

## Zionist Settlers Set Up Military Outposts on Stolen Arab Land

# Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

**Down with Zionist Expansionism!  
Not Jew Against Arab, but Class  
Against Class!  
For a Socialist Federation of the  
Near East!**

MAY 17—Yesterday morning Lena Hassan Nabulsi, a 16-year-old Arab woman, was shot down on the staircase of an apartment house in Nablus by an Israeli soldier. Nablus is the heart of the densely populated northern portion of the Israeli-occupied West Bank known as Samaria.

Historically, Samaria was bordered by Galilee to the north and Judea to the south, extended to the Mediterranean and was once an ancient kingdom of Palestine. It is today the center of resistance to the repressive Israeli occupation. With a population of 80,000, Nablus is the largest city of the West Bank and has been the scene of particularly militant protests and strikes against the military occupation, every one of which has been brutally suppressed.

The latest wave of protests in the Arab towns and villages of the West Bank was scheduled to coincide with the 28th anniversary of the creation of the Zionist state on 15 May 1948—a state established through the usurpation of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs. In Nablus these protests continued into the following morning, when hundreds of students assembled in the eastern part of the city and attempted to march toward the main square. The march was broken up and the demonstrators dispersed by club-wielding Israeli soldiers. In what has become a pattern, the soldiers pursued the demonstrators down the narrow city streets and fired "warning shots."

According to the Israeli military governor, Lena Nabulsi was "accidentally" shot by soldiers dispersing stone-throwing youths. This explanation was rejected by the mayor of Nablus, Bassan al-Shaqa, who in a 16 May *New York Times* dispatch stated that Nabulsi had been arrested several times by the Israeli military for participation in anti-Zionist protests. He asserted that, after having taken part in that morning's demonstration, Nabulsi had been followed to the home of a friend by the soldier who killed her. In any case, the murder took place 30 minutes after the demonstration had been completely dispersed.

Lena Nabulsi was the daughter of a prominent Nablus merchant and a relative of former Jordanian prime minister Sulaiman Nabulsi, who was responsible for the abrogation of Jordan's client relationship with British imperialism as Washington, D.C., gradually replaced London as the main patron of the Hashemites.

After Nabulsi's murder, a demonstration formed in front of her house and was again viciously broken up by the Israeli military, with two demonstrators wounded.

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Funeral in the West Bank for Lena Hassan Nabulsi, Arab woman killed by Israeli security police.

## Stalinists Support Generals' Takeover

# The Bloody Repression Behind "Gentleman's Coup" in Argentina

MAY 15—Only the most foggy-minded liberals and groveling fake-left reformists are fooled by the sheep's clothing the Argentine military junta wore for its coup. Seven weeks have passed since Videla's "reluctant generals" took power and the last bastions of Peronism ignominiously surrendered, too cravenly helpless to lift a finger.

Though official information is selective, as the junta seeks to avoid "excessive publicity," the magnitude of the threat facing the Argentine masses becomes increasingly obvious. The gorillas have been carrying out their repression with escalating ferocity while still trying to maintain the public-relations facade designed to differentiate them

from their despised Chilean counterparts.

Under a shroud of secrecy, the blows of vicious reaction rain down with terrible vindictiveness upon labor militants and leftists. Amnesty International estimates that 20,000-30,000 people have been arrested since the coup. The most elementary democratic rights are trampled underfoot by the military; the right to political asylum has been abrogated, with the Argentine authorities having apparently issued a "blacklist" of individuals who are not to be sheltered by the embassies (*Le Monde*, 15 May).

The plight of foreign political refugees—exiles from rightist terror in Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and

elsewhere, for whom Argentina represented the only hope of a tenuous and miserable safety—is particularly perilous. Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez, arrested by the Argentine junta April 10, was handed over to the murderous custody of Chilean officials on April 27. Now being held at Monte-Maravilla in Chile, according to *Le Monde*, Enriquez is certainly undergoing the most barbarous torture—if indeed he is still alive. A broad campaign must be built to demand his immediate liberation from the blood-stained hands of Pinochet's butchers.

The Chilean and other refugees, driven from their homes by the persecution of military dictatorships, literally have nowhere to turn. In one incident reported in the *Washington Post* (30 March), 35 Chileans living in UN refugee centers in Argentina were seized and arrested. A letter appealing for solidarity with Enriquez (*New York Times*, 8 May) reported that in the first week after the coup three UN-sponsored hotels for exiles were raided and the refugees held for interro-

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**Videla Delivers MIR Leader  
Enríquez to Chilean Butchers**

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# Editorial Notes

## PL Tells How Mayor White Really Fights Racism

The red-starred May Day issue of *Challenge*, newspaper of the Progressive Labor Party (PL), carries a headline striking in its apparent incongruity. Amidst the hyper-militant "Smash the Bosses, Fight for Socialism" rhetoric, we discover "Boston: 100,000 Reject Race War," a fulsomely enthusiastic description of the April 23 "March Against Violence" organized by none other than Mayor Kevin White, who in PL's crude Marxoid terminology can be called the "boss of Boston."

Contrary to PL's assertion that "the March Against Violence proved that the immense majority of workers here do not want race war," the law-and-order demonstration proved only that the liberal politicians do not want trouble. Political careers and ambitions for higher office get washed away when blood flows in the streets.

For all of PL's notorious adventurist rhetoric, its crowing over this pious procession of the bourgeoisie demonstrates its underlying liberalism and political bankruptcy. With typical Stalinist contempt for the truth, *Challenge* features a front-page photo of the march captioned "Black and white construction workers rebuff ROAR fascists." PL "neglects" to mention, however, that construction workers, along with many state and city employees, were given time off with pay and strongly encouraged by their employers and by many union bureaucrats to participate. PL also "forgets" to mention that the procession was explicitly designated as apolitical in order not to offend the racist anti-busing leaders whom White and other politicians begged to attend. Some "rebuff" to ROAR!

PL even managed to come out to the right of the ultra-reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on this question. *Challenge* self-righteously notes that "A Trotskyite [sic] group, the [SWP-dominated] National Student Coalition Against Racism, canceled a Boston cakewalk on April 24, because they were intimidated by the bosses and have no confidence in black or white workers." But if the SWP's proposed march—which was indeed another attempt by this fake-left outfit to prostitute itself to liberal politicians—was a "cakewalk," what was the April 23 march? The latter was not even pro-busing!

When PL first oriented its "peoples' organizations" (read "front groups") to liberal, single-issue, "anti-racism" campaigns, we noted that, despite continuing left rhetoric and occasional tactical zigzags, the

organization had entered a period of extreme rightward degeneration. There is a class-collaborationist "logic" linking the SDS campaign to purify the universities by burning racist textbooks with the PL-dominated Committee Against Racism's "Freedom Summer" petition campaign (which requested the city to improve the schools and jail racist leaders) and with *Challenge*'s support to Mayor White's march. These gimmicks are aimed at pressuring the bourgeois state into reforming the capitalist system by attempting to rid it of racism, sexual oppression, imperialism and so on. Such a strategy has nothing in common with Marxism, which understands that these evils are part and parcel of capitalist class society and can be eliminated only by a revolutionary assault by the proletariat on bourgeois class rule.

## Political Bedfellows for the MPLA

NEW YORK CITY—At a well-attended Spartacist League forum on "The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa" held here on May Day, supporters of several pseudo-Trotskyist groupings assailed the SL during the lively discussion period for refusing to recognize the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as the "progressive" representative of the Angolan masses.

Although these opportunists hold counterposed positions on the fundamental question of the political nature of the MPLA's Russian and Cuban sponsors, their common appetite to tail a momentarily popular movement served to unite them in vociferous opposition to the SL's intransigent insistence on the necessity for an independent working-class orientation in Angola.

Spokesmen for the Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC) and the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP)—both decomposition products of the cliquish disintegration of the Revolutionary Socialist League—charged the SL with capitulating to imperialism because of our refusal to give the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA unconditional military support against its rivals in the period preceding the South African invasion and the massive introduction of Cuban troops.

The SL insisted that the MPLA in power—like its nationalist competitors, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—would establish an anti-proletarian bourgeois regime. This position has already been confirmed: the "progressive" MPLA is now consolidating its rule by

smashing the left and suppressing every form of working-class independence.

For the sake of consistency, the RMC and LRP—both of which spout the anti-communist position that the Soviet Union, Cuba and other bureaucratically deformed workers states are totalitarian "state capitalist" regimes—should have opposed the MPLA from the outset as a "pawn of red imperialism" not essentially different from the FNLA/UNITA "pawns of imperialism." But the methodology of opportunists is opportunism: never have these groups denounced "red imperialism" in public meetings on Angola. Instead, they rationalize their support for the MPLA on the ridiculous pretense that the massive influx of aid from "imperialist" Russia and the introduction of at least 12,000 crack troops from "capitalist" Cuba were inconsequential.

While the RMC and LRP capitulated to the MPLA in spite of its subordination to so-called "red imperialism," another speaker at the forum from the Communist Cadre (CC)—a recent spin-off from the therapy cult known as the International Workers Party—hailed the MPLA *because of its* reliance on the Soviet bloc. In the Stalinoid tradition of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, the CC claims that the "global class war" between the imperialists and the "workers states" compels the Soviet Union and Cuba to play a revolutionary role in Angola: "If Angola is not a workers state, I don't know what is," the CC speaker concluded with a declaration of his massive political ignorance. He was, however, unable to explain why the USSR and China were on opposite sides of the Angolan conflict in this "global class war."

For these capitulators to Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism, the realities of Angola—the preservation of capitalist property relations, the accommodation to imperialism, the anti-working-class policies of the regime—mean nothing. In fact, the CC speaker had the temerity to claim that "socialist" Mozambique continues to supply South Africa with contract labor, as under the Portuguese, simply as a means of smuggling "organizers" into the country!

The formal politics of the "state capitalists" and the "global class warriors" are certainly quite different. And their historic origins represent diametrically opposite responses to the pressures of U.S. imperialism: the "state capitalists" originated as a tendency capitulating to imperialism and refusing to defend the USSR against imperialist attack at the time of the Second World War, while the CC traces its roots to the Marcy tendency which, as a reaction to the Cold War, accommodated to Stalinism. Yet today both tendencies find common cause as apologists for petty-bourgeois nationalists standing opposed to the class interests of the Angolan workers.

## Bureaucratic Scramble for Control

# Bridges' Grip Loosens in ILWU Local 10 Elections

SAN FRANCISCO, May 16—After nearly six months' delay caused by outrageous bureaucratic intrigue, Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) finally completed its elections on May 15. The results show a significant decline in the influence of International president Harry Bridges, but unfortunately the main beneficiaries of the leftward shift were aspiring bureaucrats who are programmatically indistinguishable from Bridges.

The Local 10 elections took place in two parts, beginning with primary elections on April 17 and concluding with yesterday's balloting. Overall,

Bridges was successful in getting only one reliable supporter elected in voting for several key offices, including president, vice president, secretary-treasurer, and representative to the Area Labor Relations Committee. In addition, several well-known militants won positions on the 35-member executive board: Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, publishers of the class-struggle organ *Longshore Militant* (LM) were re-elected with votes of 296 and 273 respectively, reflecting an improved position over last year. Archie Brown, a well-known Communist Party (CP) supporter, was also elected with 382 votes.

The shift in membership support away from union officials openly linked to Bridges is the result of deeply felt dissatisfaction with the class-collaborationist policies of the International. Longshoremen have found themselves increasingly without jobs, with many dockers working only one or two days a week, while the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP), which is supposed to provide longshoremen unable to get sufficient work with supplementary pay, has been sharply cut back. Meanwhile, the union hiring hall is being steadily eroded and work gangs are being eliminated. The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA, the employers' organization) has also made clear its intention to undertake a massive deregistration of both A-member (full status) and B-member longshoremen. Bridges has done nothing in the face of these attacks.

### Bureaucratic Intriguing

Aware of his growing unpopularity, Bridges has attempted to maintain control over Local 10, the key local in the ILWU, through bureaucratic skulduggery. The current elections were preceded by the ouster from local presidency of Larry Wing, who has been a key figure among anti-Bridges bureaucrats in Local 10. Wing was removed from office on trumped-up charges of "malfeasance and misfeasance" stemming from his correct stance

opposing ILWU raiding in 1975 of unions affiliated to the SIU. (In the April balloting Wing was vindicated of these charges for a second time by the membership, this time by a vote of 686 to 588.)

Elections were then held initially on January 10 by acting president Watkins, a pro-Bridges official, in defiance of the local executive board, which had ordered the elections postponed in order to include candidates who had been arbitrarily removed from the ballot, such as Larry Wing, Herb Mills and Andrew Delaney. Wing responded by the dangerous ploy of attempting to get a court order postponing the January 10 elections, thus inviting the government into the union. However, the elections were held anyway.

An angry membership meeting of January 15 ordered the elections rescheduled with all candidates restored to the ballot, but in a high-handed countermove, Bridges canceled the February 14 elections and announced that the matter would be resolved at a meeting of the International Executive Board (IEB). Apparently the IEB found the stalling too blatant and overruled Bridges. The primary elections finally took place on April 17 and the runoff on May 15.

In the interim, the squabbling between pro- and anti-Bridges bureaucrats largely paralyzed the local. How-



ever the warring factions shelved their differences in order to stifle any class-struggle response among the ranks to the increasingly virulent employer attacks. When the PMA attempted to impose the "200 hours rule" (which would force longshoremen to work 200 hours per quarter to qualify for PGP benefits) in January, the local voted to strike. But the strike was scuttled at a January 22 local executive board meeting by both pro-Bridges forces and those supporting Wing.

Of all the would-be leaders, including the bunch just voted into office, only Gow and Keylor argued for a militant response. Their January 20 leaflet called for a coastwide strike to abolish the 200 hours rule and to "restore all cutbacks on boards, gangs and PGP" by demanding "jobs for all longshoremen through a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay" and immediate promotion of all B-men to A status.

#### Fight for Jobs

Meanwhile, new problems compounding existing ones confront the Local 10 membership. The local faces a severe financial crisis. A recent separate election returned control of the Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association, which owns the hiring hall, to pro-Bridges forces. A new attempt by this group to sell the choice property on which the hall is located to Bridges' old pal Alioto—whose family is deeply enmeshed in the shipping industry—could unleash more turmoil in the local (a major squabble in Local 10 was touched off earlier by such an attempt). In addition, there are rumors that Stan Weir's 12-year-old law suit against the union and the PMA has been settled, and this could mean a financial disaster for the local as well.

While reformists like Archie Brown have been pushing schemes like "work or wages" (an improved PGPI), none dares face the necessity to strike against the contract in order to win anything. Again, only Gow and Keylor have called for a strike linked to the demand for elected strike committees to guard against sabotage by Bridges.

The Local 6 warehouse contract expires on June 1. Already Local 6 is involved in bitter strikes such as at Nestle's, while the use of police as scabherders has become more blatant since the defeat of the SF craft workers' strike. Bridges has allowed the warehouse strikes to become isolated just as he deliberately let the SF city workers go down alone. A recent vote by the ILWU Local 34 (clerks) stewards' council calling for not handling Nestle's products points the way forward. But the bureaucracy has repeatedly ignored similar calls for labor solidarity. Only a new class-struggle leadership based on the program of *Longshore Militant* can unite the membership and succeed in turning back the employers' offensive. ■

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# Chicago Trial Confirms FBI Killed Hampton, Clark

## FBI Chief Kelley's Whitewash Fails "De-Hooverization" a Fraud

Lawyers for the survivors of the 1969 Chicago police raid which killed Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark have laboriously unearthed a mass of evidence exposing the FBI's role in masterminding the hit-squad conspiracy. Meanwhile, in yet another of the rituals of contrition that dominate post-Watergate bourgeois politics, FBI director Clarence Kelley sought to distance himself from the crimes of his notorious predecessor, J. Edgar Hoover.

In a pettilogging little sermon delivered in Fulton, Missouri on May 7, Kelley admitted that some of the federal snoopers' activities "during the twilight" of Hoover's iron-fisted reign had been "clearly wrong and quite indefensible." "We are truly sorry we were responsible for instances which now are subject to such criticism," said the oh-so-humble Kelley.

Under pressure to clean up the FBI's image after the report of the Church committee had condemned the bureau's "counter-intelligence" programs (Cointelpro) as "illegal and immoral," Kelley promised the FBI would never again operate "without accountability." But lest he trample on the flat feet of too many old Hoover-loyal agents, Kelley tempered his self-serving apology for more than a decade of harassment, provocation and murder with the claim that the FBI's "wrongful uses of power" were generally "good-faith efforts to prevent bloodshed and wanton destruction of property" (*New York Times*, 9 May).

Noting that "there is no record that the agents who directed and engaged in such programs were prosecuted for their crimes or even faced administrative discipline," the 12 May *New York Times* editorialized that "it is difficult to be entirely comfortable either about the FBI or the liberties of American citizens." If the *New York Times* is not "entirely comfortable," imagine how the blacks, leftists and labor militants who are the regular targets of FBI harassment view the attempted sanitizing of America's secret political police!

While Kelley tries to launder FBI dirty tricks and the liberal bourgeoisie sweats itself into a gentle lather over the "uses of power," the FBI's filthy

work continues to be uncovered. The no-holds-barred criminality routinely practiced in the enforcement of bourgeois "law and order" has been exposed again in the \$47.7 million civil damages suit brought in the Hampton-Clark case (see "Jail Murderers of Hampton and Clark!", *WT* No. 99, 5 March 1976). Despite suppression of FBI documents, the stone-walling "I don't recollect" testimony of government witnesses and the complicity of the judge in covering the FBI's blood-stained tracks, the plaintiffs' lawyers have exposed the direct links between the Hampton-Clark murder raid and Hoover's orders to "destroy, discredit or otherwise neutralize" the Panthers as a central goal of Cointelpro.

The plaintiffs faced an uphill struggle. When the trial opened in early January, Judge Samuel Perry ordered the government to turn over relevant Cointelpro files on the Illinois Panthers but allowed the FBI, i.e., the defendants, to delete "sensitive or immaterial" information. Arguments over the plaintiffs' demand to see all the files dominated the first two months of the trial.

The game was given away in mid-March when Roy Mitchell of the Chicago FBI's Racial Matters Squad inadvertently mentioned a report by agent provocateur William O'Neal which was not recorded in any of the material submitted to the plaintiffs. The trial was halted and the embarrassed judge ordered the missing documents procured. A loot-high stack of withheld files produced that afternoon still did not yield the missing report.

The next day, four cartloads of documents were hauled into the courtroom. The new material took up no less than 40 feet of filing space. But the judge refused a motion to delay the proceedings until the plaintiffs could review the mountain of new evidence (*The Black Panther*, 24 April). Judge Perry, who had already presided over and dismissed charges in the earlier criminal trial of the cops who were the actual triggermen in the Hampton-Clark slaying, continued to run interference for the 28 local and federal cops now on trial. He denied a motion for a mistrial and refused to rule on contempt of court charges filed against the FBI defendants and their Justice Department lawyers. "Just leave me alone," harked the irascible judge.

The judge then claimed that the new documents were "useless" or "only about one percent useful" to the plaintiffs, whose attorneys replied by citing a few samples. One report by an



Fred Hampton

UPI

FBI agent, written shortly after the death raid, requested a \$300 bonus for Panther infiltrator O'Neal. Other documents established that all the known weapons in the Panthers' apartment had been acquired legally, thereby disproving the official justification for the raid. The records also indicated minute FBI scrutiny of Hampton from the time of his involvement in the NAACP in 1967 until his death.

Such revelations provide the context for Kelley's shoddy attempt to divorce the FBI's current activities from its past "mistakes." Even the cautious report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities admitted the investigation had been unable to determine "the extent to which Cointelpro may be continuing" and cited at least three such operations carried out since the formal dismantling of the programs in April 1971 (*New York Times*, 9 May). The bureau's "black bag" burglaries are known to have continued at least into 1975, two years after Kelley's appointment.

Last fall it was revealed that the FBI "has maintained a file on most of the 15,000 names of individuals once targeted for detention in a declared national emergency" (*New York Times*, 25 October 1975). A former FBI informer, Joseph Burton, told the *New York Times* (24 February 1975) that from 1972 to 1974 he had been employed by the bureau to set up a bogus "Marxist-Leninist" collective in Tampa, instigate violence during street demon-

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AP



Dennis Brack/Black Star

Late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, left, a hard act to follow for FBI Director Clarence Kelley, right.



# Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

## AUSTRALIA

Australasian Meat Industries Employees Union  
Leurie Brereton, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales  
A E Bull, Sec'y, Waterside Workers Federation of Australia, Melbourne branch  
Hon Dr Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party (ALP)  
Hon Dr Moss Cass, House of Representatives, ALP  
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Federated Engine Drivers and Fireman's Association of Australia, Victoria and New South Wales branches  
Senator Arthur Gietzelt, ALP  
Frank Hardy, novelist  
Bob Hawke, Federal President, ALP, Pres. ACTU  
Ted Innes, House of Representatives, ALP  
Seamen's Union of Australia  
Ship Painters and Dockers Union, Victoria  
Socialist Workers Party  
Transport Workers Union of Australia, New South Wales branch  
Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists  
Waterside Workers Federation of Australia

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David Arthur, President, Ontario Federation of Labour  
Black Education Project  
Trent M Brady, Prof, York U  
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Canadian Arab Federation  
Canadian Labour Congress  
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Or Jose Canive  
Denis Cassin, National Organizer, Irish Republican Clubs, USA & Canada  
Florie Chacon, Inter-Church Committee on Chile  
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Dominicans in Support of Progress  
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Socialist League  
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Vancouver Area Council of the NDP  
Vancouver Chilean Association  
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William Vidaver, Prof. of Biology, Simon Fraser U  
Micheline Walker, Dept of Romance Languages, McMaster U

## EUROPE

Alliance Against Fascist Dictatorship in India, London  
Louis Althusser, Paris  
Argentine Support Movement, London  
Asian Socialist Forum, London  
Association Francaise des Juristes  
Democrates  
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London  
Claude Bourdet, journalist, Paris  
Dr Peter Brandt, Berlin  
Pierre Broue, Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), Grenoble  
Campaign for the Release of Indian Political Prisoners, London  
Campaign to Repeal the Immigration Act, London  
Carmen Castillo, Chilean MIR  
Comite International Contre la Repression, Paris  
Commission of Overseas Students  
Organization, U of Birmingham  
Pierre Dax  
H Dubedout, mayor of Grenoble  
Jean-Pierre Faya, writer, Paris  
Mario Felmer, Chilean Young Socialists, London  
J-A Gau, deputy  
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North London Committee Against Repression in Spain  
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Joe Carnegie, Dir., Brooklyn Fight Back  
John Carroll, Esq., Southern Poverty Law Center  
Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression  
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Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana, New York  
Committee Against Friedman/Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta, Chicago  
Committee of Palestinians in New England  
Communist Cadre  
Community Action on Latin America, Madison  
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Jim Grant, SCEP  
Dick Gregory  
Group of Concerned South Asians  
Will Haasch, Pres., Local 507 Graphic Arts Industrial Union (GAIU), Madison  
Burton Heil, Atty.  
Bitt Hampton  
Harlem Fight Back  
Paul Harris, Atty.  
R. Hauret, Program Co-ord., Ethics and Religion, U of Michigan  
James Houghton, Harlem Fight Back  
Tom Hayden  
Nat Henloff  
Adam Hochschild, editor, Mother Jones  
Richard A. Hodge, Atty  
William L. Hoover, Dept of Soc., Kent State U  
Independent Caucus, American Federation of Teachers (AFT), New Jersey State College  
International Socialists, Madison local  
International Student Defense Committee, U of Chicago  
International Workers Party  
Adeeb Jabara, Atty  
Paul Jacobs, ex-editor, Ramparts  
E Roy John, Dir. Brain Research Laboratory, New York Medical College  
Dale Johnson, Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U  
Sanford Katz, Atty  
Ira Katznelson, Assoc. Prof. Pol Sci, U of Chicago  
Neil Kauffer, Ove County, Board of Supervisors  
Theodore V. Kaller  
Joan Kelly-Gadol, Dept. of History, City College of New York  
Florence Kennedy, Atty  
Michael Kennedy, Atty  
Martin Kenner, screenwriter and author  
Ronald Kent, Field Rep., Wisconsin State Employees Union, AFSCME  
Noah Kimerling  
Rose Kirk, Chief Steward, Local 7507, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW)  
Donald J. Klimovich, assoc. editor, Chicago Magazine  
Pat Knight, Pres., Social Service Employees Union (SSEU), Local 371  
Paul Krassner, editor, The Realist  
Labor Struggle Caucus, Local 6, United Automobile Workers (UAW)  
James T. Lafferty, Atty  
Kenneth P. Langton, Prof., U of Michigan  
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League for the Revolutionary Party  
Amy Lee, Dir. American Indian Rights Assn., Kent State U  
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John Leggett, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U  
Sidney Lens, author  
Dennis Levinsky  
Ben Levy, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee  
Longshore Militant, S.F.  
Richard Lowenthal, Dept. of Soc and Anthro., Kent State U  
Salvador Luria, Nobel Laureate  
Conrad Lynn, Atty  
Staughton Lynd, author  
Bradford Lytle, War Resisters League  
Aadeddin A. Malley, Organization of Arab Students  
Tanya Mandel  
William Mandel  
Michael Marcus, Prof. of Math., Northwestern U  
Robert Mattoon, Jr

Gertrude Mayes, San Quentin Six Defense Committee  
Edward McGehee, English Dept., Kent State U  
Helen McMillan  
John McMillan  
Dr. Kim McQuaid, Hist. Dept., Northwestern U.  
Michael Meeropol  
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Memorial Union Labor Organizations  
Stewards Council, Madison, WI  
Luis Mendiolia, Chiceno advocate, U of Michigan  
Militant Action Caucus, Communication Workers of America (CWA), Local 9410  
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union  
Militant Solidarity Caucus, Local 906, UAW  
John Mitchell, International Rep., Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkers  
tan Mueller, Dir. of Grad. Studies in Philo., U of Chicago  
Mark Naison, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Society  
National Jury Project  
National Lawyers Guild, Chicago chapter  
National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter  
National Lawyers Guild, Yale U  
New American Movement, U of Chicago  
David Newby, State V.P., Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, AFT  
New York Unemployed Council  
Richard Newhouse, state senator, Illinois  
Azinna Nwfor, author  
Skip Oberbrunner, Steward, Local 171 AFSCME  
OCAW District Council 8  
Dr. Philip Oke, UN rep., Christian Peace Conference  
Organization of Arab Students, Boston chapter  
Grace Paley, Sarah Lawrence College  
Partido Revolucionario Dominicano  
Susan Paul, American Friends Service Committee  
Dean Peerman, Christian Century  
Eve Pell  
Joseph Persky, Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE)  
James Petras, Prof. of Soc., State U of N.Y. at Binghamton  
Portage County Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy  
Adam Przeworski, Assoc. Prof. Pol Sci., U of Chicago  
Joanne Fox Przeworski, Chicago Commission to Investigate Status of Human Rights in Chile, 1974  
Leonard Radinsky, U of Chicago  
Rank and File Coalition, Local 6, UAW  
Justin Ravitz, Judge, Records Court, Detroit  
Revolutionary Communist League-Internationalist  
Revolutionary Marxist Committee  
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Jack L. Roach, Prof., U of Connecticut  
Janet K. Roach, Instructor, Eastern Connecticut State College  
Bill Robinson, Exec. Brd., Local 634, AFSCME  
Michael Rogin, Prof. Pol Science, U of Cal at Berkeley  
Norm Roth, former Pres., Local 6, UAW  
Richard Rubinstein, Prof. Pol Sci., Roosevelt U  
Richard Sable, Atty  
J. Leon Samper, Dept. of Soc., U of Conn.  
Maria Samper  
San Quentin Six Defense Committee  
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Henry Schmidt, Member of Bay Area Pensioners  
Jay Schulman, National Jury Project  
Charles Schwartz, Prof. of Physics, U of Cal at Berkeley  
Search for Justice and Equality in Palestine  
Dennis Serrette, Pres., Coalition of Black Trade Unionists  
John Sharpe, Sec'y, international Spartacist tendency  
James J. Sheehan  
Sylvia Sherman, Sec'y, Local 171, AFSCME  
William M. Shepherd, Prof. of Economics, U of Michigan  
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Socialist Party S. Central Wisconsin local  
Roney L. Sorenson, Alderman Dist 5, Madison, WI  
Martin Sostre  
Spark  
Stan Steiner, author La Raza  
T.F. Stone  
Student Government, University of Illinois, Circle Campus  
Doris E. Strieter, Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile  
Willie Tate, defendant, San Quentin Six  
Walter Teague, Friends of Indochina  
Studs Terkel, author  
Tom Thompson, editor, Los Angeles Vanguard  
Rip Torn, actor/director  
United Farmworker Support Committee, Madison, WI  
University of Chicago Student Government  
Arturo Vazquez, Latin American Studies Dept, U of Illinois, Circle Campus  
Virgil J. Vogel, Sec'y, Socialist Party of Illinois  
Anthony Walsh, National Lawyers Guild  
Warehouse Militant, S.F.  
John F. Weeks, Dept. of Economics, U of Wisconsin  
Whal She Wants  
John K. Whitmore, Prof., U of Michigan  
Sidney E. Wittam, Youth Vision Integrity  
Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd.  
Bernard Wittshire, Desmond Trotter Defense Committee  
Howard Zinn  
Marvin Zonis, Prof., U of Chicago  
Eddison J.M. Zvozbog, ZANU

Individuals and organizations who wish to endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, work with the Committee and/or contribute financially should fill out the blank below and send to: **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.**

☐ I endorse  
☐ My organization endorses  
the international defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz, organized around the demands:

*Hands off Mario Muñoz!*  
*Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!*  
*Free all victims of right-wing repression in Argentina and Chile!*  
*Stop the Manhunt!*

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Organization \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

☐ I am willing to work with the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.  
☐ I pledge \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help save Mario Muñoz. (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee. Earmark for Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.)

\*Endorsement indicates willingness to permit my name or your organization's name to be used to internationally publicize the campaign of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

\*Organization listed for identification purposes only



## MIR Leader Extradited to Chile

# Free Edgardo Enríquez!

Chilean  
MIR  
leader  
Edgardo  
Enríquez



Lotta Continua

Edgardo Enríquez has been delivered into the blood-stained hands of the Chilean secret political police by the Argentine military junta. Enríquez, a leader of the far-left Chilean Movimiento Izquierdista Revolucionario (MIR—Revolutionary Left Movement), was working clandestinely in Argentina when he was arrested April 10. On April 27 he was handed over to the Chilean authorities for extradition. Now being held at Monte-Maravilla in Chile, he is probably undergoing savage torture and faces execution. The only force which will free him is a massive campaign of international protest. Edgardo Enríquez must not die!

Edgardo Enríquez Espinoza, 34 years old, was working in Argentina with the Junta of Revolutionary Coordination (which includes the MIR, the Argentine ERP, the Uruguayan Tupamaros and the Bolivian ELN), according to a 22 April communiqué of the MIR's Exterior Committee in Costa Rica. Seized along with him was Regina Marcondes, a Brazilian national. A member of the MIR since 1965 and of its leadership, Edgardo Enríquez is the brother of former MIR secretary-general Miguel Enríquez, who was killed by the Chilean military in 1974.

The ferocity of the repression in Pinochet's Chile has embarrassed the international bourgeoisie, which prefers greater discretion on the part of imperialism's lackeys. General Videla's Argentine junta hopes to avoid following

Pinochet into public-opinion quarantine, and is seeking to hide its brutalities behind a mask of "moderation." This smokescreen must be exposed. Videla's henchmen have handed Enríquez over to the bloodthirsty butchers who stridently proclaim their war to the death against guerrillas and left-wing and labor militants.

Behind the Videla regime's lies and censorship, a reign of savage terror has been unleashed against Argentine radicals and unionists and against the thousands of political refugees who fled to Argentina to escape Pinochet's butchers and their counterparts in Brazil, Uruguay and elsewhere. Two days after the March 24 coup, the Argentine junta decreed its intention to expel foreigners who "abused...traditional Argentine generosity" or were involved in activities which "affect social peace, national security or public order" (*Argentina Information*, April 1976).

In the name of preserving this "public order" of official police-state terror and rampaging extra-legal ultra-rightist assassination squads, UN refugee camps are raided and refugees turned over to the merciless grip of the police of their respective countries, who are given free use of Argentine police stations to carry out their "interrogations." This is the reality behind Videla's cynical "respectability" ploy.

Our sharp disagreements with the MIR's futile guerrillaism and class-

collaborationist orientation of seeking a common program with bourgeois opponents of Pinochet's dictatorship will not impede our anti-sectarian solidarity with Edgardo Enríquez and all the victims of rightist terror.

The reactionary military dictatorships have joined forces to track down and murder the exiled leaders of the Latin American working masses. Videla's henchmen have delivered Enríquez into the hands of his torturers; his

life hangs in the balance. All labor militants and socialists, all those concerned with justice, must raise their voices now in united and forceful protest against this atrocity. Freedom for Edgardo Enríquez! Freedom for all class-war prisoners!

Messages of solidarity and support may be sent to: Office for Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Chile, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. ■

May 15, 1976

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
General Caesar Guzetti  
Buenos Aires, Argentina  
Ambassador Rafael Vazquez  
Argentine Embassy  
1600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
Minister of the Interior  
General Caesar Benavides  
Government Building  
Santiago, Chile

Demand official statement on status and whereabouts of Edgardo Enríquez, Chilean, and Brazilian national Mrs. Regina Marcondes, arrested Buenos Aires April 10 by Argentine armed forces. We protest their arrest, demand that their human rights be respected, and call for their freedom.

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
Box 633 Canal Street Station  
New York, New York 10013

## PDC TELEGRAM

## USLA Sectarians Pull Out in Anti-Communist Panic

# Build the Campaign to Save Mario Muñoz!

MAY 18—The campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz, Chilean miner, workers' leader and hunted refugee, has enlisted the active support of many labor leaders, leftists, prominent individuals and organizations committed to the fight against bloody right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina. Public protests have been organized in several countries. Most recently in the U.S., a demonstration was held at the Argentine consulate in San Francisco yesterday. Among recent U.S. endorsers of the campaign are well-known Bay Area attorney Charles Garry and National Lawyers Guild president William Goodman.

A petition circulated in France and Germany has obtained many signatures. In Grenoble, France, where the petition was signed by 647 people, mayor H. Dubedout personally lent his support. In France the campaign has also been endorsed by the Parti Socialiste Unifié, Jean-Paul Sartre, the Association Française des Juristes Démocrates and Pierre Lambert, veteran leader of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. The 15 May *Le Monde* carried an article on the dangerous plight of Chilean refugees trapped by the coup in Argentina, noting the manhunt which imperils Muñoz.

The extreme urgency of the situation has brought together in defense of

Muñoz many who hold sharply counterposed positions on many political questions. Hatred for the blood-stained torturers of the Pinochet and Videla juntas runs so deep that a broad array of forces, in spite of their differences, are collaborating in this exemplary international defense campaign.

### USLA Withdraws Endorsement

In a campaign characterized above all by the spirit of non-sectarian mobilization, an ugly incident this week of sectarian abstention stands out in sharp contrast. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), dominated by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), withdrew its previous verbal endorsement.

USLA spokesman Mike Kelly informed the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC—joint sponsor of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz) on May 17 that his organization was withdrawing support because of the campaign's "sectarian" character. Surely this is an outrageous example of the criminal blaming the victim for the crime! USLA—not the broadly-supported Muñoz campaign—is guilty of sectarianism, a necessary by-product of its

appetite for liberal bourgeois respectability.

Kelly objected specifically to a demonstration at the Argentine consulate in New York on April 22 (for which USLA had mobilized nobody). He complained that the Spartacist League and others among the 175 demonstrators, who included supporters from nearly a dozen different organizations, ended the rally by singing the "Internationale." With rare candor, Kelly explained that USLA would not take part in a defense effort with organizations who "openly advocated communism."

In other words, as a precondition for supporting defense campaigns USLA explicitly demands the suppression of groups which advocate revolutionary politics! In pursuit of respectability, USLA has now launched a despicable red-baiting attack on the Mario Muñoz campaign, its class-struggle sponsors in the PDC and particularly the participation of the revolutionary Trotskyists of the SL.

USLA's ignominious, red-scared exit belies even its claim to a civil libertarian defense of the democratic rights of victimized militants. Simply stated, USLA will participate only in coalitions dominated by liberal bourgeois politics. Unlike the civil libertarians who are

supporting the campaign, the sneering anti-communists of USLA have cut and run.

The question of drawing a class line in defense work stands at the heart of the SL's and PDC's long-standing disagreement with USLA's main slogan, "Free All Political Prisoners." USLA has never repudiated in principle the defense of reactionary and fascist political prisoners, and indeed its parent organization, the SWP, actively champions the "right" of fascists to propagate their genocidal doctrines.

This so-called "civil liberties approach" inexorably leads USLA to subordinate itself to the sensitivities and self-serving interests of bourgeois politicians while criminally refusing to take part in defense activities where all participants are free to put forward their politics. Always willing to take up the cause of prominent intellectuals and former members of the Unidad Popular government in Chile, USLA pulls back from the defense of Mario Muñoz, a genuine leader of the Chilean proletariat and left critic of the Salvador Allende government. The message is clear: red-baiting and not defense against right-wing terror defines the work of USLA. It is this sort of shameful sectarianism which underlines the need for the PDC's class-struggle defense orientation. ■



# The National Question in Yugoslavia

As part of its efforts to overcome national antagonisms between the peoples in Yugoslavia during the partisan struggle against Axis occupiers in World War II, the Communist Party (CPY) again recognized the right of self-determination, which had been dropped when the party became Yugoslav patriots in the popular-front period of the late 1930's. The second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation, in 1943, decided upon a federal structure for the post-war state, and the institutional framework was set up with the passage of a constitution in late 1945 establishing the Federative People's

result of a great-power scramble to control the peninsula.

Following the devastation of the first imperialist world war, sparked by Balkan tensions, the nascent Communist International insisted that the bourgeoisie was unable to transcend national rivalries and a Balkan federation would only come about through proletarian revolution. When the Bulgarian Narrow Socialist Party (the "Tesnyaki")—before the war the closest of the European socialist parties to Lenin's Bolsheviks—changed its name to Communist at a May 1919 congress, it issued a call for a Balkan Federation of Soviet Republics (Joseph Rothschild, *The Communist Party of Bulgaria*, 1959).

With CPY leader Sima Marković downplaying the national question in general—and rejecting the call for an autonomous Macedonia in a Balkan federation in particular—the Balkan-Danube Communist Federation hardly got off the ground. Later, after Stalin had Marković ousted as Yugoslav party chief in 1925, the demand for a federation was ritually repeated by the CPY but remained a dead letter. It was abandoned altogether in the popular-front period, when each national party swore its commitment to defend the inviolability of every inch of soil awarded its respective country by the imperialists at Versailles.

After World War II, with Tito's partisans reigning supreme in Belgrade and the Russian army occupying Bulgaria and Rumania, the call for a Balkan federation regained currency. However, the underlying motivations of the different Stalinists had nothing to do with attempting to resolve the national question or with the struggle to oust the domestic bourgeoisie and extend proletarian rule throughout the strategic peninsula; on the contrary, their aims were purely bureaucratic. Thus the Yugoslav Communist Party favored the plan because it assumed that as the largest component, and with the prestige of having conquered power on its own, it would control any federation; Bulgarian leader Grigori Dimitrov, in turn, hacked federation because he considered Tito his protégé; and Stalin saw it as a means to control the rebellious CPY!

The Titoists' commitment to the Stalinist ideology of building "socialism in one country" was clearly demonstrated in the demise of plans for a Balkan federation. Although a peninsular federation would have provided the framework for an equitable solution to the thorny Macedonian problem, the Yugoslavs dropped their earlier demands for Macedonian unification after the Greek Communist Party (KKE), under pressure from Stalin, abandoned guerrilla struggle against the British occupation troops in 1945. Although CPY agitation around the Macedonian minority in Greece was revived in 1946, all mention of self-determination for the peoples of the Aegean region was once again dropped toward the end of that year under pressure from the KKE.

As for the federation plans, they were shelved as a consequence of Tito's



Market day in Péc, Kosovo-Metohija autonomous province, a predominantly Albanian area. Hans W. Silvester

bureaucratic split with the Kremlin in 1948:

"In March the Yugoslavs informed the Bulgarians of their decision, taken after the February conference with Soviet leaders in Moscow, to oppose the establishment of a Balkan federation...."

"Following the outbreak of the dispute with the Soviet Union... overnight Belgrade became the staunch defender of the status quo in the Balkans...."

—Shoup, *op. cit.*

This abrupt shift by Tito was matched by an equally abrupt about-face by Stalin, who just prior to his break with Tito had opposed federation, fearing it would undercut Soviet influence in the Balkans. Following the split he demagogically insisted on federation with the intent to bring the Titoists to heel.

## Macedonia

The decision by the CPY to accord the Macedonians status as a nation has been the subject of bitter discord between Yugoslavia and both Bulgaria and Greece. Thus in 1974 Yugoslav commentators bitterly assailed the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* for "having

ralfied the history of the Macedonian people" by supporting Bulgaria's current position that there is no historically separate Macedonian people and that Macedonian history is really Bulgarian history.

Disputes on the Macedonian question, often punctuated with pistol fire, have been raging for nearly a century. Possession of the region has been hotly contested by Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbs ever since the breakup of the Ottoman empire.

It is a fact that the bulk of the Macedonian Slavs were drawn into the struggles of the Bulgarians for national independence from Turkish rule and that Bulgarian influence has always been extremely strong among them. But even among the Macedonians themselves there has been a great deal of ambiguity about their national identity. For example, Gregor Prličev, the outstanding Macedonian poet of the 19th century, was educated in Greek schools and wrote his first major work in the Greek language. Later he rejected Hellenism and battled in Macedonia against Greek influence in the church.



Assembly line at "Red Banner" auto plant at Kragujevac near Belgrade.

WORKERS VANGUARD

## Part 2 of 2

### Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ):

"a community of peoples equal in rights who, on the basis of the right to self-determination including the right of secession, have expressed their will to live together in a federative state."

—Article I of the FNRJ constitution, quoted in Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question*, 1968

The federative state included six republics: Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia; the latter containing the autonomous region of Kosovo-Metohija (heavily Albanian in population) and the autonomous province of Vojvodina. Five nations were recognized, the Serbs, the Croats, the Slovenes, the Macedonians and the Montenegrins. Later a sixth "nation" was recognized, the Muslims.

Concentrated mainly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, many of the latter are descendants of Bosnian nobility, the Bogomil heretics of the Middle Ages, so persecuted by their Christian brothers that they embraced Islam during the Turkish occupation. Although not a nation in the Marxist sense, the Muslims constitute a distinct grouping. The official classification of them is a reflection of the perceptions of the populace, who are still deeply influenced by centuries of Ottoman rule when nation and religious affiliation were held to be identical. The classification of the Montenegrins as a separate nation is also debatable. Nonetheless, Tito's policy of devolution, according to many political and economic decisions of the various republics, has encouraged the expression of Montenegrin nationalism.

### Ill-Fated Balkan Federation

While the ending of pogroms and murderous national conflicts was a historic achievement of the Yugoslav revolution, the antagonisms among the South Slav peoples cannot be overcome within the borders of present-day Yugoslavia. Already in the 1870's, Serbian socialists had put forward the proposal for a Balkan federation extending from Rumania to Greece. The Second International later took up the demand as the only way to pull the fuse from the Balkan powder keg, which continuously threatened to explode as a

Yugoslav Information Service



Later still, he emigrated to Bulgaria and became a librarian in the Bulgarian national library in Sofia, where he unsuccessfully tried to translate the *Iliad* into Bulgarian.

Similarly, the nationalist Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO), which carried on guerrilla and terrorist operations against the Serb monarchy of interwar Yugoslavia, was from its inception split between an "autonomist" wing and one desiring unification with Bulgaria. Yet even IMRO "autonomists" such as the Macedonian national hero Goece Delčev wrote in the Bulgarian language.

During the Bulgarian occupation of Macedonia in World War I large numbers of the Macedonian petty bourgeoisie were given posts as civil servants or teachers by the Bulgarian occupation authorities. With the return of large areas of Macedonia to Yugoslavia after the war and in reaction to Belgrade's policy of forced Serbization these forces flocked to IMRO and launched a bitter resistance. IMRO itself was to degenerate following a bloody split in 1924 in which the pro-Bulgarians ousted the "autonomists," eventually ending up little more than a tool of the Bulgarian far right.

Reoccupation of the area by Bulgarian troops in World War II was at first greeted by the populace as a liberation. But this time the civil servants and teachers were Bulgarians imported from Bulgaria proper, causing considerable disgruntlement among the Macedonian petty bourgeoisie. As the occupation continued the Macedonians became increasingly disenchanted with their Bulgarian and German occupiers.

By following a policy of guerrilla struggle against the occupation forces (a policy resisted by the Bulgarian Communist Party) and stressing that Macedonia was a nation entitled to its national rights, the CPY was able to counter the early pro-Bulgarian sentiment (which had led a section of the CPY's Macedonian cadre to go over to the Bulgarian CP) and by the end of the war achieve wide popular support.

A separate Macedonian republic was established shortly after the war and agreement was obtained from the Bulgarian CP to unite the Macedonians of the Pirin region of Bulgaria with the Yugoslav Macedonian republic. The Yugoslav Stalinists also moved to create a somewhat artificial literary language from a southwest Macedonian dialect which bore the least resemblance to Serbian or Bulgarian. Eventually the government moved to encourage the Macedonians to form their own Macedonian Orthodox Church, and in general did all it could to promote Macedonian national consciousness.

The test of the CPY's Macedonia policies came in 1948 during the break with the Comintern and the consequent shattering of hopes for a Balkan federation. Preferring Titoism to Bulgarian Stalinism, the Macedonian party organization rallied to Tito to a greater degree than any of the other parties.

Nonetheless, the Tito-Stalin split and the defeat of the Greek revolution leave the Macedonian people divided between Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece. While many observers contend that Tito's policies led to the crystallization of a Macedonian nation after the war and point especially to the fact that the Macedonian language created some 30 years ago is taking hold, the democratic resolution of the question awaits a successful socialist revolution in Greece and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies in Belgrade and Sofia.

### The Albanian National Minority

One of the peoples which has paid the price for Tito's cultivation of Macedonian nationalism has been the Albanian minority residing in western Macedonia. As a people they have been systematically discriminated against in the new republic. This region and the

autonomous province of Kosovo-Metohija, also bordering on Albania, contain over one million Albanians, i.e., nearly half the population of Albania proper. The Kosmet is the most backward region of Yugoslavia and, from the time of the Tito-Stalin split up until the purge of secret police chief Alexander Ranković in 1966, was under the dominance of the Serb and Montenegrin minorities living in the area.

With the easing of pressures after 1966 the Albanians began to demand more autonomy and rights. In 1968 riots against the Tito government occurred in both western Macedonia and the Kos-



B. Charlton

Josip Broz Tito

met. These protests aimed at forcing better conditions for Albanians from the central government and were successful in obtaining a greater measure of home rule. Constitutional guarantees were given to develop the Albanian minority's cultural life. Belgrade dropped its control over higher education, and in 1969 an independent University of Priština was established.

These measures have not quieted protest, however, and the past several years have seen the rise of Albanian nationalist sentiment. While only a tiny minority of Yugoslav Albanians has publicly supported fusion of the Kosovo and western Macedonia into Albania, this above all reflects a distaste for the far more repressive and economically backward Hoxha regime in Tirana rather than loyalty to Belgrade.

Marxists should, of course, recognize the rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia to fuse with Albania. The border in this region was established by military conquests of the Serb bourgeoisie in 1913 and in no way reflects the national borders of Albania. Such a fusion would disrupt neither the geographical nor economic unity of Yugoslavia.

The Tito bureaucracy, however, is committed to the sacred soil grabbed by the Serbian monarchy in the Balkan Wars. Four of the leaders of a December 1974 demonstration in favor of incorporating Kosovo into Albania have been sentenced to prison terms of from three to nine years for attempting to overthrow "the constitutional order and territorial integrity" of Yugoslavia.

### The Major Problem—Dinar Nationalism

Far more serious to the stability of Titoism are the not-so-distant rumblings of the old Serb-Croat conflict, fueled for this round by the conditions created by Titoism's policies of economic and political devolution. Following its break with Stalinism the Tito bureaucracy has for various reasons (see "Titoism in Trouble," *WV* No. 91, 9 January 1976) pursued a course of economic and political decentralization which limited the party's ability to control the trajectory of the economy. The economic reforms of 1965-66 ushered in the period of "market socialism" under which the individual firms, operating on a "profit" basis, competed with each other and were

permitted to buy and sell on the international market. This left party organizations in a weakened position, since market criteria to a large degree supplanted politics and planning as determinants in many decisions about the economy.

Under "market socialism" the powers of the republic bureaucracies expanded enormously, along with a burgeoning in the numbers, wealth and power of non-party petty-bourgeois specialists. Concomitantly there was a growth of petty-capitalist entrepreneurs, villas on the Adriatic and other perquisites of privilege. By 1970-71, "market socialism" had brought galloping inflation, structural unemployment, widespread economic corruption and a resurgence of nationalism.

The contribution of "market socialism" to the growth of "dinar nationalism" is quite simple. Investment tended to drop in the poorer republics because of the low return it yielded. A simple glance at the capital/output ratios for the developed republics in comparison to the underdeveloped republics illustrates the magnitude of the problem. This has led to a lineup in which the bureaucrats from the industrialized republics of Croatia and Slovenia have tended, in their majority, to oppose developmental investment in the backward areas. The underdeveloped regions in turn, demand more attention to central planning and oppose "market socialism."

The differences in investment returns reflect substantial differences in income and living standards:

"It may be an exaggeration to say, in the words of a Belgrade economist, that Yugoslavia has India and West Germany in one country, but it is not far from the truth if one substitutes Austria and Syria. In respect of living standards, cultural development and historical experience, Ljubljana has more in common with Graz or Salzburg than it has with Priština, and the Moslem peasant from Kosovo would feel more at home in Damascus than in Ljubljana."

—Fred Singleton, *Twentieth-Century Yugoslavia*

Economic decentralization has given many Slovenian and Croatian bureaucrats appetites for "market socialism in one province." The confiscation by the central bank of 90 percent of the enterprises' foreign exchange earnings, with some of it going to finance and/or maintain an inefficient "political" factory in Macedonia or Montenegro, is termed "economic discrimination" or "plunder." Such attitudes find a natural culture medium among the intelligentsia and non-party specialists and very rapidly spill over into out-and-out nationalism and xenophobia.

In Slovenia, while there is a great deal of resentment at "carrying" the burden of the underdeveloped regions, there are no illusions that Slovenia can go it alone. The Slovenes are a nationally compact and homogeneous group, acutely aware of their tiny size and cognizant of the fact that outside of Yugoslavia they would be a tiny morsel to be gobbled up by bourgeois Italy and Austria. Most Slovenian nationalism finds its outlet in agitation around the Slovene population living in Austrian Carinthia.

Croatia is an entirely different matter. "Market socialism" has ignited traditional Croatian separatist yearnings, which have been voiced and encouraged by sections of the Croatian bureaucracy. An example of this resurgence of nationalist sentiment may be seen in the 1967 move by Croatian party tops to add their voices to those demanding that a constitutional amendment rank Croatian as a distinct language on an equal level with Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian. The 1954 Novi Sad declaration had sought to declare Serbo-Croat the standard literary language. In 1971 the Croatian intellectual literary and cultural society Matica Hrvatska withdrew its signature from this agreement, denouncing "linguistic unity" at any price and proclaiming the

agreement had been rendered null by history.

The student strike and riots in the Croatian capital of Zagreb in December 1971 were closely related to this growing nationalist resentment, which had been smoldering for some years. Yet in September Tito had myopically proclaimed following a tour of Croatia that Croatian nationalism was a "myth." This was not the view of Croatian party leaders Mika Tripalo and Savka Dabčević-Kučar, who together had for some time been buttressing their positions by catering to the resentments and cultural nationalism blossoming in Croatia, posing as defenders of Croatian interests against depredations of the central government in Belgrade.

Tito's swift reaction in purging the offending party leaders and his subsequent moves to restore "democratic centralism" in the party and to bring Yugoslav society back under more direct party control are indicative of the alarm the Zagreb events caused in the central party leadership. The crack-down and purges launched in 1972 are still going on.

### "Cominformism and Nationalism"

Yet Tito and his cohorts have had to proceed cautiously. Opposition to "market socialism" is most strong among the bureaucrats of the less developed republics and it is no accident that this is where the "Cominformists" (pro-Soviet bureaucrats) tend to be found. Thus, overlaying the national resentments is a political polarization that requires the Titoists to attempt a delicate balancing act. Tito's crackdown on the Croatian right was accompanied by repression aimed at keeping in line elements of the bureaucracy with a taste for Soviet-style Stalinism.

The bureaucrats in Moscow, of course, have been making the most of the situation—lending a sympathetic ear to Croatian nationalism while intriguing with the "Cominformists" in the Serb and Montenegrin parties. Even the fascist Ustashi claims to have discovered sympathy in Moscow for its struggle for an independent capitalist Croatia!

Some bourgeois commentators have raised the possibility of a partition of Yugoslavia, with Croatia and Slovenia breaking away and undergoing capitalist restoration while Serbia and the less developed regions would come under Soviet domination. Needless to say this would be an utterly reactionary development, although the Soviet Stalinists could well favor such an arrangement. (During World War II, Stalin himself had agreed to a scheme whereby he agreed with Churchill that British imperialism and the USSR would share 50/50 in influence in postwar Yugoslavia. The arrangement was upset by Tito's unexpected victory.)

### Titoism at an Impasse

Nearly 28 years have passed since the Tito-Stalin split. In that time the liberal Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia has attempted to construct "socialism in one country with a human face." In its own terms it has failed. Now the Tito bureaucracy finds itself compelled to repress centrifugal tendencies tearing at it that were brought into being by its own policies of the last two decades.

The rekindling of national animosities is a threat to all the working masses of Yugoslavia and a signpost of the failure of Titoism. The Yugoslav Stalinists came to power in a struggle in which they were forced to combat the nationalist poisons of capitalist Yugoslavia, and the defeat of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a tremendous easing of national oppression.

Now, despite the bureaucracy's policies of cultural-national autonomy for the various South Slav nations, nationalism has flared up anew. While they have not reached the feverish level

*continued on page 11*



# Argentina...

(continued from page 1)

gation, and there have been reports of buses carrying as many as 1,300 persons back to the Chilean secret police. The case of Mario Muñoz Salas, a Chilean miners' leader still being hunted by the Argentine junta, dramatizes the extreme peril facing the countless political exiles trapped in Argentina.

## AAA Rampage

At the beginning of May—even as the founder of the murderous Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), former social welfare minister José Lopez Rega, was indicted along with Isabel Perón for misuse of public funds—the presidential press office ordered local newspapers and radio stations to stop reporting the discovery of the telltale bullet-riddled bodies, frequently tortured, burned or dynamited, found almost daily in vacant lots, rubbish dumps or roadside ditches. Financed from social welfare ministry funds under Lopez Rega, the AAA cop terrorists have tortured and assassinated thousands of suspected leftists and union militants in the last several years and have been busier than ever since the March 24 coup. Thirty bodies were found in one weekend alone, and the death count since the coup probably numbers several hundred.

Concern over the rising death toll has been expressed in Argentine newspapers. Though the junta's demagogic pronouncements frequently couple the "democratic" bourgeoisie's favorite theme of the state's claimed right to an exclusive monopoly on the use of force with that of its "respect for human rights," it de facto sanctions and protects the terror campaign of the AAA, as did the Perón regime. Police, hospitals and mortuaries, as well as the media, have been ordered to give no official information on political murders in cases where the victims are suspected leftists. "Only official announcements of clashes involving security forces and 'political delinquents' are authorized now" (*New York Times*, 2 May). The government censors claim that this is not censorship, but a "security measure" to keep the press from magnifying the actions of guerrilla groups, which the military asserts "are reduced to hit-and-run killings of isolated policemen or ambush attacks on poorly protected victims, such as business executives." As a government press official explained, "This is a state of war and the Government has the right to use this method to prevent enemy propaganda" (*London Times*, 26 April).

## "Political Delinquents"

News embarrassing to the regime becomes "enemy propaganda" by "political delinquents," a category which covers all opponents of the regime, including those who demonstrate every intention to accommodate the new rulers, like the Peronist union leaders and the Communist Party, which critically supports the junta. The war being waged against the Argentine working class, to destroy its organized power and immerse its masses to prop up floundering capitalism, requires a far more systematic brutality than can be implemented by the para-police squads of the AAA.

Official secrecy also covers the armed forces' systematic raids and roundups of targeted suspected "political delinquents," who are often sadistically tortured in confinement. The police and various branches of the armed services carry out their raids autonomously, and continue to compete for "most wanted" prisoners. No lists of those detained are released by authorities. It took weeks for the information that MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez, arrested April 10, had been turned over to Chilean authorities. According to a recent press release by the Authentic Party (political

arm of the Montoneros), outlawed under the Perón regime, the junta's practice is to quietly arrest militants, in increasing numbers, often taking them from their homes in nocturnal raids to hold them incommunicado, with confirmation of arrest coming only weeks later, if at all. It is thus frequently impossible to tell whether the "disappeared" are victims of the government security forces or of the AAA. Every day brings more stories from parents of arrested youth, especially members of the Peronist youth movement, who report that their children have not been found in prisons or police offices after being arrested by men showing police credentials.

## Labor Besieged

When leaders of the Communist Party called on General Videla in early April to affirm its loyalty to the junta and protest the ungrateful army's raids on the party's Buenos Aires headquarters that left two party members dead, Videla responded that he was powerless to prevent such incidents. According to the *Guardian* [London] (14 April), "He

"civilized" repression. Thus the Videla Agosti/Masseri triumvirate skillfully plays the "soft cop/hard cop" game. An indication of the strength of the most rightist elements is the reappearance of Jesús Cappelletti, ringleader of the Catholic fundamentalists of the air force, who staged the dress rehearsal coup against the Perón government in December. The air force rebels were united not only by their opposition to the Perón government and the "Communist menace," but by their belief that the rise of Communism was a direct consequence of the Reformation. Now under the tutelage of the notorious Pinochetist General Menéndez, Cappelletti has been named to head the Córdoba air force garrison and training school.

Meanwhile, the factories of Córdoba have been among those where the first incidents of tentative resistance to the junta's brutal regimentation of labor have taken place. According to the Mexican daily *Excelsior* (1-14 April—translated by People's Translation Service), 17 workers were arrested for holding a work stoppage at a U.S. auto



Argentine police

Informations Ouvrières

is said to be equally unhappy, and equally impotent in the face of summary trials of trade unionists which take place daily in distant provinces, more or less at the whim of local military commanders." Cited as an example of the arbitrary atrocities taking place is the man in Mendoza sentenced to eight years in jail for cursing a policeman who held him up for questioning in a routine traffic check.

Beneath the bonapartist strongman's revolting disingenuousness, the military is clearly internally divided, not on the program it plans for the working class, but on how to best go about accomplishing it. Richard and Cristina Whitecross, British citizens recently released after five months in Argentine jails, confirm the strength of the Pinochetists among the Argentine admirals and generals. Some bourgeois commentators claim that divisions within the armed forces have kept the junta from clearly defining a whole series of issues, from the appointment of a new chief of police, a post vacant since the coup, to what to do about the trade unions.

The present configuration of leaders is by no means assured and the impatient *gorillas* straining at their leash would dispense with the rhetoric of "moderation" and any pretense at

plant on April 9. The plant was surrounded by troops and police who entered and arrested union delegates when 4,000 workers stopped work in the painting section of the plant, demanding their now forbidden rest break. A May 13 communiqué from the Authentic Party reports 330 workers arrested in some 20 factory raids in recent weeks. In the most massive labor confrontation since the coup more than 1,000 workers out of the 8,000 at IKA-Renault near Buenos Aires were suspended for 24 hours for staging a slowdown according to a May 7 report. Apparently the workers were protesting the junta's productivity drive and ban on union activity.

As the junta took power it put the unions into receivership, freezing their bank accounts, arresting their leaders, shop stewards and rank-and-file activists. Military intervenors replaced elected leaders and troops occupied union offices as strikes and collective bargaining were outlawed and protective labor legislation and safety regulations suspended. The doors of the unions that spearheaded labor struggles in the past year were sealed, including the Metal Workers (UOM), Union of Automotive Machinists (SMATA), Textile Workers

Association (AOT), Construction Workers Union (UOCRA) and the Press Federation (*La Opinión*, 27 March).

Though Videla's labor minister hypocritically promises the eventual return of the unions to their elected leaders, military tribunals are now in session to try Peronist civil servants and trade unionists on charges ranging from corruption to possession of arms and explosives. The AAA offensive had made possession of weapons, now outlawed, a necessary elementary measure of self-defense for labor activists. For precisely the "crime" represented by arms allegedly found when the Bakers' Union was raided six trade unionists and a minor government official were sentenced to terms ranging from three to ten years on April 8, in the first official court martial proceeding. Hugo Gonzalez, a leader of the Bakers' Union in Buenos Aires, received the maximum sentence of ten years. Two other members of his union got seven and five year sentences, while three textile unionists and a former labor ministry inspector received three years each.

The harsh sentences and massive use of troops and cops to contain the slightest suggestion of labor resistance reflect the junta's fear that the smallest spark could ignite a massive explosion, that the pre-revolutionary situation that has existed in Argentina since the 1969 "Cordobazo," has not been defused. The military took power to rule directly, as opposed to indirectly as had been the case throughout the Perón regime, precisely in order to behead and dismantle the mass organizations of a working class which has repeatedly struck back with strike waves and near-insurrections against the economic and political crises which have beset Argentina's successive military and civilian regimes for decades.

## "Shock Treatments"

When Videla isn't reiterating his pledge to annihilate "political delinquents" and "subversive criminals, in whatever form," economy minister Martinez deHoz dominates the news with promises of rising unemployment and prices and falling consumer purchasing power. "Austerity, productivity and sacrifice" are demanded from the workers in order to carry out his policy of a "return to the principles of private enterprise."

Though he rejects identification of his economic policies with the notorious "shock treatments," that have demolished Chile's economy since 1973, deHoz's subordinates include a "Chicago Boy," from Milton Friedman's University of Chicago school of "free enterprise" that supplies Pinochet with economic advisers. A member of an Argentine ruling-class family which owns enormous expanses of mineral- and oil-rich Patagonia, as well as real estate in Buenos Aires, deHoz has all the appropriate credentials for his post. He is a leading stockholder in the Acindar steel monopoly, in which U.S. Steel holds a minority interest, and owns stock in Pan American World Airways as well. Educated in the U.S. and Britain, he is a close friend of David Rockefeller and headed the economy ministry under José María Guido, the civilian puppet installed by the military after the overthrow of Frondizi in 1962.

Predictably, a spectacular stock market boom greeted the coup with a vote of confidence. As trading dwarfed record levels with prices soaring up to 300 percent on a wide range of stocks, deHoz announced his economic measures. Price controls were removed as wages were frozen. To encourage foreign investment he projected liberalization of the exchange rates and promised a quick solution to disputes created by nationalizations of foreign holdings under the Perón regime. Foreign oil companies have been invited to explore and develop Argentine oil fields under contract to the state oil company.



Increased rates for state services and state enterprise products are to make these companies self-sufficient. Those that fail to meet profitability standards will be returned to private hands. Already the price of gasoline and electricity have increased by 30 percent. Prices for all basic necessities, including food, have soared with the lifting of price controls. The state has ended its control of foreign trade to restore private trading, and farm prices have been increased to encourage exportable production in an attempt to decrease the \$9 billion foreign debt.

The federal deficit is considered the main problem behind the world record inflation, 713.4 percent from May 1975 to April 1976. Tax changes are to create revenues to cover an increased percentage of government spending; by this year only 20 percent of government expenditures were paid from tax revenues, down from 80 percent in 1970 (*New York Times*, 6 April).

Last, but not least, deHoz projects doubling unemployment to at least 6 percent of the workforce of ten million. Warning that if inflation continued at the March rate unchecked it would be 4,600 percent higher in December 1976 than in December 1975, he has begun implementation of a plan to reduce the government payroll by laying off several hundred thousand employees from all levels of government and state enterprises. Dismissed workers are to receive one month's indemnity for each year on the job.

The measures speak for themselves. If anything, the term "shock treatments" is an understatement. DeHoz himself has warned, "You cannot put the brakes on a car going 1,000 miles an hour without the passengers going through the windshield." The only "passengers" whose safety concerns him belong to the capitalist ruling class.

## Rolling Out the Red Carpet

The Argentine military was handed the initiative by the criminal passivity of the workers' own leaders. The way to the junta's reactionary coup was paved by the betrayals of those who pretended to working-class leadership, from the right-Peronist CGT labor confederation tops to the Communist Party (PCA) to the "Trotskyist" social democrats of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Argentine counterpart of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party), not to mention the guerrilla groups.

Among the junta's first acts was a decree suspending the activities of all political parties and outlawing six ostensibly leftist parties, including the PST and Política Obrera. The long-discredited PCA was not declared illegal, though its headquarters in various cities have been raided with two casualties and many arrests. Within days of the coup the PCA debased itself to the limit with a statement saluting the junta for "its respect for representative democracy, social justice, the reaffirmation of the state's role in controlling society, and the defense of the capacity for national decisiveness" (quoted from

the *Militant*, 23 April).

The American CP's *Daily World* (30 March) all but called the junta "progressive," along the lines of its characterization of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, and announced the PCA's willingness to cooperate in paving the way "towards the establishment of a military and civilian government on a broad coalition basis." It is little wonder that Argentine workers generally view the CP with sneering contempt, reserving more sympathy for the guerrilla activists of the Montoneros and the PRT/ERP (Revolutionary Workers Party/People's Revolutionary Army).

However, as "authentic" Peronists, unlike Isabel Perón, the Montoneros all but openly called for a military coup, seeing the generals as a "lesser evil" than Isabel Perón and her "lopezreguista" cohorts. The attitude of the PRT/ERP was similar and the statements of its leader Mario Roberto Santucho indicate that the PRT/ERP thinks the coup signals the advent of an inevitably victorious Vietnam-style "people's war."

## "After Videla—Us!"

The guerrilla movement is not the Argentine junta's ultimate target for repression. It is, however, the military's principal avowed target for annihilation—and among its excuses for the coup. The reactionary officers, who claim some tactical differences over how to best go about smashing the organized power of the working class, are united in their blood vendetta against the guerrillas.

Embarrassed by the war in Tucumán, among other things, the officers consider their casualties at the hands of the guerrillas as yet unavenged and their manhood challenged, despite the bloody repression waged with a free hand under a declared "state of siege" for some time. Shortly after the coup the army in Córdoba proudly announced that PRT political secretary Eduardo Guillermo Castellano Soto had been killed by a military patrol.

Even more significant, in the absence of a proletarian revolutionary party, the guerrillas have made some inroads in the industrial working class. The kidnapping of intransigent management, for example, has on occasion brought speedy settlement to deadlocked labor negotiations and disputes, infusing such tactics with a certain superficial appeal. But most often, the "guerrilla" label was bestowed upon labor militants and rank-and-file leaders as a pretext for the government, often in league with the Peronist union tops, to arrest striking workers en masse, intervene in the unions and get rid of rank-and-file leaders and factory committees that would defy the sellout official bureaucrats.

The coup represents a mortal threat to the Argentine guerrilla groups, which anticipated its arrival with "leftist" spontaneist illusions which can only be described as suicidal. In a March 3 *El*

*Combatiente* article Santucho discusses the imminent coup:

"The PRT also upholds that the fundamental issue is not to fear the military coup because, as we have pointed out before, the step which the military intends to take is an irrational adventure condemned beforehand to a resounding failure....

"...Each crime and abuse will generate greater resistance and the Armed Forces will be obliged to mobilize all their power, which every day will become more inadequate. In short, the Military Dictatorship will be completely isolated, confronting a determined people who will rise up massively in favor of the revolutionary struggle....

"...the two roads they [the military] could choose in the actual moment—democratization or a repressive coup—both favor to varying degrees the revolutionary forces."

Santucho's proclamation precisely parallels that made by a leading German



Mario Santucho, leader of the PRT/ERP.

Communist Party parliamentarian, Remmele, who told the Reichstag as Hitler stood on the brink of power in the early 1930's, "Let Hitler take office—he will soon go bankrupt, and then it will be our day." And the Nazis walked into power without determined opposition from the strongest workers party in Europe to massacre the working class and six million Jews.

In his tireless campaign to get the German CP to unite with the social democrats against Hitler instead of attacking them as "social-fascist" greater enemies, Trotsky demonstrated that those leaders incapable of preventing bonapartists from sweeping into power will be even less capable of sweeping them out, for "resistance" is not a mystical phenomenon as the PRT/ERP would have it. As he said of Remmele's boasts:

"We are the victors of to-morrow", Remmele brags in the Reichstag. 'We are not afraid of Hitler assuming power.' This means that the victory of to-morrow will be Hitler's not Remmele's. And then you may as well carve it on your nose: the victory of the communists will not come so soon. 'We are not afraid' of Hitler's assuming power—what is this if not the formula of cowardice turned inside out?"

—L.D. Trotsky, *What Next?*

The bravado of the PRT/ERP faced with the imminent coup is but an admission of powerlessness to prevent it. Having done nothing to prepare the masses politically to break from their illusions in the bonapartist Perón regime which paved the way for Videla's takeover, the PRT/ERP can only console itself with comforting excuses for its political bankruptcy.

The PRT/ERP's petty-bourgeois adventurist guerrillaism goes hand in hand with class-collaborationist popular frontism. While the PRT/ERP doesn't go so far as to get down on all fours to lick the jackboots of the military like the PCA does, it is perfectly ready to create lethal strategic alliances

with the "democratic" bourgeoisie. *El Combatiente* of May 1975 applauded the landowners' Radical Party of Ricardo Balbin:

"Our party hails the positive resolutions of the Radical convention, which are an important contribution to the democratic struggle in which our people are engaged; at the same time, we emphasize the necessity to unite the forces of all political currents, progressive and anti-imperialist, democratic and popular...advancing toward the concretization of the democratic and patriotic front, indispensable tool to successfully structure the people's struggle."

quoted from *Informaciones Obreras*, 28 April-5 May

Though it mentions in passing the desirability of a "new Peoples and Workers Revolutionary Government," the explicitly stated goal of the PRT/ERP's guerrilla actions is simply democratization, for it accepts the basic tenet of classical Stalinism that the socialist revolution comes in installments, initiated by a democratic capitalist stage.

Santucho's article on the imminent coup laments that it is "very difficult" to mobilize the masses against the coup given the unpopularity of the Perón government. It was "very difficult" because it was very late! The construction of a united front of workers organizations for defense of the labor movement; deepening the struggles of the insurgent masses to prepare the necessary offensive against capitalism itself; the forging of the proletarian vanguard party to fight for socialist revolution, not in the name of, but over the corpse of Peronism—this is and has been the burning task of revolutionists.

The guerrillas and the PCA aren't the only ones that failed the test. When the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) criticizes the PCA for allying with Perón instead of warning the workers against Peronism, it is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. The SWP's co-thinkers in the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) offered to vote for the Peronist FREJULI in 1972 if 80 percent of its slate were workers. Not only did it then promise to "fight for the continuity of the [Perón] government" and sign a joint declaration with the bourgeois parties to support the "institutional process," but it condemned the guerrillas as the "mirror-image" of the AAA.

The PRT/ERP's mythical "total war of prolonged [and headless] resistance" is suicidal substitutionism. The collapse of Peronism in the absence of a proletarian vanguard built through the destruction of Peronist and popular-frontist illusions led not to a "war of resistance" but to a defeat for the Argentine working masses, now under attack by the military junta. But the decisive battles lie ahead. The task for revolutionists remains the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party of the proletariat that can mobilize the masses to wrest power from the junta and replace the dictatorship of capital with a workers state. ■

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# Israel...

(continued from page 1)

Later that afternoon the funeral was held, attended by many West Bank village mayors and leading Arab families in addition to Nabulsi's friends and fellow militants. The funeral was followed by more demonstrations and stone-throwing confrontations with Israeli soldiers.

## Military Outpost "Settlements"

The outpouring of anti-Zionist protests in the West Bank is fueled not only by the brutal and humiliating foreign armed occupation, but also by the provocative sprouting of Gush Emunim squatter settlements. Gush Emunim (Band of the Faithful) is a Jewish clerical-fascist movement which claims, as the "inalienable right of every Jew to every part of the land of Israel," the entire West Bank and Suez isthmus. This poisonous movement inscribes upon its banner the further forced dispersal and ultimately genocide of the Palestinian people in order to conquer the whole of "Eretz Yisrael."

The "official" settlement plan of Israel's misnamed "Labour" Party (the largest Zionist party in the government, formed from the fusion of the Mapai, or Israel Workers Party, with various Zionist splinter groups in 1968) is based on the 1968 "Allon Plan," named for Israel's foreign minister and deputy prime minister, Yigal Allon. It calls for concentration of settlements along an 8 to 12 mile wide "security belt" along the Jordan River which constitutes the eastern border of the West Bank, in sparsely populated areas of Judea (the southern portion of the West Bank) and especially around Jerusalem, which Israel clearly intends to annex.

Thus Israel's "settlements policy" is entirely determined by Zionist considerations of military security. Since the 1967 war, 68 settlements have been established with official Israeli sanction: 25 in the Golan Heights, 17 along the Jordan Valley, five in the Hebron vicinity (in Judea), four around Jerusalem and 14 in the Gaza strip, and three along the Gulf of Aqaba. None of these is economically viable, but the debt-ridden Israeli government has already invested \$500 million in their develop-

ment. The settlements serve entirely as border guards and as the front-line in Israel's conflict with neighboring Arab states, as Zionist prime minister Yitzhak Rabin made explicitly clear in a tour of the Jordan Valley settlements last month.

## Galilee, the First "Occupied Territory"

The "Labour" Party's "official" position opposes Jewish settlements in Samaria where most of the West Bank's 700,000 Arabs live. The experience of Galilee has taught the Zionists the perils of trying to create a "Jewish state" with a large Arab minority.

Galilee was not allotted to Israel under the U.N. partition scheme of November 1947. It was conquered by Israel in the 1948 war and ruled for 18 years by a military administration fundamentally no different than that

which could only be the forerunner of outright annexation because it does not want to double its already existing Arab minority of 445,000 (plus 45,000 Druzes). Allon and Rabin further wish to leave open Samaria as a "territorial concession" for a future Israel/Jordan peace treaty which would turn the majority of West Bank Arabs back over to the suzerainty of the Hashemites (their pre-1967 occupiers) while ringing the West Bank with Jewish settlements and military bases.

However Gush Emunim—supported by the "Labour" Party's governmental coalition partner, the National Religious Party (NRP) of orthodox rabbis and religious fanatics, and by the right-wing opposition bloc, Likud, led by Manachim Begin, perpetrator of the infamous Deir Yassin massacre—wants settlements in Samaria precisely in order to thwart any possibility that

tion and oppression of the Palestinian people which was embodied in the very creation of Israel. This was reinforced by the provocative Gush Emunim two-day march through the heart of the West Bank. The 20-mile march ran from Beit El near Ramallah to Jericho. Many of the 20,000 marchers carried submachine guns.

Arab counter-demonstrations, even when far from the march route as were those in Nablus, were brutally dispersed by the Israeli army. In Nablus a protest by youths was broken up with tear gas. Once again Zionist ferocity in pursuing demonstrators was indiscriminate. Three people were wounded, including 55-year-old Zayid Taher Ajba, who died on the way to the hospital. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (21 April) "the dead man's personal physician, Hatem Abu Ghazaleh, said Tuesday that the shooting victim was an amputee who walked with crutches and had poor eyesight. It was implausible, the physician said, that the man would have been capable of rioting."

## Zionists Squabble over Kadum

Finally the government scheduled a debate on Kadum for May 9. The Mapam mobilized its "kibbutzniks" and other supporters for an anti-Kadum rally of 20,000 in Tel Aviv on May 8. Mapam has threatened to leave the government unless the Gush Emunim squatters are evicted from Camp Kadum.

But amidst the Mapam rally's denunciations of right-wing Zionism, what went unsaid was that Mapam often used the methods of Gush Emunim and mass butcher Begin to build its kibbutz movement. Especially following the 1948 war, Mapam grabbed Arab land and blew up adjacent Arab villages to carry out its "socialist experiment" in a countryside soaked in the blood of the reactionary war for Israeli "independence"—an "independence" dependent upon how quickly U.S. defense contractors deliver Lance missiles and the latest Phantom jets and tanks and how much the Zionist lobby can squeeze out of Jewish philanthropy and Congress to pay for them.

The 10-hour cabinet debate on May 9 threatened to move the Kadum squatters to an "approved" new settlement site in the West Bank. But to win the abstention of the three NRP ministers, Rabin promised dozens of new settlements in the occupied Arab territories in the coming years. The Camp Kadum squatters held their own news conference to announce, "We will not agree to any decision that will mean the dismantling of the settlement" (*New York Times*, 11 May). Thus the squabble within the Zionist establishment continues.

## Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Israel must immediately and unconditionally get out of the occupied territories. Yet, as Palestinian nationalists will be quick to point out, the pre-1967 borders of the state of Israel are also, as in the clear case of Galilee, "occupied territories." The Hebrew nation was forged through the forcible dispersal and destruction of the Palestinian nation.

A truly democratic resolution of the just national claims of the Palestinian people cannot be achieved either in some West Bank mini-state or through the denial of the Hebrew people's right of self-determination. The so-called "democratic secular Palestine" of the PLO, which projects the peaceful cohabitation of Hebrews and Arabs without the prerequisite of a socialist transformation, would lead merely to another Lebanon. Only within the context of a socialist federation of the Near East can the just national claims of the Palestinians be equitably and democratically resolved. ■



David Rubinger/Time

Israelis erected steel gates in Nablus to enforce curfew.

which exists in the West Bank today. It was only in 1966 that Galilee ceased being an "occupied territory" and the military administration was lifted, allowing Galilee at least the pretense of self-government.

However Galilee continues to be an Arab ghetto. The aims of the Zionist regime in Jerusalem toward Galilee are contradictory. On the one hand it attempts to "Judaize" Galilee through encouraging Jewish settlement; on the other it deprives Galilee of development funds and social services, leaving it the poorest part of Israel. Thus the Jews who are able to do so leave. Presently Galilee has an Arab population of 210,000 and a Jewish population of 60,000.

The Zionist threat to expropriate Arab land in Galilee to develop the Jewish settlements of Carmiel and Upper Nazareth is bitterly resented and led to the "Day of the Land" general strike of March 30. Plans to expand Upper Nazareth are threatened by more than Arab opposition. Many apartments already built there stand empty. The town was supposed to be settled by Russian Jewish emigrants, especially from Georgia. But correspondence from disgruntled friends and relatives who settled in Galilee (and in some cases subsequently returned to the Soviet Union) appears to have been a more successful deterrent to Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union than Stalinist intimidation.

## Zionist Expansionism: How Much?

The "Labour" Party therefore opposes Jewish settlement in Samaria—

Israel will relinquish any portion of the West Bank.

The NRP, which holds the balance of power in the Israeli parliament (Knesset), is able to exercise pressure disproportionate to its strength. Thus Gush Emunim launched its squatters into the heart of Samaria. Seven times they were evicted from the Nablus area. However, backed by the growing pressure of the NRP on the unstable "alignment"-dominated government (the bloc between "Labour" and the self-proclaimed "socialist"-Zionist Mapam), the eighth attempt was met with gentler treatment from the military. The 120 settlers were "temporarily" resettled in the Kadum army camp a few miles west of Nablus and were given trailers and construction materials to build their own water supply system. Thus, irrespective of "official" statements, Kadum was built in collusion with the Israeli military administration into a permanent West Bank settlement.

Israeli "settlement" policy—both the "official" Allon Plan and "illegal" Gush Emunim squatters—has escalated the seething discontent of West Bank Arabs into open protest, even when open protest is met by the mass terror of the Israeli military. It also contributed to the sweep of West Bank municipal elections by candidates known to be sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the pro-Moscow Israeli Communist Party (Rakah).

Militants like Lena Hassan Nabulsi certainly saw in the Gush Emunim settlement at Kadum, only a few miles from Nablus, a symbol of the humili-



Israel's expansion if it annexes settlements in occupied areas.



# Boston...

(continued from page 12)

sites demanding an increase in the proportion of minority workers to 50 percent.

Although many of the demonstrators insisted that race had no bearing on the dispute and a few black union members were present, the rally itself took on a distinctly racist character through the menacing presence of the Marshals. Anti-busing demagogue Louise Day Hicks spoke to the crowd, denouncing "these Third World people who want nothing but chaos." White promised increased numbers of cops to guard construction sites in the ghetto and threatened to cut off city funds to "any agency...engaged in any violence."

The possibility of a hook-up between the fascist-inspired vigilante gangs of the South Boston Marshals and the racist gun-toting bureaucrats of the construction unions is a supremely dangerous development. This is particularly so in Boston where blacks are a small proportion of the workforce, unlike Detroit, Cleveland and other cities with a high concentration of blacks in strategic industrial unions like the UAW. The Marshals' racist terror mobilizations imperil the democratic rights and the very lives of oppressed minorities. For the corrupt union tops to permit these vicious gangsters—whose ultimate program is racial genocide and the smashing of the trade unions themselves, to pose as "defenders of organized labor" brings the seething South Boston cauldron ever closer to boiling over into outright race war.

The paramilitary racists are labor's worst enemies. Only a month ago two black bus drivers were brutally beaten by a gang of racist punks, as were three white drivers who came to their co-workers' assistance. For more than a year three heavily integrated locals of the Amalgamated Meatcutters have been unable to hold meetings in their Andrew Square union hall because of repeated harassment and vandalism by white hoodlums. In a period of sharpened class struggle, proto-fascist formations like the Marshals will be wielded directly against the organized labor movement.

The union-busting program of the

TWWA plays into the racists' hands and reinforces backward white workers' fears that minority workers can only advance at their direct expense. The TWWA is pressing its demands for quota hiring of minorities and has directly challenged the construction unions by demanding recognition of the "Third World Jobs Clearing House," an organization financed with federal funds through the city-administered CETA program, as the only legitimate "hiring hall" in minority neighborhoods.

The TWWA pushes for the allocation of jobs along narrow ethnic lines. David Lee, head of the Community Task Force on Construction which works closely with the TWWA, stated in a May 8 press release that "it is outrageous for suburbanites to come into Boston to work on construction sites at a time when 12% of the Boston residents are unemployed." TWWA leader Leo Fletcher told a *WV* reporter there were too many "aliens" taking away Boston workers' jobs.

The TWWA claims to be a "labor organization." But it has no contracts and admittedly is making no efforts to organize the large numbers of non-union contractors—not a few of which are minority-owned—whom the craft union bureaucrats are basically unwilling to organize. Indeed, if it did so it would promptly lose the backing of the Contractors Association of Boston. South End state representative Mel King, Deputy Mayor "Jeep" Jones and other black capitalist forces. In practice, the TWWA's "job actions" are simply appeals to the government and private contractors to break the construction trades unions, which the TWWA has also taken to court.

## Bureaucratic Racism

The job trusting policies and criminally racist record of the construction union tops has made the unions vulnerable to government-backed schemes to use minority workers for union busting. The bureaucrats fan the flames of race-hatred in a situation of massive unemployment in the construction trades that they have done nothing to combat. In October 1974 the annual convention of the Massachusetts State Building and Trades Council unanimously adopted a

resolution opposing Boston's court-ordered school desegregation program. Building trades union bureaucrats were prime movers last fall in the passage of an anti-hiring resolution by the state AFL-CIO (later rescinded on orders from George Meany). Cleary and other construction union high-wigs have been frequent speakers at anti-hiring rallies.

Boston's construction unions have a long record of confining blacks to unskilled jobs or excluding them altogether. Minorities represent only 7 percent of the building trades unions, and of these, the overwhelming bulk are in the less skilled laborer, painter and mason crafts. Union training programs are totally inadequate, and government programs almost non-existent. A small sheet-metals training program at East Boston High School was virtually destroyed this year by racist assaults on black students. By the time a court order moved it to another high school, only three or four black students were left in the program.

Unionized construction workers, white and black, have a right to defend their jobs and union hiring halls. But the bureaucrats' policies—ignoring the needs of black workers and seeking a de facto bloc with the bosses' cops, racist politicians and a gang of reactionary thugs who have no place in a labor struggle—can never defend the construction workers. What is required is the forging of a new union leadership committed to a class-struggle program of unity of all workers through a union-led struggle for full democratic rights and economic advancement of the doubly oppressed minority workers.

Construction workers must fight for jobs for all through shortening the workweek at no pay loss and through union-controlled public works programs to build more schools, hospitals and other socially useful construction projects. Union skills training programs must be qualitatively expanded to make possible a large increase in black and minority access to the skilled trades. Wage differentials between skilled and unskilled construction jobs should be decreased, exorbitant union entry fees must be abolished and union membership must be opened to all construction workers, employed and unemployed. Workers on non-union construction

sites must be aggressively organized to extend union rights, pay scales and conditions and root out scabbing. All state interference in union affairs and prerogatives, including union-busting "affirmative action" programs, must be opposed.

Through mass marches and militant actions at scab sites, local construction workers have repeatedly demonstrated a willingness to fight the politicians, contractors and corporations whose crisis-ridden economy has thrown 15,000 building tradesmen out of work in Massachusetts alone. It is precisely this militant impulse which pro-capitalist union tops like Cleary hope to divert into fratricidal racial confrontations.

Instead of supporting the racist anti-busing movement and accepting an alliance with the rabid South Boston Marshals, the construction unions must unite the labor movement and the besieged black working people to defend busing, stop racist violence and drive proto-fascist hooligans out of Boston. ■

# Hampton, Clark...

(continued from page 3)

strations, disrupt the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and spy on locals of the United Electrical Workers and AFSCME. During the trial of American Indian Movement leaders of the 1973 Wounded Knee reservation occupation, AIM's chief security officer, Douglass Durham, blew his cover as a paid FBI informer.

The public relations face-lift being attempted by Kelley cannot hide the fact that the bourgeoisie's hired goons commit murder and mayhem with virtual impunity. In periods of labor insurgency or renewed political radicalization, the ruling class will not hesitate to unleash its agents for new outrages in defense of its institutions and property. No "reform" of the bosses' government can end these crimes. The armed list of the oppressors must be smashed by the power of an organized and politically conscious proletariat prepared to take the reins of power. ■

# Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 7)

of the interwar years and flow from very different sources, the outbreaks of national antagonism are a serious warning. What stands behind the new nationalism and regenerates it, day after day, is the Stalinist bureaucratic deformation of the Yugoslav political economy along with the Titoist policy of "market socialism."

"Market socialism" has created and is creating enormous pressures upon the bureaucracy. It has generated whole layers of petty-bourgeois specialists and technocrats, many of whom have managed to amass substantial savings and even small fortunes. These layers are not simply content with spending their substantial savings upon Mercedes Benzes, summer houses or trips to exotic resorts. They dream of amassing more money by investing their savings as capital. And many of the individual enterprises, operating on a "profit" basis in the market (but compelled to turn over substantial portions of their earned surplus to the central government), are keen to expand and require more operating funds.

It was such impulses that compelled the now-purged Slovenian prime minister, Stane Kavčič, to write:

"Instead of going on holiday to the Fiji islands and spending a million there, the person concerned could give that money to an enterprise dealing with capital investment, which could give him interest and perhaps even something extra in addition, depending on

the profitability of the investment concerned."

—Singleton, pp. 295-296.

An idea of the pressure to which Kavčič was responding can be gleaned from the following facts. Immediately prior to the economic reforms of 1965-66, the government held roughly 40 percent of all savings in Yugoslav banks, with the holdings of individuals amounting to around 10 percent. Today, private individuals hold roughly 45 percent of all savings and government holdings have dropped to nearly zero! At present there is little outlet for realization of individual return on these savings, but "market socialism" is clearly generating the conditions for nucleation of a capitalist restoration movement...the growing over of a section of the bureaucracy into conscious anti-socialist elements.

The bankruptcy of Titoism and its failure to resolve the national questions only serve to demonstrate that even in those exceptional circumstances where they have overthrown the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists—of all stripes—are incapable of fully solving even democratic revolutionary tasks. Tito's acquiescence in Stalin's sabotage of the Greek revolution has left a quarter million or more Macedonians under capitalist oppression. Moreover, the inability to wage any but an isolated *nationalist* struggle against Kremlin overlordship meant that the 1948 break with Moscow effectively shelved all hopes for a Balkan federation. The divided Albanian and Macedonian populations are today pawns in the inter-bureaucratic squabbling of Moscow, Peking and Belgrade.

Now even the great achievements of the Yugoslav revolution—the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the overcoming of bloody national conflicts which racked bourgeois Yugoslavia—are themselves threatened by the bureaucracy's fostering (largely against its own will) of centrifugal forces. The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and, given the regional economic differences, one which may well be cloaked in the form of a "national liberation" struggle. This is the legacy of Titoism, of Stalinism "with a human face." It is a legacy that the working masses must overcome by constructing a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of carrying through a workers political revolution to oust the Tito bureaucracy and thereby create the conditions for international extension of the revolution. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

**For Labor Solidarity Against Racism and Union Busting!**

**End Discrimination in the Construction Trades!**

**For a Shorter Workweek at No Loss in Pay to Create Jobs!**

**For Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Offensive!**

## Racist Attack at Boston Construction Site



Construction workers rallied around racist Louise Day Hicks at City Hall on May 7.

BOSTON, May 15—The dangerously inflamed racial polarization of Boston was the backdrop to an ominous incident of racist violence on the morning of May 7. The South Boston Marshals, Klan-inspired armed thugs who have spearheaded brutal attacks on black people and pro-busing militants, joined with construction trades union bureaucrats to assault spokesmen for the "Third World Workers Association" (TWWA), a community-based pressure group of mostly black construction workers, inside a construction trailer at a building site in the South End.

The paramilitary Marshals are seeking to exploit the construction trades confrontations as an extension of their racist terror campaign against Boston's black population. The traitors who head the construction unions accepted the Marshals' anti-TWWA overtures and some 85 maroon-uniformed Marshals

and union bureaucrats surrounded the Barletta Construction Co. trailer and, shouting racist obscenities, attacked the blacks. William Cleary, president of the Association of Building Trades Unions, added fuel to the situation with the threat that "there'll be blood on the streets" (*Boston Herald-American*, 10 May).

Later that day, 2,000 building tradesmen marched on City Hall shutting down construction sites throughout the city. Pushing through police lines into the lobby, chanting "We Want White," they demanded to see the mayor. A reluctant Kevin White was compelled to address the tense and angry crowd, who hooded him repeatedly. The demonstration was hastily organized to protest the perceived threat to unionists' jobs from the TWWA, which has been holding "job actions" at ghetto construction

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Edie Fox

WW Photo

### Edie Fox Fired at Dodge Main

## Defend Victimized UAW Veteran Oppositionist!

DETROIT In an outrageous company victimization, longtime UAW activist Edith Fox has been fired by Chrysler after 28 years at its Hamtramck Assembly Plant, better known as Dodge Main.

Charged with punching out a fellow worker's time card, Fox was hauled into management offices several days later and then discharged on May 3. With contract negotiations coming up, the company is not concerned with a petty infraction of its arbitrary rules, but is perpetrating a provocative victimization of a well-known oppositional unionist.

In an interview with *UAW*, Fox pointed out that foremen's time sheets make the clocking procedure in auto plants merely a regimenting redundancy. Many workers clock co-workers' cards and management generally looks the other way, occasional crackdowns seldom result in more than a few days of

disciplinary layoff. Fox also indicated that in this case only one time card had been punched, not two, showing that the whole incident was entirely accidental. But Chrysler has jumped at the chance to make this infraction the pretext for ending nearly three decades of oppositional activity by a popular union militant.

Edie Fox was hired into Dodge Main in 1948. Walter Reuther was then consolidating his bureaucratic grasp on the UAW through an anti-communist campaign that ultimately drove many pioneer militants out of the union. Fox nonetheless maintained a high level of activity as a pro-socialist militant in Local 3's traditionally turbulent political life. In the early 1950's, she participated in the still dynamic Flying Squadrons, facing Detroit's brutal mounted police in the Square D strike, among many others. In predominantly white and Polish Hamtramck, she

joined in efforts to integrate the bars and restaurants that ring Dodge Main. In 1954 she led Local 3's Unemployed Committee, the UAW's first unemployed committee since the 1930's.

Emerging as a respected woman leader in a predominantly male industry, Fox was elected to numerous union positions. She has served several terms on the Local 3 executive board and was a Chief Steward for ten years, the first woman in her local elected to that post off the assembly line. She was also elected a plant committeeman and was a delegate to many UAW conventions.

Edie Fox, along with her late husband Art at Ford River Rouge's Tool and Die Unit, were politically supported for many years by the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party. In the 1960's, as the SWP abandoned any perspective of class-struggle politics, the Foxes became leaders of the United National Caucus (UNC), the UAW's only nation-

wide opposition group. But the menialist UNC never transcended its skilled-trades parochialism and reformist program, confining itself to pressuring the UAW bureaucracy around minimal economist demands and crossing the class line to take union officials to court.

But our sharp disagreements with Edie Fox and the UNC in no way detract from our solidarity with Fox against Chrysler's witchhunting victimization. In the last few years, Dodge Main management with the back-handed support of the sellout UAW bureaucracy has fired prominent Communist Labor Party supporter General Baker (then a leader of DRLM), UNC activist Pat O'Brien, assistant steward John Merskey and many others. UAW militants must demand Hands Off Edie Fox! Reinstatement Fox with Full Back Pay! Stop the Victimizations of UAW Militants! ■