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Kissinger Greet World's No. 1 Racist

By Ernest Harsch

Coming on the heels of the massive Black uprisings in South Africa, the June 23 and 24 meeting in West Germany between South African Prime Minister John Vorster and U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was a diplomatic victory for the racist white minority regime.

Pretoria's murderous suppression of the Black rebellions provoked an international storm of protest. Kissinger's willingness to go ahead with the talks served to reassure the South African rulers of Washington's continued allegiance and helped to soften the impact of the protests.

When the planned meeting was first announced in early June, the news was greeted with delight by the white authorities, who viewed it as a major breakthrough after years of diplomatic isolation.

A banner headline in the Johannesburg *Star* proclaimed the holding of the talks a "South African victory." The paper then pointed out that it "underlines the West's growing recognition that southern Africa's problems will never be solved without South Africa's help and good will." The government-owned South African Broadcasting Corporation commented that the meeting would be "in itself, apart from the outcome, a historic occasion."

Washington was well aware of the political importance of the talks for Pretoria. An official in Washington quoted by Leslie H. Gelb in the June 21 *New York Times* pointed out, "Vorster has already gotten a lot from us just by virtue of Kissinger's being willing to meet with him."

International Protests Score South African Massacres

Pretoria's massacre of Blacks in Soweto and other townships in South Africa has been condemned around the world. Among the protests were the following:

- More than 500 persons demonstrated in New York City June 19 at a march and picket line called by the Pan-African Students Organization of the Americas. A PASOA news release denounced the Kissinger-Vorster talks and stated, "Soweto is the beginning spark that will burn down the apartheid regime in a general conflagration."

- Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said in Atlanta June 21 that Kissinger's meeting with Vorster was "an affront to all black Americans." He demanded that Kissinger cancel the talks, stating, "Any meeting between the United States and South Africa only says to the rest of the world and to Americans that the United States recognizes and tolerates apartheid. . . ."

- Campaigning in California, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo denounced Washington's complicity with Pretoria. "The Black youths that are being shot down in Soweto and other Johannesburg suburbs are the victims of a government that is supported, armed, and

financed by the Republican and Democratic parties," he said.

- A group of several hundred demonstrators attempted to march to the South African embassy in Paris June 21, but were blocked by antiriot police. They then marched to the Quai d'Orsay, chanting: "Vorster murderer, Giscard d'Estaing accomplice."

- About fifty demonstrators picketed the South African House in London June 18. The protest was organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and supported by other groups. Peter Hain, a leader of the Liberal party, protested the use of British Land Rovers and Saracen armored cars by the South Africans. The Right Reverend Ambrose Reeves, bishop of Johannesburg at the time of the Sharpeville massacre and now president of the AAM, called on London to strictly apply the UN arms embargo against Pretoria.

- The West German chapter of the AAM organized a protest of about eighty persons outside the South African embassy in Bonn June 21 while Vorster was inside, meeting with a group of South African ambassadors to Western Europe, North America, and the Middle East. Two days later a group of fifty persons demonstrated in the Bavarian forest near the spot where Kissinger and Vorster met. They chanted: "Vorster—murderer, Kissinger—accomplice."

Gelb commented that American officials expected Vorster "to seek closer association with the United States, perhaps by proposing continuing consultations." In that, too, Vorster achieved his goal. After the talks had ended, Kissinger declared that Washington and Pretoria would "keep in touch and follow up on" the questions discussed.

Vorster scored another political gain by persuading Kissinger to backtrack on some of his earlier public pronouncements.

On June 17, Kissinger had said that his goal was to determine whether Pretoria would "separate" its future from that of Namibia and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), implying that he would ask Vorster to comply with the UN boycott of Salisbury by cutting South African economic and political ties with the racist Rhodesian regime. That remark prompted Vorster to reply, through a spokesman: "It has been made clear that South Africa will never support the imposition of sanctions policies against Rhodesia or any other country."

After the talks in West Germany, Kissinger reworded his position, saying that the question of avoiding a so-called race war in southern Africa "should not be viewed in terms of separating oneself from any particular group." Kissinger thus took the Pretoria regime off the hook for its violations of the UN sanctions against Rhodesia.

Summing up Washington's policy toward southern Africa, Kissinger explained that the "essence of the problem" was "whether it is possible to start evolution in southern Africa in which there are sufficient guarantees for minorities so that the political evolution that the majority of the people want is bearable for the minorities."

Basically, Washington is seeking a way to head off any mass mobilizations by the Black populations of southern Africa that could endanger imperialist interests. To accomplish that in Zimbabwe and Namibia, it is attempting to enlist Pretoria's support for a shift to more indirect, neocolonial forms of rule in those two countries.

Neither Kissinger nor Vorster gave any specific details of what they discussed. But, according to a report by Bernard Gwertzman in the June 25 *New York Times*, "The impression, carefully fostered by Mr. Kissinger, was that definite moves were afoot to bring additional international pressure on Rhodesia to agree to meaningful negotiations before a possible explosive war develops there."

Since his April 27 speech in Lusaka, Zambia, Kissinger has urged Pretoria to announce a "definite timetable for the achievement of self-determination" for Namibia. But so far, Vorster has made no such moves.

In all his statements on southern Africa, Kissinger has been careful to draw a distinction between the situations in South Africa and those in Zimbabwe and

Namibia. He has avoided mentioning the prospect of majority rule—that is, Black rule—in South Africa itself. On June 17, he said that Washington favored a solution in South Africa over “a longer period of time and by different methods.”

The American strategy toward southern Africa is thus aimed at buying as much time as possible for Pretoria.

However, future upsurges like those in South Africa’s Black townships could upset Washington’s schemes. Kissinger has already noted that the recent Black rebellions “underlined the urgency” of the situation.

Unlike the imperialists, the Black masses of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia are not interested in “guarantees for minorities,” that is, guarantees for white privileges and imperialist domination. They are interested in freeing their continent of the last strongholds of white colonial rule. □

U.S. Vetoes Angolan Entry to United Nations

Washington vetoed Angola’s entry into the United Nations June 23 despite the fact that 112 countries have granted diplomatic recognition to the newly independent country.

The Ford administration had campaigned to get the vote delayed until after the Republican party national convention in August. Angola has been an issue in the Republican primaries, with presidential hopeful Ronald Reagan accusing Ford of allowing the MPLA to take over Angola.

The official reason for Ford’s opposition to Angolan entry into the UN, however, has been the presence of Cuban troops in the West African nation.

“The continuing presence and apparent influence of Cuban troops, massive in number in the Angolan context, is the basis of our view,” explained U.S. delegate to the United Nations Albert W. Sherer, Jr.

The advantages to be gained by the Angolan government through membership in the United Nations are dubious, to say the least. This thieves’ kitchen is dominated by imperialism. It is enough to look at the organization’s past performance. In Korea, it provided the cover for the U.S. invasion. In the Congo, it shares responsibility for the murder of Congolese liberation leader Patrice Lumumba.

Nonetheless, Angola has the right to admission to the United Nations if it so desires, no matter what Washington thinks about it, or what primaries Ford is running in. Furthermore, the United States has no right to put pressure to evacuate Cuban troops from the country. That is a matter strictly between the Angolans and the Cubans. □

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Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women’s liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéméné, 75004, Paris, France.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$24 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

For airmail subscriptions in Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

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Mass Upsurge Forces Regime to Rescind Price Increases

'The Whole of Poland Is on Strike Today'

By David Frankel

Taking to the streets in nationwide strikes and demonstrations, the Polish working class dealt a powerful blow to the Stalinist regime of Edward Gierek. Plans to sharply raise food prices, announced June 24 by Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz, were reversed within twenty-four hours.

Without mentioning the protests of the workers, Jaroszewicz went on television June 25 to cancel the increases. Declaring that "there were many proposals" on the part of the workers that "deserve close analysis," Jaroszewicz said that it would take "several months now to re-examine the matter and to work out a proper solution."

The price rises decreed by the regime included increases of 100 percent for sugar, 69 percent for meat, 30 percent for butter and cheese, and 30 to 60 percent for fish and rice.

About 5,000 angry workers at the Ursus Tractor Factory outside Warsaw greeted the increases by tearing up railway tracks leading to the capital, halting trains. One of the workers there, asked by a Reuters reporter whether he was "prepared to discuss the situation with the authorities," replied: "We don't need to discuss. We go back when the prices are put back."

In Radom, sixty miles south of Warsaw, workers in the city's leather and fertilizer factories walked off the job to demonstrate against the price increases. According to press reports from Warsaw, food and liquor stores were looted and the three-story Communist party headquarters burned.

Strikes also took place at Olsztyn, at the Zeran auto plant in Warsaw, and at the Warynski crane plant. Shipyard workers in the Baltic ports of Gdansk and Szczecin staged sit-ins. "The whole of Poland is on strike today," one worker at Ursus said.

The outbreak of these spontaneous strike actions all over Poland is an indication of the underlying tension in social relations. The workers did not even wait for the price increases to go into effect before taking action.

In early 1965, the Polish Marxists Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski noted that according to the bureaucracy's own statistics 42 percent of working-class families in Poland were forced to exist on a less than adequate diet, and 23 percent on an absolutely insufficient one. No increase in real wages was planned by the regime in the 1965-70 five-year plan, and although food prices have remained frozen for the last five years, Polish workers still have

the lowest standard of living in Eastern Europe.

The last time the bureaucracy attempted to raise food prices was in December 1970. Workers took over the port of Gdansk to protest the increases, and three days later the insurrection spread to Szczecin. Other cities also experienced widespread strikes and demonstrations. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 11, 1971, p.12.)

Both Gierek and Jaroszewicz have good reason to remember the 1970 upsurge. Gierek became the head of the Polish Communist party, replacing Wladyslaw Gomulka, and Jaroszewicz became premier as a result of that working-class rebellion. The December 1970 explosion struck such fear in the regime that it did not dare attempt to raise prices for more than five years.

The rapid retreat of the bureaucracy in the face of the June 25 protests is a further indication of how uneasy the Stalinist rulers are; they are sitting on a volcano of discontent. In fact, the most recent protests spread even more rapidly than the December 1970 uprising.

This time, the regime took pains to restrain its police. But it is clear that the tradition of the 1970 struggle is still alive in the Polish factories. Both the Ursus tractor factory and the Zeran auto plant were active in the 1970 upsurge along with the Baltic shipyard workers. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 18, 1971, p. 29, and February 1, 1971, p. 96.)

Although the Polish Stalinists have retreated, new clashes are inevitable. The bureaucracy is prevented by its very nature from granting the workers the right to control the economy democratically. Instead, it has attempted to overcome the problems by turning to "technocratic" reforms.

These reforms, which rely on modified capitalist market mechanisms, act in favor of the more privileged sectors of the population. Thus, the Stalinist regime points to a \$5 billion yearly deficit resulting from subsidized food prices, as if this were the cause of its economic problems. But it is incapable of correcting the contradiction of trying to run a planned economy without the participation of the working masses.

The bankruptcy of the bureaucrats was illustrated by an article in the June 26 issue of *Trybuna Ludu*, the Communist party newspaper. After commenting on the "courage and political poise of the country's leaders," it argued that "All thinking people cannot doubt that in the long term

it is impossible to buy at high prices and sell at low ones."

According to this fallacious argument, the same one used by the capitalists to justify cutbacks in social services, it is impossible to subsidize social services and consumption through allocating a percentage of the wealth produced by the workers for this purpose. One worker in the Szczecin shipyards gave an excellent answer to this argument during the 1970 upsurge. He told a UPI reporter:

"A lot of years have gone by since the war and things are no better. The workers aren't imbeciles. We know that we build ships every year. And instead of seeing our wages go up, they tell us to tighten our belts."

As a demonstration of how rapidly an antibureaucratic upsurge can break out, the Polish events undoubtedly sent chills down the spines of Gierek's cousins in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The conditions in the rest of the Soviet bloc are not qualitatively different from those in Poland.

News of the Polish strikes was received in East Germany through West German radio and television. Unable to totally ignore the events, the East German regime chose to report Jaroszewicz's statement rescinding the price increases without mentioning the strikes that led to it.

"East German leaders were believed to be deeply concerned lest the disaffection in Poland spread across the boundary," the *New York Times* reported June 27.

Washington Post correspondent Dusko Doder reported in a June 26 dispatch from Belgrade:

"The Polish unrest this week was greeted with a total silence by the East European media. Even in nonaligned Yugoslavia, the press reported only the decision to roll back the price increases.

"One Yugoslav editor, explaining why his newspaper had ignored the unrest in Poland, replied candidly, 'It could give people ideas.' "

Drop in Soviet Meat Consumption

Moscow's program to increase the amount of meat in the Soviet diet has met a setback. Because of last year's disastrous grain harvest, there was widespread slaughtering of chickens and cattle, causing a shortage of meat in Soviet markets this year.

In Moscow and other cities, meatless Thursdays have been ordered for restaurants. Sausage processing plants have also been ordered to substantially cut the amount of beef and pork used in the sausages, which account for 40 percent of Soviet meat consumption.

Nutritionists at the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences have determined that the "rational norm" of meat consumption should be about 180 pounds a year, or 52 pounds more than the level before the current shortages.

South Africa—Black Youths Show New Militancy

By Ernest Harsch

The blood on the streets of Soweto and other Black townships near Johannesburg was not yet dry when South African Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger appealed to the country's Black majority June 20 to give the white minority regime a "fair opportunity" and to halt their protests against the racist apartheid system.

Kruger, who was in overall charge of crushing the massive Black uprisings that began on June 16, declared, "This past week has been a lesson that whatever you wish to achieve must be done by peaceful means. You must accept the good faith of the Government and of all whites."

But Kruger's "lesson" to the Black population—the brutal murder of an unknown number of Blacks—had not yet terrorized them into bowing to the racist regime's "good faith."

Although the rebellions in the Black townships around Johannesburg, South Africa's financial and industrial center, had been crushed by June 19, unrest flared up again two days later around the capital, Pretoria, and in four of the so-called Bantustans, the African reservations set up by the apartheid regime.

According to a June 21 dispatch from Pretoria by *New York Times* correspondent Michael T. Kaufman, the most serious protests took place in Mabopane, a Black township of more than 100,000 inhabitants sixteen miles north of Pretoria.

"A spokesman at police headquarters in Pretoria," Nicholas Ashford reported in the June 22 *London Times*, "said the trouble in Mabopane area appeared to have started when 170 men employed at the local waterworks went on strike for higher pay."

As in the earlier protests in Soweto, the police frequently gunned down residents without warning or provocation. Kaufman quoted a wounded Black at Kalafong Hospital in Mabopane as saying: "I was doing nothing. They shot up without warning. I was just standing at the bus stop on the way to work. I don't know why they shot."

In Atteridgeville, another large Black township just west of Pretoria, schools were spray-painted the night before with the slogans "Don't pray, fight" and "Support Soweto." According to the police, the unrest in Atteridgeville grew as crowds of students moved from one school to another, recruiting more and more protesters. Heavily armed police, supported by air force helicopters spraying tear gas,



Trog/The Observer

moved in to quell the demonstrations.

Other uprisings erupted in Mamelodi, Hammanskraal, Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Wattville, Kwa-Thema, Sibasa, Daveyton, and Duduza. The Black protesters turned their fury against virtually all symbols of white authority, such as government-controlled beer halls, schools, buses, and offices of the Bantu Administration, which is in charge of implementing the regime's policies toward Africans.

The demonstrations also encouraged Black workers to launch their own struggles. In addition to the water-works strike in Mabopane, about 1,000 Black workers at the Chrysler plant in Pretoria walked off their jobs at midmorning on June 22. According to officials, the strike was ignited when the factory authorities failed to serve the supplementary breakfasts that had been instituted after food supplies to the townships were disrupted by the clashes.

On June 24, police confiscated hundreds of Zulu-language pamphlets in Witbank, about seventy-five miles east of Johannesburg, that called on the town's 39,000 Black coal miners to stage a one-day strike to protest rent increases.

On June 21, Lucas Mangope, the chief minister of the Bophuthatswana "homeland," appealed to all Tswanas not to become involved in the protests. But the next day Tswana students at Ga-Rankuwa, just north of Pretoria, ignored Mangope's appeal and staged protest actions. Actions were also reported in the Bantustans of Lebowa and Venda in Northern Transvaal and at a teachers college in Basotho Qwaqwa on the border with Lesotho.

As the protests were spreading on June 21, Kruger declared, "We cannot tolerate any extension of the unrest." The next day

he told members of parliament in Cape Town that shooting into the crowds of protesters was the only effective method of quelling them. The use of rubber bullets, he said, would have made the Blacks "tame to the gun. Rioters must know that when a policeman picks up a rifle, the best thing is to get out of the way immediately." He added that mopping-up operations were still under way.

The official casualty toll from Pretoria's murderous show of force stood at 174 dead and more than 1,000 wounded by the time the uprisings in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas had been crushed. But reporters and other observers have estimated that the real number of those killed was substantially higher.

A representative of the United Nations Committee on Apartheid said in New York June 23 that according to information received from South Africa, "Leaders of the black people estimate that about 1,000 Africans have been killed in the recent massacre."

The UN representative added that many of the victims had been killed by .22 caliber bullets, the caliber size used by the white vigilante Citizens Reserve Force. He said that the vigilantes were "allowed to go into Soweto to murder the blacks." At least one journalist, Nicholas Ashford of the *London Times*, reported seeing white vigilantes armed with rifles near Soweto.

New York Times correspondent John F. Burns reported from Johannesburg June 22:

... weeping families filed through the police morgue here looking for relatives missing in the rioting. . . .

The families were ushered into a room where about 50 bodies lay on tables for identification. An undertaker, Jacob Zwana, said that many

had multiple gunshot wounds. . . .

The undertaker described three of the bodies he was preparing for burial as those of children aged 12, 13, and 16, all killed by rifle fire.

Chief Gatsha Butheleze, the head of the Kwazulu "homeland," said after visiting the Baragwanath and Natalspruit hospitals June 20: "I saw young children who will be paralysed for life. Others were seriously injured by bullet wounds inflicted from behind. Some of the injured said they were demonstrating peacefully when they were shot. Some children told me they were waiting to meet their mothers."

Within a few days of the first outbreaks, the regime of Prime Minister John Vorster began to prepare the ground for a broad witch-hunt against the leaders of the Black uprisings. Government officials claimed that the unrest had been fomented by "agitators" and "Communist enemies."

The regime also claimed that gangs of *tsotsis*, or thugs, had played a major role in the clashes and tried to imply that many Blacks had been shot by them. However, Kaufman pointed out in the June 25 *New York Times* that the demonstrating Blacks had only been armed with rocks and sticks. "There have been no reports by anyone . . . that police were fired on," he said.

In a June 18 speech to parliament, Vorster maintained that "rumors" were being deliberately spread to create "panic." He claimed that "we are dealing here not with a spontaneous outburst but with a deliberate attempt to bring about polarization between whites and blacks." Without specifying who the "agitators" were, he referred to "certain organizations and persons."

In the House of Assembly June 22, Kruger was more explicit. He directly attacked the two main legal Black nationalist groups, the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). He charged that a student arrested in Soweto shortly before the uprisings had been a member of the BPC. He added that the regime's tough security laws were needed to combat such organizations, an apparent threat that the regime may outlaw the SASO and BPC as it has a number of other antiapartheid groups.

More than a dozen leaders of the SASO and BPC are already facing trial in cases that began before the mass uprisings. The Vorster regime's attempts to link the two groups to the township rebellions may be a prelude to yet another series of political trials.

The police have confirmed that about 1,300 persons have already been arrested since the beginning of the unrest. According to the June 19 *London Times*, about 200 of those arrested were students from the University of the North at Turfloop, a campus where the SASO and BPC had been particularly active.

The regime's attempts to blame the uprisings on a few "agitators" is also a

lame effort to deny the social causes that lay behind them—the apartheid system itself.

The original issue that touched off the student demonstrations in Soweto June 16, which in turn led to the massive rebellions, was an attempt by the regime to impose



VORSTER

Afrikaans as the language of instruction in Soweto schools. To Blacks in South Africa, Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor, of the dominant Boers who control the government and police. Most Africans prefer to be taught in their native languages or in English, an international language through which they can come into contact with culture and political ideas from outside the country.

Although the attempt to impose Afrikaans was a provocative measure in its own right, it was only the detonator that ignited the pent-up social tensions that have been building up for centuries. The Black masses who poured into the streets of Soweto and other townships were expressing their hatred for the entire apartheid system, from top to bottom.

South African society is based on the domination and exploitation of the more than 20 million Blacks by a white population numbering only 4.1 million. Every aspect of the lives of Blacks is controlled by a vast array of apartheid laws, which regulate where they can live and work, how much they can be paid and for what jobs, whom they can and cannot marry.

The apartheid labor laws ban strikes by Blacks and do not recognize Black trade-union rights. Wages for Blacks are on the average one-twentieth those for whites. At the same time, the rise in the cost of living for basic necessities hits Blacks much harder than whites. According to the June 23 *London Financial Times*, the number of unemployed Blacks now increases by about 10,000 each month.

Soweto and the other Black townships are vastly overcrowded, unpaved collections of corrugated metal and brick shacks that are called "matchboxes" by the inhabitants. Less than 25 percent of the shacks in Soweto have electricity; only about half have cold running water.

To keep the Black population from organizing against these conditions, the white regime has established a large and heavily armed police and military apparatus. It has enacted a series of draconian laws through which it can outlaw virtually any political opposition: the Suppression of Communism Act, the Terrorism Act, the Sabotage Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Criminal Procedures Act, the Unlawful Organisations Act, the Defence Act, and the recently adopted Internal Security Act.

At any one time, there can be up to 100,000 persons, the overwhelming majority of them Black, in South Africa's prisons. Each year, one in every four adult Blacks is arrested, mostly for violations of the pass laws, which regulate Black movement.

Despite all this, Kruger was able to say June 22, "The majority of black people are grateful for what the Government is doing to uplift them."

The regime's response to the Black rebellions clearly showed that the only method the white ruling class has of keeping the Black majority down is massive repression. But such repression is proving to be less and less effective. An editorial in the June 22 *Christian Science Monitor* noted an important factor in the uprisings:

One lesson of the current disorders is that a new generation of young South African blacks is emerging that is more militant than its elders. These black youth are not dissuaded by confrontations with armed, white-led police. They are not turned aside by soft words—or hard words—when their grievances go unanswered. They have developed a new determination to make their case known, even at the cost of heavy casualties.

This new militancy among young Blacks in South Africa is a part of the growing struggle against white colonial rule throughout southern Africa. Despite Pretoria's continued efforts to contain or crush it through brutal repression, this militancy will lead to even more significant upsurges in the future. □

Two U.S. Bases Closed in Thailand

Washington shut down its last two major bases in Thailand June 20. These were the Utapao air base, which was used as a staging center for B-52 bombing runs into Vietnam and Cambodia, and the Ramasun electronic-spying facility.

Under an agreement reached with the Thai government March 20, following continuing protests by Thai students, American military personnel in Thailand now number about 700, down from 50,000 at the height of the Vietnam War.

CP Loses Ground to 'Otelo'

By Gerry Foley

Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo's heart attack June 23 seems certain to put him still further out of the running in the June 27 presidential elections. He was already becoming eclipsed by the demagogue Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who is playing for the support of the radical workers, and by Gen. António Ramalho Eanes, chief of staff of the army, who is being supported by the Socialist party and the bourgeois parties as a guarantor of "stability."

Pinheiro de Azevedo represented a possible option for the bourgeoisie, i.e., continued, although reduced, collaboration with the Communist party. However, there has been no indication that any important section of Portuguese capital wants to go on making concessions to the CP.

The Stalinists showed no interest in Pinheiro de Azevedo's candidacy. It was too clear, apparently, that the bourgeoisie was united behind Eanes. In fact, one reason for the premier's running may simply have been to score a point in interservice rivalry. His branch, the navy, has lost influence in the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) since the fall of Gonçalves last September.

The main effect of the premier's campaign was to make the elections look a little less like a bonapartist plebiscite. However, this advantage for the bourgeoisie tended to decline as attention focused more and more on Carvalho and Eanes.

Carvalho has reportedly attracted considerable support from mainly those workers, peasants, and youth who follow the CP and the groups that claim to stand to the left of it. This section of the population had the most illusions in the MFA "left" and is especially sensitive to the threat to its gains represented by Eanes's plans for "stabilization."

By encouraging illusions in the "left" demagogues of the MFA, the CP opened the way for Carvalho to make inroads in its own base. Now, by failing to wage a determined campaign against Eanes, the CP is offering this demagogue a chance to capture a large section of its supporters.

In the June 21 issue of *Rouge*, a Trotskyist daily published in Paris, the paper's correspondent in Portugal, Michel Rovère, described the flagging of the CP campaign:

The enthusiasm Octávio Pato [the CP candidate] encountered in the centers of the agrarian reform in Alentejo and Ribatejo was not repeated in the industrial suburbs of Lisbon. On Friday

[June 18], no more than 2,000 to 3,000 persons wandered dispiritedly through the Eduardo VII Park, where the CP youth held their big festival.

A maximum of 5,000 persons gathered that night in the open amphitheater to listen to the CP candidate.

Moreover, at Siderurgia Nacional, the only Portuguese steel plant, out of a work force of 6,000, no more than 250 workers came to the meeting for Octávio Pato.

Another index of the waning of the CP campaign was the rally Saturday afternoon [June 19] in Setúbal, thirty-five kilometers south of Lisbon. This city is a CP stronghold. It had one of the highest left votes in the last election. The combined CP-SP vote total was 76%, of which the CP got 45%. This was the CP's highest score.

For the Saturday meeting, the CP went all out. A special convoy brought supporters from all over the region. The agricultural cooperatives were also mobilized. Moreover, this was the first time outside the capital that the two main CP figures, the general secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, and the candidate, Octávio Pato, appeared together. About 5,000 persons showed up in a stadium prepared for five or six times as many.

It is obvious why the CP campaign is faltering. The party's stand is so ambiguous it cannot help but confuse the CP's own followers, especially among the Lisbon workers, who are not so tightly controlled as the members of the CP peasant unions.

In Setúbal, Alvaro Cunhal explained that his party was only running a candidate so as not to have to slight one of the two main military candidates:

Alvaro Cunhal said that the CP had not fallen into the trap the bourgeoisie set for it, trying to get it to oppose a faction in the army. In refusing to choose between Eanes and Pinheiro, the CP was showing that it was a responsible party unwilling to deepen divisions in the army.

Cunhal even said: Let there be no mistake: Our comrade Octávio Pato is running as a civilian candidate to restore armed forces unity."

In Oporto, June 17, Cunhal tried to combat Carvalho by explaining: "Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho is not a candidate of the military but just a soldier candidate backed by civilians."

Thus, in trying to keep the party's basic position of subordination to the military clear, Cunhal in fact continually undercuts Pato's campaign. The CP standard-bearer at least has to try to act like a candidate and use the only arguments against Carvalho that can appeal to working people.

In the Setúbal rally, Pato said, "No 'hero liberators,' no caudillos, no 'saviors of the

fatherland,' can solve our country's great problems."

He went on to attack Carvalho's "anti-party" demagoguery: "Today, we often hear ultraleftists propagating the old reactionary theory that it is parties that divide workers."

The CP candidate apparently could not bring himself to attack "Otelo" directly. Although some of Carvalho's centrist supporters hold "anti-party" anarchist theories, it is the former general himself who has focused on the theme.

In Viana do Castelo, on the same weekend, June 19-20, Pato again concentrated his fire on the "ultraleftists":

Some small groups behaved in the last elections as if they didn't care whether there was a left or right majority in the Assembly of the Republic. Today in this campaign, these groups either avoid this question or belittle its importance, insinuating that a left majority is a lost cause of the CP.

Pato was correct that the ultraleftists' and centrists' support for "Otelo" runs counter to the need for uniting the Portuguese working class.

The most effective way to block the SP leaders' plans to isolate the CP and consolidate their alliance with the bourgeois parties would be to fight for the largest possible vote for Pato. After all, one main reason the SP is backing Eanes is to get his support for an SP government excluding the CP.

It was a little unfair, however, for Pato to concentrate his fire on the "ultraleftists." Last summer, it is true, the ultraleftist and centrist groups now backing Carvalho led the pack in decrying the SP as the agency of counterrevolution in Portugal. But it was the CP that sounded the hunting horn.

Moreover, the CP seems to be responding to its increasing isolation by falling back into even greater sectarianism. Rovère noted that Cunhal ended the Setúbal rally by holding up a little girl from a CP children's organization. *Rouge* reports him as saying: "We don't know if we will live to see the realization of our hopes, but we know there are those who will carry on, and we know we will always be at our posts."

Cunhal got the expression of party loyalty he way playing for: "There was emotional applause from the 5,000 persons in attendance, nearly all members and sympathizers. The slogan of last summer's sectarian frenzies began to be shouted: 'CP, CP, CP.'"

The Trotskyists of the Internationalist Communist League oppose all the military demagogues and support Pato as the only candidate running from a workers organization. In contrast to the disastrous opportunist zigzags of the CP leadership, the Trotskyists offer an example of consistent defense of working-class political independence. □

Elections Reflect Class Polarization in Italy

By Gerry Foley

Although the June 20 elections in Italy did not bring a clear victory for the left, which both the reformist and bourgeois parties feared, they did reflect the weakened capitalist political control over the working masses and a mounting polarization between the main bourgeois and main workers party.

The Communist party vote went from 32% in the June 1975 regional elections to 34.4%; the Christian Democrats from 35.5% to 38.7%. However, the Catholic party maintained its lead over the CP only by practically wiping out the smaller bourgeois and anti-Communist parties. The standing of the right-wing Democratic Socialist party dropped from 5.6% to 3.4%, and the Liberals from 2.5% to 1.3%. The neofascists, who had been expected to gain, lost somewhat, falling from 6.8% to 6.1%.

This polarization between two large parties indicates that the Italian masses are looking for what seem to them to be realistic alternatives.

On the left, the biggest loser was the Socialist party, which focused its campaign on the idea that "the SP will play a central role in any possible government."

The Pragma poll published in the June 6 issue of the Roman weekly magazine *L'Espresso* predicted the CP vote accurately to a tenth of a percent. But its estimate for the Socialists was way off. The SP got 9.6% in the elections for the Chamber in contrast to an estimated 15.7%. Apparently the potential SP voters remained with the Christian Democrats or failed to cast ballots.

Democrazia Proletaria

The estimate for the bloc of groups claiming to stand to the left of the CP, Democrazia Proletaria (DP—Proletarian Democracy), also differed substantially from the actual result, 1.5% instead of the estimated 2.7%. The estimate of support for the Radical party, however, was confirmed by the vote, 1.1% as against a projected 1.2%.

In an interview published in the June 23 issue of the Paris Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, Massimo Gorla, a leader of the *Avanguardia Operaia* (AO—Workers Vanguard), the second most influential of the groups in the DP, gave the following answer in explaining why the bloc's vote was only half what was expected:

"Many people wanted to make their votes count this time by voting for the CP."

The DP did not present an electoral platform. The component groups essentially ran different campaigns, although they called for a vote for the slate. While the groups in the DP called for a "government of the left" instead of a compromise with the Christian Democrats, they differed substantially among themselves both in the concept of the forces such a government ought to include as well as what attitude should be taken toward it.

The leading group in Democrazia Proletaria, PdUP (Partito d'Unita Proletaria—Party of Proletarian Unity), whose candidates were listed at the top of the slates in most cases, did not express clear programmatic differences with the CP. In fact, it has been moving back toward the pro-Moscow Stalinist party.

The CP denounced the DP, apparently with some effect, as a bloc "united only in discord," a combination designed only to assure representation in parliament for its dominant groups.

According to proportional representation, the DP was assigned 6 of the 630 seats in the Chamber. Gorla of the AO was the only candidate who got a high enough vote to be elected on his own. The other five seats all went to members of the PdUP.

As for the third main component of the bloc, Lotta Continua, Gorla indicated in his *Rouge* interview that the vote for its candidates was very low and "will probably lead to discussions in this organization and to a questioning of its orientation. This is all to the good."

PdUP itself has a centrist orientation that combines a gradualist notion of workers power arising from below with class-collaborationist coalitionism practically indistinguishable from that of the CP.

For example, in an interview in the May 13 issue of *Tribune Socialiste*, the weekly magazine of the French Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party), with which the PdUP has close relations, PdUP leader Vincenzo Sparagna explained: "Our political education is based on a critique of Leninism, involving democratic conceptions of the transition to socialism, to the democracy of workers councils."

Asked about the PdUP's perspective of a "left government" for Italy, Sparagna said: "We must avoid a Chile situation. The only possibility is to organize a front embracing Catholic and bourgeois democratic forces with a left pivot, with the decisive presence of the CP."

As to whether the PdUP would join such a government, Sparagna said:

"We are ready for any accord—including a governmental one—to help achieve solutions to the present crisis. We may discuss the forms, but we will never be in opposition vis-à-vis a left government."

The Radical party did not offer a programmatic alternative to the CP any more than did the DP. It has positions only on some democratic issues and is tiny in comparison even to the three main components of the DP. However, it has succeeded in effectively raising some important questions neglected by the larger left forces.

The Radicals played an important role in promoting the campaigns for the right to divorce and to abortion, which have been decisive in accelerating the breakup of the Christian Democracy.

The Radicals have been close to the SP, although they have not been drawn into the party. SPs in other countries that have tried to develop a "new left" image have been able to incorporate such currents. It is probably an index of the relative immobility of the Italian SP that it has not.

SP Caught in Bind

According to a number of polls, the SP gained support by taking a more left position than the CP on the questions of divorce and abortion. Yet the party leadership frittered away its gains by concentrating on parliamentary lures in the electoral farce rather than trying to offer an alternative to the CP on the issues affecting the masses.

Such an alternative would have been difficult to find except to the left of the CP, since the Stalinists have adopted so many traditional Social Democratic electoral themes. However, in a situation where an SP-CP government was a real possibility, presumably it was not easy for the SP to venture to the left of the CP even in words. That would have tended to lead to a confrontation with the bourgeoisie, which the SP wants no more than do the Stalinists.

However, the SP failure to come up with an alternative led to disaster for the party, now caught in a tight squeeze between the CP and the Christian Democrats. An internal struggle of some kind is developing. The position of the left wing led by Riccardo Lombardi was strengthened in the elections. One of the most successful left-wing candidates, Claudio Signorile, challenged the leadership in an open letter in the June 24 issue of the pro-SP Roman daily *Repubblica*:

"June 20 has shown that the SP cannot continue to be a mass party according to the old model. I mean that the bureaucratic apparatus . . . is out of proportion to the political and electoral result the SP got. This apparatus is often an obstacle to broader penetration by the party into society and interchange with the vital and

spontaneous forces present in the movement. . . .

"The SP is becoming more and more clearly a party of cadres and a party of movement (not just a party of opinion). This calls for a profound change in the party's organizational structures so that it can intervene in concrete questions, in sections of society where tensions exist."

Even the SP leading group around Francesco di Martino was shaken by the election results, Paolo Mieli reported in the June 27 issue of *L'Espresso*: "Let's face the facts,' Fedele Galli of the de Martino current exploded. 'The voters have punished us for changing our policy five times in one year.'"

Ironically, despite its defeat, the SP does remain "central" for any possible coalition. But in the polarization that exists, this seems not to be as comfortable a position as the SP leaders expected.

The Christian Democrats are pledged to form a government without the CP. Discredited as they were, they turned their campaign into a "crusade to defend democracy and ward off the totalitarian menace."

However, the Christian Democrats cannot get a viable majority without the SP. The only other mathematical possibility would be a coalition with all the small anti-Communist parties, including the fascists, but that is not politically feasible today.

On the other hand, the SP leadership has pledged that it will not join any government not including the CP. This promise was based on strong material interests. When the SP participated in previous bourgeois governments, while the CP remained, formally at least, in the opposition, the Social Democrats tended to lose their working-class base to the Stalinists. The fate of the Democratic Socialists on June 20 is an indication of what is in store for a small workers party tied to the Christian Democrats.

However, the bourgeoisie, to which the SP remains subordinate fundamentally, seems to be pressing it hard to assure a "stable government." U.S. imperialism is also insisting openly, through Secretary of State Kissinger, that the SP go into a new coalition with the Christian Democrats.

The CP leadership must have been delighted with the election results. In the preceding two weeks, General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer said publicly that the "ideal outcome" would be "a certain advance" for the CP that would make it clear that cooperation with his party was essential to run the country. Talk about a CP victory was designed solely to spread "fear," he said.

Since the CP leaders did not want to win the election, it is not surprising that the party's gains remained relatively modest. They did not encourage CP supporters to work hard for a victory. They made it clear that even if they won they would not

change anything but would "collaborate" in a "national-unity coalition" with the capitalist misrulers of the country.

Nonetheless, since the CP is by far the largest workers party and has been the



Pope sees specter of CP mayor in Rome.

main target of the bourgeoisie's antisocialist propaganda, it inevitably became identified as the anticapitalist alternative.

For the masses, the question was whether the CP could win and open the way to socialism. The sharpest contradiction of the CP leaders was that they did not want to win and still less to open the way to socialism. Thus from the revolutionary Marxist point of view, the most effective way to attack their class-collaborationist strategy would have been to oppose the program of the CP, but offer critical support to the party's candidates. One of the criticisms could have been the reluctance of the CP to campaign for victory over the bourgeois parties. However, the creation of the DP bloc tended to divert revolutionary-minded activists from this task, adding to the programmatic confusion.

The CP has been quick to reassure the Christian Democrats that although they now represent more than a third of the Italian electorate, they intend to ask little from the government. In the June 24 *New York Times*, correspondent Alvin Shuster wrote from Rome that a "senior party official" had explained:

"The key thing is to try to work together and give Italy a chance to work out its economic problems and stabilize. The

minimum is working with the Christian Democrats on a program to do all these things and more."

The CP general secretary of the largest union federation, the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL—Italian General Confederation of Labor), was quoted in the June 23 *Corriere della Sera* as saying that one of the main things the country needs now is "a political leadership supported by a broad consensus of the people, not excluding any people's forces."

Obviously the CP intends to collaborate with the Christian Democrats informally, thereby allowing the bourgeois parties to maintain their public anti-Communism. A joke current in the Italian press is that the "historic compromise" is already operating, "by telephone."

Despite the CP's reluctance to seek victory over the bourgeois parties, it has further undermined their positions. The Christian Democrats' gains, at the expense of the smaller anti-Communist parties, are quite hollow. For the bourgeoisie, the area of political maneuverability has been narrowed.

CP Mayor Next to Pope?

The CP widened its base in the previously conservative south, and passed the Christian Democrats in Rome itself by two and a half points. The possibility of a CP administration in the "Eternal City" soured the Vatican's satisfaction at the overall Christian Democratic score, Luigi Accattoli said in the June 24 *Repubblica*: "Rome is not a secondary matter for the Holy See."

The fact that some companies notorious for gouging the Roman public, such as the gas utility, are Vatican-owned no doubt makes the church officials nervous about the prospect of dealing with a CP mayor.

However, in Naples, the new CP mayor has managed to reassure church officials so completely, Marcello Padovani wrote in the May 31 issue of the Paris weekly *La Nouvelle Observateur*, that when he was elected to his post on September 25, the blood of San Gennaro liquified as a sign of approval from heaven.

The mayor himself accomplished the miracle of being popular both with the poor and the unemployed and with the princes of the church and capital.

If the CP leaders believe that the Pope can be placated, they have overlooked the backers of His Holiness. The Italian bourgeoisie knows that the economic crisis is going to deepen and lead to social conflict no matter how obliging the reformist conciliators may be.

In the June 20 election, the pressure from the masses was not sufficient to break down the understanding between the reformists and the bourgeoisie that maintains Italian capitalism. But the political underpinnings of this system have obviously become shakier. □

Arab League Aids Syrian Intervention in Lebanon

By David Frankel

Maj. Abdel Salam Jalloud, the prime minister of Libya, bragged in Damascus June 21 that he had "created a miracle." Syrian President Hafez al-Assad did not bother to tell reporters what he thought, but he must have been at least as happy as Jalloud at the arrival of the Arab League truce force in Lebanon.

Between 800 and 1,000 Syrian and Libyan troops, described as the vanguard of the Arab League force, took up positions around the Beirut airport June 21. At the very least, the deployment of this nominally pan-Arab force has given Assad important new political cover for his intervention in Lebanon.

Up until a few days before the arrival of the new force's first units, Palestinian and Lebanese Muslim negotiators were taking the public position that no Syrian troops should be allowed to participate in the supposedly neutral Arab League force. In practice, however, the Arab League force was transported from Damascus on Syrian army trucks, painted with white stripes for the occasion. "Syrian soldiers in the trucks wore their standard maroon berets with green bands added," *New York Times* correspondent James M. Markham said in a June 21 report from Beirut.

A June 22 Reuters dispatch from Beirut described what happened after the Syrian units that had been dug in around the Beirut airport and that had participated in the shelling of Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut were replaced by the Arab League force.

A convoy of 75 Syrian Army lorries which moved south with guns and rocket launchers pulled up near Sidon [Saida] and dug in again. Soldiers were seen painting white lines on them, marking them out as part of the Arab peace-keeping force. . . .

According to the cease-fire agreement between the Syrian invaders and their Palestinian and leftist opponents, Syrian troops are supposed to withdraw from forward positions around Beirut and Saida and be replaced by Arab League forces. "Ranking Syrian officials," *New York Times* correspondent James F. Clarity reported in a June 20 dispatch from Damascus, "have made it clear that Syria does not intend to withdraw a sizable part of its intervention forces—now estimated at 14,000 troops and 400 tanks—until there is a durable cease-fire and a Lebanese government, under President-elect Elias Sarkis, is functioning."

By pulling back a few miles Assad's



ASSAD

forces would not be relinquishing any significant military advantage. On the other hand, the Syrian version of the cease-fire pact allows for the reopening of all Saiqa headquarters in Beirut. Saiqa, now composed largely of Syrian regulars, was originally a pro-Syrian-Baathist Palestinian guerrilla organization. Its forces were driven out of Beirut after bitter fighting earlier in June.

If either Saiqa forces or Syrian troops wearing the green bands of the Arab League truce force are allowed to enter Beirut, it would put Assad's forces in a better position to threaten further military action. Robert Fisk commented on this aspect of the cease-fire agreement in the June 22 *London Times*. He argued:

Now that both Syrians and Palestinians are waiting for the Arab League's token army to arrive in Beirut, it is clear that President Assad need not order any further military attacks. His Syrian soldiers will be able to walk the streets of Beirut as pan-Arab peacekeepers in a few weeks' time, which means his army can advance the last 12 miles into the city by diplomacy rather than gunfire.

Mahmoud Riad, the Arab League's secretary general, has said that the complete Arab League force will range in size from 6,000 to 10,000 troops. It remains to be seen whether any of these troops will actually be allowed to occupy areas held

by the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition.

While fighting between this coalition and Assad's invasion force has stopped for the time being, the military pressure on the Muslim and Palestinian forces has been maintained by Christian rightists in Beirut. On June 22, the day after the truce negotiated by Jalloud went into effect, the rightists mounted a furious attack against two Palestinian refugee camps and a Muslim slum area isolated behind the rightist lines.

Between 4,000 and 5,000 rightist troops, backed by tanks and artillery, participated in the attack on the surrounded enclaves. Jisr el-Pasha, a largely Christian Palestinian refugee camp, the Tell Zaatar refugee camp, and the Nabaa district all remain under siege. During the first twenty-four hours of fighting, more than 1,000 shells were fired into Tell Zaatar, where about 35,000 people live.

Neither Assad nor any other Arab leader has commented on the rightist offensive, and the Arab League "peace-keeping" force has ignored it. This lends support to the supposition that Assad has gained agreement from the Arab regimes to a plan forcing through a settlement in Lebanon based on maintaining the domination of the right-wing Christian establishment. William Blakemore commented in a dispatch from Beirut in the June 25 *Christian Science Monitor*:

It is difficult to ascertain the degree to which right-wing and Syrian actions in recent months have been coordinated. But there is nothing yet to refute the assertion of Salam Khalaf (Abu Iyad)—second in command of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and military commander of Palestinian forces now in Lebanon—that Syria, with the cooperation or acquiescence of the Lebanese right wing, virtually all other Arab powers, the United States, and Israel, is trying to cut the Palestinian resistance movement down to size.

Joseph Kraft reported in his column in the June 22 *Washington Post* that Syrian diplomats in Paris stated in so many words what their calculations were. Kraft said that:

. . . according to the Syrians who came here to Paris [June 17-19] with President Assad, the acceptance of other Arab forces is strictly a charade designed to provide a cover for Syrian actions.

The Syrians claim they have almost total control over Lebanon now. They told French officials they would restore order and achieve a ceasefire between Christians and Moslems. They

hinted they would then be ready to move toward settlement with Israel.

Assad has made no secret of his desire for a deal with Israel. After coming to power in 1970, and especially following the October 1973 war, Assad has normalized relations with Washington. Since 1972 U.S.-Syrian trade has grown eightfold.

In addition, Assad has courted the most reactionary regimes in the Middle East. In 1975 he established close working relations with Jordan's King Hussein, ending the year with a four-day visit with the shah of Iran. Assad has also sought close ties with the conservative, oil-rich regimes in Saudi Arabia and the Arab-Persian Gulf, allowing greater openings for private capital in the Syrian economy.

"Assad would surely have been as cooperative as [Egypt's] President Sadat, if not as congenial, had the American Secretary of State persuaded Israel to return a portion of the Golan," Eric Rouleau pointed out in the June 3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

From the point of view of the Arab regimes, the biggest obstacle to a deal with Israel has been the Palestinian people and their struggle for self-determination. If the Syrian intervention in Lebanon succeeds in beating down the Palestinian masses there, it would open the door for a new attempt at a negotiated settlement with Israel at the expense of the Palestinians.

New moves toward a reconciliation between Assad and Sadat indicate that this is what is being attempted. The two rulers have been feuding since September 1975, when Sadat signed an accord on the Sinai with Israel. This unilateral action was a blow to Syria's negotiating position. The Israelis calculated that they could neutralize their southern front by dealing with Sadat while refusing to budge in talks with the Syrian regime.

Since January 1, the Saudi regime and the other Arab states in the Gulf area have cut off their \$700 million annual subsidy to Syria in an effort to encourage Assad to end his anti-Sadat campaign. The Saudi and Kuwaiti regimes arranged a meeting June 23 between the Syrian and Egyptian prime ministers which was intended as a first step toward ending the quarrel between the two regimes.

The announcement June 22 that Maj. Gen. Muhammad Hassan Ghoneim of the Egyptian army will command the Arab League force in Lebanon takes on added significance in light of the move toward ending the Cairo-Damascus rupture.

However, the game in Lebanon is a dangerous one for the regimes involved. It was not accidental that the Ford administration chose the *USS Spiegel Grove* for a prominent role in the evacuation of Americans from Beirut June 20. The *Spiegel Grove* was one of the ships that landed U.S. marines in Lebanon in 1958.

In the days immediately following the evacuation, the Pentagon leaked a number

of facts about the operation with the intent of stressing its readiness to intervene in Lebanon. On June 21, a Sixth Fleet officer told reporters that helicopter gunships and jet fighters had been standing by in addition to the marines on the *Spiegel Grove*. "We were prepared to go in there under fire if the order came through," he said.

On June 22, the Pentagon announced that although the Ford administration had no further plans for evacuating Americans from Lebanon, it would continue to keep

American warships in the eastern Mediterranean.

The involvement of the Arab League in Lebanon, and the possibility of the entry of Saudi Arabian, Sudanese, and Algerian troops in addition to the Syrians and Libyans already there, has raised the stakes in the Lebanese conflict. Far from bringing peace, the Arab League force is already acting as a cover for new assaults against the Palestinians. In the end, it may provide the pretext for an assault on the Arab peoples as a whole. □

Kremlin Backs Off on Attempt to Declare Dissenter 'Insane'

Partial Victory for Valentyn Moroz

By Marilyn Vogt

The international campaign to free the dissident Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz has won a partial victory. In a virtually unprecedented ruling, the "doctors" at Serbsky Institute in Moscow have "found" Moroz to be sane, according to *Svoboda*, a Ukrainian-language daily published in the United States.

Valentyn Moroz was sentenced in November 1970 to a fourteen-year term (six years in prison, three years labor camp, five years internal exile) because of his writings in defense of democratic rights in the Soviet Union and the national rights of the Ukrainian people. The six-year term of imprisonment was to have ended June 1. But instead of transferring Moroz from Vladimir prison to a labor camp as his sentence dictated, on May 10 he was transferred to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry.

Serbsky is notorious because the secret-police agents in white coats masquerading as psychiatric experts help the Soviet rulers crack down on political dissenters by declaring them mentally ill and placing them in psychiatric hospital-prisons for indefinite terms.

Raissa Moroz, Valentyn's wife, learned from him that he was transferred to the Serbsky Institute because the Kremlin rulers deemed he needed a psychiatric examination as a result of his "excessive religiousness" and his "attempts to mutilate himself."

Raissa learned this from Moroz during a meeting she was allowed to have with him at the institute on May 19, according to a May 22 *Toronto Star* report of a telephone interview that paper had with her.

She said a doctor at the institute told her Moroz had to undergo an examination because he had recently "become morose."

"Let him be moved to a forced labor camp. The labor is hard, but there at least he would be among friends," Raissa told

the *Toronto Star*. "Let him be sent to a camp. I don't care about that. But he is a healthy person and must not be kept at the Serbsky."

Leonid Plyushch, a Marxist Ukrainian who spent two and a half years in the Dnepropetrovsk psychiatric hospital because of his activities in defense of democratic rights, until he was freed by an international defense effort, stated, according to the May 27 *Le Monde*:

It is inhumane and absurd to reproach a human being for that person's religious beliefs and to see these as proof of mental imbalance. And what is even worse are allegations of supposed suicide attempts. One of Moroz's fellow prisoners reported not long ago that Moroz asked him to inform the world that he was being forced to share a cell with insane people in an attempt to break his mental resistance. The insane sometimes go berserk, and the "attempt at suicide" could well have been a physical attack [on him].

According to the May 24 *Toronto Globe and Mail*, Tatyana Zhitnikova, who was an instrumental figure in securing the release of her husband, Leonid Plyushch, issued an open letter to women's organizations around the world, appealing to them to call for Moroz's release.

In response to the Kremlin bureaucrats' efforts to have Moroz declared mentally ill, Zhitnikova said Moroz revealed "the sufferings and pain of the Ukrainian people. That is the real reason for his 'madness.'"

Under pressure from the mounting international defense work on Moroz's behalf, however, the bureaucrats were forced to back down. According to *Svoboda*, Raissa Moroz announced June 21 that she was informed of the Serbsky decision by officials who also told her Moroz has been transferred to Moscow's Butyrka prison from which he will be transferred to a labor camp. □

Bolivia Placed Under State of 'Exception'

By Judy White

Bolivian President Hugo Banzer Suárez placed approximately one-third of the country's population under military occupation June 15. He instituted laws of "exception" in the departments of Oruro and Potosí, suspending individual rights and placing decision-making on all aspects of daily life in the hands of the army.

A few days earlier he had ordered the military to occupy the mines for the first time since he seized power in 1971.

Banzer moved in response to growing mobilizations by miners and students that had escalated into a general strike June 14. Up to 70,000 workers in the state-owned mines and 20,000 university students in all but two of Bolivia's universities were reported affected by the strike. Tin production at mines accounting for about 75 percent of the country's output came to a standstill.

The dictator had tried a number of steps short of imposing the laws of exception to put a damper on the workers' upsurge Bolivia has been experiencing since the beginning of this year.

In January, a strike of workers at Manaco, the largest shoe factory in the country, was declared illegal. When the shoe workers refused to go back to work under Manaco's speedup "reform," the company laid off 820 workers. This act, in turn, sparked solidarity strikes among members of the Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia (FSTMB—Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia), other sectors of the working class, and students.

By January 29 Manaco workers were back on the job with a victory for their side.

Moreover, Banzer was forced to grant the demands raised by the student contingent of the mobilization—to release arrested student leaders and give students more control over university life.

The FSTMB, which historically has been in the vanguard of the Bolivian class struggle, has been regaining strength over the past year. Despite the fact that all trade-union activity has been illegal since November 1974, it was able to hold a congress of 400 delegates in Corocoro May 1-4 of this year.

Reports on the congress are fragmentary, but they indicate that political tendencies within the workers movement function freely among the more than 30,000 members of the federation.

The congress strongly criticized the Banzer government and pledged to work

toward rebuilding the outlawed Central Obrera Boliviana (COB—Bolivian Workers Federation).

The June 2-10 issue of the French newspaper *Informations Ouvrières*, reflecting the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization), reported on important questions posed at the congress. One was the political orientation to be followed by the organization:

The fight on the programmatic document first developed in the political commission holding office before the congress, which was in charge of preparing the document. Within the political commission there was a confrontation between two tendencies, a confrontation that even threatened to blow up the commission. On one side was a minority, inspired by the Maoists and representatives of the Bolivian Stalinist party, the PCB [Partido Comunista Boliviano—Bolivian Communist party]. On the other was the united tendency, inspired by the POR* faction.

The Stalinists of both stripes proposed to "update" the FSTMB program with the theory of a two-stage revolution for the country. They maintain that Bolivia is a feudal state and call for support to a bourgeois government as a progressive step.

The POR (Lora) led a successful fight to reaffirm the Pulacayo Theses, a programmatic document of the miners federation and the COB that calls for the establishment of a workers and peasants government in Bolivia.

The second central question before the miners congress was the election of a new leadership for the union:

The replacement of the executive committee of the FSTMB was marked by another victory for the POR faction. During the preparations for the congress, the POR had argued for the need to get rid of the old bureaucracy and to elect a new leadership. At the congress itself, a majority of the delegates accused the old leadership of betrayal and complicity with the Banzer government.

Following the discussion, reported *Informations Ouvrières*, the worst bureaucrats were voted out and various POR (Lora) activists won posts on the new executive committee.

The congress also came out in favor of

*Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Lora)—Revolutionary Workers party, supporters of Guillermo Lora. Also known as POR (Masas) for the name of the party's newspaper, *Masas*.

wages for the unemployed, the six-hour day, workers control, immediate occupation of the mines in the event of bankruptcy, and the sliding scale of wages.

On May 24 another sector of the working class wrung a victory from the regime. Following a twenty-four-hour general strike by the nation's journalists, Banzer pledged the government's "unfailing respect for freedom of the press."

The strike occurred following the May 11 assassination in Paris of Gen. Joaquín Zenteno Anaya. Zenteno was considered one of Banzer's chief political rivals. Although his death was widely reported to be the work of the "International Che Guevara Brigade," a shadowy group of alleged French terrorists, several Bolivian news organs blamed the Banzer government and the military high command for the action. The strike was sparked when officials of the regime retaliated by beating up one journalist and threatening to deport several others.

The most recent wave of mass actions began June 3, following the announcement of the murder of former Bolivian President Juan José Torres. Torres, who was living in exile in Argentina, was kidnapped June 1 and killed by right-wing terrorists.

The FSTMB held a twenty-four-hour general strike, which was joined by other sectors of the working class and students.

When the Banzer government announced three days later that it would not allow Torres' remains to be returned for burial in Bolivia, the protests escalated.

Banzer responded by declaring a state of siege June 9. His press secretary explained the step as a way to "clear up an atmosphere of subversion prevailing in the country."

The military was flown into the main mining centers to take over miner-operated radio stations and occupy the facilities. Mine workers' leaders were rounded up and jailed.

The Ministry of Education announced it was moving up school vacations so they would start that very day.

The general strike that began June 14 centers on the demand for the withdrawal of troops from the mines, the release of mine workers' leaders, and the reopening of wage negotiations.

When the protests continued and broadened, the government used violence to try to stop them. By June 16, at least three persons had lost their lives, two of them students in Oruro.

The strike continues despite Banzer's declaration of a state of "exception" in Oruro and Potosí. In fact, by June 18 it had spread to the privately-owned mines. Although the dictator accompanied his announcement with an offer of a 30 percent wage increase, the miners insisted on the withdrawal of troops as a condition for their return to work. Moreover, they are demanding a 130 percent wage raise. □

Rising Toll of 'Death Squad' Victims in Latin America

By Judy White

Twenty-five political refugees were freed in Buenos Aires June 12 after being told in no uncertain terms that they had better leave Argentina within forty-eight hours. They had been abducted the previous day by a gang of heavily armed men who identified themselves as members of a nonexistent state security body.

Many were released with broken ribs and bruises. The men reported they were tortured with electricity. They had no idea where they were held during the twenty-four-hour period.

These twenty-five refugees were lucky. Four Uruguayans, including two former members of parliament, and a former president of Bolivia were found murdered after being abducted in Buenos Aires in similar operations in preceding weeks.

In Rio de Janeiro, thirty-eight persons died at the hands of such gangs during May. Many of the bullet-riddled bodies were found with the victims' hands tied behind their backs and showed signs of torture.

Death squads, like the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anti-communist Alliance) and the Brazilian Esquadrão da Morte (Death Squad), have operated with impunity in several countries of Latin America for years.

On one occasion, members of the Dominican death squad La Banda (The Gang) took part in an organized assault on political prisoners in the island's major jail. It was an attempt to provoke the victims into a violent response that would justify official repression.

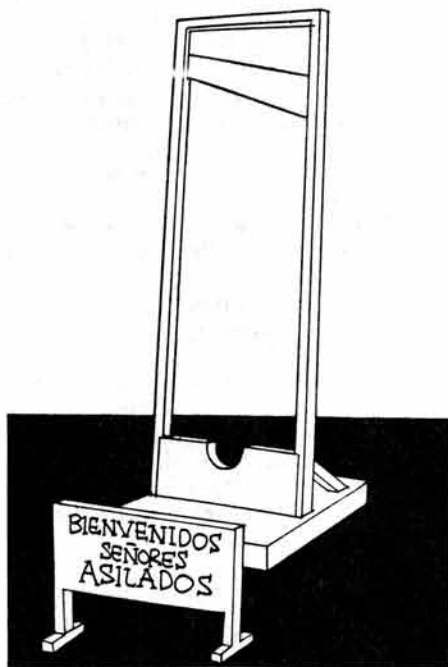
In general, the death squads' intended victims are political and trade-union activists, refugees, and slum dwellers. Their tactics are directed toward wholesale intimidation of the oppressed masses of the population.

An indication of their effectiveness was provided by Jonathan Kandell in an article in the June 7 *New York Times* on the recent killings in Brazil:

... many residents decline to even discuss the death squad. Apprehension runs so deep that some do not even dare claim the bodies of relatives slain by the death squad for fear of further reprisals.

The old cemetery in Marapicu, a few miles from Nova Iguaça, is known as the death squad cemetery. During the last three months, 32 unclaimed, bullet-ridden bodies were buried there.

It is common knowledge that such terrorist gangs not only enjoy the toleration of the regimes in the countries where



"Welcome, exiles"

they operate, but that important officials mastermind and participate in their activities. In some cases, governmental support has been shown to extend to financing the gangs' operations.

The most notorious case to come to light was that of the AAA. Peronist Social Welfare Minister José López Rega was involved in the founding of the group, ministry funds were used to bankroll its operations, and full-time functionaries of the AAA were placed on government payrolls. Although López Rega himself was forced into exile as a result of protests against his role in the murder gang, the AAA continues to function. It has killed at least 155 persons since the March 24 military coup.

No attempt was ever made by Perón or by her successor, Gen. Jorge Videla, to arrest or prosecute anyone for the AAA's crimes.

Such extralegal forces are useful to repressive regimes in that they provide an instrument to carry out the dirtiest work. Meanwhile, the government remains formally free of responsibility, giving lip service to civil liberties, and at times feigning total ignorance of the terrorists.

Occasionally, however, unfavorable publicity has forced regimes harboring terror-

ist gangs to make a show of clamping down.

In 1971, news articles in the U.S. press on the murders being carried out by La Banda in the Dominican Republic forced President Joaquín Balaguer to do just that. As *Intercontinental Press* reported in its October 11, 1971, issue:

He announced the removal from the police force of a certain "Lieutenant Núñez, a controversial figure whom the political opposition accuses of being the link between the police and La Banda". . . .

Balaguer went on to proclaim that he was appointing a new attorney general to ensure a full-scale roundup and prosecution of those responsible for the killings and abductions perpetrated by La Banda.

In the days immediately following, several hundred alleged La Banda members were picked up by the police. Most were quietly released, however, within one to three days after their arrest.

Predictably, La Banda was soon functioning again; five victims of the gang were found in Santo Domingo October 9.

Semiofficial terrorist gangs are nothing new in Latin America. There are reports of the existence of the Brazilian Esquadrão da Morte as early as the mid-1950s, but such formations began to be described in detail a decade later when their numbers and actions proliferated.

The Mano Blanca (White Hand) in Guatemala became notorious in the late 1960s as a tool of the Méndez Montenegro government in its campaign against guerrilla organizations, political dissidents, and other sectors of the population seeking social change.

In the years following the crushing by U.S. troops of the 1965 revolt in the Dominican Republic, La Banda waged a more ferocious campaign of terror against the Dominican masses than had been experienced at almost any time during the bloody Trujillo dictatorship.

In Brazil, following the 1964 coup, the Esquadrão da Morte moved to the fore to aid in the elimination of the mass movement that the military was not able to fully crush.

The appearance of the AAA in Argentina closely followed the return of the Peronists to power in 1973. They used it along with populist demagoguery to help maintain control over the mass working-class movement.

Death squads, moreover, are not unique to Latin America. They have been a standard tool of the imperialist powers in counterinsurgency operations. The British

used them in Kenya and Malaya in the 1950s and later in Ireland.

In the case of Latin America, American imperialism has played a similar role. An article on Guatemala in the June 10, 1967, London *Economist* reported:

The principal terrorist organisation, the White Hand, is a creature of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional [National Liberation Movement]. In 1954, the MLN spearheaded the CIA-organized invasion from Honduras which, with the connivance of the Guatemalan military high command, overthrew the pro-communist regime of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz.

Since last July MLN leaders in the Oriente and many of their followers have been disappearing into Honduras. A new low-range radio station, Radio America, based in Honduras has been warning peasants of a new invasion with massive American support.

The same article reported that "the White Hand's anti-communist vigilantes in the Oriente have received roughly 2,000 rifles and machine guns which were given to the Guatemalan army under the American military aid programme."

Following a stay in the Dominican Republic, Norman Gall said in an article in the July 22, 1971, issue of the *New York Review of Books*:

The Dominican terror resembles the current wave of political killings in Guatemala . . . in that the paramilitary death squads are organized by the armed forces and police, which in both cases over the years have been given heavy US material and advisory support.

Gall pointed out that the "Public Safety" program of Washington's Agency for International Development (AID) in 1967-68 was larger in the Dominican Republic than in any other country except South Vietnam. He also noted that AID had substantial "Public Safety" programs in Brazil and Guatemala. □

Call for Nationwide Strike Gains Support

Australian Workers Fight Cuts in Social Welfare

The Australian trade-union movement is beginning to respond to the attacks on the working class by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's Liberal government. Fraser's attempt to dismantle Medibank—the national health service established by the previous Labor government—has been the single biggest issue provoking the anger of the workers.

A twenty-four-hour strike by 50,000 New South Wales workers protested the attack on Medibank June 7. "The waterfront, mining, steel production and all other major industries came to a halt," Chris Price reported in the June 10 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in Sydney.

In Victoria State, hundreds of thousands of workers took part in a four-hour work stoppage June 16. A meeting of 2,000 shop stewards had voted overwhelmingly for a twenty-four-hour strike a week earlier, but the trade-union leadership was successful in scaling down the action at a later meeting.

Doug Jordan reported in the June 17 *Direct Action* that 6,000 workers at a June 16 meeting in Melbourne "unanimously voted for a 24-hour State-wide strike on June 30 to be organised by the Victorian Trades Hall Council."

A motion passed without opposition that said:

This meeting demands that the trade union movement organise a strong, continuing campaign of political and industrial action to defeat the Government's attack on Medibank, wages and social welfare. We demand that the Trades

Hall Council call a 24-hour stoppage on the 30th of June, 1976. Further, we demand that the ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] lead a nationwide campaign until the Fraser Government agrees to withdraw its attack on Medibank, wages and salaries and pensions and takes measures to restore full employment.

An indication of the pressure from the trade-union rank and file came June 15 when leaders from twenty national unions met in Sydney and called on the Australian Council of Trade Unions executive to organize a twenty-four-hour nationwide strike against Fraser's economic policies. Jim McIlroy reported in June 17 *Direct Action*:

The unions want the day-long stoppage followed up by a series of rolling strikes on an industry-by-industry basis to halt the Fraser Government's drive against wages, jobs and welfare. Representatives of building, metal, maritime, transport, mining, service, teaching and fire brigade unions attended the June 15 meeting.

The unions declared that if the ACTU executive did not act on the strike proposal at its June 20-21 meeting, then they would go ahead with their own strike action. . . .

Meanwhile, in Melbourne, a meeting of 28 union officials has called for a special national conference to plan union actions to bring down the Fraser Government.

These developments are the latest in a growing storm in the labor movement over ACTU president Bob Hawke's proposed "trade-off" with the Fraser Government involving wage restraint by the unions in return for a few reductions in indirect taxes and other "concessions."

McIlroy cited some of the reactions to Hawke's "trade-off" proposal:

Victorian State secretary of the Metal Trades Federation of unions and leading ALP [Australian Labor party] Socialist Left supporter Percy Johnson said: "What on earth have we got in common with Fraser to talk to him about deals when it means bringing the workers under the control of the Fraser machine?"

P.W. Reilly, Federal president of the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations, said of the unions' meeting with Fraser: "Nothing occurred to alter our view that the Government is seeking a reduction in real wages as a central part of its economic policy."

McIlroy says that "the call for a special national conference of unions to discuss the economic crisis has been mounting. It is clear that a growing proportion of the union movement will settle for nothing less than direct action to stop Fraser's offensive." □

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France—Immigrant Workers Fight for Their Rights

By Joseph Antar

PARIS—Official estimates place the number of immigrant workers and their families in France at 4.1 million—7.7% of the population. They include 871,000 Algerians; 302,000 Moroccans; 162,000 Tunisians; 80,000 Black Africans; 840,000 Portuguese; and large numbers of Italians, Yugoslavs, Mauritians, and Spaniards. In addition, there are 300,000 workers from colonies that have been formally annexed to France, such as Martinique, and tens of thousands of *clandestins*, immigrants who have no papers.

These superexploited immigrant workers play an important role in the French economy. They make up 31% of the workers in the construction industry, 26% of those in the automobile industry, and 30% in laundry and dry cleaning. Almost all immigrant workers (92%) are unskilled or semiskilled. They are given the worst jobs, the most miserable wages, and are the first fired during downturns in the economy.

Discriminatory laws segregate the immigrant workers into a separate category, and the threat of deportation is used against those who struggle for their rights. In addition, they are subject to systematic police brutality and surveillance. Nevertheless, the miserable housing immigrant workers are forced into has resulted in a series of protest actions.

Immigrant workers face both racism of private landlords and officially sanctioned discrimination. (Municipalities with an immigrant population of more than 15% can legally deny housing to newly arriving immigrants.) Twenty percent of immigrant workers live in apartments, many in low-rent government housing, but 35% live in slum dwellings or in shantytowns, and 45% live in hotels or rooms.

About 180,000 immigrant workers in this last category live in *foyers* (rooming houses). In many cases sixteen tenants are crammed into a space originally intended for two. Tenants often pay 270 francs (about US\$57) a month for a room of four to six square meters, although the legal minimum is nine square meters.

More than 250 *foyers*, housing 66,000 workers throughout France, are managed by Sonacotra (Société Nationale de Construction de Logements pour Travailleurs—National Corporation for Construction of Workers Housing). This semipublic corporation is subsidized by the government—partly with taxes levied specifically against immigrant workers. Thus, immigrant workers pay exorbitant



Immigrant workers demonstrating in Paris April 24.

rents for housing built in large part with funds deducted from their own wages.

On top of this, each *foyer* run by Sonacotra is equipped with a manager—often a former member of the Foreign Legion, France's notorious colonial army. The manager is empowered to enter rooms any time, day or night. Tenants are denied the right to hold meetings or to engage in

political activity, and visitors are admitted only during certain hours.

When the Sonacotra *foyer* in the Parisian suburb of St. Denis was hit by a rent increase in February 1975, the tenants began a rent strike. The strike at St. Denis spread to the majority of *foyers* in the Paris region when a 7% rent hike was proposed in September 1975. By December there were thirty-five *foyers* on strike. In

February there were forty-seven, and in March, fifty-four.

A Coordination Committee to lead the struggle was elected, with delegates chosen by general assemblies in each foyer. The basic demands raised by the strikers are the following:

- Rent cuts of 100 francs per month.
- Recognition of basic rights and liberties in the foyers. These include the right to receive visitors twenty-four hours a day, regardless of sex; the right to hold meetings, regardless of subject; the right to demonstrate; the right to have films, debates, and discussions; and the replacement of managers by superintendents employed solely for the purposes of maintenance.

- Legal status as tenants and not as residents. (Residents have no legal rights in case of eviction and similar disputes.)

- Recognition by Sonacotra of the Coordination Committee.

At first Sonacotra denied that the Coordination Committee was a representative body and refused to negotiate seriously. The committee responded by calling a meeting at the Paris Mutualité in February that drew more than 3,500 persons.

Sonacotra then tried a different tactic. In collaboration with the state secretariat on immigration, it proposed negotiations foyer by foyer, with the immigrant workers to be represented by the Amicale des Algériens, a workers association tied to the Algerian government.

This attempt to divide the workers and fragment their strike through piecemeal negotiations was categorically rejected by the Coordination Committee, which pointed out that ten other nationalities were involved, not just Algerians.

On March 15, Sonacotra offered some concessions, including visiting rights, political meetings limited to those living in the foyers, cancellation of rent debts owed up to March 1, 1976, a lower rent increase that would not go into effect until September, and recognition of tenant committees to be elected in the near future.

These proposals, accepted by four foyers, were rejected by the majority, which opted to continue the strike. The response of the government came on April 7, when fifteen police vans surrounded the foyer of Champigny at 5:30 a.m. Two foyer delegates, José Ferreira and Ben Amar, were illegally deported six hours later.

Further police raids April 16 at the foyers of Pierrefitte, St. Denis, Romain Rolland, Sevran, Nanterre-ville, Bagnole, Genevilliers, Garges, and Bobigny resulted in the deportation of other delegates. In addition, 148 delegates have received eviction notices, and 50—informed of imminent arrest—have gone into hiding.

To demand the return of those deported and to defend the strike against police attack, the Coordination Committee formed a strike support committee and called an April 24 march through the immigrant communities of Barbès and

Belleville in Paris. Endorsement was won from the Paris region CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the second largest trade-union federation in France) as well as from many immigrant organizations and groups on the left.

The demonstration was a major success, drawing more than 15,000 persons, including a contingent of 5,000 from the foyers.

Rouge, the French Trotskyist daily, pointed out in its April 26 issue that the success was achieved “despite the silence of the bourgeois press, despite the boycott of the CP [Communist party] and the CGT.* . .”

The CP and CGT refused to support the April 24 march. The Stalinist leadership has pushed for acceptance of the Sonacotra proposal for foyer-by-foyer negotiations through the Amicale des Algériens. The four foyers ending the strike in March were those in which the CP had marked influence.

Although the Socialist party and the CDFT, which it leads, share identical positions with the CP and the CGT on the need to limit immigration “democratically,” the CFDT has tried to preserve a “left” image by giving support to the Sonacotra strike through its local organs.

In order to win public support for their continuing struggle, the strikers have begun an “open house” program consisting of films, discussions, and tours of the foyers. More than 300 persons attended an “open house” at the Bagnole foyer May 15, and 200 were present at the Romain Rolland foyer May 22. Other “open

*Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor), the largest trade-union federation in France. It is led by the CP.—IP

houses” were held May 29 at the Montreuil and Colombes foyers and at Massy on May 30.

The attacks on the immigrant workers fighting for their human rights are ultimately aimed at the French working class as a whole. As Philippe Poisson pointed out in the April 29 issue of the French weekly *Politique-Hebdo*, the deportations of immigrant workers are “a means of hitting the sector of the working class considered the most vulnerable, to hit it through its most combative members who affirm their determination not to pay for the crisis” of French capitalism.

The Coordination Committee also stressed the stake that the entire French working class has in the fight of the immigrant workers for decent living conditions. In its call for the April 24 march it said:

“We call upon all our immigrant brothers to mobilize to support our struggle and to refuse to pay the cost of the crisis. We call upon all our French comrades to support our struggle, which is also theirs, because this is a struggle against repression, a struggle against exorbitant rents, a struggle for French-immigrant equality, a struggle for the unity of the working class.”

May 31, 1976

Imperialists Pledge Aid to Gandhi

Representatives of thirteen imperialist powers met in Paris at the end of May and announced that they would give \$1.8 billion in aid to the regime of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi over the next year.

Ernest Stern of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development said that Gandhi's assumption of dictatorial powers did not come up at the Paris meeting.

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up

New York's 'Mysterious Incursion of Sewage'



Environmentalists had predicted in advance the year in which it would occur. But when large quantities of human excrement and other wastes began washing up along Long Island beaches near New York City in mid-June, federal, state, and local officials professed great puzzlement as to its source.

For days news reports referred to a "mysterious incursion of sewage," as though perhaps it had dropped from the moon.

But as the incoming tides coated the shore with more and more "floatables," "solid pellets," and "tarballs," it became necessary to shut down seventy miles of beaches. This made it increasingly difficult to feign ignorance as to the source of the filth, particularly after descriptions of its content were made public.

In addition to human waste, the *New York Daily News* reported June 23, "Among the debris were a large number of plastic objects associated with sewage systems. Other material found on the shore included large amounts of charred wood, some disposable diapers, food and food waste such as chicken heads and cabbage, and containers such as milk cartons from as far away as Texas."

Although local officials, acting under the pressure of merchants fearing heavy financial losses, quickly reopened some of the beaches, they were forced to issue a number of warnings. For example, when Nassau County Health Commissioner John J. Dowling declared certain areas safe for swimming June 24, he made the following health recommendations to ensure a disease-free day at the beach.

According to the June 25 *Daily News*, "He cautioned beach-goers to avoid direct contact with any tar balls or other debris and to watch children to see that they do not put debris in their mouths.

"He said food should not be eaten on beaches unless both hands are washed. In addition, food should be held in waxed paper or other wrappings to avoid contact with the hands.

"Anyone suffering cuts or abrasions at beaches, he said, should seek immediate first aid. Finally, he said, all fish or shellfish caught in affected waters should be thoroughly cleaned and cooked before eating."

The scope of the "incursion" began to be made public June 23, when officials recalled that a "slick" of debris six miles long and seventy-five feet wide had been spotted off New York harbor by an airline pilot May 31.

That same day, a state official revealed the result of a helicopter survey of the offshore area. "There were long streaks of brown, dirty water and you could see it creeping into the inlets around Jones Beach. And even 50 to 100 feet above the ocean in the helicopter you could smell it."

A state auditor's report released June 24 indicated that the source of the sludge was not all that mysterious. It revealed that the dumping of raw sewage into the waters surrounding New York City had increased more than 70 percent in recent years, reaching a total of 225 million gallons a day. It also disclosed that because of tidal movements, the sludge could pile up anywhere.

Other officials suggested that the recent explosion of two Long Island sewage storage tanks, which released one million gallons of sludge into nearby water, may have also had something to do with the sludge on the beaches.

A helicopter inspection by federal environmental official Eric Outwater confirmed that New York's medieval sanitation practices were not above suspicion. The pattern of debris in the water, he said, "makes it look like the pollution is coming out of New York harbor in a big circle" and onto Long Island beaches.

"It's the same old stuff that's been going out of New York harbor since the city was founded," Outwater said. The floating filth was not usually so apparent, he said, because normal winds and currents carry it away from the shore. It is now washing back on New York because of a reversal of currents and a strong shoreward wind.

That condition doesn't happen very often, he said, "but I'll be damned if I can predict when this will happen again."

An undoubted additional source of the filth is the dumpsite, only twelve miles off the Long Island beaches, where New York City barges are authorized to dump 1.4 million gallons of sewage sludge each day. The site has been used for forty years, creating a twenty-square mile "dead sea" where little life exists.

Over the years, the sludge has been moving steadily closer to the beaches until, two years ago, it had oozed to within a quarter mile of the shore. On July 9, 1974, William H. Harris, a marine geochemist from Brooklyn College, reported on the results of his research at the dumping site and made the following prediction.

"At this rate," he said, "the sludge will be up on the beaches by 1977. But even a year before that—the summer of 1976—the beaches will be unusable because of contamination from the sludge beds."

At the time, Harris's findings were derided by federal officials, who claimed they could determine "no massive movement" of the sludge. At worst, they said, the sludge might be a problem in five to ten years, but it presented no immediate hazard to health.

Meanwhile, the city administrations in New York and other major population centers along the Atlantic coast continued to dump the sludge.

Prospects for future swimming around New York or anywhere else along the coast of the northeastern United States can be gauged from the following report, issued more than three years ago by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration:

About 700,000 square miles of Atlantic Ocean water off the eastern coast of the United States are heavily contaminated with oil, tar, and other pollutants. A spokesman for the administration said February 12, 1973, that the pollution was distributed "far more widely than had previously been suspected," with the heaviest concentrations off New England, the Middle Atlantic states, Florida, and the Bahamas.

Another "no immediate hazard"? □

Lead-Lined Raincoats Recommended

To reduce domestic pollution from oil and coal-burning power plants, Britain's Central Electricity Generating Board uses giant smokestacks that disperse contaminants into the upper atmosphere. The result, the government admitted June 14, is that instead of falling on Britain, sulfur dioxide discharged from power-station stacks is deposited as "acid rain" in Norway and other Scandinavian countries.

My Philosophical Itinerary

By George Novack

[Second of two parts]

[The following is an autobiographical foreword* to a collection of essays written between 1960 and 1976 by George Novack, to be published next year by Pathfinder Press under the tentative title *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy*.]

* * *

I was initially attracted to Marxism, not by its theory of being or knowledge, but by the materialist conception of history. The liberal outlook that envisaged the gradual growth of American capitalism toward greater equality and abundance for all lost its credibility under the blows of the Great Depression. Its exponents had not foreseen the crisis of capitalism and could not explain its occurrence or tell how to cope with its devastating consequences.

Marxist theory, on the other hand, did account for the breakdown of capitalism and the causes of its evils and showed the way to replacing its exploitation with a society freed of class distinctions. Furthermore, the method of historical materialism cast a scientific searchlight upon the entire course of human development that led up to the debacle of the bourgeois system in its strongest sector.

Its predictions that capitalist relations could be overthrown by the mass action of the workers and peasants under proper leadership and a social order constructed on new principles were being empirically verified by the October 1917 revolution in Russia and the achievements of the Soviet planned economy.

I had been curious about the mainsprings of history from an early age. I recall a discussion with a college chum in one of the Harvard dormitories about the historical conceptions of Henry and Brooks Adams that were current at the time and remarking: "If only we could know what the laws of history were, we would be able to predict what was ahead of us." I pored over Spengler's *Decline of the West* when it came out in English translation in 1926, although it was not difficult to detect its reactionary bias and methodological weaknesses.

If the phenomena of nature were subject to laws, why, I asked, should history be exempt from them? A character in Evelyn Waugh's satirical novel *Decline and Fall* complained: "I couldn't understand why God had made the world at all." In a similar vein skeptical scholars admitted that they could not figure out how history had been made, even though it had been made by human beings. Surely the totality of their strivings and accomplishments was not thoroughly inscrutable. Marxism both affirmed and disclosed the essence of its lawfulness, such as the laws imposed by commodity production and exchange.

The consistent historical-mindedness of Marxism, which was so repugnant to critics like Karl Popper, impressed me as a logical extension on a higher level of the theory of universal evolution, the bedrock of modern science. The blind evolution of inorganic and organic nature was the precondition for the emergence of humankind from a branch of the primates. Through its development of the labor process, our species had acquired its distinctive capacities and characteristics and made its way up from the apelike condition to the present day.

This view of humanity's past provided a solid foundation for the belief in social progress. Like most Americans, I had spontaneously breathed in this notion from the surrounding atmosphere. That

had been one of the attractive features of Dewey's meliorism. Such an outlook was being placed in doubt by pessimists who identified the collapse of capitalism with the end of civilization. Through Marxism the belief in progress acquired a more rational grounding.

If progress was illusory, how was humanity's ascent from the animal kingdom to be scientifically explained or morally justified? Denial of the reality or worth of social progress logically signified that our remote ancestors might just as well have continued to go on all fours or been content to gather roots and fruits and hunt wild game instead of engaging in agriculture and stock raising that paved the way for civilization.

Such a conclusion ran counter to the actual upward climb of humanity and was unacceptable for the past; in my eyes it was even less justified for the future. The advances of science, technology, and industry and the social revolutions of our century were accelerating the pace of change at an unprecedented rate and opening up endless vistas of exploration and achievement. It was shortsighted and defeatist to sell human creativity—and working class combativity—short.

In demonstrating the decisive role of material production in social life, Marxism singled out the growth of the productive forces as the prime motive power that propelled humanity forward and saved it from stagnation. The qualitative leaps in productive power incorporated in more efficient modes of production provided an objective criterion for placing one social formation and culture on a higher rung than another, despite the objections of relativists and primitivists. More urgently, it validated the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale as the next necessary stage in human advancement and explained why the working class was the agency whose functions enabled it to bring this about.

Also, as a sociology of knowledge, historical materialism clarified the origins and spread of the idea of progress itself and explained why it had become a mass sentiment and a mighty compelling force for improvement of the conditions and prospects of the human race from the eighteenth century on. This was more than a theoretical point. It dovetailed with the needs of reconstructing the social order. The findings of historical science harmonized with the aims of revolutionary activity, and the study of history was thereby linked with the practice of politics. The purpose of learning as much as possible about the past was to make contemporary history more consciously and effectively.

The historian's conception of what history is permeates his writing of history. My own approach coincided with the definition given by E.H. Carr in his excellent exposition *What Is History?*

"Historiography is a progressive science in the sense that it seeks to provide constantly expanding and deepening insights into a course of events which is itself progressive."

Investigation into the laws governing the movement of humanity was called "the philosophy of history" in the eighteenth century. The history of philosophy and the philosophy of history, which Hegel was the first to correlate, were likewise copresent in my own mind. I came to Hegel through Marx and was already materialist-minded when I read his works. Despite its idealistic armature, Hegel's aim of uncovering a logical consistency in universal history through his system of dialectical development was a highly suggestive landmark in human thought. His view of the historical process portrayed the interplay of its objective and subjective sides in which the human participants were both purposive agents and passive sufferers, the ultimate outcome of their collective efforts often exceeding or diverging widely from their intentions or expectations. The ironic and antagonistic character of progress in societies with exploiting classes was still more profoundly illuminated along materialist lines in the writings of Marx and Engels.

* * *

It may be asked: Why should people engrossed in working class politics make a fuss about dialectical versus nondialectical thinking? Because in complicated cases the one method yields far

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better results than the other. That was shown by two unexpected developments that baffled and tripped up the bulk of ex-radicals. One involved the first workers' state; the other the American labor movement.

The rulership of the Soviet Union was drastically changed from the workers' democracy of its first years under Lenin and Trotsky to Stalin's tyranny. Soviet society thereupon acquired an extremely contradictory makeup in which a totalitarian regime was saddled upon the nationalized and planned economy made possible by the October revolution.

Purely empirical thinking could not fathom this novel and enigmatic phenomenon. The fugitives from socialism regarded Stalinism as the continuator, not the antithesis, of Leninism, and refused to distinguish between the reactionary political superstructure of the USSR and the progressive nature of its underlying mode of production. This was the theoretical bridge over which they crossed to a bitter anticommunism.

They responded in an equally obtuse manner to the reversal in the combativity of the workers at home. The energetic drive that unionized the major industries against the resistance of the corporations had filled them with confidence in the capacities of the proletariat.

Then, as the mass of workers quieted down and the unions became conservatized and bureaucratized during the postwar period, their hopes in the potential performance of the workers went sour. Just as they could perceive nothing worth salvaging in the Stalinized Soviet Union, which was transformed from an inspiration into a menace, so they disqualified the working class as the main force for social change and began looking for substitutes in other quarters.

Thanks to an understanding that the class struggle was bound to pass through abrupt twists and adverse turns, we American Trotskyists were able to avoid these grave errors of judgment that helped to detach so many doubly disappointed individuals from the cause of socialism.

Over the years I gave many lectures and wrote a number of works on historical topics. These ranged from consideration of the entire span of social evolution to the place occupied in it by our own country. Unlike the cultures of the Old World, North American civilization was a specific outgrowth of the global expansion of the capitalist system. This fundamental fact has shaped its course and endowed it with very distinctive characteristics. The main line of our national history has essentially consisted in the formation and transformations of bourgeois forms of social relations as their elements were perfected from the European conquest to the domination of the monopolists.

The Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville observed: "America is a land of wonders in which everything is in constant motion." The incessant and rapid changes generated by the dynamics of capitalist development gave rise to acute clashes of its inner forces that erupted in the War of Independence at the end of the eighteenth century and the Civil War in the mid-nineteenth. These tremendous upheavals were successive stages in the triumphant advance of the bourgeois democratic movement on American soil.

The progress of the United States in the hundred years from the close of Reconstruction to the celebration of the bicentennial posed a question few historians were prepared to tackle. Had the revolutionary experiences of the American people definitively ended after the settlement of accounts with the slavocracy? The ordinary citizen did believe that they were safely stowed in the past, while the plutocrats whose precursors had been the greatest beneficiaries of the earlier revolutions arrogantly assumed that their supremacy would be everlasting.

Ruling classes are notoriously shortsighted. And, however strenuously they resisted its consequences, America's rulers underestimated the significance of the fact that the ascendant trend of twentieth century development on the world arena was not the consolidation of capitalism but the growth of its socialist antagonist. Since 1917, capitalist power and property have been abolished in fourteen countries, and the anticapitalist tide has swept as close as Cuba to our shores.

Although the United States had risen to the summit of world

power during the first period of the shrinkage of international capitalism, it could not be immunized from the accumulated effects of its decline, as the defeat in Southeast Asia indicated. This country would not remain the one inviolable sanctuary protected from the intrusion of revolutionary ideas and forces. Just as American capitalism had been lifted to the top on the basis of two immense popular uprisings, so its descent would sooner or later usher in an even more momentous and convulsive series of crises and class conflicts.

This broad conception of the march of American civilization and its perspectives animated all my writings on American history.

What, then, was the future of democracy? We socialists have had to contend with two widespread misconceptions on this subject. One was the notion taught to every schoolchild that bourgeois democracy provided the unsurpassable model of government, and the republic founded in 1789 was the freest and most representative on earth. While this article of faith was jolted from time to time by exposures of the control wielded by agents of big business in Washington, it retained its hold on the majority of the population.

I was imbued from an early age with respect for democracy and never relinquished the ideal of equality, liberty, and justice for all. Once I became aware that the democracy accorded under capitalist rule was a counterfeit and that its inequalities were structurally irremediable, I looked to the struggle for workers' power and socialism as the road to its realization.

I held fast to this conviction despite the degeneration of the Soviet state after Lenin's death. The evils of Stalinist bureaucratism were a heavy liability that handicapped us Trotskyists who relentlessly exposed and combated its suppression of the most elementary civil rights as part of its betrayal of socialism. The liberals joined with right-wing propagandists to brandish the indefensible practices of Stalinism under our noses as irrefutable proof that socialist revolution inevitably resulted in totalitarianism.

My book on *Democracy and Revolution* addressed itself to these burning problems. Since the record of the struggles for popular sovereignty and greater human rights in the Western world over the past 2,500 years was hardly known even to the educated public, I reviewed the vicissitudes of the democratic movements through their three main stages: the precapitalist forms of political democracy, the bourgeois democratic era, and the postcapitalist societies of our own day. The narrative demonstrated how central the revolutionary action of the masses had been in originating, extending, and safeguarding the liberties of the people against repressive and reactionary types of rule. After a description of the six decisive steps in the forward march of the bourgeois democratic revolution from the establishment of the Dutch republic to the American Civil War, it was made clear why that epoch came to an end in the last part of the nineteenth century when world capitalism entered its imperialist phase and the bourgeoisie was everywhere more and more converted into a conservative, antidemocratic, and counterrevolutionary force.

The prospects for the survival, preservation, and expansion of the democratic rights of the people were totally bound up with the anticapitalist movement of the working class aimed at winning the decisive economic and political power that could lead to the construction of a socialist democracy.

The concluding chapters explained the reasons why the existing postcapitalist regimes located in backward countries hemmed in by imperialism have thus far fallen short of this goal. On the other hand, the very different circumstances that would attend a victorious socialist revolution in so developed a country as the United States could avert the curses of bureaucratic deformation and bring forth "a new birth of freedom" for the American people, far exceeding the achievements of our past revolutions. However late Americans would be in coming to socialism, they will amaze themselves and others by what they make of its discovery.

The disproportions of development from which backward countries suffer are painfully evident to informed observers. It is

not so clear that on a higher plane the United States is also incapacitated by the lopsidedness of its development in important respects. Here the fundamental material prerequisites for socialism are at hand, but very few of the subjective factors have ripened. Unlike their counterparts in other industrialized lands, the American workers have yet to establish a political organization of their own independent of the two capitalist parties. The powerful unions they have organized exist alongside a low degree of political class consciousness and ideology. The anomalies of this situation have compelled American Marxists to take heed of the irregularities as well as the regularities of the historical process.

In the opening chapter of his masterwork, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Leon Trotsky first formulated the law of uneven and combined development as a key to analyzing a comparable tangle of contradictions in tsarist Russia. This struck me as one of the most precious additions to Marxist teachings in our time.

In *Understanding History* I gave an extended exposition of this law and illustrated its usefulness for clarifying complex historical phenomena and unusual social formations. It held out the possibility that the peculiar combination of advanced and backward features that characterized contemporary American society could at a critical juncture generate sudden leaps forward in class alignments, organization, and consciousness that would alter America's destiny.

This law had philosophical implications as well as historical and political applications. It stated that the extreme unevennesses in social life could lead to the merging of elements on different levels of development and result in surprising deviations from the norm. This was a particular expression of the interpenetration of opposites that characterized the dialectical nature of development. The essential lawfulness that has operated throughout history concretely manifests itself in a highly irregular manner. Typical or "pure" forms are normative abstractions that are indispensable for analytical purposes but only imperfectly embodied in reality. This discrepancy between the ideal model and the actual facts runs through the whole course of human thought and has to be kept in mind in dealing with a multiplicity of scientific and social problems.

My interests in philosophy and history came together in the second book I published. Curiously enough, its seed was planted back in the freshman course in philosophy I took at Harvard. The assigned textbook, *A Student's History of Philosophy* by A.K. Rogers, informed us that the Greeks were the first philosophers. However, the author offered a shallow psychological explanation of why this people rather than others pioneered this branch of knowledge. He attributed the feat to the distinctive qualities of the Greek mind, their creative spirit and feeling for the finite. But where did that exceptional mentality come from?

The puzzle of "the Greek miracle" nagged at me as I delved into the background of philosophy. Taking to heart Aristotle's dictum that he who sees things from their beginning has the best view of them, I decided to investigate the configuration of causes that impelled the Milesians to displace religion and mythology with systematic rational theorizing proceeding from naturalistic premises. *The Origins of Materialism* is one of the few accounts in English that digs down to the roots of that line of thought in Graeco-Roman civilization.

My approach to the birth process of the materialist outlook can be gauged by the following passage from the chapter on "The Revolution in Aegean Civilization."

"The supreme outcome of all these revolutionary changes was the production of new forms of general consciousness. Magic was the characteristic world view of tribalism; religion of the earliest kingdoms and city-states. Now something genuinely new emerged in the practice and minds of men: the first shoots of philosophy and science.

"These could not have appeared until the historical soil for their growth and cultivation had been prepared and enriched by the elements we have described: the introduction of iron, metallic money, alphabetic writing, weights and measures; a new type of

slave production; the shattering of the remaining institutions of tribal society and the breakup of agriculturally based theocratic despotisms; the ascent of trade, manufacturing and colonizing to new levels; the birth of powerful new progressive social forces in the maritime city-states of Greece which carried class antagonisms to a new pitch of intensity and created new types of legal, political and cultural institutions. Such were the indispensable historical preconditions for the formation of philosophy." (pp. 57-58.) These general causal factors bore their first methodological fruit in the materialist thinkers of Miletus.

* * *

On visits to college campuses early in the 1960s I ran into the prevalence of existential attitudes and ideas arising from discontent with the status quo and stimulated by the literary productions of Sartre, Camus, and De Beauvoir. The single philosophical issue that could arouse discussion among critical-minded students revolved around the relations between the positions of these left existentialists and Marxism. There was considerable confusion regarding their compatibility.

Such was the motivation for the anthology *Existentialism Versus Marxism*. My contributions argued that the two philosophies were not complementary but conflicting and the attempt by Sartre and his disciples to mate a creed of ultraindividualism and subjectivism with the materialist and collectivist postulates of scientific socialism was a hopeless, retrograde, and sterile enterprise.

This was the first of several books that critically examined other leading tendencies of contemporary philosophy such as empiricism and positivism, liberalistic humanism, and Dewey's instrumentalism. Their aim was to counterpose the answers to the principal problems of philosophy given by these schools of thought to the views of dialectical materialism.

The culminating work in this series was *Pragmatism Versus Marxism*, which distilled all that I had learned about the achievements of generalized thought in this country from Jonathan Edwards to John Dewey. It presented a distinctive interpretation of the main course of philosophical development from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries as it was molded by the special features of American capitalist civilization and its culture.

Here is how the central thesis on the essential continuity in the progress of American thought is described in the introduction:

"The mainstream of our national thought since the eighteenth century has flowed through the channel of bourgeois democracy. This set of ideas has passed through three principal stages. The democratic creed first blossomed on American soil during the Age of the Enlightenment in the form of the rationalism, empiricism, and anti-Calvinist Deism, shading off into materialism, which attended the first American revolution. In its second phase it became revitalized in the fountain of Transcendentalism fed by the social conflicts which were to erupt in the Civil War. The pragmatic school—culminating in Dewey's instrumentalism, which arose as the philosophical rationale for middle class liberalism at the turn of the century—was its third incarnation." (p. 11.)

My appraisal of Dewey's philosophy set forth its strong and weak points and then explained why its basic ideas and procedures fell short of the latest developments in science and society and could not satisfy the requirements of further progress in American thought. It concluded that, just as socialism must replace capitalism in the strivings of the American people for a better way of life, so deficient petty-bourgeois modes of thought such as pragmatism have to be superseded by the teachings of Marxism as the guide to working class activity.

In between these larger works I wrote articles and pamphlets on a variety of current political issues extending from the Afro-American liberation struggle to the Sino-Soviet split. There was no separation between these theoretical and scholarly pursuits and my organizational duties. I followed Marx's injunction that it is not enough for a thinker to interpret the world in one way or

another; he must work collectively to change it along socialist lines. If our thinking had been turned on its head, that was because this society, based on bourgeois relations of production, inverts human relations and only the work of a socialist revolution could set them right.

Philosophical theory is not to be elaborated for its own sake or for academic preferment but as a tool for casting light on the urgent problems brought forward by modern knowledge and experience especially as they pertain to the movement for liberation from capitalist oppression. The theorist is not privileged to abstain from all the chores of party building and shuffle them off onto the lowly activists. He is called upon to participate directly in the everyday struggles of the people, taking due account of the value of his specialized capacities in the overall allocation of functions.

This was the model set by those personalities who most admirably exemplified the aims and ideals of scientific socialism. I tried to emulate them to the measure of my abilities and was fortunate enough to collaborate with two of them during their lifetimes: Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon, founder of his American movement. I first met the Soviet exile when he landed in Mexico in January 1937, between the first and second Moscow frame-up trials. The conduct of his life and the content of his ideas have been the foremost influence upon my own.

* * *

Though it is not for me to assess the worth of my philosophical activities, I can at least point to the singular service they performed during a period marked by wholesale apostasy and abandonment of Marxist positions.

Professor John Lachs of Vanderbilt University, author of *A Bibliographical Guide to Marxist Philosophy*, wrote in 1967:

"There has, of late, been a revival of interest in Marxist philosophy in the United States. The Society for the Philosophical Study of Dialectical Materialism has organized symposia on Marxist thought in connection with meetings of the American Philosophical Association since 1962. The recently founded American Institute for Marxist Studies sponsors discussions and publishes pamphlets. A number of new magazines devoted, at least in part, to the examination of Marxist principles have commenced publication in the last few years. In spite of these facts, there is no major Marxist theoretician in the United States today, and no American has ever made a lasting contribution to the development or defense of dialectical and historical materialism." (p. 120.)

This severe judgment disregards the fact that very few individuals since the deaths of its cocreators have the distinction of extending the theoretical acquisitions of Marxism. These innovators can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Nonetheless, numerous qualified adherents have popularized the doctrines of philosophic materialism and justified the validity of its dialectics against stiff opposition. I can claim to belong to this company, having consistently upheld the principles of dialectical materialism over the past four decades against its adversaries, detractors, and misinterpreters in this country.

Under the circumstances that was no sinecure. The blaze of interest in Marxism kindled among intellectuals and workers during the depression decade had died down by the end of the 1930s; it was virtually extinguished in the reaction brought on by the Second World War and its cold war, witch-hunting aftermath. Socialism came to be regarded as a dream that had turned into a Stalinist nightmare; the sociologist Daniel Bell proclaimed "the end of ideology"; and Marxism was dismissed as an obsolescent nineteenth century set of ideas unsuited to American conditions. The philosophic aspects of its system could receive scant attention in such a climate.

Dialectical materialism was treated with disdain by the recreant intellectuals who, under the banner of an anemic liberalism, had transformed themselves from an avant-garde of socialism into anticommunist crusaders on the cultural front. At the same time, all shades of academic opinion looked upon

Marxism as exclusively a theory of society whose philosophic pretensions were of little account.

This appraisal went uncontested by the New Lefts who came forward in the late 1960s without any coherent theory; most of them scorned dialectics as a crotchet of the Old Left. In the five years of its existence the Socialist Scholars Conference did not devote a single one of its programs to consideration of those philosophic problems that their fellows were debating in other countries of the West and East. This depreciation of philosophic materialism was helped along by those "praxis" interpreters of Marxism who rejected the universal scope of Marxist thought, the scientific character of its philosophy, and the dialectics of nature.

The arguments in these essays are directed not only against the positions of non-Marxists but also against mistaken ideas held by certain avowed socialists. It may seem to some readers that their polemical zeal detracts from the judicious objectivity that is mandatory in philosophizing. The Greek thinkers who discovered dialectics and sought for the truth through the clash of opposing views in controversy would have ridiculed this sort of objection.

Since philosophy is by its very nature an enterprise of criticism, it tends to acquire a polemical edge. A polemic is a militant reply in the form of reasoned arguments to attacks upon a position or proposition worthy of defense. This can be mild in manner or muted in tone, as academic etiquette requires, or harsh and vigorous, as necessity may dictate. What is decisive is not the manner but the gist of the matter. Have the pros and cons of the question been trenchantly set forth so that the issues at stake become clarified by the confrontation of opposing views?

Many works in philosophy have had a polemical aim. The innovative thinkers of the bourgeois era vigorously attacked the incorrect and obsolete ideas of their opponents. The contentious Bruno assailed the Oxford pedants who took offense at his propagation of a new cosmology of infinite worlds based on the Copernican revolution. The versatile Francis Bacon no less relentlessly attacked "the barren virgins" of medieval metaphysics in the name of the inductive and experimental method of his natural philosophy.

John Locke was a more even-tempered reasoner. Yet Chapter II of *An Essay on Human Understanding* shoots holes through the advocacy of any innate principles in the mind as the source of human ideas, in order to clear the site for the foundation of his empirical theory of knowledge. Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* is a sustained polemic against the positions of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Jacobi, his predecessors and contemporaries in classical German philosophy.

Now as then the sparks of controversy can light the way to truth. In reality, the critics are less offended by the polemical fire than by the kind of partisanship it betokens. Marxism candidly avows that in philosophy it aligns itself with materialism, in logic with dialectics, in politics with revolutionary change, and in sociology and economics with the standpoint of the working class in its anticapitalist struggles. Nor does this taking of definite positions detract from its scientific character.

So unambiguous an attitude is uncongenial to thinkers who thrive on confused and half-formed ideas, though some readily cast off their cloak of neutrality when they happen to be arguing against Marxism or communism. (See the polemics of Professor Karl Popper *passim*.) They categorically deny that their own philosophic ideas are disposed to favor the aims, aspirations, or outlook of any particular social grouping. This posture is not only a delusion but is as impossible to adhere to in philosophy as in politics.

Such a disclaimer cannot withstand criticism on another count. The function of philosophers is to introduce the maximum of consciousness into their reflections on social as well as scientific problems. To disregard—or even worse, to deny—the presence of social influences, class predispositions, and political implications in one's positions is to exhibit an inferior degree of understanding of the nature of philosophic ideas and a lack of awareness about their actual connections with other manifestations of cultural life.

For a thinker in our time it is not possible to remain aloof from

the battle of social forces. Philosophy does not attain its goal or justify itself solely through exchanges among scholars or lectures in classrooms. True ideas in this field as in others are valued by the influence they can exert upon the conscious activity of people living in a society torn by conflicting interests and intense passions. The supreme merit of Marxism as a living philosophy and a philosophy of life consists in the conscious fusion of its theory with practical affairs involving and affecting broad masses in action.

Without a long view of history and a world outlook it was difficult to keep faith in the prospects of socialism and hold fast to its principles in the stronghold of imperialism from 1940 on. I had to watch most of my generation fall by the wayside and conclude a separate peace with the powers that be in the universities, the publishing field, the professional and business worlds. Today at the age of seventy I am one of the few radical intellectuals of the 1930s vintage who remain active as an unrepentant Marxist and full-time professional in the revolutionary movement.

How is it, I am sometimes asked, that you managed to survive when so many others succumbed to disillusionment and discouragement and withdrew from the arena? A main reason for this staying power is the firm grounding I acquired in Marxist theory.

Trotsky taught his followers by precept and example how necessary it was to preserve the heritage of world revolutionary thought and pass it on to others, especially in reactionary periods when the working class is dormant and its vanguard pushed into a corner. Revolutionists had to retain and fight for the ideological conquests of the past and maintain the continuity of Marxist thought in order to prepare the way for the next surge forward when the tide turns in a more favorable direction. That has been the principal objective of my work.

The growing discontent with the quality of life under capitalism, the discreditment of liberal reformism, and the manifest helplessness of New Left eclecticism have recently replenished the forces of revolutionary socialism and created an ampler audience for the reception of authentic Marxist ideas in the United States. The long darkness is beginning to pass.

This collection will, I hope, benefit those inquiring minds who want to learn what Marxist philosophy really stands for. Dialectical materialism is not an irrelevant and exotic doctrine but the only method that can measure up to the theoretical and political requirements of this tempestuous age of transition from capitalist decay to socialist progress.

March 1, 1976

Dublin Election Tests Workers' Mood

By Gerry Foley

The by-election June 11 in Dublin's heavily working-class South-West district was the most recent test of the response of Irish working people to deepening economic crisis and severe setbacks of the anti-imperialist struggle in the North.

The most notable fact about the election was that only 54 percent of the registered voters actually cast a ballot, an unusually low percentage in Ireland. Obviously no electoral alternative was attractive to the masses of workers, and the widespread discontent found no political outlet.

The seat in this district had been held by Noel Lemass, a member of the main opposition party, Fianna Fáil, the traditionally more nationalist bourgeois party. He died in harness. To replace him, the party ran his widow, Eileen.

Eileen Lemass was defeated by the government coalition candidate Brendan Halligan, a right-wing Labour party leader. Halligan got 12,099 votes, as against 11,462 for Lemass, on the sixth count.

According to the Irish proportional representation system, candidates are progressively eliminated and their votes distributed according to second preferences until one gets an overall majority.

This was the first election in which candidates ran representing both the "Official" republican movement and the Irish Republican Socialist party (IRSP), which was formed in early 1975 by former "Officials," led by Séamus Costello. When it was formed, the IRSP was presented in the Irish and British capitalist press as a "gang of mad-dog terrorists."

In April, a couple of dozen leading members of the IRSP were arrested and a number tortured in an attempt to force them to confess to a major train robbery.

The "Official" candidate, Tomás Mac Giolla, got 1,697 votes on the first count. The IRSP candidate, Ita Ní Chionnaith, got 287. A Maoist candidate got 113. On the second count, the IRSP candidate got 45 transfer votes from the eliminated Maoist, to reach a total of 332 before she herself was eliminated.

Mac Giolla was not eliminated until the fourth count, when he had a total of 2,158 votes. He got a majority of the IRSP second choices and about a third of the second choices from a more nationalist splinter of Fianna Fáil, Aontacht Eireann, which had a final vote of 1,292.

The "Official" vote was more than twice what their score was the last time they contested this district. However, at that time they were following a policy of trying to link their electoral campaigns to "local agitations," and ran a neighborhood activist. This time, they ran their most well known figure, a moderate who has presided over the right turn of the organization since 1974.

As the "Officials" have taken an increasingly right-wing line toward the national struggle, they have won some neighborhood and trade-union support on bread-and-butter issues. However, the party has so far been unable to emerge as a serious reformist alternative.

Although apparent gains in influence encouraged the "Official" leadership to continue its economist course, the net result seems to have been organizational losses and demoralization. The extreme Stalinist sectarianism that was consolidated following the IRSP split also tends to drive away radicalizing youth and workers. The "Official" campaign in South-West Dublin was also conducted on an

economist line. The main election leaflet contained only two very general phrases on the national question, and the North was not even mentioned.

The IRSP tried to use its campaign to build a revolutionary alternative. How successful it was in this cannot be measured by its vote. It is a new group, and its ideas are not widely known.

The IRSP ran a young woman candidate. Its slogan was "Vote for national liberation and a socialist republic." It put defense of the Northern Catholics in the forefront of its campaign. It also used the election to publicize the victimization of its members and establish itself as a legal party.

At the very least, the IRSP campaign refuted the "Officials'" charges that Séamus Costello is nothing but a "power-hungry opportunist." In the present situation, the IRSP could expect no immediate popularity from raising the issues it did.

The IRSP election platform represented a political advance for the party. It is the first sign of progress on this level since the split. Up until now, the only program IRSP publications have offered has been anti-imperialist unity.

This is important but not in itself sufficient, especially in a time of retreat, when attention tends to center on political debate, i.e., What went wrong? and, How do we overcome the errors that caused this defeat?

A group such as the IRSP that aspires to build a revolutionary movement can only survive and grow on the basis of a developed political program. For a group as small and isolated as the IRSP to try to function like the big republican organizations could quickly prove disastrous. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Corsican Leader Gets Five-Year Term

A special State Security Court handed down a five-year prison sentence June 22 against Dr. Edmond Simeoni, a leader of the movement for Corsican autonomy. Simeoni was sentenced for his participation in the occupation of a vineyard last August. He was charged with "opposing the authority of the state."

Two years of Simeoni's sentence was suspended by the court, and one- and two-year sentences against seven other members of Action for the Rebirth of Corsica were also suspended. Before sentencing the defendants, the central government ordered the six companies of riot police in Corsica reinforced.

Legacy of French Colonialism

After the Comoro Islands declared independence on July 6, 1975, the French government responded by withdrawing all aid from the three islands that comprise the new country, while continuing assistance to the fourth Comoran island, Mayotte, which the French determined wished to remain French.

The aid cutoff was particularly barbaric in view of the fact that after more than a century of French colonial exploitation, the 320,000 residents have been reduced to utter poverty. Their per capita income of \$65 a year is perhaps the lowest in the world (Bangladesh, by comparison, has a per capita income of \$100).

"Our budget before independence was \$32 million, of which \$24 million came from France and \$6 million was our own

income," Foreign Minister Mouzair Abdallah told a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* at the end of May.

"The French withdrew their budgetary assistance and we still need \$32 million. So we have a deficit of \$26 million and no way to make it up."

Although French colonial officials did not remove telephones and light bulbs as they did after Guinea declared independence in 1958, the French exodus from the newly independent Comoros included all fifteen doctors, the only dentist, 200 teachers, and the civil-aviation workers who operated the airport.

State of Siege Lifted in Colombia

Colombian President Alfonso López Michelsen announced June 22 that he was ending the state of siege he had proclaimed a year earlier, stating that public order had been restored. Under the state of siege all public demonstrations were prohibited, and offenses such as "subversion" and kidnapping were tried by military courts.

Jamaican Prime Minister Declares State of Emergency

Prime Minister Michael Manley claimed June 19 that a "planned escalation" of violence by groups whose aim was to "undermine confidence in the lawfully elected government" made imposition of a state of emergency necessary in Jamaica.

The indefinite emergency declared by Manley gives the police virtually unlimited powers of search and seizure. Curfews have been imposed on parts of Kingston, the capital, and eight persons have been detained. Four of those detained are members of the Jamaica Labor party, the main opposition group.

Malay Journalists Accused in 'Plot'

Acting in concert, the governments of Malaysia and Singapore have each arrested two prominent journalists, accusing them of participation in a communist plot. The Singapore government arrested Hussein Jahidin and Azmi Mahmud, the editor and former assistant editor of the Malay daily *Berita Harian*, on June 16.

In a June 22 statement the Singapore government said the two had confessed to being "involved in a communist scheme" since 1972. "Articles and news reports had

been slanted so as to put communism in a favourable light whilst others simultaneously attacked Islamic tenets."

The Singapore regime accused two Malaysian journalists of masterminding the supposed plot. Abdul Samad Bin Ismail, managing editor of the *New Straits Times*—Malaysia's largest newspaper—and Samani Bin Mohammad Amin, news editor of the Malaysia *Berita Harian*, were both arrested the same day the Singapore government made its statement.

Samad Ismail has served as an adviser to both the former and the current Malaysian prime ministers. However, a statement by the Malaysian Ministry of Home Affairs said the journalists were "subtly erasing the public fear of a communist takeover of Malaysia and Singapore."

The regime also charged that Ismail had "directed a program [aimed] at exploiting every possible grievance of the Malay community in Singapore, fomenting interracial unrest and to denigrate and ridicule Islam with finesse and subtlety."

Under Malaysia's Internal Security Act, the journalists may be held an initial fifty-nine days without being charged. But if charges are lodged, the detainees may be held indefinitely without trial.

Saharan Independence Leader Killed

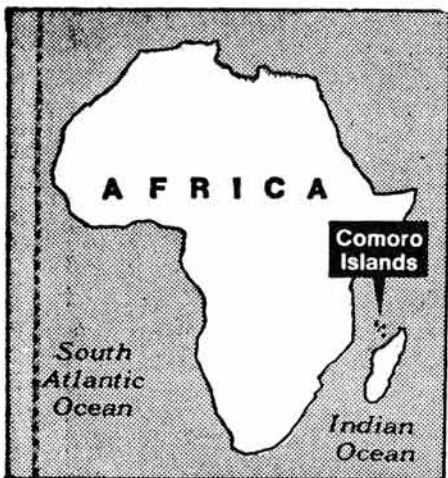
Sayed el-Wali, a leader in the fight for Saharan independence, has been killed in combat. Wali founded the Polisario movement to fight for Saharan independence in 1973 and led its first military attack on the Spanish colonial occupation forces. When Sahara was divided between Morocco and Mauritania, he continued fighting.

A press statement issued June 21 by the Polisario front in Algiers did not give details on Wali's death. Mauritanian officials reported that he had been killed June 8 when Polisario forces attacked Nouakchott, the Mauritanian capital.

Pinochet's Economic Miracle

Consumer prices rose at a rate of 340.7% in Chile last year, and continued to increase at a rate of 54.5% in the first four months of 1976, according to a report in the June 4 *Los Angeles Times*.

Since 1960, the Chilean consumer price index has risen a cumulative 361,000%, with the result that \$1 million worth of Chilean currency sixteen years ago is now worth \$76.92.



Los Angeles Times

Selections From the Left



"Ergatike Pale" (Workers Struggle), weekly paper serving the interests of the working people. Published in Athens.

The Lebanese civil war has a special importance for the left in Greece, which is also an eastern Mediterranean country and has ties with the Levant. There are also a number of Palestinian Arab students in the country.

The June 19 issue describes a demonstration in Salonika on June 13 in support of the Arab nationalists in Lebanon, which, despite the interest in this question and despite the fact that the action was called by the Palestinian students organization, was notably unsuccessful.

The large left parties gave the demonstration only token support. The Greek Communist Youth of the "exterior" CP and the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement of Andreas Papandreu sent messages of support but did not build the demonstration or participate in it officially. The Regas Feraios youth organization of the "interior" CP brought a delegation of only a few persons.

Moreover, the largest groups building the demonstration, the "new left" student organizations, which are more or less hard Maoists, tried to exploit it for sectarian purposes: "What distinguished this action was the small number of participants and the fact that the Maoists used it as an occasion for making anti-Soviet propaganda through their speeches and their slogans: 'Down with the two superpowers,' 'The two superpowers are responsible for the war,' and so on. By this, they showed the reactionary nature of their theory that condemns the two superpowers, above all the 'rising Soviet' superpower, as the enemies of the people. They complained that 'Arabs are killing Arabs,' and called on the peoples of the world to unite against the superpowers, without of course leaving out the demand for a twelve-mile limit for the Greek islands.

"The appearance of a representative of the Greek Communist Youth at the microphone resulted in delaying the demonstration for an hour because the Maoists made war on the spot on the representative of 'social imperialism,' while a group of the CP youth supporters shouted: 'Long live the country of the soviets.'

"Finally, the CP youth representative spoke. He condemned imperialism in general, chauvinism, the reactionaries, bloodshed; he called for a cease-fire, for peace, for Arab unity. About the only thing

he didn't talk about was the Syrian invasion.

"The Socialist Student Struggle [the Trotskyist campus organization] considered it necessary to support the Palestinian resistance and so it took part in this demonstration organized by the Palestinian students. Our representative's speech was applauded warmly by all the Palestinian students."

The Trotskyist speaker condemned the Assad regime: "When the Lebanese working masses, united with the Palestinian resistance, were advancing their struggle against the Falangists, the Syrian government dropped its anti-imperialist and progressive mask and showed its real face by invading Lebanon in order to bolster the positions of the Falangists, the imperialists, and the local bourgeoisie."

He condemned the Soviet Union's continued support for the Assad regime: "Once again the events in Lebanon have shown the counterrevolutionary nature of the Soviet bureaucracy, which is covering up for the Syrian invasion, calling the Assad regime progressive, and calling for a cease-fire without demanding the withdrawal of the Syrian forces."

The Trotskyists raised the slogans: "For the victory of the Arab revolution, which will shatter the plans of the imperialists and the capitalists for the Middle East and represent a big step forward toward the world socialist revolution. Support the Lebanese and Palestinian people. All foreign armies out of Lebanon. Long live the Arab revolution."

Socialist Action

Published twice monthly in Wellington, New Zealand.

Ten thousand persons demonstrated in several New Zealand cities May 28 to demand the cancellation of the All Black sports tour of racist South Africa, Hugh Fyson reports in the June 11 issue.

The demonstrations drew 4,000 in Wellington, 3,000 in Auckland, 3,000 in Christchurch, and 450 in Hamilton. Protests also took place in smaller cities and towns.

"Because the New Zealand government is almost alone in the world in giving official sanction and encouragement to sporting contact with South Africa," Fyson writes, "Black African sports bodies are urging a ban on New Zealand at the Montreal Olympics."

Fyson notes that the highly successful protest coincides with "the sharp rise of the Black liberation struggle in southern

Africa itself," and called attention to the participation of groups representing women and Polynesians in the actions.

The New Zealand Trotskyists in the Socialist Action League and Young Socialists played a prominent part in organizing the protests.

WORKERS NEWS

Journal of socialist news and analysis, published fortnightly in London.

This paper reflects the views of many former members of the British International Socialists (IS), a centrist group that claims to be Trotskyist but considers the Soviet Union to be "state capitalist." In an article entitled "Portugal's Revolution—What has Gone Wrong?" in the May 22-June 4 issue, the editors criticize illusions about the Armed Forces Movement's "People's Power" plan that were held by IS, among others:

"A numerical majority of Portugal's leftists claim to support Mao's China. But the group in Portugal in which much of the revolutionary left in other countries, in particular the International Socialists and their associated groups, placed many of their hopes, was the PRP (Proletarian Revolutionary Party).

"Born of a group of ex-CP members who abandoned the theory of a peaceful road to socialism and instead set up a group for armed struggle, the PRP claimed to stand above all for the self-organisation of the working-class and the creation of workers' and soldiers' councils.

"Their practice was very different. The workers' and soldiers' councils that they claimed to be building were conceived in a totally sectarian way. As a result of one failure to move in what they saw as the right direction they wrote off the possibility of building workers' councils through the existing workers' committees in the factories.

"While they were rightly suspicious of some of the 'people's power organisations' that were created from above by top officers, their own 'councils' in fact consisted largely of PRP members and sympathizers.

"But most important of all, whatever their long-term aim, their immediate tactics had nothing to do with building workers' councils from below.

"In their 'self-criticism' they state, 'until the fall of the 5th Government (Sept 1975) the PRP put forward (as an aim—Trans.) a split within the existing politico-military structure (which we considered preferable to a confrontation in the streets)'.
"They go on to say that only when the more right wing 6th Government came in

did they move to considering that armed insurrection was the only way forward.

"Up to then, they say, the strength of the left in the government and the army was such that it seemed possible that a 'revolutionary government' could be formed from a split within the existing power structure.

"This revolutionary government was envisaged by them as a sort of protective umbrella under which the fragile shoots of the workers' councils could be protected until they grew able to take over.

"This is certainly an interesting scheme for taking power but it has nothing in common with the tradition of mass revolution, destruction of the existing state and self-organisation of workers into councils which do that destruction and build a new state. . . .

"Above all, however, the PRP and its main ally on the extreme left the MES (Movement of the Socialist Left) remained totally imprisoned within the aspects of the consciousness of Portuguese workers which were most damaging to the authentic building of workers' councils.

"This was the substitution of the MFA or one of its wings for the efforts of workers themselves.

"This substitution operated at all levels; the PCP encouraged it in its cheerleading for Vasco Goncalves, the general who headed the 5th Government; at a local level the MFA often acted as a substitute for a co-ordinating committee between different groups of workers; in the Lisbon area the COPCON was a substitute for workers' self-defence.

"Unless this substitutionism was broken, unless workers could be won politically to trust only themselves, then it was futile to expect that these same workers could build workers' councils to do a job that seemed to be well done by COPCON.

"If there is one major lesson we on the revolutionary left have to learn from Portugal it is around this question."

VOZ SOCIALISTA

"*Socialist Voice*," weekly journal of the Socialist League, Venezuelan sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

The 1960 agrarian reform law was the showcase of the reformist Acción Democrática government of Rómulo Betancourt, a strong supporter of the Alliance for Progress. Washington and its allies presented it as a model of "peaceful change" for Latin America.

In fact, Betancourt was able to use this reform to build up a powerful party machine in the country that constituted a serious barrier to the left groups that were trying to work among the peasants.

In a speech May 15, the present president, Carlos Andrés Pérez, a member of the Christian Democratic party, demonstrated in detail that the agrarian reform

had not reduced the domination of the big landowners or improved the lot of the peasants in the slightest.

In the June 9 issue Luis Toro comments: "The main objective of the agrarian reform was supposed to be to combat latifundism and achieve a more just distribution of the land. Now Carlos Andrés Pérez admits that in sixteen years the bourgeois government's program actually affected only 7.6% of the 'privately owned land.' . . .

"Of approximately 6 million hectares involved in the agrarian reform, only 1.7 million remain under cultivation. Andrés Pérez 'forgot' to mention this. But he did admit that of the land granted, 35% was unproductive 'because of the poor quality of the soil and the steepness of the grading.'"

The government is only telling the truth now, Toro pointed out, because it thinks the time has come to drop the pretense and openly promote agribusiness at the expense of the peasants.

NEISTI

"*Spark*," published monthly by the Revolutionary Communist League in Reykjavik, Iceland.

The largest demonstration in Iceland during May was the anti-NATO march to Keflavik airbase. Several thousand persons participated in a country whose total population is only slightly over 200,000.

The Communist party tried to give the Keflavik march a narrowly anti-U.S. character, to make it purely a defense of the independence of capitalist Iceland against a foreign great power.

The radical youth who played the most active role in this march as well as in previous ones saw the objective differently than the CP. Since they have been radicalized by international struggles such as the movement against U.S. intervention in Vietnam, they naturally tended to view the fight against the NATO base not as a defense of "little Iceland" but as part of the fight for socialism in their own country and on a world scale.

In the May 9 issue of the CP paper *Thjodhviljinn*, Kjartan Olafsson, the editor, attacked the radical youth for their excessive internationalism. He even coined the term "American socialism" to describe what he thought their objective was.

Iceland, Olafsson wrote, has no use for some "far-off American socialism." The fight was for objectives "here and now," which presumably were more modest. And if Iceland lost its identity, it "would not matter what the fate of socialists in the rest of the world was."

The Trotskyists are the leading force among the radical youth in Iceland. They replied to Olafsson in the June 21 issue of *Neisti*: "Could a socialist have written

this. . . . Could a socialist who remembers the awakening that the Russian revolution brought to many sections of the Icelandic people up to the 1930s and 1940s have written such a thing? What is 'American socialism'? These statements raise many questions. . . .

"It is a bitter lesson of history that this should have been written by a man who came into the Icelandic left when Stalinism had won its decisive victory in the Soviet Union, when Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great began to be held up as examples of 'Russian culture.' . . .

"It is an irony of history that such arguments have been used against Icelanders who, following the example given by the struggles of the Vietnamese people, and Black people in the United States, and the people of Angola, have raised the banner of socialism here. It is these Icelanders also—who have learned from the history of the class struggle in our own country that the fight against foreign capital cannot be separated from the struggle against Icelandic capitalism—who have revived the struggle against NATO and the U.S. army in recent decades through their tireless work."

labor Challenge

Twice-monthly newspaper published in Toronto, Canada.

The June 21 issue features an exposé on the Montreal Olympics.

"The Montreal Games, to be held in July, are already a major political scandal," Dick Fidler reports. "Originally promised as a 'modest' Olympics, self-financed and costing just over \$100 million, they have turned out to be one of the biggest and costliest extravaganzas in Canadian history. Costs have soared to a minimum of \$1.4 billion, far in excess of revenues, and could easily top \$2 billion when all the bills are in. That's roughly equivalent to the annual cost of maintaining the Canadian military establishment."

Among the scandals that have so far come to light, Fidler cites the following:

"The cost of the Olympic Park, which rose from \$200 million to \$700 million in two years.

"The Velodrome's acrylic plastic roof, recently declared a fire hazard by the National Research Council.

"The Olympic Village, designed as 'low-cost housing' to get government funding; it will cost the taxpayers more than \$70 million—and the builders, who invested a mere \$4 million of their own money, will retail the suites as condominiums in the \$20,000 to \$40,000 bracket.

"The \$60 million parking garage (that's \$13,000 per parking space).

"A viaduct that ended up costing \$14 million, well over twice what Montreal spends on roads each year."

German Left Debates Bundestag Elections

[On May 29-30, the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International, voted at a special congress in Frankfurt to run candidates in the fall elections for the West German parliament, the Bundestag. This decision was criticized by an eclectic Maoist group that proposed a joint campaign of all forces claiming to stand to the left of the traditional reformist parties. In the following article, published in the June 10 issue of its weekly paper *Was Tun*, the GIM replied to this argument. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*. The original subheadings have been maintained.]

* * *

In issue no. 81 of its paper *Arbeiterkampf* (AK), the Kommunistische Bund [KB—Communist League, an eclectic Maoist group] opened its public discussion on the coming national parliamentary vote with a long article entitled “On the Intervention of the Left in the Bundestag Elections.”

If you read a little between the lines, you can see that this article represents not only an offensive directed at the other organizations of the far left but also an attempt by the Leadership Collective (LC) of the KB to harden up its own membership behind a certain line even before the debate in the organization is concluded. This is probably the reason also for shamefacedly entitling this article a “contribution to the discussion” by the LC and the editors of the AK.

The main theme of the article—aside from a detailed refutation of the falsehoods and distortions by the KBW and the KPD about the KB’s call for a vote for the SPD¹ in the 1972 Bundestag elections—is a criticism of what the KB in its jargon calls the “programmatically candidates” of the other organizations, to which it counterposes an appeal for a left electoral bloc.

The KB presents itself proudly as the defender of public debate, alongside the Sozialistische Büro [Socialist Bureau, an organization that tries to serve as a left forum]. And, in its own superficial style, it mixes into all this a touch of psychoanalysis: “. . . the experience is that within the

left there is a great underlying need (?) for unity.”

The call for public debate and concrete agreements within the left on how to approach the Bundestag campaign is a commendable starting point. However, this initiative has the smell of a maneuver about it. The perspective of unity of the left is presented over and over again, but there is not a line about what the content of such unity should be. Moreover, this article is shot through with false and opportunist positions on fundamental questions—democratic centralism, program, and common slates in elections—to mention only the most important. We will limit ourselves here to these questions.

The KB—a Principled Defender of Democratic Centralism?

The article’s main accusation against all the other organizations of the far left is that out of a misunderstanding of the principles (AK says “essence”) of democratic centralism they designate their candidates “from the top down” without submitting this decision to public discussion beforehand. The “mass debates” of the Cultural Revolution in China are supposed to serve as an argument for this position. Obviously something has gotten confused here.

In the first place, as an organizational principle, democratic centralism rests on an understanding and conscious development of the differentiation between revolutionists and the broad masses. This does not contradict the need for open debate. On the other hand, it does argue against making decisions within the organization dependent on “opinions,” “moods,” and psychological “needs.”

As regards China’s “cultural revolutionists,” by the way, even if mass debates serve a useful purpose, it is not through such exercises that a revolutionary party legitimizes itself as a leadership. Parties that deny the workers an opportunity to exercise power through soviet structures and the right to form more than one workers party should not present themselves as defenders of democracy in the workers movement.

Second, democratic centralism is more than listening to opinions and views. It involves the right of minorities to equal opportunity with the majority to present and fight for their positions.

Thus, the question remains (if they want to accuse the GIM leadership of bureaucratic procedures) whether by publishing their position in AK, the LC of the KB

hasn’t decided in advance the outcome of the discussion in its own organization, that is, made a decision “from the top down.”

Third, according to democratic centralism, it is the leadership of an organization that decides tactical questions. Is the question of the election campaign more than a tactical one? It is true that in order for the leadership of a democratic-centralist organization to be able to make such decisions, it has to be elected on the basis of its political positions in the framework of an unrestricted democratic discussion. Is this what happens in the KB?

Moreover, if we may ask a question: What does it indicate about the KB’s kind of democratic-centralist principles when they have to answer queries about whether they are running a candidate by saying that before they can answer they have to wait for the next AK?

Actually, the KB’s organization is based, on the one hand, on a leadership that coordinates everything (and often intervenes directly), and on the other hand, on no one knows how many commissions that work out the positions and carry on the work. It is more of a catchall movement offering an appearance of being “nondogmatic” than it is a democratic-centralist organization. That also is why it misinterprets what democratic centralism is.

No Programmatic Candidates Because They Have No Program

Besides raising a demagogic smoke screen on the question of democratic centralism, AK directs its fire at “programmatically candidates.” It says: “Programmatically candidates are based in every case on the notion that the quite specific programmatic theses (?) of this or that organization can be taken to the people in election campaigns in only one way, that is, by these organizations running their own candidates.”

Thus, the individual far left organizations’ senselessly running their own candidates, as the KB sees it, is tied up with certain special demands of these groups!

Here again, as in the argument about democratic centralism, it is transparently obvious that the KB is trying to cover up by arrogance its own weaknesses and inadequacies, its own lack of program and false notion even of what program is.

The foundation of an organization is its program. Program is more than demands, programmatic theses, and current estimations. The program of a revolutionary

1. Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (Communist League of West Germany), a Maoist group; Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Communist party of Germany), a Maoist group that rigidly follows the pro-NATO Peking line; Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic party of Germany).—IP

organization is its common understanding of events and tasks and its *method* for approaching these tasks. It is its programmatic foundations that primarily determine the position of an organization and not its current blend of programmatic elements. Organizations with programmatic foundations arrive at a political line. Organizations that have only a blend of programmatic elements quickly take refuge in maneuvers.

The KB has made "programmatic candidacies" a negative polemical term in order to divert attention from its own lack of program (its programmatic understanding hardly goes beyond the notion that Germany is moving toward "fascism" in gradual steps). They focus their criticism on the so-called narrow interest organizations have in their own special demands to divert attention from the fact that you cannot approach the question of getting the working class to break from the SPD only in the abstract but you have to consider by what method and by concentrating on what points this can be achieved.

'Programmatic Candidates or Electoral Bloc?'

In this subheading in issue no. 81 of *AK*, the KB poses this alternative quite clearly. In the ensuing section, however, this counterposition becomes fuzzier and fuzzier. Then suddenly we are presented with the idea of unity in action as a broad left alternative "either in the form of common slates, an agreement to support each other's slates, a common electoral appeal, or even only (?) a common electoral platform."

Electoral agreements are fine, but on what basis? We leave it to the LC of the KB to clarify concretely what kind of electoral bloc they are calling for.

The GIM has stated its opposition to an electoral bloc in the *present conditions*, when this would have no impact on the working class. The KB recognizes that in fact such a bloc would have no influence on the working class, but it does not accept this as an argument for rejecting the idea: "In a nutshell, the GIM's argument is the following: An electoral bloc can be considered only when it would have a 'real influence on the working class.' The threshold for this is hard to define. The dividing line seems to lie between the situation in the class struggle in Italy and in Portugal. For Italy the GIM is promoting a left electoral bloc, for Portugal, on the other hand, the Trotskyists' own candidate."

Once again, this is rather superficial. Support for an electoral bloc does not depend solely on the political situation in the class struggle but also on the content of such a bloc. In Portugal, for instance, the primary question is not whether the former FUR² organizations and the UDP³ form a bloc but whether the context of this

bloc and Carvalho's candidacy is grounded on the principle of class struggle, that is, calling on the working class to vote for its own class interests.

Moreover, "real influence on the working class" can be quite precisely defined. Or isn't it a sufficient criterion whether such a bloc represents sections of the working class that by their fight for progressive objectives and by the forms of their struggle constitute in practice an alternative to the reformist parties?

Here again, the important thing is not formal criteria—the size of the left organizations, the extent of their influence, and so on. What has to be discussed is the content. But on this question there is not one line in *AK*.

The KB's criticism of the GIM misses the mark also because, for understandable reasons, the key statements of our resolution on the Bundestag elections are not quoted in no. 81 of *AK*. These take up the questions of electoral blocs in the present situation and in this connection also the KB's propaganda: "This is a maneuver of

2. Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (Front for Revolutionary Unity), a bloc of ultraleft and centrist organizations supporting the wing of the Armed Forces Movement that backed the "People's Power" scheme.—*IP*

3. União Democrática do Povo (People's Democratic Union), an eclectic Maoist group that was in the orbit of the FUR and now like most of the former FUR organizations supports the candidacy of Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho in the Portuguese presidential elections.—*IP*

Sakharov Appeal on Behalf of Kovalyov

[Sergei Kovalyov, Soviet biologist and outspoken defender of human rights in the USSR, was tried October 9-12, 1975, and convicted of "especially dangerous crimes against the state" including spreading "slanderous fabrications which defame the Soviet political and social system," charges often utilized by the Kremlin to suppress dissent. The "slanders" were supposedly contained in the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the samizdat bulletin. He was sentenced to seven years in a strict-regime labor camp and three additional years internal exile. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 14, p. 945.)

[Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet physicist and also a leader in the human-rights movement, was prevented from attending Kovalyov's trial. The following appeal by Sakharov was distributed by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.]

* * *

First, I wish to point out that Sergei Kovalyov was convicted for acting according to the dictates of his own conscience in

the type often resorted to by centrists who have neither a program of their own nor any confidence or interest in their ability to develop one. Because of this programmatic weakness, they are interested primarily in strengthening their forces organizationally and thus ready for all sorts of political wheeling and dealing." (*Was Tun*, no. 106.) And that hit the nail on the head!

Initial Conclusions

Everything points to a maneuver by the KB. In issue no. 81 of *AK*, they themselves complain that their call for a vote for the SPD in 1972 "caused us substantial damage in the left and thus contributed to the fact that up to last year our organization stagnated." And at the same time as making statements like this, they still maintain that their position in the 1972 elections (supporting the SPD "as a rope supports a hanging man") was principled. The most likely thing seems to be that this article is a trial balloon for a maneuver sacrificing principle to make temporary organizational gains.

However, we don't want to just read between the lines. What no. 81 of *AK* claims to offer is "a serious proposal to develop an honest and fraternal discussion within the left." We are ready to accept this. While we reject electoral blocs without program, we are ready to pursue a discussion with all organizations of the left about common action at certain focal points around certain demands during the election campaign, and even about electoral agreements, critical support for other slates, as well as about public debates. □

defense of persons who he was convinced were victims of injustice.

The prosecution did not prove that Kovalyov's aim was the subversion of the Soviet regime or that his activity was slanderous in character. The trial was blatantly unlawful: it was not open to the public; there was no debate between the parties; the trial was conducted without defense counsel; and it was completed in the absence of Kovalyov and without his final plea.

Kovalyov had made extensive and careful preparations to refute the charges against him and especially the charges related to the *Chronicle of Current Events*. The seven numbers of the *Chronicles* included in the indictment contain 694 episodes. The prosecution investigated 172 of these episodes. Kovalyov does not exclude the possibility that errors existed in the reporting of eleven episodes. The investigation acknowledged that 89 episodes were accurately reported. Kovalyov was prepared to prove the absence of error in the remaining 72 episodes, but he did

not have a chance even to begin this task and it will be some time before we shall hear his doubtless carefully considered and convincing arguments.

About seven episodes were brought up during the trial in the prosecution's attempt to prove the slanderous character of the *Chronicles*. Today we can affirm that the prosecution succeeded in casting doubt

on the accuracy of the *Chronicle's* reports only in one or two insignificant cases.

The arrest and conviction of Kovalyov is a challenge to Soviet and world public opinion.

After Helsinki and at the time of the Nobel ceremonies, the authorities plainly wanted to demonstrate their firmness and their power, which permits them to ignore even their own laws.

To leave this challenge unanswered means to betray an exceptional human being and to betray vital principles on which so much depends. Demand the repeal of Kovalyov's sentence. That is the only possible answer.

Andrei Sakharov
Moscow, December 18, 1975

Los Objetivos Imperialistas en Africa Meridional

Lo que Washington se Juega en el Apartheid

Por Ernest Harsch

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 28 de junio bajo el título "Washington's Stake in Apartheid." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Sudáfrica ha sido sacudida por el auge de las luchas negras más masivo en toda la historia del país. Desafiando las balas, porras y gases lacrimógenos de la policía, decenas de millares de obreros y estudiantes negros llenaron las calles de Soweto y otras poblaciones negras para expresar su odio por el sistema racista del apartheid del régimen de la minoría blanca.

La militancia mostrada en las protestas refleja la determinación de las masas africanas de liberar su continente de los últimos baluartes de la dominación colonial blanca. Junto con la creciente inquietud en Zimbabue y Namibia, el surgimiento de las luchas negras en Sudáfrica es una señal importante del aumento de la lucha nacional y de clase en Africa meridional.

La respuesta del régimen de Vorster a las justas demandas de la población negra—el asesinato brutal de más de 100 personas—ha revelado al mundo todavía con más fuerza que antes la naturaleza profundamente bárbara y retrógrada del sistema sudafricano de apartheid.

Al mismo tiempo que la policía de Vorster mataba a los luchadores negros, el secretario de Estado norteamericano Kissinger declaró que llevaría adelante la reunión que tenía programada con el odiado racista. Las conversaciones programadas para tener lugar en Alemania Occidental los días 23 y 24 de junio, son el primer encuentro de tan alto nivel entre Washington y Pretoria desde 1945.

A pesar de enfrentarse con profundos problemas interiores, Vorster veía también como vitales las conversaciones y se negó a cancelarlas o posponerlas. En el aeropuerto de Johannesburgo, cuando salía para las conversaciones, el 19 de junio

Vorster declaró que la reunión con Kissinger era una reunión "muy importante, en la cual espero poder plantear el caso de Sudáfrica en el más alto nivel."

Vorster añadió que las conversaciones reflejaban el reconocimiento de Washington del papel que el régimen sudafricano "juega y puede jugar en Africa meridional." Lo mismo se había dicho en Washington dos semanas antes. El 3 de junio, un alto oficial del Departamento de Estado dijo que la razón por la que Kissinger quería hablar con Vorster era a causa de que Pretoria jugaba un papel "esencial" en Africa meridional.

Para el imperialismo norteamericano, el régimen de supremacía blanca juega un papel "esencial" por una serie de razones. Sudáfrica controla la vital ruta marítima que pasa por el cabo de Buena Esperanza, a través de la cual pasa una gran parte del comercio marítimo mundial. Sudáfrica tiene algunas de las mayores bases navales en las orillas del Océano Indico. Hay grandes yacimientos de diamantes, oro y otros minerales valiosos, que Washington considera importantes estratégicamente para el imperialismo occidental.

Alrededor de 360 compañías yanquis tienen cerca de 1.5 billones de dólares invertidos en las minas e industrias sudafricanas. Como los salarios de los trabajadores negros se mantienen a niveles extraordinariamente bajos en Sudáfrica, debido a las leyes del apartheid, las inversiones norteamericanas obtienen ganancias cuyas tasas están entre las más altas del mundo.

Quizás para Washington la consideración más importante es el papel que juega Pretoria como bastión de la dominación imperialista sobre el continente africano. Siendo él mismo una potencia imperialista, el régimen sudafricano tiene la suficiente fuerza económica y militar como para llevar sus propios intereses y los de sus aliados occidentales mucho más allá de sus fronteras. Además de servir como base

principal para la penetración económica por parte de los imperialistas en otros países africanos, este estado en que grandes sectores de la población proceden de países imperialistas y son los que dominan toda la sociedad, es un poderoso baluarte contra la revolución africana.

A pesar de las críticas ocasionales de Washington sobre el sistema del apartheid, en realidad ha hecho mucho para fortalecer el poder militar de Pretoria. Como parte del "giro" de Washington en 1970 hacia una colaboración más abierta con los regímenes de minorías blancas en Africa meridional, vendió a Pretoria equipos de "doble utilidad," que pueden servir para objetivos militares, valorados en millones de dólares.

Entre el material de aviación vendido a Sudáfrica entre 1967 y 1972, valorado en 272.8 millones de dólares, había helicópteros Bell que se pueden usar en operaciones militares y policíacas, y reactores Lear de dos motores que se pueden usar para reconocimiento y para ciertas misiones de combate. También había aviones de transporte Starlifter C-141 y Hercules C-130.

La nueva política americana hacia Zimbabue y Namibia, anunciada por Kissinger en su reciente viaje a diversas naciones del Africa Negra, es sólo un aspecto más de la estrategia global de Washington para Africa.

Washington también ha intentado apoyar a los regímenes neocoloniales negros que, como Zaire y Kenya, están aliados con Washington y favorecen un "diálogo" con Pretoria. El 16 de junio se anunció que el gobierno de los Estados Unidos había llegado al acuerdo de vender a Kenya doce reactores de guerra F-5 por un valor de más de 70 millones de dólares. La Casa Blanca también indicó que pediría al Congreso un aumento en la ayuda militar al régimen de Mobutu en Zaire.

En una conferencia de prensa el 17 de junio en Washington, Kissinger dejó claro que esperaba que Vorster colaborase con la

estrategia de Washington, presionando al régimen de Rodesia hacia un compromiso con los dirigentes nacionalistas de Zimbabue y avanzando hacia el fin de la dominación directa de Sudáfrica sobre Namibia, favoreciendo formas más indirectas, neocoloniales. En la reunión con Vorster dijo que "la cuestión que quiero explorar es si Sudáfrica está dispuesta a separar su futuro de Rodesia y Namibia."

Si lo está, dijo Kissinger, esto daría fuerza a la pretensión de Pretoria de que es "un país africano." Durante su viaje a Africa, Kissinger sondeó el mismo tema planteando que los sudafricanos blancos "no son colonialistas: son africanos históricamente."

Si este punto de vista fuera aceptado por los regímenes negros, haría políticamente mucho más fácil para Washington el mantener abiertamente sus lazos con Pretoria e incluso aumentar su ayuda al régimen racista.

En la conferencia de prensa, Kissinger también expuso otro de los fines de Washington en su política hacia Sudáfrica. Dijo que si Pretoria modificase sus lazos con Zimbabue y Namibia, "su evolución puede ocupar un período de tiempo mayor y puede producirse por medio de diferentes métodos." Es decir, que la abolición del régimen racista se pospondrá hasta las calendadas griegas.

Para desviar las críticas al apoyo que Washington da a Pretoria, Kissinger y otros oficiales del gobierno se han visto forzados a hacer denuncias periódicas del apartheid. Pero estas denuncias son exclusivamente para la galería. Washington no tiene la menor intención de ver la abolición del sistema del apartheid.

A diferencia de otros países de Africa, donde las potencias imperialistas han podido mantener su dominación económica y política después de cambiar a formas menos directas de dominación, una "solución" neocolonial en Sudáfrica sería prácticamente imposible. El capitalismo sudafricano tiene sus cimientos en la explotación del apartheid. Los intereses de los imperialistas sudafricanos y occidentales están tan profundamente interpenetrados en el país que la caída del poder político blanco sería probablemente fatal para la continuación del control económico imperialista.

El proletariado negro de Sudáfrica—en la actualidad más de seis millones de trabajadores—es una enorme fuerza que puede dirigir la lucha de liberación nacional hacia la destrucción del capitalismo junto con el sistema del apartheid.

Así, Pretoria y sus aliados no tienen ninguna estrategia alternativa para proteger sus intereses en Sudáfrica, fuera de la dominación racial y la fuerza bruta. La política de Washington está dirigida fundamentalmente a ganar tiempo para Pretoria.

Sin embargo, algunos círculos de la clase dominante estadounidense, comienzan a

mostrar escepticismo sobre la efectividad de esta política. Los directores del *New York Times*, uno de los periódicos burgueses más influyentes en Estados Unidos, dijeron el 18 de junio: "La cuestión planteada, cuando las tensiones raciales se manifiestan violentamente, es saber si el interés diplomático de esta nación se ha expresado demasiado tarde para ser sentido donde pudiera tomarse en cuenta, o no."

Dos días más tarde, expresaron una alarma todavía mayor: "Toda discusión racional sobre el futuro de Africa meridional debe comenzar con la comprensión de que los problemas actuales no son simplemente episodios trágicos aislados, sino los primeros indicios de una tormenta que se avecina y que podría hacer estragos mucho

más allá de los límites del continente africano."

Los directores del *Times*, fundamentalmente están en lo cierto. En efecto, puede que sea "demasiado tarde" para que la política de Washington sea muy efectiva en la tarea de retrasar la lucha de liberación de la población negra en Sudáfrica.

El auge repentino y espontáneo de las luchas en las poblaciones negras sólo da una pálida impresión de las explosivas tensiones sociales que se han estado acumulando en el país durante siglos. Y es solamente un preludio de las potentes luchas que emprenderán en el futuro las masas negras sudafricanas. Estas luchas futuras tendrán un impacto profundo en el curso de la revolución africana y mundial.

Los Obreros y Campesinos Chinos Tienen Derecho A Intervenir en los Asuntos de la Nación

[El siguiente editorial apareció en nuestro número del 21 de junio. Fue tomado de *October Review*, revista mensual trotskista que se publica en Hong Kong. La traducción del inglés es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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En el contexto de las agudas luchas internas que se están llevando a cabo en el interior del PCC [Partido Comunista Chino], grandes manifestaciones de masas estallaron en la capital de China, Pekín, a primeros de abril. La más importante tuvo lugar el 5 de abril. Gran número de personas habían colocado guirnalda alrededor del monumento a los Héroes del Pueblo en el centro de la plaza Tien An Men, en honor del anterior primer ministro Chu En-lai y de la [primera] esposa de Mao, Yang Kai-hui, ejecutada por el Kuomintang en 1935. Las masas también habían fijado carteles en las paredes como expresión de su profunda insatisfacción respecto de la forma en que el Centro del Partido ha tratado la lucha interna. El 5 de abril, indignadas porque les habían retirado las guirnalda durante la noche, decenas de miles de personas se agruparon en la plaza Tien An Men para montar una manifestación de protesta. Algunos de los manifestantes llegaron tan lejos como para prender fuego a varios vehículos y a un edificio que creían era la oficina del Buró de Seguridad Pública [policía política]. Según la estimación de un corresponsal extranjero, había alrededor de 100,000 personas en la plaza aquel día.

No hay ninguna duda de que fue una gran acción espontánea de masas.

No cabe ninguna duda de que ha comenzado un nuevo despertar entre los obreros y campesinos revolucionarios de China.

Gran cantidad de personas han llegado a darse cuenta de que necesitan intervenir de forma independiente en la lucha interna del PCC, y continuar hacia la intervención en los asuntos nacionales.

¿Cómo trató el régimen de Pekín a las masas? Movilizó tropas y "milicias obreras" para dispersar a la multitud. El alcalde de Pekín, Wu Teh, grabó un mensaje en cinta magnetofónica, que retumbó a través de los altavoces en toda la plaza, atribuyendo la acción de masas al trabajo de "una pequeña minoría de hombres malvados y ambiciosos que se aprovechan del festival Ching Ming [en honor de los muertos] para crear un incidente político." El editorial del 6 de abril del *Diario del Pueblo* declaraba: "Debemos dirigir la punta de lanza de la lucha contra el que lleva al partido por el camino del capitalismo y se niega a reformarse," y "es necesario impedir que los enemigos de clase difundan rumores, creen problemas. . . ." Condenaba al "puñado de enemigos de clase que fabrican rumores políticos intentando confundir y envenenar la mente del pueblo, y atacar y escindir el Comité Central del partido encabezado por el Presidente Mao Tsetung." El editorial proponía "perseguirles con dureza y asestarles golpes decididos."

El régimen de Pekín encabezado por Mao Tsetung ha ignorado las justas demandas de las masas y les ha prohibido la intervención en los asuntos nacionales. Si las masas intentan intervenir, les ponen la etiqueta de "enemigos de clase que crean problemas" y están destinados a "ser perseguidos con dureza y a recibir golpes decididos." Según los periodistas extranjeros, ¡varios cientos de personas fueron detenidas después de la manifestación!

Pero las masas no se intimidarán. En

realidad, la lucha interna en el PCC ha sacudido en lo fundamental la dominación del régimen de Pekín. Podemos esperar que en el futuro las masas utilizarán diversos medios de lucha, en una forma firme y creativa de continuar su combate. El PCC puede contener temporalmente a las masas, pero en tanto que las contradicciones dentro del país permanezcan y la lucha interna en el partido continúe, las masas

se verán impulsadas a intentar intervenir.

La intervención de las masas en los asuntos nacionales es la única forma de resolver la actual crisis política. Por lo tanto, decimos:

*¡En pie, obreros y campesinos de China!
¡Levantaos en vuestro gran número y con toda fuerza! Llevad a cabo una lucha decidida para ganar lo que es vuestro*

derecho y vuestro deber—ser los dueños de la nación. Si los burócratas intentan suprimiros, ¡doblad vuestros esfuerzos!

Soldados, milicianos, no reprimáis al pueblo. Poneos de su lado, porque sólo ellos son vuestros hermanos y hermanas, mientras que los burócratas privilegiados son los enemigos de los obreros y campesinos.

7 de abril 1976

Docenas de Trabajadores Encarcelados por el MPLA

Ola de Huelgas Sacude las Ciudades Angoleñas

Por Ernest Harsch

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 21 de junio bajo el título "Strike Wave Sweeps Angolan Cities." La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Luanda y otras ciudades de Angola han sido sacudidas por la inquietud laboral desde primeros de mayo. Los trabajadores industriales han emprendido huelgas, ritmos lentos y otras acciones para respaldar sus demandas por salarios más altos y mejores condiciones de trabajo.

El *New York Times* del 30 de mayo informaba que "la industria y el transporte en las grandes ciudades están cerca de un punto muerto a causa de las luchas por salarios más altos."

Entre las empresas afectadas por la ola de huelgas están Siga y Textang, compañías que trabajan con cáñamo y textiles. Hablando en el local de la Comisión Popular de Vecindad de Rangel en Luanda, el 9 de mayo, el ministro del Interior, Nito Alves, admitió: "Tenemos serios problemas en Textang, y además tenemos otras industrias afectadas exactamente de la misma manera." Según el número del 20 de mayo del diario de Lisboa *Jornal Novo*, los trabajadores de Textang están pidiendo un salario mínimo.

En el *Washington Post* del 18 de mayo, el reportero David B. Ottaway describía la situación en las fábricas:

Los trabajadores ya no aceptan necesariamente las órdenes de sus supuestos jefes—sean empresarios privados o estatales—y algunas veces tienen reuniones para decidir si van a obedecer o a negarse a ello. El conflicto entre los trabajadores y la empresa incluso en fábricas recientemente nacionalizadas aquí [Luanda] ha llegado a preocupar tanto al gobierno que los dirigentes del partido y los sindicatos están actualmente yendo de una fábrica a otra para explicar por qué la disciplina y la producción tienen que estar a la orden del día.

Las recientes acciones huelguísticas son las más significativas en Angola desde el

auge masivo de luchas obreras que comenzó después del golpe del 25 de abril de 1974 en Portugal, y duró alrededor de un año.

Aunque los trabajadores ganaron un alza de salarios durante esta ola de huelgas, sus conquistas han sido barridas por la inflación desde entonces. A menudo, muchos alimentos básicos escasean o son imposibles de conseguir en la capital, mientras un repollo se puede vender hasta por \$5. El desempleo ha aumentado fuertemente.

La actual inquietud laboral también ha sido parcialmente alimentada por las esperanzas crecientes de la población desde el final de la guerra civil. El corresponsal del *New York Times* Marvyn Howe hacía notar en un comunicado del 12 de mayo desde Luanda que gran parte del fermento en las fábricas "se atribuye al trauma que existe entre la población, que se siente liberada de la opresión colonial y de los peligros inmediatos de la guerra y ahora espera una vida mejor."

El régimen del MPLA (Movimento Popular para la Libertação de Angola) ha respondido a las legítimas demandas de los trabajadores angoleños como lo ha hecho con cualquier otro signo de oposición—con la represión. Según el *Jornal Novo* del 20 de mayo, docenas de trabajadores acusados de tomar parte en las huelgas han sido arrestados por la policía política del MPLA, la Direcção de Informação e Segurança de Angola (DISA).

El MPLA que dice estar a favor del "socialismo," ya estableció sus credenciales de romphuelgas mucho antes de la actual inquietud. Cuando participó en un régimen de coalición a principios de 1975 con los imperialistas portugueses y sus dos principales rivales nacionalistas, el FNLA y UNITA,* el MPLA lanzó llamadas a los

trabajadores para detener sus huelgas e incluso envió tropas contra los estibadores en huelga en Lobito.

Más tarde, cuando el MPLA pasó a ser la fuerza dominante en Luanda, suprimió los sindicatos y comités obreros independientes, arrestó a los líderes obreros que no se sometieron, instituyó la aceleración de los ritmos de trabajo y alargó la jornada de trabajo—todo bajo el slogan de la "batalla de la producción."

En sus esfuerzos para romper la actual ola de huelgas, los dirigentes del MPLA han puesto su confianza en la demagogia "socialista" para persuadir a los trabajadores de que vuelvan a sus trabajos.

En una declaración política en "Opción Socialista" del MPLA, el primer ministro Lopo do Nascimento dijo que las demandas obreras eran "irrealistas" y llamó a los trabajadores a hacer "inmensos sacrificios." Cuando visitó las fábricas nacionalizadas en Dondo, alrededor de 100 millas al sudeste de Luanda, "su tema fueron los sacrificios para la reconstrucción nacional," según Howe.

Los oficiales del organismo sindical del MPLA, la União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Angola también han visitado las fábricas en un intento de convencer a los trabajadores de abandonar sus luchas.

El MPLA ha tratado de justificar el arresto de los trabajadores que no fueron convencidos por las llamadas al "sacrificio" económico diciendo que las huelgas estaban fomentadas por "izquierdistas," "saboteadores," "traidores," "servidores del colonialismo imperialista," y agentes del FNLA y de UNITA. El 11 de mayo, el ministro de Trabajo, David Aires Machado, acusó a algunos trabajadores de "oportunismo" y de "resistencia al socialismo."

La edición del 15 de mayo del *Jornal de Angola*, controlado por el MPLA, decía que los "incidentes" en las fábricas Siga y Textang habían sido causados por "elementos indisciplinados, sin ningún lazo

*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola; União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola.

con el MPLA, y otros agitadores infiltrados en la clase obrera para crear un clima contrarrevolucionario. . . .”

Después, *Jornal de Angola* seguía con la defensa del concepto stalinista de que el socialismo en Angola sólo puede alcanzarse pasando primero por la etapa de una “democracia popular” que incluye a la llamada burguesía patriótica. Sin embargo, hacía notar que “algunos elementos entre las masas trabajadoras han mostrado insatisfacción respecto del concepto de las etapas que objetivamente tienen que atravesarse y se han abierto irreflexivamente a todo tipo de subversión ideológica—el primer paso hacia acciones todavía más extremas.”

Aunque la purga de la izquierda por parte del MPLA comenzó en 1975, alcanzó una nueva etapa en abril, cuando la DISA

arrestó a más de 100 miembros y dirigentes de Revolta Activa (una tendencia disidente dentro del MPLA), de la Organização Comunista de Angola y de otros grupos.

Una de las más famosas personas que fueron arrestadas era Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, anteriormente presidente honorario del MPLA y dirigente de Revolta Activa. En una entrevista con *Jornal Novo* publicada en la edición del 6 de mayo, Andrade dijo que le habían puesto en libertad a las pocas horas.

Sin embargo, otros disidentes apresados no fueron tan afortunados. Gentil Viana, que había sido consejero del presidente del MPLA, Agostinho Neto, entró en estado de coma. Según las autoridades de la prisión, la condición de Viana fue causada por una huelga de hambre. Pero según un conocido

suyo fue el resultado del trato que recibió en la cárcel.

El MPLA parece también estar preparando una ofensiva contra las continuas actividades guerrilleras de la UNITA, según un comunicado de Howe el 3 de junio desde Huambo, anteriormente baluarte de la UNITA en la región de la meseta central. Howe informaba que el ferrocarril de Benguela había sido atacado dos veces en dos días por las guerrillas de la UNITA, y que por la noche “se pueden oír los disparos en las afueras de la ciudad. . . .”

Aunque el MPLA ha administrado Huambo durante cerca de cuatro meses, dijo Howe, los oficiales del MPLA “admiten que la UNITA todavía tiene un amplio apoyo, particularmente en pueblos apartados.” □

‘Permaneció Marxista por Convencimiento Profundo’

En Memoria de José Revueltas

[El siguiente artículo apareció en nuestro número del 21 de junio bajo el título “In Memory of José Revueltas.” La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El conocido autor mexicano José Revueltas murió el 14 de abril. Entre sus muchas contribuciones literarias están *Los Días Terrenales*, *En Algún Valle de Lágrimas* y *El Luto Humano*—que ganó el Premio Nacional de Literatura de México en 1943.

Nacido en 1914, Revueltas estuvo comprometido en el movimiento revolucionario desde su juventud—a los quince años fue encarcelado bajo los cargos de sedición e incitación a la rebelión.

Manuel Aguilar Mora recordó la vida política de Revueltas y su contribución al movimiento revolucionario mexicano en el número de mayo de *Bandera Roja*, el periódico mensual de la Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI), una organización simpatizante de la IV Internacional en México.

“José Revueltas,” dice Aguilar, “fue un escritor de la célebre estirpe de los grandes artistas de los años treinta que desde el principio unió su destino con el movimiento comunista internacional. Este hecho y sólo él explica al hombre, al artista, al político, en fin, a la tragedia que fue su vida.”

La vida política de Revueltas estuvo marcada por los veinte años que pasó en el Partido Comunista stalinizado.

Comenzó a romper con el PC en 1943, pero su expulsión más tarde en el mismo año no le condujo a romper los lazos que tenía con el stalinismo. En lugar de eso, se convirtió en un seguidor de Vicente Lombardo Toledano, representante de la vari-

ante “más páfida y oportunista de la lepra staliniana,” según dice Aguilar.

“El lombardismo lo atrajo por su vinculación con la clase obrera, por la posibilidad de que pusiera en práctica con más oportunidades de éxito el proyecto frentepopulista del VII y último Congreso de la Internacional Comunista. . . .”

Revueltas rechazó el lombardismo unos años más tarde. Sin embargo, dice Aguilar, su “incapacidad de comprender el leninismo lo llevaba a confundirlo con el lombardismo,” de tal forma que cuando rompió con Lombardo, rompió también con el leninismo.

La siguiente fase de la evolución política de Revueltas comenzó con la muerte de Stalin. Las revelaciones de Kruschef y la invasión soviética de Hungría y Polonia le afectaron, y en 1957 comenzó una crítica teórica del stalinismo. Su artículo “El Partido Comunista Mexicano ante la Disyuntiva Vital de su Existencia Histórica” explicaba por qué el PC mexicano no podía convertirse en el partido de vanguardia de la clase obrera mexicana.

En ese tiempo, Revueltas era de nuevo miembro del PC mexicano. Se había unido de nuevo a él en 1956 y fue expulsado la segunda vez en 1960 por sus intentos de transformar el partido.

En 1962 Revueltas publicó *Ensayo sobre un Proletariado sin Cabeza*, que Aguilar comenta de esta forma:

En este libro se hizo uno de los esfuerzos más serios hasta ahora realizados por definir la realidad de México en términos marxistas. Fue el aspecto del movimiento obrero, y en especial del movimiento comunista, en donde Revueltas inovó grandemente.

Apuntó con precisión el panorama y la historia de una izquierda desbordada por el nacionalismo burgués y “enajenada” a intereses de clase

hostiles al proletariado.

El levantamiento estudiantil de 1968 fue una encrucijada para Revueltas, dice Aguilar, porque le dio la oportunidad de “observar en la práctica la renovación incipiente y masiva del movimiento revolucionario mexicano.”

Esto, junto con la invasión soviética de Checoslovaquia, empujó a Revueltas a participar en la fundación del Movimiento Comunista Internacionalista, precursor del actual movimiento trotskista en México.

Revueltas fue encarcelado por su participación en el movimiento de 1968, y esta experiencia le radicalizó todavía más. Pero su compromiso con el renacimiento de la izquierda mexicana continuó siendo contradictorio, dice Aguilar:

Permaneció marxista por convencimiento profundo e irreversible. Pero toda su (des) formación stalinista adquirida en su experiencia anterior era demasiado pesada para que pudiera rápidamente encontrar la visión coherente y consistente capaz de ser la alternativa concreta para la nueva vanguardia que tanta admiración le despertaba. Revueltas murió en pleno *impasse* teórico e ideológico, habiendo roto sin condiciones con el stalinismo pero sin haber podido encontrar una visión global superadora.

Sin embargo, concluye Aguilar, Revueltas jugó un papel importante. “Sin él, sin su estimulante apoyo en 1968, sin todo su prestigio que se puso decisivamente del lado de las fuerzas impugnadoras del stalinismo y sin su crítica constante al filisteísmo en las filas revolucionarias, la vanguardia marxista *no sería lo que es hoy*. Su combate fue, en mucho, precursor del nuestro. Aunque no las resolvió, planteó bien muchas cuestiones que sólo hasta ahora podemos claramente visualizar.” □

FROM OUR READERS

John Gravel, now retired in Florida, mentions in a letter that he lived for a while in South Africa:

"As you may imagine, I am following with the keenest interest the explosive events in South Africa. The revolt of the students against being forced to learn through the medium of Afrikaans marks a peculiar twist. Back in 1920 I spent the better part of a year in a small 'town' in the Northwest Cape (an area known as the Bushmanland) and came in close contact with the sheep-farming Boers and the 'back-veld' government apparatus at the time. Believe it or not, it was a grave offense for a black or 'colored' farm hand to address his employer in Afrikaans, the language of the elite. Natives (as the blacks and coloreds were called) were whipped for daring to address the 'baas' in his bastardized Dutch dialect. Now the native youth, two generations or so later, declare they will not use the language of their oppressors! Like Galileo, we can exclaim, 'It moves!'"

A reader in Jordan sent us the following comments:

"Received today your June 14 issue with headline article 'Hands Off Lebanon.'

"You may be interested to know that under the new Jordan-Syria friendship agreements, the Jordanian regime is attempting to show its fidelity to Syria in this matter by censoring all news in Arabic about the Syrian attacks on Palestinian camps and leftist Moslem positions in Lebanon. One paper, al-Ra'i, was asked by the authorities to stop printing temporarily after its Friday June 11th issue, according to the *Jordan Times*, the English Language Amman paper which is printed by the same foundation as al-Ra'i.

"Al-Ra'i is not an anti establishment paper by any means, but apparently it printed a small story on the Syrian intervention in Lebanon, and how the Syrian army was bombing Palestinian positions. This news has never appeared in Jordan papers, radio, or T.V., although anyone can listen to BBC, Radio Cairo, Monte Carlo, or Western papers and learn all about it. A friend of mine who arrived from Cairo on June 10 said the Jordan airport customs confiscated the copies of al-Ahram that people brought with them to read on the plane.

"Al-Sha'ab, the Arabic paper published in the occupied west bank, carried a banner headline 'Syrian Forces bomb Palestinian camps' in its June 7 issue, but of course being under Israeli censorship they cannot give their point of view. Al-Sha'ab, by the way, reads like the USLA Reporter: the whole paper is quotes from

prison releases about Palestinians being arrested, or released from prison. The obituary column has at least two obituaries for Palestinians who died in prison EVERY DAY! When you see this paper, just permitted to report from mayoralty records in the towns of occupied Palestine, you see how deep the repression is over there. IP readers who read your very good documented evidence from Israel Shahak should realize that this is only the tip of the iceberg. There are so many cases of arrests (school children arrested for three days then released—but what do they do to them in those three days?—for example. Travelling artists arrested. Sentences of 5 to 15 years for being members of resistance groups whose names no one has ever heard of before, or for merely being suspected of being a member of the P.L.O. Every day in al-Sha'ab.) Al-Sha'ab is of course periodically suspended, whenever they take a stand. That is why it reads like a defense committee sheet.

"Keep up the good reportage."

A subscriber in Israel says that he enjoys Intercontinental Press "very much, especially but *not only* the articles about Israel. I am really most thankful that in the midst of such hypocrisy as exists in the USA on those questions you most courageously and honestly uphold the cause of humanity and justice!"

Stu Singer of Houston, Texas, sent us two leaflets on Eritrea which "were distributed at a march in downtown Houston on June 11," organized by the Eritreans for Liberation in North America.

He explains: "We put out the green leaflet [a reprint of Ernest Harsch's article 'Ethiopian Junta Prepares New Offensive in Eritrea' from Intercontinental Press on June 7] because we disagree with some of the formulations and positions taken by the Eritrean students who put out the white leaflet ['Genocidal Invasion Launched into Eritrea by U.S.-Backed Ethiopian Fascist Junta']

"The Eritreans generally liked our leaflet because it is so informative. The contingent of Iranian Maoists on the march very strongly objected to our distributing the leaflet and they persuaded the Eritrean leadership not to allow any literature to be distributed. We calmly discussed this with the Eritreans and we are continuing to discuss the issue of free speech, etc., with them. We also continued to distribute the leaflet at the march."

Responses to "Selections from the Left" have been coming in.

One from R.J. in Detroit, Michigan: "I

am enjoying your new department 'Selections from the Left' very much.

"However, the articles do not read well, and it seems to me that the sections would be better if you relied more on direct quotes from the press. That will give a better picture of the flavor of the articles and make it a more genuine 'selection' rather than a 'summary' of the left."

Another from Atlanta, Georgia. "I really like the 'From the Left' section. This is exactly what I look to I.P. for to keep me in touch with the political tempo of the rest of the movement."

From Mt. View, California. "IP continues to be great," writes A.H. "Especially good have been Gerry Foley's articles on Italy, coverage of Spain, and the section 'Selections from the Left' really gives an even more internationalist outlook to IP. The June 14 issue was super, even for IP's high standards."

"Ja visste. Jag vill ha veckotidningar Intercontinental Press även i fortsättning- en," K.N. of Richmond, Virginia, assures us. He put this note on the back of his renewal subscription notice, adding: "Jag tycker mycket om artiklar av George Novack, Joseph Hansen. . . . Jag tycker ju också om 'Out Now' av Fred Halstead. My only regret is that I was not a prominent or significant enough supporter of the antiwar movement to stand a chance of ever being mentioned in any published history of it. And that I don't know how to say that in Swedish, of course!"

We asked Gerry Foley what that Swedish meant, and he said:

"Yes, of course. I want to continue getting Intercontinental Press. I like the articles by George Novack, Joseph Hansen. . . . I also like 'Out Now' by Fred Halstead."

We hope Gerry got it right. What do our readers in Sweden have to say about it?

M.M. of Columbia, Missouri, writes:

"Re your ad in The Militant June 11 for a sample copy of Intercontinental Press.

"If this magazine is as described, it could well be what I've been looking for. If so, I may be subscribing in the near future."

Intercontinental Press is as described and we look forward to hearing from M.M. again. □

Intercontinental Press will give you a week by week analysis of the most important world events.

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