras de otra calidad.
4. Prioridad en la entrega de agua de riego a los ejidatarios y propietarios de menos de 20 hectáreas.
5. Crédito suficiente, oportuno y barato para los ejidatarios y verdaderos pequeños propietarios. Fiscalización del Banco de Crédito Ejidal por los auténticos representantes de los campesinos.
6. Organización autónoma de los campe-

sinos en la venta de cosechas y en todas las operaciones relacionadas con la producción agrícola, pecuaria y forestal.

7. Respeto al derecho de sindicalización de los asalariados del campo, el de contratación colectiva, a la jornada de 8 horas, pago del séptimo día, pago del salario mínimo, seguro social y demás prestaciones establecidas en la Ley Federal del Trabajo.

IV. Medidas para la Reorientación de la Política Económica

La crisis de la economía mexicana se expresa en los bajos ritmos de crecimiento de la producción material,—en la agricultura los ritmos están por abajo de la tasa anual de aumento de la población—; en el enorme y creciente déficit del comercio exterior; en la inflación monetaria que en los últimos años ha llegado al 25% anual; en el déficit, también en aumento constante, del presupuesto gubernamental; en la deuda externa que llega ya a más de 250 millones de pesos. Todo esto se refleja en el bajísimo nivel de vida de las masas populares.

La política económica del Gobierno, en sus aspectos principales, procura proteger los intereses de la gran burguesía y más estrechamente los de la oligarquía financiera.

De allí, que el pago de impuestos proporcionalmente sea menor por parte del capital, se favorezca en realidad a los más grandes bancos y financieras, se pongan las empresas estatales al servicio del capital privado entregándole combustibles, energía eléctrica, arrastre ferroviario, créditos, etc., a precios incluso por debajo del costo.

Se estimulen en suma, las más desorbitadas ganancias de las empresas nacionales y extranjeras, por medio de la inflación monetaria, la política fiscal, el capital estatal, los créditos que el Estado avala, etc. En la medida en que las utilidades capitalistas van siendo mayores, los ingresos de las masas populares decrecen.

Este grado de cosas solamente puede ser enfrentado, de conformidad con los intereses populares, adoptando las medidas que a continuación se exponen:

1. Política fiscal que grave con impuestos progresivos las grandes ganancias del capital extranjero y las del gran capital mexicano.
2. Control de cambios y del comercio exterior. Medidas eficaces para detener el incremento de la deuda externa.
3. Nacionalización de la banca privada.
4. Nacionalización de las industrias básicas, en poder del capital nacional, el extranjero o de ambos asociados, así como de la industria alimenticia y la farmacéutica. Control de esas empresas nacionalizadas por parte de los obreros, lo que significa acceso de los mismos a las contabilidades reales para denunciar y exigir remedio a las irregularidades que contengan por cuanto se refiere al reparto de utilidades de los

trabajadores, al pago de las cargas fiscales y a las posibilidades de aumentar los salarios teniendo en cuenta el incremento de la productividad, las ganancias y el costo de la vida.

5. Reorientación del sector estatal de la economía, principalmente hacia la actividad productiva y supresión del carácter de apoyo a la empresa privada.

6. Freno a la infalcción monetaria y crediticia con medidas económicas que permitan el aumento de la producción industrial y agropecuaria y la limitación de las utilidades capitalistas.

V. Política Exterior Independiente y de Paz

La política exterior, no obstante la ampliación de sus relaciones con mayor número de países, incluso socialistas, y su participación en algunas acciones de tipo independentista en América Latina, México sigue girando en la órbita de Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. Continúa en el seno de la OEA y no denuncia el Tratado Interamericano de Defensa Recíproca. El Gobierno del país intenta atraer mayores inversiones de capital yanqui y propicia la asociación de capitales mexicanos y norteamericanos, acentuando así la dependencia. El Gobierno, en el plano de la propaganda, defiende la falacia de considerar en iguales términos a Estados Unidos y a la Unión Soviética como países ricos en contraposición a los pobres, entre los que sitúa a México.

Esta política exterior, sellada por la crisis de la hegemonía norteamericana y la situación internacional actual, no es antimperialista, ni plenamente autónoma. Por ello las masas populares deben luchar por:

1. La incorporación inmediata de México al grupo de países no alineados. Este conjunto está integrado por países capitalistas dependientes del imperialismo y subdesarrollados y por países socialistas. El rumbo fundamental de su posición internacional es antimperialista. Es por tal razón que el pueblo mexicano debe exigir el ingreso de nuestro país a dicho agrupamiento.

2. El fortalecimiento de las relaciones de colaboración económica y política con los gobiernos latinoamericanos que luchan por el rescate de sus recursos y por su plena autonomía. En este caso se tiene en cuenta a Perú, Panamá, Ecuador que, aunque en distinto grado, tienden a lograr lo anteriormente señalado.

La salida de México de la OEA. La denuncia del Tratado Interamericano de Asistencia Recíproca. Una posición activa contra el colonialismo en América Latina, apoyando especialmente al pueblo de Puerto Rico que pugna por la independencia nacional de su país, la autodeterminación nacional del pueblo de Belice, la autonomía que propugnan los pueblos de las colonias

francesas de Martinica y Guadalupe y en general por la eliminación del colonialismo en América.

3. Defensa activa de la paz mundial y solidaridad con los pueblos que luchan por su independencia y contra la agresión imperialista.

4. Medidas efectivas para llevar a la práctica la Carta de Deberes y Derechos Económicos de los Estados. Además de las posiciones generales relativas a la coexistencia pacífica de los diversos estados, es particularmente importante el derecho a nacionalizar inversiones extranjeras y a comerciar con todos los países incluidos los del sistema socialista, derecho que México debe ejercer. La diversificación del comercio exterior y la defensa de los precios de las materias primas de exportación que tiene lugar en dicha Carta, también deben ponerse en práctica por México. Los intereses del pueblo exigen la realización de algunas medidas contenidas en la Carta para que ésta, que mereció la aprobación de 120 países entre ellos todos los del sistema socialista y que sólo recibió la negativa de los principales países imperialistas, no sea un simple código moral sino un documento de aplicación práctica.

5. El ingreso de México a la Organización de Países Exportadores de Petróleo (OPEP), por cuanto la asociación de los países vendedores de materias primas, en este caso el petróleo, para defender los precios y las condiciones de venta, es una medida de tipo antimperialista. Es ilustrativo el que Venezuela y Ecuador por el hecho de ser miembros de la OPEP, sufren discriminaciones en el comercio exterior por Estados Unidos. México debe unirse a estos países y hacer más fuerte la resistencia por lo que se refiere a la exportación de esta materia prima.

6. Ampliación de las relaciones comerciales y tecnológicas con los países socialistas.

7. Establecimiento de relaciones diplomáticas, económicas y culturales con la República Popular Democrática de Corea, la República Popular de Mongolia, Laos, el Estado democrático de Camboya, la República Popular de Angola y los demás países que se van liberando del colonialismo.

Es preciso señalar que la Liga Socialista difiere con algunos puntos de este capítulo. Sin embargo, las tres organizaciones se declaran a favor de las luchas antimperialistas de los pueblos coloniales y semicoloniales, apoyan la lucha del MPLA (Movimiento por la Liberación de Angola) contra la agresión del imperialismo y la reacción africana. Favorecen la salida de México de la OEA y denuncian el Tratado Interamericano de Asistencia Recíproca. Las tres organizaciones también declaran su defensa de la URSS y demás Estados socialistas contra cualquier ataque del imperialismo y favorecen las relaciones diplomáticas, co-

merciales y culturales de México con dichos países.

VI. Democratización de la Enseñanza

El atraso de nuestro pueblo, derivado de la explotación capitalista y de la dependencia del país respecto del imperialismo yanqui, se demuestra, entre otros, con el caso de la educación. Existen millones de analfabetas funcionales, la absoluta mayoría de quienes han cursado estudios no alcanzan a terminar ni siquiera la instrucción primaria, y de los ingresados a escuelas superiores y universidades, los menos logran adquirir una carrera profesional. Los hijos de los obreros y de los campesinos prácticamente tienen vedada la educación.

La educación, en general es de bajo nivel científico y técnico y se realiza con métodos autoritarios, antidemocráticos y guiados por los intereses de la burguesía. La educación nacional se halla en crisis. Las organizaciones coaligadas en esta campaña electoral, proponen luchar por lo siguiente:

1. Educación para todos los mexicanos y enseñanza obligatoria y gratuita de nueve grados (primaria y secundaria).

2. Erradicación total del analfabetismo. Monopolio estatal de la educación en todos los grados y liquidación de la escuela particular.

3. Autonomía universitaria y de institutos y escuelas de ese nivel aunque no se denominen universitarios. Supresión de las estructuras autoritarias en toda la educación superior (universidades, institutos, y escuelas técnicas industriales y agropecuarias). Sustitución de dichas estructuras por formas de autogestión ejercidas por maestros, estudiantes y trabajadores. Servicios asistenciales para los estudiantes, tales como internados y comedores escolares gratuitos.

4. Mejoramiento profesional económico y social del magisterio a todos los niveles.

5. Unificación de todo el sistema educativo nacional y planificación de la educación a largo plazo. Empleo para todos los egresados de las escuelas superiores.

Estos puntos constituyen tan sólo los fundamentales que integran la gran plataforma electoral de las fuerzas de izquierda unidas en la acción política electoral. Son objetivos de lucha alcanzables sólo con el movimiento unido y organizado de las masas, con la acción autónoma de la clase obrera y la alianza del proletariado, el campesinado y los demás sectores del pueblo. Algunos puntos representan exigencias al poder burgués actual y otros, que afectan la propiedad y los intereses económicos ante todo de los grandes burgueses, serán cumplidos con un cambio revolucionario del poder político al pasar éste al pueblo trabajador, bajo la dirección de la

clase obrera, con una reorganización social enfilada al socialismo.

El Partido Comunista Mexicano, el Movimiento de Organización Socialista y la Liga Socialista llaman a la clase obrera, a los campesinos, a los estudiantes, a todos los trabajadores manuales e intelectuales, a los hombres y las mujeres, a los jóvenes, a enarbolar esta plataforma, luchar por ella y agruparse en una gran fuerza autónoma, de oposición al sistema capitalista dependiente y al Gobierno, a luchar contra las fuerzas

reaccionarias y pro fascistas, para salir de la campaña electoral ganando en fuerza y en influencia social y política.

¡Libertad política para avanzar hacia la democracia y el socialismo!

México, D.F. a 12 de enero de 1976

El Comité Central del Partido Comunista Mexicano. El Comité Político de la Liga Socialista. El Secretariado del Comité Nacional del Movimiento de Organización Socialista. □

¿Ya no es Estalinista el PC Mexicano?

[La siguiente es una evaluación de la plataforma electoral conjunta del Partido Comunista Mexicano, el Movimiento de Organización Socialista y la Liga Socialista (Tendencia Militante), que apareció en el número del 1-15 de febrero de *El Socialista* (Fracción Bolchevique Leninista), el periódico de la Liga Socialista (FBL).]

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Por los números anteriores (35 y 36, correspondientes a la primera y segunda quincena de enero) de nuestro periódico, nuestros lectores se habrán enterado del proceso sufrido por la Liga Socialista, el cual culminó cuando decidimos hacer pública nuestra lucha por rescatar la tradición de nuestro partido.

Como ambas organizaciones dicen ser la Liga Socialista, y la Tendencia Militante ha publicado un número de *El Socialista* con el mismo nombre y formato, la identificaremos en este artículo como Liga Socialista (TM) y a su periódico como *El Socialista* (TM) para evitar confusiones. Nos identificaremos, por otro lado, como Liga Socialista (FBL) y a nuestro periódico como *El Socialista* (FBL).

El 12 de enero de 1976, el Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM), el Movimiento de Organización Socialista (MOS)¹, y la Liga Socialista (TM), firmaron un manifiesto en el cual declaraban haber constituido un frente para impulsar la candidatura de Valentín Campa, dirigente y candidato presidencial del PCM, sobre la base de una plataforma común. Esta plataforma fue publicada en el número 35 de *El Socialista* (TM).

Al firmar tal acuerdo programático con el Partido Comunista Mexicano, un partido estalinista que en su programa y trayectoria de más de 55 años ha probado su

1. Partido Comunista Mexicano, el partido estalinista pro-Moscú en México. Movimiento de Organización Socialista, un grupo escindido de la formación oportunista denominada "Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores" (que está considerando su apoyo al candidato oficial.) El MOS ha pasado a ser un satélite del PCM.

carácter reformista y su disposición a la colaboración de clases con la patronal, la Liga Socialista (TM) aceptó la tarea de dar cobertura de izquierda al PCM en su intento por reivindicarse ante los sectores de vanguardia.

Más grave aún, la Liga Socialista (TM), en su afán de jugar este vergonzoso papel, ha firmado y avalado un programa mínimo reformista que en su estructura y contenido no es otra cosa más que una versión ligeramente modificada del programa del PCM.

Estos hechos no sólo son suficientemente importantes como para ameritar ser examinados, sino que ayudan a clarificar cuál de las dos organizaciones que se autodenominan Liga Socialista representa realmente la tradición y continuidad de esa organización y del marxismo revolucionario en México. Ayudan también a aclarar la dinámica que lleva la Liga Socialista (TM) y a explicar las posiciones y actitudes que tomó durante su lucha por usurpar la Liga Socialista y aplastar el obstáculo que la FBL significaba.

A la Cola del PCM

En números anteriores de *El Socialista* (FBL) ya hemos explicado por qué pensamos que es en general incorrecto formar un frente electoral con otros partidos políticos. Si bien consideramos válido y necesario buscar y promover la *unidad de acción* de todas las fuerzas de la clase obrera, un frente electoral para propagandizar un programa es algo radicalmente distinto. En el primer paso se trata de la formación de frentes para la lucha y movilización alrededor de puntos y problemas concretos.

Al participar en las elecciones, los socialistas no lo hacemos con la ilusión de que ése es el método para lograr cambios en nuestro país, o la vía para que los trabajadores tomen el poder.

Lo que planteamos es aprovechar el hecho de que la clase patronal y su Gobierno abren un período en el cual supuestamente se plantea quién debe gobernar el país, de qué manera y qué medidas

debe llevar a cabo ese Gobierno.

Los socialistas, sin embargo, podemos aprovechar este período para, sin crear ninguna ilusión, plantear nuestras soluciones, propagandizar nuestro programa y dar a conocer lo más ampliamente posible las luchas más importantes que estén llevando a cabo los obreros y sus aliados en contra de la patronal.

Al hacer esto, no podemos de ninguna manera darnos el lujo de promover la confusión acerca de lo que representamos, lo que proponemos para resolver los problemas nacionales y lo que nos diferencia de otros partidos.

Creemos que sí es válido en estos momentos apoyar a un candidato de un partido obrero en contraposición al candidato de los patronos, y convertir a las elecciones en un campo más de la lucha de clases.

Es por eso que en esta ocasión apoyamos la candidatura de Valentín Campa en contra de la de López Portillo,² y llamamos a votar por él como una manera de marcar un voto de clase. Explicaremos al mismo tiempo lo equivocado y peligroso de su programa y su política.

Lo que no podemos hacer es negociar nuestro programa o mezclar nuestra bandera con la de otros partidos no revolucionarios en un frente electoral. Creemos que sólo hay una solución para cada uno de los problemas del país, y es la que expresamos en los diferentes puntos de nuestro programa.

Es necesario que para que la participación socialista en las elecciones, en el campo del enemigo de clase, sea fructífera, el programa socialista y lo que representa la organización que lo abandera, sea expresado franca, clara y tajantemente. Debemos también contraponer este programa al programa reformista de Valentín Campa y su partido, y al de otras organizaciones, así como al del Gobierno patronal.

Explicamos también anteriormente, la política seguida por el PCM hacia las elecciones. Señalamos cómo sus intentos iniciales fueron los de abrir un proceso que llevara a la constitución de un frente electoral de las organizaciones obreras con las supuestas "fuerzas progresistas" y "partidarias de la democracia" patronales y del Gobierno.

Al ver frustrados sus intentos de implementar esta política en este período electoral, el PCM la *adecuó* para tratar de atraer a fuerzas a las que sí podía arrastrar tras de su política. Así, hizo varios llamados a la unidad y firmó diversos acuerdos con algunas organizaciones.

En este sentido, explicábamos por qué considerábamos que habíamos cometido un error político al firmar, el 26 de agosto de

2. José López Portillo, el candidato del partido gobernante en México, el Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), para estas elecciones de 1976.

1975, una plataforma electoral conjunta, abstracta, general y ambigua con el PCM, quien, sin respetar el acuerdo, había lanzado después su campaña con su política y su programa, y nos invitaba a participar con él alrededor de ella.³

Los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM), al firmar el acuerdo y la plataforma del 12 de enero, no sólo han aceptado hacerle el juego al PCM y ayudarlo a reivindicarse ante sectores frente a los cuales se halla profundamente desprestigiado, sino que han decidido avalar y aceptar su programa y su política, e incluso convertirse en sus defensores.

¿Es Revolucionario el PCM?

En el manifiesto y plataforma del 12 de enero, los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) nos dicen que las tres organizaciones, el PCM, el MOS y ellos, "Se proponen impulsar la acción unida de las masas, en primer lugar de la clase obrera, por demandas inmediatas y en defensa de sus intereses económicos y políticos; se proponen *asimismo*, avanzar en la *unidad de las fuerzas partidarias de la democracia y el socialismo* con el fin de acrecentar su peso político y su influencia de masas; fortalecer la lucha del pueblo mexicano contra el imperialismo; . . . contribuir, en suma, a la organización y desarrollo de una *fuerza política autónoma que sea capaz de disputarle el poder a la burguesía*, vencerla y constituir la sociedad mexicana sobre otras bases, sin explotación del trabajo asalariado por el capital . . ." (Énfasis nuestro.)

¿Qué significa la dichosa "unidad de las fuerzas partidarias de la democracia y el socialismo," esta "fuerza política autónoma" capaz de arrancarle el poder a la burguesía que se proponen impulsar *aparte* de la unidad de acción de las masas?

¿Se refiere a la concepción del PCM de la colaboración de las organizaciones obreras con fuerzas patronales "progresistas" en un "frente popular"? ¿Es esto lo que se proponen impulsar los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM)? ¿O se refiere más bien a la unidad política de los trabajadores en una organización con un programa revolucionario? En tal caso, los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) nos estarían diciendo que el PCM no se propone impulsar la colaboración de clases, que ha dejado de ser un partido estalinista, y que se propone seguir una política revolucionaria.

Cualquiera que sea la conclusión de los compañeros, nos dicen que están dispuestos a ayudar al PCM y a otras "fuerzas partidarias de la democracia y el socialismo" a "acrecentar su peso político y su influencia de masas . . ."

Nosotros, por otro lado, lucharemos con todas nuestras fuerzas por evitarlo. Lo hacemos precisamente porque creemos que el PCM es un partido estalinista que busca arrastrar a la clase obrera tras su nefasta política que culmina tarde o temprano en la colaboración con fuerzas patronales, y finalmente en la derrota de los trabajadores.

El ejemplo más reciente de que no nos equivocamos es el hecho de que, a pesar de lo que hayan dicho, siguieron una política traidora, contraria a los intereses de los trabajadores, durante la huelga de Fundidora de Monterrey.

Pero los compañeros, muy francos, claros y tajantes, para evitar confusiones, nos aclaran qué es lo que piensan. Han hecho el sorprendente descubrimiento de que los dirigentes del PCM no se proponen implementar un proyecto de colaboración de clases y frenar el avance del movimiento obrero *independiente y revolucionario*. Se propone nada menos que "disputarle el poder a la burguesía, vencerla y constituir a la sociedad mexicana sobre otras bases, sin explotación del trabajo asalariado por el capital . . ."

¿Desde cuándo, compañeros? ¿O creen ustedes que la manera de vencer a la burguesía es apoyándola y uniéndose a ella en "frentes populares" como lo era el Partido Revolucionario Mexicano (PRM—actualmente PRI) en tiempos de Cárdenas?⁴ ¿Ayudó la política del PCM durante el movimiento estudiantil de 1968 a avanzar en ese camino? ¿Se equivocaron los trabajadores ferrocarrileros al retirarles su confianza a los estalinistas después de la nefasta política que siguió en las luchas de ese sector en 1958-1959?⁵

¿Se equivocaron los compañeros de Fundidora de Monterrey al sentir una profunda antipatía hacia los dirigentes del PCM en Monterrey durante y después de la huelga?⁶

4. Lázaro Cárdenas del Río, Presidente de la República Mexicana de 1934 a 1940. Durante su período se llevaron a cabo amplias reformas, como la nacionalización del petróleo y la llamada reforma agraria, y fue a partir de 1935 que los estalinistas mexicanos promulgaron su política frentepopulista con el partido gobernante.

5. La referencia a la "nefasta política" de los estalinistas en estas luchas se debe a que Valentín Campa y su equipo firmaron un convenio por separado con la empresa y levantaron la huelga en una de las ramas del sistema ferroviario. Mientras, el resto de los huelguistas dirigidos por Demetrio Vallejo, se enfrentaban solos al régimen en pos de un aumento salarial y del reconocimiento de su dirección democráticamente electa. La medida de los estalinistas dividió al movimiento, lo que facilitó la represión del mismo.

6. La última huelga en la Fundidora de Fierro y Acero de Monterrey, en diciembre de 1975, se debió precisamente a que los trabajadores se revelaron contra los despidos y las violaciones al Contrato

Tal vez la trayectoria de más de cincuenta y cinco años del PCM no cuenta, fueron pequeños errores en la larga lucha por el socialismo y por "fortalecer la lucha del pueblo mexicano contra el imperialismo."

Para no dejar lugar a dudas, los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) nos dicen: "las organizaciones que se unen para actuar en este proceso electoral, no esconden sus *objetivos socialistas*, ni su *método revolucionario* para alcanzarlos." (Subrayados nuestros.)

Y más adelante ". . . estas organizaciones revolucionarias . . . participan en la campaña electoral con el objetivo de ayudar a elevar el nivel de conciencia de las masas . . . Con plena claridad de objetivos, sin ilusiones de ninguna índole y *confiando únicamente en la fuerza de las masas* y en la de su propia organización, el Partido Comunista Mexicano, el MOS y la Liga Socialista . . ." (Subrayados nuestros.)

¿Así que el PCM es una organización revolucionaria que tiene objetivos socialistas (sobre los cuales tiene plena claridad), utiliza un método revolucionario y busca elevar el nivel de conciencia de las masas, en cuya fuerza es en lo único en que confía?

¿Es el PCM revolucionario? ¿Ha dejado de ser una organización estalinista?

Debemos agradecerles a los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) el habernos provisto en tan corto tiempo (diez días—del 2 al 12 de enero) con una tan clara ilustración de a dónde conduce el método que defendieron durante su lucha por usurpar la Liga Socialista, que culminó en el supuesto "Segundo Congreso."⁷

Ahora resulta que por no haber estado "sumergidos en la lucha de clases" no nos habíamos percatado de que el PCM es una organización con objetivos y métodos revolucionarios.

Programa Mínimo Reformista vs. Programa de Transición

Los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) no sólo han concluido que el PCM es revolucionario, sino que también su programa y su método son las vías para llegar a la revolución socialista.

Al examinar la plataforma conjunta PCM-MOS-LS(TM), resalta inmediatamente su peculiar y sorprendente similitud, tanto en su estructura y presentación como en su contenido, con el programa del PCM. A pesar de que, como manifiesta, contiene

Colectivo perpetrados por la empresa, que contaba con el aval de la dirección sindical local controlada por los estalinistas.

7. En el artículo titulado "Escisión en la Liga Socialista" que apareció en el número del 16 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*, p. 235, están relatados los problemas en disputa durante la lucha fraccional que culminó en el "Segundo Congreso."

3. Esta plataforma apareció en el número del 15-30 de septiembre de 1975 de *El Socialista*, bajo el título "Programa Electoral Conjunto PCM-LS."

algunas demandas alcanzables con el poder político de los trabajadores es, en su conjunto, un programa mínimo reformista.

Conciente de esto último, el autor del manifiesto que las tres organizaciones avalan y sostienen, nos dice:

"... el Partido Comunista Mexicano, el Movimiento de Organización Socialista y la Liga Socialista proponen a los ciudadanos partidarios de la democracia y del bienestar del pueblo, una plataforma de lucha que recoge las posiciones, los objetivos y las demandas *inmediatas* que responden a la situación presente del país." (Subrayado nuestro.)

Y nos explica: "Al proponer objetivos limitados de lucha, lo hacen tomando en cuenta el grado de madurez de los problemas que requieren solución, los niveles de conciencia de clase y de organización de las masas y la necesidad de que éstas hagan su propia experiencia para llegar a comprender cabalmente la necesidad de cambios profundos y radicales en la sociedad mexicana por medio de una revolución."

Nosotros estamos también concientes del nivel de conciencia y organización actual de los trabajadores y de qué se requiere para que éste madure hasta que las masas adquieran conciencia de la necesidad de una revolución, un largo proceso del cual es parte fundamental la experiencia de ellas mismas en la lucha.

Pero este proceso requiere también de una dirección revolucionaria, por pequeña que sea al principio, que al mismo tiempo que lucha al lado de las masas alrededor de sus problemas inmediatos, vaya proponiendo y explicando *medidas que realmente responden* a esos problemas que las aquejan y por cuales se movilizan.

Una organización que proponga demandas de transición, demandas que ayuden a elevar la conciencia de las masas de su nivel actual a un nivel de conciencia socialista.

Por ejemplo, ante el problema del desempleo no sólo luchamos junto a los trabajadores que sean despedidos y se movilizan para ser reinstalados. Planteamos también la necesidad de luchar por que el Gobierno cree un programa de servicios y obras públicas para proveer empleos, por una reducción de la semana de trabajo a 40 horas con pago de 56 y porque se instaure una escala móvil de horas de trabajo.

Esta última demanda significa que la jornada de trabajo sea reducida sin que el salario sea mermado en lo más mínimo, de tal manera que todos los desempleados sean provistos con un empleo.

De esta manera, los trabajadores, al ir luchando por sus demandas mínimas, no sólo van aprendiendo a través de su experiencia que la reinstalación de algunos trabajadores, o un aumento de salario no resuelven definitivamente el problema del desempleo o de la carestía, sino que poco a

poco van comprendiendo la necesidad de luchar por una medida que realmente resuelva esos problemas. Asimismo van comprendiendo la necesidad de luchar por un Gobierno que *sí* implemente esas medidas.

Es decir, a través de sus luchas los trabajadores no sólo van adquiriendo confianza en sí mismos y aprendiendo la necesidad de la movilización masiva, la unidad en la lucha y la organización, sino que van también elevando su nivel de conciencia política.

Pero se requiere también que esta dirección revolucionaria, al plantear soluciones a nivel propagandístico, como en el caso de las elecciones, plantee un sistema de demandas que incluyan tanto aquéllas que respondan de una manera inmediata a las necesidades y conciencia de las masas, como medidas que solucionen los problemas real y definitivamente. Es decir, debe plantear demandas mínimas, democráticas y de transición. Debe enarbolar un programa de transición.

Se requiere, asimismo, que explique cómo sólo un Gobierno de los trabajadores, un Gobierno obrero y campesino, puede implementar todas esas demandas, y resolver de esta manera los problemas de las masas. Es decir, es necesario que explique en todo momento, y que incluya como coronamiento a su programa, la consigna de un *Gobierno obrero y campesino*.

Los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) han abandonado estos conceptos básicos del marxismo revolucionario. Han aceptado firmar no sólo un programa reformista de demandas mínimas inmediatas, sino también un manifiesto que lo admite e intenta justificarlo.

¿No contrastan las soluciones propuestas en ese programa con las que hemos propagandizado y agitado siempre a través de *El Socialista*, en nuestra Resolución Política y publicaciones, en nuestros planteamientos para el movimiento obrero y en nuestra intervención en los conflictos y movilizaciones?

¿Y qué pasó con la importantísima demanda de la *independencia y democracia sindical*, por la que más de 150,000 personas se movilizaron en la Ciudad de México el 15 de noviembre de 1975, y por la cual miles de electricistas y decenas de miles de trabajadores están luchando?

¿Cómo, pues, vamos a complementar el proceso de elevación del nivel de conciencia de los trabajadores, proceso cuyo eje principal es la experiencia de las masas mismas en sus luchas alrededor de esos problemas generales?

¿Cómo sin tratar de educar, al mismo tiempo que luchamos con los trabajadores alrededor de un problema particular y con sus demandas, sobre las medidas que creemos resolverán real y definitivamente ese problema? ¿Cómo sin propagandizar

oportunamente esas medidas, conjuntamente con algunas de las demandas mínimas ofrecidas en su plataforma, a través de nuestro periódico, propaganda electoral y en nuestra participación?

¿Cómo, pues, sin presentar un programa de transición, que se desprende de las necesidades que plantea la situación objetiva, formulado de tal manera que sea fácilmente comprendido por las masas y que apunte hacia la formación de un Gobierno obrero y campesino y el establecimiento de estructuras económicas, sociales y políticas superiores?

¡Ah!, pero olvidábamos, ésta es tan sólo su "plataforma de lucha . . . que responde a la situación presente del país," su programa mínimo para la etapa actual. Seguramente tienen su programa máximo para el futuro, cuando pasemos a la segunda etapa de la revolución.

¿Cómo se ligan estos dos programas, cómo utilizamos el programa para ayudar a elevar el nivel de conciencia de las masas? ¿Cómo sin un programa revolucionario, un programa de transición? Pero, ¡bah! esas son invenciones trotskistas.

Por supuesto, no podían faltar en su manifiesto las referencias al socialismo y al hecho de que algunas de las demandas sólo podrán ser resueltas por un Gobierno de los trabajadores. Esto se encuentra siempre en los programas reformistas para encubrir su verdadero carácter.

Los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) posiblemente argumenten que su programa contiene algunas "demandas de transición," como la escala móvil de salarios, y la nacionalización de la industria bajo control obrero.

En primer lugar, el que una demanda suene parecida a lo escrito en el documento "Programa de Transición" no la convierte en una demanda de ese tipo.

Galván,⁸ por ejemplo, también plantea la escala móvil de salarios, pero implementada por una comisión tripartita de sindicatos (léase charros)-Gobierno-patronos.

La única manera de que esta medida sea efectiva es que sean comisiones electas democráticamente por los trabajadores quienes determinen, frecuente y periódicamente, en base a sus propios estudios de los precios en los lugares donde hacen sus compras, cuánto debe aumentar el salario. Esto debe quedar estipulado en la cláusula del Contrato Colectivo que determine que se implementará una escala móvil de salarios.

Por otro lado, el que los obreros tengan

8. Rafael Galván Maldonado, el dirigente nacionalista de la Tendencia Democrática dentro del Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana. (Ver los artículos titulados "Los Electricistas a la Vanguardia" y "150,000 Personas en las Calles de la Ciudad de México" que aparecieron en el número del 15 de diciembre de 1975 de *Intercontinental Press*, pp. 1783 y 1782 respectivamente.)

“acceso . . . a las contabilidades reales para denunciar y exigir remedio a las irregularidades que contengan por cuanto se refiere al reparto de utilidades. . . , al pago de las cargas fiscales . . .” y a las posibilidades reales de aumentar los salarios, no es de ninguna manera el control obrero.

Tal concepto contrasta enormemente con el concepto marxista del control obrero, que es el de que los obreros tienen el derecho a determinar no sólo sus condiciones de trabajo, sino los fines sociales y políticos de la producción. Es decir si la producción va a estar orientada a aumentar las ganancias de los patrones o a satisfacer las necesidades de los trabajadores y campesinos.

Nosotros enarbolamos también el *acceso de los trabajadores a los libros* de las empresas, pero no lo confundimos con el control obrero, y sostenemos la importancia de propagandizar la necesidad de luchar por esto último.

En segundo lugar, aún si contuviese un par de demandas de transición, esto no le daría un carácter revolucionario. Por el contrario, al ser enmarcadas dentro de las perspectivas proyectadas por un programa reformista, estas demandas pierden su valor. Sirven únicamente para arrastrar a un sector en lucha tras de una política reformista, y no como puente para llevarlo a adquirir una conciencia socialista.

Pueden servir también, por supuesto, para hacer latir fuertemente el “trotskista” corazón de militantes confusos y llevarlos a firmar y avalar un programa reformista.

Realmente debemos reconocer que el método de los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) da resultados rápidos. En tan sólo diez días de “inmersión total en la lucha de clases,” no sólo han descubierto que el PCM es revolucionario. Ahora resulta que también el método estalinista del programa mínimo y máximo también lo es.

Tal vez Trotski, quien hasta su muerte se esforzó por educarnos en el método del programa de transición y en la necesidad de ser fieles al programa revolucionario, también compartía nuestra “desviación metodológica.” Después de todo “se distinguía no sólo por su gran capacidad, sino también por su propensión a concentrarse demasiado en al aspecto administrativo de los asuntos.” ¡Ay! ¡Esos malditos dirigentes de escritorio!

Todo es Posible en la Paz

Uno de los aspectos más graves de la ruptura de los compañeros con el programa y principios del marxismo revolucionario es quizás en lo que respecta a la política internacional que proponen. Si bien bajo otros puntos el programa ofrece sólo demandas mínimas y parciales, en éste plantea posiciones que rompen completamente con los principios básicos del marxismo.

En el punto V de la plataforma, titulado “Política Exterior Independiente y de Paz,”

se plantea, entre otras cosas, la colaboración económica y política con varios gobiernos burgueses latinoamericanos, como los de Perú, Panamá y Ecuador. Asimismo, la lucha por la “incorporación inmediata de México al grupo de países no alineados” (¡No alineados!).

La “Plataforma” acepta y defiende la formación de un “frente popular,” de colaboración de clases, a nivel internacional, entre los Estados obreros y los gobiernos burgueses “progresistas.” Se plantea luchar en “defensa activa de la paz mundial” y por la “coexistencia pacífica de los diversos estados.” ¡De los Estados burgueses con los obreros!

Y, ¿dónde quedó el principio básico de la lucha de clases?

Los socialistas a través de la historia nos hemos erigido como los verdaderos y más consecuentes luchadores por la paz. Pero señalamos que no puede haber paz entre las clases mientras una clase minoritaria explote y viva del fruto del trabajo de las mayorías, quienes son sumidas en la miseria.

Bajo estas condiciones, aceptar la paz entre las clases significa condenar a las mayorías trabajadoras a la miseria y explotación.

Señalamos también que nos oponemos a que los obreros de diferentes países se aniquilen entre sí en defensa de los intereses de sus burgueses en las guerras imperialistas de rapiña.

Señalamos que la causa de las guerras y conflictos, sea dentro de un país o entre países, es la existencia de este sistema injusto de explotación de una clase por otra, de opresión de países débiles por países imperialistas y de guerras de rapiña por el reparto del botín entre los países imperialistas.

Es por eso que decimos que la única manera de lograr una verdadera y duradera paz es la lucha, la guerra más encarnizada contra este sistema.

En esta lucha no podemos plantearnos la “coexistencia pacífica” o la “colaboración económica y política” con gobiernos explotadores, no importa cuán graves sean sus rencillas con otros gobiernos capitalistas más fuertes. Podemos, en algunos momentos, cuando un gobierno burgués dependiente toma alguna *medida concreta* que sea progresista en contra de algún país imperialista, apoyar la *medida* y luchar para que sea llevada hasta sus últimas consecuencias.

Pero nunca podemos darles nuestra colaboración o apoyo *político* o crear las más mínimas ilusiones acerca de sus razones para llevar a cabo tales medidas. Nunca podemos contribuir a sus intentos de darle una cobertura progresista, antimperialista o revolucionaria a sus rencillas temporales con países más fuertes—aprovechando debilitamientos coyunturales

de éstos—para obtener una tajada más grande en el reparto del botín, fruto de la explotación de los trabajadores.

Por supuesto, los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) tenían que tratar de hacer menos patente su claudicación. Así, agregan que “la Liga Socialista difiere con *algunos* puntos de este capítulo.” (Subrayado nuestro.)

¡Algunos! ¿Cuáles puntos? ¿Por qué difieren con ellos? ¿Por qué entonces se incluyeron en la plataforma los puntos, cualesquiera que fuesen, con los que están en desacuerdo? ¿Por qué firmaron una plataforma que contenía puntos con los que están en desacuerdo? ¿Qué recibieron a cambio de avalar las posiciones estalinistas?

Lo menos que podían exigir a cambio del programa trotskista es que su posición sobre los puntos expuestos fuese también incluida. Pero vamos, *cuando menos* podrían haber incluido una aclaración sobre cuáles son los puntos con los que difieren y por qué.

Pero ni siquiera en un artículo aparte de su periódico nos explican los compañeros las razones de su comportamiento, y por qué era necesario o ventajoso ceder en esos puntos. No explican tampoco, cuáles son sus diferencias. ¿Debemos asumir que son mínimas y secundarias?

Tan lejos han ido los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) en su claudicación ante el estalinismo que cuando se “declaran en defensa de la URSS y demás Estados socialistas contra cualquier ataque del imperialismo,” posición con la que estamos totalmente de acuerdo, no se molestan en aclarar al mismo tiempo que la Liga Socialista (TM) favorece el derrocamiento de la burocracia estalinista que se ha enquistado sobre las conquistas de la revolución obrera e impide el florecimiento de la democracia socialista.

Pero para los compañeros esto no es necesario, pues para ellos ahora la URSS y demás Estados obreros no son Estados obreros deformados o degenerados. Son “Estados socialistas” donde no existe tal burocracia. Ellos aceptan ahora *de hecho* la tesis estalinista del “socialismo en un solo país.”

Han abandonado, al parecer, las perspectivas del avance de la revolución mundial en uno de sus tres sectores: la *revolución política* en los Estados obreros deformados, llevada a cabo por el proletariado de esos países y sus aliados, las nacionalidades oprimidas dentro de ellos.

Pero basta; con lo expuesto es suficiente para hacerles a los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) las siguientes preguntas:

¿Cuál es su objetivo al avalar este programa y organización estalinista? ¿Qué obtienen a cambio de aceptar firmar este programa? ¿Con qué fin hicieron esta concesión? ¿Alguna propaganda en *Oposi-*

ción?⁹ ¿Ganarse el respeto de los estalinistas y sus amigos?

¿Ser tomados en cuenta y ser bien vistos por Juan José Arreola¹⁰ y los círculos estalinistas? ¿La amistad de Raquel Tibol?¹¹ ¿Recibir publicidad por parte de los círculos que están por la paz, la convivencia humana y la democracia como una organización razonable, progresista que lucha por la paz y "el bienestar del pueblo"?

¿Es eso lo que persiguen? ¿"Acciones espectaculares" para darse a conocer, independientemente del tipo de prestigio que adquieran?

¿O es realmente ésta su respuesta a la pregunta planteada en este período, sobre quién debe gobernar y con qué programa? Tal vez los compañeros realmente piensan que el gobierno que México necesita es uno compartido por la burguesía y los "revolucionarios" PCM, MOS, y Liga Socialista (TM) y que la aplicación de su programa mínimo resolvería los problemas nacionales más urgentes.

En tal caso, compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM), si han llegado a acuerdos programáticos fundamentales con el PCM y si concuerdan con sus "métodos revolucionarios," ¿por qué plantearse tan sólo un frente para las elecciones?

Si no los separan diferencias programáticas sobre problemas tan fundamentales como los tocados, ni diferencias metodológicas, ¿por qué no se unifican? ¿Por qué quedarse a medio camino? Vamos, compañeros, no sean sectarios.

Cual es la Dinámica de la TM

Creemos que lo que hemos expuesto provee elementos para juzgar quien representa realmente la tradición y continuidad de la Liga Socialista y del marxismo revolucionario en México. Porque, efectivamente, esto se demuestra en la práctica, y los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) no han tardado más que diez días para darnos con su práctica, elementos de juicio.

¿Cuál es el objetivo de los compañeros? ¿Obtener un poco de publicidad? ¿Llevar a cabo una maniobra?

Ahora entendemos lo que querían decir durante el supuesto "Segundo Congreso" cuando defendían la necesidad de "intervenir en la lucha de clases" independientemente de cómo y haciendo a un lado el programa.

Eso han hecho en las elecciones, y el PCM

9. Oposición, el órgano oficial del Comité Central del Partido Comunista Mexicano.

10. Juan José Arreola, el dirigente del Sindicato de Trabajadores y Empleados de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma (STEUNAM), quien está ligado a los estalinistas.

11. Raquel Tibol, conocida crítica de arte ligada también al Partido Comunista Mexicano.

se ha encargado de proveerles con un programa. Ahora entendemos claramente que la FBL, la tradición de la Liga Socialista y su programa eran un obstáculo para implementar una política de "maniobras astutas," en las que los principios y el programa son sólo un estorbo.

¿Qué es lo que buscan? ¿Atajos en la construcción del partido a través de acciones, maniobras, espectaculares? Ya los ha llevado su política, en menos de dos semanas, a romper con el programa y el método del marxismo revolucionario, y a violar el principio del clasismo al avalar una política internacional de colaboración de clases. Los ha metido en una dinámica que si no rompen con ella, los llevará a convertirse en satélites del estalinismo.

Ahora entendemos, también, por qué los compañeros necesitaban imponer a la organización estructuras verticales, acabar con la democracia interna e impedir la posibilidad de discusión. Ahora está claro por qué necesitaban métodos organizativos antileninistas. El llevar a cabo tal rompimiento con los principios marxistas revolucionarios, trotskistas, requería que la base de la organización no tuviera la menor posibilidad de cuestionarlo.

Hasta el 2 de enero, la posibilidad de este acuerdo con el PCM, MOS, LS (TM) ni siquiera se vislumbraba o había sido considerada *abiertamente* dentro de lo que era la organización unificada. ¿Cuándo se iniciaron las pláticas para ello? ¿Pudieron sus bases discutir y evaluar si aceptaban tal política? ¿Pudieron evaluar si lo que recibían a cambio de la claudicación ante el estalinismo valía la pena? ¿Pudieron discutir si estaban de acuerdo en apoyar al Gobierno de Laos o al Movimiento Popular por la Liberación de Angola (MPLA)?

Los compañeros tienen también que responder por qué llevaron a cabo *negociaciones secretas* con el PCM. Para empezar, ¿cuándo se iniciaron? ¿Cuáles fueron las pláticas previas al acuerdo? ¿Cómo se llegó a la plataforma conjunta? ¿Cuáles fueron las diferencias, proposiciones, enmiendas? ¿Por qué están dispuestos a esconder esas diferencias ante la opinión pública de los trabajadores? ¿Por qué se justificaba firmar un programa con el que dicen tener "algunas" diferencias en su política internacional?

Su error de principios se agrava al no explicar ni cómo llegaron a este acuerdo, ni cuáles son sus diferencias fundamentales (es decir, si aún existen algunas) con el PCM y el MOS. ¿Qué los diferencia de estas dos "organizaciones revolucionarias"? ¿Por qué las negociaciones tenían que ser secretas?

Los compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) han entrado en una dinámica sumamente peligrosa. Su política de "intervención en la lucha de clases" en base a "maniobras astutas" y haciendo a un lado

el programa, los ha llevado ya a aceptar el programa que el PCM presenta para el frente popular, el programa con el que el PC intenta convencer a fuerzas "progresistas" para que participen en su proyecto de colaboración de clases.

Esto lo hacen cuando la campaña del PCM y del frente no es legal, cuando no arrastrará a millones y ni siquiera miles de trabajadores, y no tiene la menor posibilidad de triunfar o redituar algunas curules desde donde se pudiese agitar las ideas socialistas.

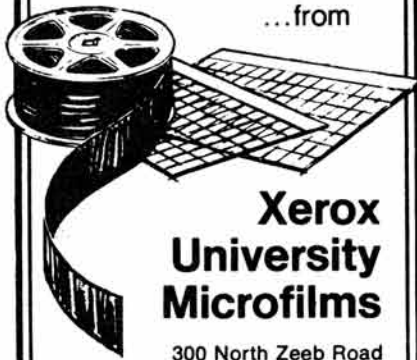
¿Qué sucederá cuando el PCM logre atraer en base a este programa a fuerzas patronales "progresistas," cuando el frente popular arrastre a millones, y cuando hay posibilidad de que su campaña electoral triunfe, como sucedió, por ejemplo, en Chile?

Si la Liga Socialista (TM) acepta el programa del frente popular ahora, a cambio de unas migajas de publicidad, ¿qué no haría en esas condiciones? El sacrificar el programa para realizar "maniobras astutas" en la arena electoral—en el campo del enemigo de clase!—los ha metido en una dinámica que conduce a abandonar el campo del marxismo revolucionario.

El PCM, por otro lado, no ha abandonado

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su proyecto de colaboración de clases y la formación de la "organización unida de las fuerzas partidarias de la democracia y las del socialismo." Tan sólo ha encontrado que aún no está en condiciones de implementarlo.

Debe demostrar antes a la burguesía que es una "fuerza importante," que tiene la capacidad de movilizar amplios sectores tras de sí y que cuenta con un coro de "idiotas útiles" formado por sectas y grupos de izquierda. Debe mostrarse capaz, asimismo, de maniobrar con otras organizaciones políticas importantes de la clase obrera, por medio de proposiciones y acuerdos, para contribuir a alejarlas de seguir una política correcta ante cualquier problema importante.

Por lo tanto se ha provisto ya de los furgones de cola para su campaña electoral y para la propagandización de su programa. Los dirigentes del PCM saben ser pacientes. Después de más de cincuenta y cinco años de experiencia, han aprendido el arte de traicionar, así como la ciencia de arrastrar tras de su política a aquellos dispuestos a ser embaucados.

Votar por Campa sin Apoyar su Programa

Hemos ya manifestado y explicado anteriormente y en otros artículos, nuestra posición acerca de las elecciones y la campaña del PCM. Llamamos a los trabajadores y a las organizaciones obreras a votar por Valentín Campa en contra del candidato patronal, José López Portillo, para manifestar nuestra independencia de clase. Al mismo tiempo no avalamos de ninguna manera el programa que él y su partido defienden, el cual creemos equivocado y peligroso, y estamos dispuestos a debatir públicamente con él su plataforma electoral.

En estas condiciones, al mismo tiempo que llamamos a dar un voto de clase, trataremos de propagandizar y explicar nuestro programa, así como difundir y tratar de obtener apoyo a las movilizaciones que se presenten durante el período. Planteamos nuestras soluciones y la necesidad de un Gobierno obrero y campesino que las implante.

Creemos, además, que es necesario plantear la formación de un frente único de todas las organizaciones obreras para impulsar *movilizaciones y acciones* alrededor del obstáculo inmediato que constituye la Ley Federal Electoral.

Algo que resalta en el manifiesto del PCM, MOS y Liga Socialista (TM), es que no llaman a realizar ninguna acción concreta, no llaman a la movilización en torno a alguna o algunas demandas concretas. Ni siquiera denuncian el hecho de que legalmente no tienen el derecho de realizar su campaña como un reto a la antidemocrática Ley Federal Electoral ni llaman a todas las organizaciones obreras y democráticas a luchar por defender su derecho a realizarla.

Un frente único en torno a necesidades y hechos concretos, un frente para la acción y movilización en torno a un problema candente, hace mucho más para educar y promover la unidad de la clase obrera que cualquier declaración de buenos deseos.

En la situación actual algo muy real, concreto y posible es la formación de un frente por los derechos políticos de los trabajadores, en contra de la antidemocrática

Miembros de la TM Agreden Brigada de la FBL

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 1-15 de febrero de *El Socialista* (Fracción Bolchevique Leninista), el periódico de la Liga Socialista (FBL).]

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El día 23 de enero por la noche, varios compañeros que vendían *El Socialista* fueron agredidos físicamente por miembros de la Tendencia Militante. (Como hemos informado, la Liga Socialista se encuentra dividida en dos fracciones públicas: la mayoritaria, o Tendencia Militante (TM); y la minoritaria, o Fracción Bolchevique Leninista (FBL). El nombre del periódico de ambas es *El Socialista*, lo que ha servido como excusa a la TM para amenazar a la FBL en el sentido que tratará de impedir la venta de su periódico.)

Los hechos se sucedieron frente al Salón Riviera, en México, D.F., donde el Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM), el Movimiento de Organización Socialista (MOS) y la TM de la LS llevaron a cabo un acto de "unidad de la izquierda," como parte de la campaña de Valentín Campa (del PCM) como candidato a la Presidencia de la República.

Frente a las dos puertas del salón, cinco miembros de la FBL se encontraban vendiendo el número de *El Socialista* donde la FBL explica su posición hacia la campaña de Campa.

A las 19:00 hs., en una de las puertas, un miembro de la TM (que denominaremos "E") intentó arrebatarles sus periódicos a los compañeros Cadenas y Hoyos, quienes no aceptaron la invitación a una confrontación violenta, pero tampoco cejaron en su derecho a promover su periódico. "E", al frente de varios miembros de la TM, comenzó a jalnear a Hoyos y amenazó con "ma...arlo."

"L" secundó a "E", pero no agredió físicamente a los miembros de la FBL, sino que simplemente les exigió que no vendieran su periódico ahí y "no vengan a provocar" (!). Con esto comenzó una discusión, que paró por el momento los aventones y jalneos a Hoyos y Cadenas.

En otra puerta del salón, "S" (de la TM) le

ca Ley Federal Electoral y por el reconocimiento legal de todos los partidos políticos. Instamos a todas las organizaciones obreras a que se unan a nosotros en la formación de este frente. Llamamos a los "astutos" compañeros de la Liga Socialista (TM) a dejarse de "maniobritas" que sólo los llevan a alejarse del marxismo revolucionario y que se unan a nosotros en el cumplimiento de esta tarea urgente del movimiento obrero y revolucionario. □

propinaba un golpe por la espalda a Israel, que vendía *El Socialista*. Pero otros elementos de la TM se llevaron a "S" y la venta del periódico prosiguió hasta que dio comienzo el acto dentro del salón.

En este acto hablaron Roberto Jaramillo, del MOS, Ricardo Hernández, por la TM de la LS y Valentín Campa, por el PCM. Hernández, al tomar la palabra, comenzó "denunciando" a la FBL por vender *El Socialista*, aunque las diferencias con la posición de ésta fueron sólo aludidas por él cuando afirmó que la LS (TM) había recibido ciertas críticas por haber firmado una plataforma conjunta con el MOS y el PCM. Según Hernández, a las "masas" les importa un "soberano car. . .jo" las diferencias programáticas entre trotskistas y el PCM.

Sin embargo, el objetivo de este artículo no es el de explicar nuestras diferencias o concordancias con el MOS, el PCM y la TM, sino el de narrar la agresión.

Cuando terminaba el acto y algunas personas circulaban por las puertas, comenzó de nuevo la venta de *El Socialista*, pero "G" organizó a un grupo de miembros de la TM para resumir la agresión.

Este grupo iba a cumplir la amenaza de "N", quien advirtió que si los miembros de la FBL no dejaban de vender sus periódicos iban a "tomar medidas más drásticas" contra ellos.

Cuando este grupo de la TM entró en acción, Israel tuvo que proteger sus periódicos con el cuerpo para evitar que se los arrebataran, y era empujado de un lado a otro.

"S", nuevamente en actitud provocadora, agarró por el cuello a otro compañero, quien tuvo que esquivar el rodillazo que iba dirigido contra su cara.

Pero a pesar de repetidos intentos, no fue posible arrebatarles el periódico a los compañeros, que abandonaron finalmente el lugar. Elementos policíacos vestidos de civil que supervisaban el acto desde sus automóviles, llegaron a la escena para intentar azusar una confrontación a golpes, cosa que les hubiera caído de perlas. □

Contra la Violencia en el Movimiento Obrero

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 1-15 de febrero de *El Socialista* (Fracción Bolchevique Leninista), el periódico de la Liga Socialista (FBL).]

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A través de su existencia, el trotskismo ha estado en contra de la agresión física entre las corrientes democráticas y revolucionarias del movimiento obrero. Esto quiere decir que por el hecho de que una corriente o persona no está de acuerdo con ciertas posiciones, no se deben utilizar la amenaza y la agresión como forma de "convencimiento" o bien de aniquilamiento.

Esto viene a relación con las diversas actitudes que ha asumido la formación Tendencia Militante (TM), una de las fracciones públicas de la Liga Socialista. Estos compañeros se han negado a discutir en términos políticos sobre la situación que priva en la Liga Socialista y lo que la originó.

Para esto han utilizado una evasiva propia de la incapacidad política para evitar una discusión política de las diferencias que existen entre la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista (FBL) y ellos (TM).

Ellos arguyen, como principal forma de escapar del cuestionamiento político, lo siguiente: "Nosotros no discutimos con rateros." Y no se han contentado únicamente con negarse a la discusión política, sino que han llegado al empujón y a pretender quitar los periódicos a los camaradas de la FBL, como sucedió recientemente en la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la UNAM y en la Universidad de Puebla.

La política de agredir físicamente a quienes dentro del movimiento obrero se oponen a nuestros puntos de vista, no beneficia a nadie más que al enemigo de clase.

Los trotskistas hemos combatido contra esta forma de reducir la discusión política desde hace muchos años. En contra nuestra han estado principalmente los estalinistas.

Ellos son quienes introducen la violencia en contra de sus opositores revolucionarios. En México no hace mucho tiempo que perseguían a los trotskistas para expulsarlos de los sindicatos, para golpearlos y suprimir sus ideas.

En los Estados obreros donde los estalinistas constituyen la casta que maniatada al proletariado, es conocida su larga, permanente y actual campaña de terror contra quienes exigen sus derechos más elementales. Esto sucede en la URSS, Checoslovaquia, Polonia, China, Corea del Norte, etc.

Además de los estalinistas, también los ultrazquierdistas recurren a la golpiza y al insulto para tratar de ocultar su debilidad política. Cuando ellos han recurrido a ese

método, como lo hizo en Sinaloa la Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre, también hemos denunciado su errónea y destructiva actitud.

Desde luego, la violencia también entrada las filas del movimiento obrero introducida por los patrones y los órganos de que dispone su Gobierno. Esto sucede, indirectamente, a través de los charros y otros burócratas. Directamente, los patrones utilizan provocadores.

De cualquier manera, y sea cual sea su origen, la violencia dentro del movimiento obrero, especialmente entre los grupos de izquierda, sólo beneficia a los patrones.

'Workers Press' Deja de Aparecer

Workers Press, el diario publicado por el Workers Revolutionary Party [WRP: Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores] de la Gran Bretaña, encabezado por Gerry Healy, dejó de aparecer el día 14 de febrero.

En un artículo enmarcado que apareció en primera plana, el consejo editorial de este periódico explicaba: "Workers Press anuncia con pesar que no le queda otra alternativa más que dejar de aparecer después de la edición de hoy. Eso siguió a la decisión de nuestra firma impresora, Plough Press, que ha cerrado sus operaciones comerciales desde la pasada medianoche."

La edición final de *Workers Press* no contenía artículo alguno que narrara o evaluara la historia de este periódico. La única explicación que daba a su propio fallecimiento se encontraba en un párrafo que indicaba: "El trasfondo de la situación financiera de Plough Press es bien conocido. La British Printing Industries Federation [Federación Británica de Industrias Impresoras] emitió el pasado jueves un comunicado en donde declaraba: 'Alzas en los gastos generales durante los últimos tres meses han incrementado los costos promedio de impresión, sin contar los materiales, en un 1.3 por ciento. Esto hace que el alza total desde el 31 de enero de 1975 sea de un 27.6 por ciento.'"

Una relación más extensa, escrita por Anthony Holden, apareció en la edición del 15 de febrero del *Sunday Times*. "¿Qué es lo que falló?", pregunta Holden. "El dinero simplemente dejó de llegar. *Workers Press* fue lanzado con un capital de £28,000 y desde entonces tuvimos que lanzar un fondo mensual para mantenernos en la lucha. Con un llamamiento por £50,000 para superar la crisis, que fue lanzado el pasado diciembre, sólo recabamos £30,000 para el día primero

En su versión de *El Socialista*, la Tendencia Militante advierte que algunos elementos de su organización "han sacado conclusiones violentas" y que la dirección está "tratando de frenarlos."

Esperamos que los compañeros de la TM comprendan a tiempo el grave error que han cometido y no se vuelvan a presentar agresiones en contra de miembros de la FBL.

Los métodos profundamente antidemocráticos que utilizó la TM en su intento por usurpar a la Liga Socialista, necesariamente tenían que seguirse manifestando ahora. Sólo que ahora ya no pueden tratar de callarnos por medio de maniobras destinadas a descabearnos y aplastarnos "moralmente," ahora tendrían que aniquilarnos físicamente. □

de febrero, la fecha para la cual teníamos planeado alcanzar el objetivo. Desde entonces hemos podido recabar otras £6,000, pero el déficit de £14,000 probó ser demasiado grande como para que pudiéramos sobrevivir."

Según Holden, el editor de *Workers Press* Alex Mitchell aceptó que la circulación del periódico oscilaba entre los 10,000 y los 20,00 ejemplares.

"Coléricamente rechazó la popular teoría según la cual ni su partido ni su periódico se habían recuperado realmente desde que perdieron a Alan (alias 'El Topo') Thornett, quien dirigía la base de poder que mantenían en los sindicatos. . .

"'Ese fue otro episodio burdamente inflado por la prensa capitalista,' dijo Mitchell."

No está claro qué es lo que va a hacer Healy ahora. El artículo de Holden nos deja con la impresión de que la maquinaria impresora de Plough Press será vendida, cuando señala: "Hacer un semanario no era factible, ya que hubiera dejado a las prensas de Plough incosteablemente paradas la mayoría del tiempo." □

6,000 Presos Políticos en Uruguay

Uno de cada 450 ciudadanos uruguayos es un preso político; o sea, la cantidad per cápita más alta del mundo.

Este es uno de los hallazgos que se encuentran en un informe despachado por Amnesty International el día 19 de febrero. De acuerdo a este informe, casi 6,000 personas se encuentran en las cárceles de Uruguay por razones políticas. Se sabe que veintidós han sido torturados a muerte desde 1972.

El informe decía que los presos están sujetos a toques eléctricos, golpizas y drogas, incluyendo pentotal y alucinógenos.