

Bosses Endanger Lives of Patients

Victory to NYC Hospital Strike!

Enforce Picket Lines, Call Out AFSCME Hospital Workers!

JULY 11 Over 700 militant pickets of Drug and Hospital Workers Union Local 1199 massed in front of the doors of Mount Sinai Hospital in upper Manhattan last Wednesday afternoon, on the first day of the largest hospital workers strike in U.S. history. Presently on strike are more than 30,000 workers at 33 private hospitals and another 5,000 at ten municipal hospitals and 14 nursing homes. At Mount Sinai, the mostly black and Puerto Rican blue collar and clerical employees were challenging a giant "non-profit" hospital complex, whose board of trustees

includes an ex-president of the New York Stock Exchange and a liberal Congressman, Herman Badillo.

An early center of militancy in the strike, the Mount Sinai pickets attempted, in the face of a media campaign accusing them of jeopardizing patients' lives, to do what pickets everywhere are supposed to do: keep scabs out. After roughing up and turning back several strikebreaking "volunteers," the pickets rallied on Madison Avenue, stopping traffic. Thereupon NYC cops quickly stationed themselves in the doorways, attempting to escort doctors, nurses, patients, visitors and "volunteers" into the hospital.

But the militant strikers continued to turn away workers and patients whom they did not consider to constitute



Hospital workers called for binding arbitration at pre-strike demonstration in front of Governor Carey's office last week.

"emergency" cases, and the frustrated police resorted to vicious reprisals. At one point, according to an 1199 picket captain, five cops isolated one black woman striker, shoving her against a wall, fracturing her nose and arresting her. After several other arrests and with tensions escalating, a union official arrived, bringing not reinforcements or tactical leadership but a calypso band (!)

and these words of warning to the strikers:

"Don't touch anybody. If you touch them you deserve a whipping... We work at Mt. Sinai. They [the scabs] work at Mt. Sinai. If you touch anybody you will cause confusion and then you deserve anything you get."

This has been the union's consistent policy toward scabs: at every critical

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The Lessons of Entebbe

On July 3 a Mercedes limousine rolled into Entebbe airport outside Kampala, Uganda. Inside was an Israeli paratroop officer with blackened face dressed up to impersonate Uganda's president Idi Amin. This "Mission Impossible" touch was part of the Israeli paratroop raid which released 106 hostages seized by Palestinian terrorists who hijacked an Air France Airbus.

On Sunday, June 27, supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) had hijacked the plane, which was carrying 244 passengers and 12 crew members from Tel Aviv to Paris. The hijackers forced the plane to fly instead to Entebbe airport. On Tuesday the terrorists demanded the release of 53 Palestinian and pro-Palestinian prisoners in return for release of the hostages. By Thursday the 148 non-Israeli passengers had been released and the terrorists were demanding, in exchange for the remaining 107 Israelis, the release of the 53 prisoners and the payment of \$5 million. Throughout the

negotiations it was clear that Amin, Uganda's murderous maniacal despot, had collaborated closely with the hijackers.

On Saturday, Israel launched the "commando" Entebbe operation. Three Israeli units landed at the Ugandan capital's airport and proceeded to blow up 10 Soviet-supplied MIGs, shoot their way through the 60 to 100 Ugandan soldiers guarding the terminal where the hostages were being held, release 106 hostages, load them aboard waiting C-130 Hercules transport planes and fly them back to Israel via Nairobi, Kenya. During the raid 20 Ugandan soldiers, one Israeli commando, seven PFLP guerrillas and three hostages were killed.

Israeli familiarity with the set-up at Entebbe airport facilitated the commando raid. Israel had previously trained Amin's air force and army and had begun the construction of the airport. Amin was himself given paratroop training in Israel, and at least until last week continued to wear the Israeli



Israeli commandos training for Uganda raid.

paratroop insignia.

The hijacking of the Airbus was an indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism. Wanton violence against individuals whose only "crime" is their citizenship is totally alien to the aims and methods of the working class. But the oppressed peoples of the world can have nothing but disgust for the sanctimonious and utterly cynical protests of the Israeli militarists and their Western imperialist protectors, who rail against terrorism while preserving a discreet silence about the Israeli state's vicious acts of wanton violence against the Palestinian people. The punitive bombing raids on Palestinian refugee camps, the shooting of unarmed Palestinians in the West Bank during the recent

"disturbances"—these are no less criminal because they are executed, not by guerrillas, but by an arrogant state power flaunting the spoils of its usurpation of the lands and national rights of the Palestinian people. The brilliantly executed Israeli commando raid being lauded in the bourgeois press will serve only to whip up a wave of self-satisfied chauvinism in Israel and serve as a model for further terror against the oppressed Palestinians.

The 47 member-states of the Organization of African Unity on July 8 denounced "the Israeli aggression against Uganda as a violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity." The international working class must

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Open Canadian Borders to Victims of Junta Repression!

Toronto Rally Defends Mario Muñoz

TORONTO, July 9—Nearly 90 people came to protest right-wing repression in Latin America at a public meeting here tonight sponsored by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. A report by Committee spokesman Bob McBurney that Muñoz had been arrested by the Mendoza (Argentina) police a week ago, and released only because international protest on Muñoz' behalf had made the persecuted Chilean union leader too hot to handle, underlined the urgency of carrying forward this campaign.

McBurney and the other speakers expressed indignation at the Canadian government's hypocritical refusal to offer asylum to the Chilean refugees trapped and hounded in Argentina; while it has openly welcomed the South Vietnamese stooges of imperialism, pimps and drug pushers, like General Quang, who fled Saigon after the fall of the U.S. puppet regime a year ago. Attention was drawn in particular to the plight of 27 Chilean refugees who occupied the Canadian embassy in Buenos Aires July 2 in a dramatic plea for safe haven from the junta butchers. So far, Ottawa has refused to grant visas.

Within its own borders, the Canadian "liberal democracy" several days earlier announced its intention to deport Sergio Peres, a supporter of the Chilean Communist Party who fled to Canada after the Pinochet coup. While the government has since responded to pressure on behalf of Peres by suspending the original deportation order, it initially rationalized its brutal intentions with the cowardly evasion that Peres was "a mere member" of "one of the many parties which supported former President Allende" and thus supposedly had not been singled out for "special treatment" (quoted in *Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 29 June). Trudeau & Co. are assuredly quite familiar with the "treatment" meted out to tens of thousands of other "mere members" by Pinochet's Gestapo.

Such mealy-mouthed "explanations" to the contrary, the threatened extradition of Peres is an attack on all anti-junta militants and must be vigorously opposed. In a July 6 telegram to the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, the Trotskyist League of Canada demanded that deportation proceedings be dropped and that Peres be granted full citizenship rights. Tonight's speakers also solidarized with the fight to save

Peres and the refugees occupying the Canadian embassy.

In describing the efforts to save Muñoz, union militant McBurney (a shop steward of Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1) detailed the endangered Chilean workers' leader's role in organizing and building the militant miners union movement in Chile, his election to the Regional Miners Council during the Allende regime, and his escape to Argentina after the blood-thirsty Pinochet coup in September 1973. The speaker went on to note Muñoz' valiant efforts in aiding other Chilean refugees in Argentina, despite the enormous hardships of exile, and pointed to the threats of the Argentine military *gorilas* to have Muñoz shot or extradited to Pinochet's torture chambers.

The united-front meeting, chaired by Canadian Law Union member Paul Copeland, was also addressed by speakers from the Socialist League, Revolutionary Marxist Group, and the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), represented by Bill Logan, central committee member of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. Although scheduled speakers Andrew Brewin (New Democratic Party member of provincial parliament for Greenwood) and Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) president David Archer were unable to attend, a telegram expressing the support of Archer and the OFL was read to rally participants, as were statements of solidarity from the OCI-affiliated Socialist Workers Group of Quebec (GSTQ) and the Group for Defense of Civil Rights in Argentina.

While the Canadian Committee to Defend Latin American Political Prisoners (CLAP) has refused, in its sectarian liberal fashion, to endorse the efforts to save Muñoz (its U.S. counterpart, the Socialist Workers Party-dominated USLA, retracted its original endorsement for explicitly anti-communist reasons), a CLAP spokesman was given time to report on another Latin American victim of rightist repression, socialist militant Hugo Blanco, who was recently arrested by the Peruvian junta. An iSt speaker offered "full support to any international campaign to free Comrade Blanco."

Speaking for the iSt, Comrade Logan outlined the painful lessons for working-class militants internationally of the treacherous Allende popular-front government. In disarming the Chilean workers and peasants prior to the coup, militarily as well as politically, the popular front paved the way for the bloody defeat suffered by the Chilean masses. Pointing to the Spartacist tendency's insistence on the necessity for proletarian class independence, Logan expressed the "particular responsibility" of Trotskyists in defending the revolutionary union leader, because "Mario Muñoz was able to perceive this central necessity in a situation where the rest of the labor movement with very few exceptions had a policy of allying the proletariat with the left-wing bourgeoisie."

Time is running out for Muñoz and the other Chilean refugees in Argentina. "The fight to save the life of Mario Muñoz" declared Logan, "is a fight to save the very ability of the South American proletariat to struggle!" Hands Off Mario Muñoz! Open the Borders to All Victims of Junta Repression in Argentina and Chile!

URGENT COMMUNIQUE

Mario Muñoz in Grave Danger

On July 2, Mario Muñoz Salas and 12 others were violently taken from the place of refuge assigned to them by the United Nations. The raid and arrests were carried out by agents of Section 5 of the Mendoza police. Among the 13 arrested were seven legally designated as political refugees. The prisoners were transferred to the Fifth Precinct and after several hours to the Bureau of Identification Prefecture in the same city. While being held at these two locations they were interrogated, identified and hooked one by one. They were subjected to every sort of physical abuse (tortures) and to inhuman conditions—were left exposed to harsh weather and 20-degree temperatures, inadequately clothed, until the early hours of the morning.

Of all these imprisoned, Mario Muñoz faced the greatest danger. The police had complete files on him, from both Argentina and Chile, and at first the official position was to deport him to his native country. The UN committee in Mendoza, which was immediately informed, was unable to prevent this flagrant violation of the most elementary rights of asylum. This is standard practice for the Argentine government's paid assassins. The refugee camps have become prisons, from which union militants and political activists are taken for interrogations carried out in classic WWII Nazi style. At best, they are later returned to the "refuges" physically and mentally shattered; even worse, they often remain in prison or are deported to their country of origin—Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, etc.—where torture and death await them.

In this context, when international pressure frustrates the insidious action of the armed forces, "civilian" hands appear on the scene, such as the AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance), which daily assassinates with impunity dozens of worker militants and even liberal personalities, deputies, senators. The repression in Argentina is clearly being stepped up day by day. The "hard-liners" within the government have the upper hand, as exemplified in the forced resignation of general Corbetta, chief of police of Buenos Aires.

Mario Muñoz and those arrested with him, among whom were two supporters of the Chilean Communist Party, Manuel Garrido Vargas and Juan Arcey Cruces (of the CP Youth), were released on July 3. The criminal band was momentarily checked by the action of the prisoners' *compañeras*—among them Chileans, Peruvians and Argentinians—who went en masse to the precinct and the Prefecture and stationed themselves in front of these buildings demanding liberty for their *compañeros*. Likewise the support given to the campaign to save Mario Muñoz by working-class and democratic organizations, prominent individuals, trade-union and leftist militants throughout the world, was decisive in stopping the extradition of Muñoz.

But a brutal threat hangs over the life of Mario Muñoz, as with all class-war prisoners in Argentina: abduction and murder at the hands of the AAA or the Coordinating Committee of Repression of the Southern Cone. The UN has been unable to guarantee his life and liberty. At this very moment Mario Muñoz could again find himself in the dungeons of the Argentine dictatorship or in the hands of the no less bloody Pinochet. Only action and struggle by working-class organizations, trade unions and parties can save his life and enable him to leave Argentina.

COMMITTEE TO SAVE MARIO MUÑOZ

8 July 1976

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WV Salesman Arrested

CHICAGO, July 13—Yesterday evening a WV salesman, Amy Richardson, was arrested and charged with criminal trespass on Chicago Transit Authority property. As she distributed the issue headlined "Abolish the Death Penalty!"—a sharp attack on the legal murder of blacks and poor people—a CTA policeman, waiting nearby for the slightest pretext to prevent dissemination of the newspaper to the predominantly black transit workers, arrested Richardson.

Incensed when asked for proof of his authority, the cop threatened to "teach her a lesson" by pressing further charges of disorderly conduct. Cop harassment continued at the jail. Instead of releasing her on her own recognizance, bail was set at an outrageous \$1,000! Friends who arrived to post a bond were put off with the lie that her fingerprints had to be retaken, and Richardson was kept in jail overnight, long after the processing was completed.

This blatant assault on constitutional and democratic liberties is an obvious act of political repression by the CTA, which is attempting to censor what its employees may read. It is a threat to freedom of the press and to the rights of the left and labor movement. Drop the charges! Defend Amy Richardson!

WORKERS VANGUARD

State of Emergency Imposed

Political Gang Warfare Escalates in Jamaica

Three weeks ago the government of Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley declared an indefinite state of emergency. For months, the "island paradise" has been wracked by bloody fighting between politically inspired gangs in the shantytowns of Kingston, the capital, and the regime has responded by enacting increasingly draconian measures to suppress the violence. The declaration of emergency followed discovery of an arms cache in the grim Trench Town slum on June 19. Among those "detained" since then is Parnell Charles, deputy leader of the opposition Jamaica Labour Party (JLP).

The JLP, headed by Edward Seaga, claims that the violence and state of emergency are part of a plot by Manley's People's National Party (PNP) to establish a Caribbean "red axis" between Havana and Kingston and to pave the way for the "suspension of parts of the Constitution before next year's election" (*Times* [London], 23 June). The JLP, despite its name, is a capitalist party closely tied to the island's ruling class. In recent years Seaga and his cronies have been sharply critical of the "anti-imperialist" rhetoric of the ruling bourgeois party.

Seaga took over the JLP leadership following its resounding defeat in the 1972 elections. It was thought that this political "tough guy" would be able to recoup the party's losses, but by-elections for four parliamentary seats late last year were all won by the PNP. This defeat was soon followed by the outbreak of violence, which has so far claimed over 100 lives, including 20 members of the radically inclined PNP youth group. Herb Rose, executive board member of the JLP, recently resigned from the party stating, "I have seen young men being trained and brainwashed to commit murder" (*New York Times*, 20 June).

Manley, on the other hand, charges that the JLP is behind the violence against his supporters in an effort to weaken the government and embarrass it internationally. The wave of attacks began in January during an International Monetary Fund meeting on the island. In one particularly outrageous incident, a gang of gunmen set fire to a tenement block in West Kingston and cut down fleeing tenants in a hail of bullets. Firemen were also shot at, and the carnage resulted in 11 deaths and many serious injuries.

Slum Warfare

Violence has long been a fact of life in the Jamaican capital's impoverished slums, but in recent years it has been exacerbated by a number of factors. The country faces a severe economic crisis, with export earnings down sharply as the result of falling sugar and bauxite prices and the smallest sugar harvest in 25 years. With oil import costs tripling since 1973, this has meant that many essential items (including wheat and other staples) have become scarce and soared in price. Additionally, between a quarter and a third of the population is unemployed, the bulk of them among the youth of West Kingston.

Simultaneously the growing marijuana trade with the U.S.—a multi-million dollar operation involving elements of every stratum of Jamaican society—has not only meant ties to the

Mafia, but also a flood of sophisticated weapons entering the country. Jamaican marijuana dealers were recently stuck with counterfeit U.S. currency and have since demanded payment in guns, for which they find a ready market among the street gangs.

In March 1974, in response to a series of drug-related murders and an escalating crime rate that was cutting into the tourist trade, the government passed the drastic Suppression of Crime Act, which established a special "Gun Court" empowered to conduct secret trials and mete out indefinite sentences for firearms law violations. When the Privy Council ruled indefinite detention unconstitutional, the law was simply changed to provide a mandatory life sentence!

Political gang warfare is a product of the hopeless condition of unemployed youth in the lumpenized slum population. Alienated from the tightly knit black bourgeoisie, the labor movement and the rural population that has benefited from government land redistribution programs, the shanty dwellers are prey for demagogues from both parties, eager to buy votes and round up hully boys to terrorize their opponents.

Seaga's 1967 campaign to retain his parliamentary seat was marked by bitter clashes between PNP and JLP supporters. He had built a strong base in his West Kingston slum constituency by the traditional method of distributing government favors, in this case public housing, among his supporters. Fractious rivalries between tenants in different housing projects are partly the result of this bi-partisan pattern of political patronage.

U.S. Displeasure

Sharpened political hostilities on the island coincide with and are undoubtedly nourished by growing hostility in imperialist circles toward the Manley regime. The U.S. bourgeoisie was obviously displeased by the three-fold increase in bauxite excise taxes in 1974, and the Jamaican government's announcement last year of its intention to assume 51 percent interest (with compensation) in American-owned mining properties. Equally if not more disturb-



Jamaican demonstration calls for an end to political gang violence, rising inflation and unemployment.

ing to Washington is Manley's growing sympathies for Cuba.

Ties with Havana began developing shortly after Manley took office in 1972. He soon restored diplomatic relations with Cuba, long severed under U.S. pressure. In 1973 the Jamaican leader accompanied Fidel Castro in the latter's private plane to the Algiers conference of "non-aligned" nations, stopping en route in Guinea to pick up Sékou Touré. Since then Manley has emerged as a "Third World" spokesman of increasing prominence.

Particularly galling to U.S. ruling circles was Manley's support to Cuba's military intervention against the imperialist power play in Angola. Jamaican government sources assert that the American response has been a covert attempt to stir up the violence already latent in party rivalries, provoke strikes, cut back the tourist trade and generally "destabilize" the regime, as was done to the popular-front UP government of Chile before the 1973 coup. Indicative of growing Cuban/Jamaican diplomatic relations is a planned visit by Castro this fall. In addition, eight of Manley's private guards have reportedly received special training in Cuba, with another

20 police scheduled to follow (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 25 April).

Castro's overtures to Manley result not from any proletarian internationalism, but from an attempt to break through the U.S.-imposed isolation of Cuba by political blocs with left-talking bourgeois governments like that of Panama's General Omar Torrijos or the "anti-imperialist" Peruvian junta. By preaching political support to and class peace with Jamaica's populist government, Cuba's Stalinist rulers accept responsibility for its anti-working-class policies. Similarly, Castro's dallying with Allende's "Popular Unity" regime (including urging copper miners not to strike and to work harder) was an important part of the web of betrayal which left the Chilean working class defenseless in the face of the right-wing bloodbath.

Despite its inflated rhetoric and partial willingness to risk the displeasure of foreign investors, the PNP is no more "socialist" than the JLP is a labor party. Manley's "anti-imperialist" hype is an attempt to mobilize support from a populace that grows increasingly discontented as it becomes clear that 14 years of independence have not alleviated poverty and unemployment or broken the power of the narrow ruling cabal.

The PNP's "answer" to the economic domination of American capital that has taken the place of three centuries of direct rule by Britain is a utopian scheme of establishing high fixed prices for the primary products exported by economically backward countries. How the imperialist powers can be persuaded to voluntarily abandon their dominant role in the world market—expressed, among other ways, in the adverse terms of trade of "Third World" countries—is a question for which neither Manley nor anyone else has an answer.

In December 1974 this populist demagogue explained to nervous capitalists that: "Under the socialist system there is a perfectly reasonable, honorable, decent, respected and permanent role for businessmen. For all the various types of business people there is a legitimate place in our socialist system." The policy of the Jamaican Develop-



Prime Minister Michael Manley speaking at rally.

Bernard Diederich/Time

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Black Labor Still Combative

Mass Arrests in Wake of Soweto Massacre

JULY 11 This week's announcement that the white-supremacist South African government has annulled its policy of imposing Afrikaans-language instruction on black secondary school students will bring scant comfort in the African townships on the *veld* outside Johannesburg. To the blacks who are still burying their dead and awaiting the release of hundreds of youths arrested during the savage police suppression of last month's rebellion, the country remains a vast prison camp.

The policy change, reportedly the result of a sharp debate within the ruling Nationalist Party itself, is a half-hearted attempt to salvage the myth propagated by Pretoria's imperialist backers that the government of Balthazar Vorster has embarked upon a *verligte* (enlightened) course to ease the mountainous weight of racial oppression euphemistically known as "separate development." The coincidence of the slaughter of nearly 200 (by official figures) South African blacks and Vorster's West German tête-à-tête with Henry Kissinger restrained even the callous hypocrisy of the U.S. Secretary of State, who was markedly circumspect in his description of the talks.

Kissinger's obvious intention was to strengthen the Washington/Pretoria axis (the meeting itself was a major diplomatic coup for South Africa) while persuading Vorster to tighten the screws on Rhodesia and to take further carefully controlled steps toward the eventual independence of Southwest Africa (Namibia). But Kissinger's hopes of undercutting South Africa's pariah status were dampened as his racist friends beaped up black corpses in Soweto and other townships. The *New York Times* (27 June) noted:

"The riots in South Africa are viewed as having muddled the distinction that Mr. Kissinger has sought to draw between Rhodesia and South-West Africa, on the one hand, and South Africa on the other. During his African trip last April Mr. Kissinger, while expressing opposition to institutionalized separation of the races, repeatedly pointed out that while Rhodesia and South-West Africa were illegal regimes, South Africa was a recognized nation acknowledged as such by black Africans."

Having been considerably embarrassed by last year's revelation of secret West German aid in providing South Africa with nuclear capacity, West German chancellor Schmidt was careful to distance himself from the Pretoria regime, sharply condemning apartheid for the record and claiming that he had talked with Vorster only at the latter's request!

But even as Kissinger expressed his hopes that the talks might produce "a resolution" in Southern Africa "achieved by negotiation and not by violence," the white supremacist police state was preparing the atmosphere for another wave of racist terror. On June 22 the Minister of "Justice," James Kruger, defended the use of guns against unarmed blacks and charged that common criminals "caused the trouble." With the colossal arrogance of the self-ordained racial *Herrenvolk*, Kruger added that, "The majority of black people are grateful for what the Government is doing to uplift them" (*New York Times*, 23 June). Among other "uplifting" measures is the recently passed

Promotion of State Security ("SS") Bill which permits permanent detention, without trial, of government opponents.

Minister for Bantu Affairs Mielie Botha charged that the revolt had been carefully planned. Kruger warmed to the same theme, telling foreign newsmen that "black consciousness and the black movement are somewhere behind this." He pointedly asserted that a non-student had led the June 16 anti-Afrikaans march of Soweto students. When asked to identify the "outside agitator," this reactionary swine could only answer: "Dead men tell no tales" (*New York Times*, 26 June).

Jangled Nerves in Pretoria

But even while brandishing the *spanbok*, Pretoria is constrained to tread somewhat more cautiously than in the wake of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Despite official "reds under the bed" hysteria, the government knows that the rebellions were overwhelmingly spontaneous in their origins and hence that the arrest of more African National Congress (ANC) or South African Students Organization (SASO) militants will provide scapegoats but no guarantee against another outbreak.

Internationally, the Vorster government hopes that such gestures as the reversal of the education language policy and a series of well-publicized

South African policeman searching black worker in Alexandra.



Sebastio Salgado/Gamma-Liaison

ing to the Johannesburg industrial complex by year's end and reverberating through the Witwatersrand gold fields, the very heart of the economy, for 18 months. For a brief period, relatively substantial wage increases coupled with selective repression, and the encouragement of joint worker/management "liaison committees" to undercut the organization of blacks into trade unions, appeared to deflate the wave of militancy.

But the rebellions in the black townships (little more than urban labor

and "coloured" workers) at the most abject, near-starvation level. Furthermore, in absolute money terms, the black/white wage gap has actually widened.

The Color Bar Moves Up

Nor are the blacks any longer exclusively "bewers of wood and drawers of water." As the result of post-World War II economic expansion and the critical shortage of skilled white workers, the industrial color bar has consistently moved upward, with increasing numbers of Indians and coloured flowing into skilled positions and blacks into semi-skilled categories. The following table indicates the extent of upward labor mobility among the racial groups:

	Percent of Workers Classified as "Labourers" in Industries Other than Mining		
	1936	1960	1970
Africans	89.5	84.0	68.2
Coloured	54.6	49.4	44.2
Indian	43.6	23.0	15.3
Whites	21.8	4.2	3.3

African Communist, Second Quarter 1973

As white immigration continues to decline each year, and young white workers move to more skilled occupations and from skilled jobs to supervisory posts, their jobs are, of necessity, filled by non-whites.

But while moving into more skilled job categories, the Africans and other non-whites find their wages still lag far behind those of the privileged white labor aristocracy. While the economic upgrading of blacks is undermining one of the major tenets of Nationalist Party policy (keeping Africans as a totally regimented and interchangeable pool of unskilled, migrant workers), the architects of apartheid have done their utmost to keep the structure of white *Baasskap* (overlordship) intact.

The Transvaal construction industry is an illustrative example. The 1951 Bantu Building Workers' Act permits blacks to be trained in construction trades but to work only in black areas and at a fraction of white workers' wages. During the early 1970's, the Pretoria-based Building Workers Union, affiliated with the all-white Confederation of Labour and headed by right-wing Nationalist Party stalwart Gert Beette, had to police building sites in the



White foreman watches over black workers in South African engine plant.

meetings with "responsible" leaders from Soweto can offset the major blow to its possibility for a diplomatic breakthrough. With black nationalist governments installed in Angola and Mozambique and the minority regime in Rhodesia already beginning to totter, foreign investment in South Africa is increasingly seen as a high risk (if highly lucrative) venture, a point further driven home by the plunging value of South African shares (especially gold) on the London market in late June.

But most significant in the cold-blooded calculations of the white opposition parties and the *verligte* wing of the Nationalists is the gnawing fear of a repetition of the massive black proletarian upsurge that rolled across South Africa, from a general strike that paralyzed Durban in early 1973 spread-

compounds), coinciding with a rash of recent walkouts in Durban and Germiston, indicates the possibility of a major new strike wave. As last month's unrest spread from the Johannesburg area to townships near Pretoria, a strike by 1,000 black auto workers erupted at a Chrysler assembly plant near Mamelodi when the management did not produce the supplementary breakfasts that began after food supplies were disrupted by police blockades around the townships. On June 24, police in Witbank, 75 miles east of Johannesburg, confiscated hundreds of leaflets calling on the town's 39,000 black coal miners to strike in protest of rent increases.

Fueling the smoldering rage of the plebeian masses is the fact that the wage increases of recent years still leave most black workers (along with many Indian

Transvaal to prevent subcontractors from illegally employing low-paid African bricklayers, plasterers, plumbers and electricians.

In 1974, Beetge denounced a government review of job reservation in the industry as a "sellout of the White artisans" (*Sechaba*, April 1974). Last year, however, the Transvaal construction unions concluded an agreement with the employers allowing blacks to do craft work under the supervision of whites, who were automatically upgraded in status and pay to master craftsmen and also guaranteed permanent job preference in the industry.

Discrimination has also been elevated to a higher plane in the public sector, long a source of sheltered employment at subsidized wages for unskilled whites. The railway and harbor administration, for example, now employs more than 224,000 wage earners, half of them Africans, coloured and Indians. In 1972, Transport Minister Ben Schoeman explained to parliament that while "It is a fundamental principle of the National party that White workers should be protected against cheap non-White

from collective bargaining rights, was introduced in parliament—TUCSA refused to admit black members. Eight years later, to undercut the multi-racial (but majority black) South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), TUCSA voted to accept segregated African affiliates. In 1967, after SACTU had disintegrated under fierce government repression, TUCSA once again excluded Africans, reversing itself the following year and finally in 1969 returning to its original policy of exclusion.

Thus, when TUCSA opened its doors to affiliation by African unions in 1974, the offer was greeted with great skepticism as an attempt to tame black militancy. The one significant black union that joined is the staunchly anti-Communist National Union of Clothing Workers led by Lucy Mvubelo.

The organizational aid lent by the Natal Garment Workers Union to the black unions (although later withdrawn under intense pressure from the government and TUCSA leadership), along with numerous other instances of solidarity between Indian workers in



Bus burns during black revolt in Soweto last month.

labour," the government was allowing "controlled employment" of non-whites in previously reserved categories. "Each skilled White artisan on the railways," Schoeman elaborated, "will in future be assisted by two non-Whites who will be trained as semi-skilled labourers" (*African Communist*, Second Quarter 1973).

TUCSA's "Liberal" Opportunism

Under pressure from the upsurge of black workers, the leadership of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), one of the two main union federations, has made several approaches to the growing African unions. With 63 affiliated unions representing 233,555 workers, TUCSA encompasses more than a third of the total membership of officially recognized trade unions (the 60,000 members of 21 African unions are not recognized by the employers or the government). Although its leadership bodies are dominated by whites, fully 72 percent of TUCSA's members are coloured or Indian.

In 1973 TUCSA voted to encourage affiliated unions to form "parallel unions of African workers." The Natal Garment Workers Union, a 25,000-member union of coloured and Indian workers, opened its offices to several Durban-based black unions and appropriated funds and organizers to help them enroll new members. However, when four of these organizers were "handed" by the government in the spring of 1974, the TUCSA leadership refused to support a mass protest rally in Durban. The Garment Workers nearly pulled out of the federation after this cowardly stab in the back.

TUCSA has a long and seamy history of such behavior. On its establishment in 1954—the same year that the Industrial Conciliation Act, excluding blacks

Durban and their African class brothers during the strike wave, points to the key task of forging militant, democratic, multi-racial unions which would struggle against the oppression of all non-whites and break down the labor aristocratic status of white workers.

The wage increases of the 1973-75 period, the spurt of African trade-union organization, the ever growing dominance of black labor in nearly every industry and the movement of Africans into more skilled positions have all reinforced the growing self-confidence and combativity of the black proletariat. At the same time, the black worker daily faces the squalor, indignities and police-state terror intended to teach him "his place" in white South Africa: the prison-like townships, grinding poverty, the pass laws, the Bantustan fraud, rigid segregation in most areas of public life, the wage gap, the industrial color bar, inferior education (including the attempted retribalization of urban blacks through compulsory African "mother tongue" instruction in the primary grades) and the contract labor system in mining and agriculture.

While the Nationalist Party's racist social engineers push ahead with their desperate schemes for so-called "separate development" of "tribal homelands" in which millions of the Africans have never even set foot, the economy's demand for black labor represents the widening chink in the armor of apartheid. Pretoria can continue to poise its overwhelming military might to smash any open insurrectionary actions in black areas. It cannot, however, carry out its program to reduce the entire black proletariat to the status of transient laborers. Black workers, in their struggle for democratic gains, open the road to proletarian power with every blow struck against the apartheid structure. ■

Protest Peruvian Junta's Deportation of Hugo Blanco!

Well-known Latin American socialist activist and peasant leader Hugo Blanco was arrested by the Peruvian political police in the Andean city of Cuzco on July 3 under a national state of emergency decree. A week later he was deported to Sweden. Although Peru's military government refused to give any explanation for this arbitrary suppression of democratic rights, Blanco in statements to the press linked it to the fact that "the political climate in Peru is hardening, there is oppression, living costs are rising and the workers are protesting."

The day before his arrest, five people were killed in Lima riots touched off by the government's new austerity measures. The anti-working-class economic program was announced three days after the national currency was devalued 30 percent as a result of the refusal of foreign bankers and lending agencies to extend hundreds of millions of dollars of overdue loans to debt-ridden Peru. The measures included sharp price increases (the price of gasoline doubled), a partial wage freeze, cutbacks in social welfare and higher taxes.

Faced with a rash of demonstrations in Lima and Arequipa and wildcat protest strikes by tens of thousands of copper miners, metal workers, university employees and owner-operators of microhouses (the principal means of transportation in the capital), the government ordered a state of emergency in the mining industry (later broadened to a 30-day nationwide state of emergency), closed all businesses, banks and schools and instituted a 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew.

Under the state of emergency, all public gatherings are forbidden and the police have unlimited rights of seizure, arrest and search. The government immediately took advantage of this decree to illegally arrest and deport the popular leader Hugo Blanco.

Blanco, a prominent spokesman for the views of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat, gained worldwide recognition for his courageous activities organizing militant peasant unions during the early 1960's in the Convención Valley near Cuzco. While the peasant unions struggled in isolation (without a leadership from a communist party rooted in the working class) to wrest land from the grip of the large landholders and redistribute it among the peasantry, the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry mounted a repressive campaign against Blanco. When, on 30 May 1963, he was brought out of the valley by his followers in search of desperately needed medical treatment, he was arrested and subsequently charged with involvement in the death of three members of the armed forces killed during the government's attempts to suppress the peasant movement.

After seven years' imprisonment and a massive international outcry, Blanco was deported from Peru in 1971, subsequently deported from Argentina in 1972, escaped from Chile in 1973 and, denied asylum in any Latin American country, eventually took refuge in Sweden. Following the ouster of General Velasco Alvarado by another leader of the nationalist military junta (General Bermúdez Morales) last August, Blanco and several other Peruvian political exiles were allowed to return home. His welcome by the Peruvian peasants was exuberant. In the face of a

news blackout, Blanco was met on his return with enthusiastic cheering, flowers and embraces.

But his welcome by the government was predictably short-lived. Despite its "progressive" pretensions and limited agrarian reform, the military regime must keep a tight lid on the peasantry and workers in order to survive. To facilitate this, it has sought to channel peasant militancy into corporatist institutions such as SINAMOS, which it controls. The return of Blanco and other exiled socialist and labor militants posed a clear threat of mass worker and peasant mobilizations independent of junta control. And so, only nine months after his return from exile, Blanco has been deported once again.

Blanco's treatment at the hands of the "anti-imperialist junta" is in many ways a repeat of the experience of Hernán Cuentas, general secretary of the miners' federation of Cuzajone in southern Peru and a leader of the ostensibly Trotskyist POMR (linked with the French OCI). Cuentas also returned to Peru after the fall of Velasco, and shortly after an enthusiastic welcome by the miners of Cuzajone, he too was arrested (see "Free Hernán Cuentas!" *WW* No. 97, 20 February 1976).

Despite attempts to sabotage the campaign by Stalinists both in Peru and in France, a campaign to free Cuentas gained broad international labor support. After being secretly transferred from prison to prison for more than four months, Cuentas, together with several of those arrested with him—Victor Caudros, Genaro Ledesma Izquieta, José Oña Meoño, Ricardo Díaz Chaves and Arturo Salas Rodríguez—was finally released on April 28.

In keeping with our policies of class-struggle defense, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee demand the immediate release of all socialist, labor and peasant militants still incarcerated in Peruvian prisons, and an end to the persecution of leftists and the right of all Peruvian political refugees to return to the country. ■

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From the Great Leap to the Tien An Men Square Riot

Mao's "Socialism": No Electricity, No Soviets

The recent death of Marshal Chu Teh brings the number of members of the key standing committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) political bureau who have died since the last party congress in 1973 to a total of four out of nine, with the health of another two (including Mao Tse-tung) shaky at best. This fact and the absence of any noteworthy political figure to replace Mao underscore the gravity of the developing succession crisis in the Heavenly Palace.

In the past ten years, the Chairman's hapless efforts to find a loyal successor

Part 1 of 2

have resulted in the purge of three heirs apparent. First Liu Shao-chi, the head of state, was declared a long-time "capitalist roader" and made the principal victim of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in 1966. Then Lin Biao, formally named in the 1969 CCP constitution as Mao's successor, was declared a treacherous cliquist whose plotting extended over decades; he lost his life in an alleged coup attempt in 1971. The latest purge victim was Teng Hsiao-ping, Chou En-lai's hand-picked deputy and stand-in during the premier's mortal illness, who was denounced as an inveterate "counterrevolutionary" last April after his supporters took over Tien An Men Square in a militant demonstration.

Mao's repeated "discovery" that his long-time collaborators turn out to be murderous plotters or bourgeois restorationists is certainly an expression of a paranoid vision inherent in a Stalinist bureaucracy, where all open political struggle is suppressed for fear that it could ignite the working class. But the claim that Teng, following Liu, "laid one-sided stress on things big and foreign" and believed in a proscribed "theory of productive forces" adds an economic dimension to the recurrent clique fights and reveals the intimate connection between China's economic backwardness and the extreme instability of its ruling group.

"Self-Reliance" and the "Great Leap"

Mao's economic policies have always been peasant-oriented and marked by a striving for nationalist autarky ("self-reliance"). For Mao the USSR showed the way for China to modernize and achieve great power status commensurate to its historical traditions. Yet in nearly three decades of Stalinist rule, Mao's China has been unable to transform itself into a modern industrial power. Herein lies the source of the frequent radical changes of line in Peking, of the endemic and often violent reshuffling of the bureaucracy. China's material backwardness frustrates the "superpower" aspirations of its ruling elite.

The leitmotif of Mao's first venture into economic policy, the Great Leap Forward, was to catch up with the West in 15 years. This was to be done through the creation of mammoth self-sufficient production units (the communes). Intended to tap enormous quantities of under-utilized labor, expand industry

by handicraft methods and transform peasants into wage laborers, the Great Leap Forward was an unprecedented attempt at the militarization of labor.

However, this attempt not only failed abysmally (in late 1958 rural cadres were instructed that commune members had to be allowed at least 12 hours daily for meals, recreation and sleep!), but it led to an economic collapse unprecedented in the history of the deformed workers states. Peking then stopped publishing economic statistics (and has not resumed since), but a reasonable estimate is that the food crop fell by 15-20 percent in 1958-60 while industrial production had dropped 30-40 percent by 1962. The attitude of virtually every worker, peasant and bureaucrat who lived through the Great Leap can be summed up in two words: "Never again!"

One prominent Chinese political figure did continue to defend the Great Leap Forward, blaming excesses on local implementation. He was Mao Tse-tung. Mao's stubborn defense of economic policies that had brought the country to the brink of mass starvation caused leading cadres to nudge him out of the central party government apparatus. He was replaced by Liu (the long-time number two), Chou, Peng and Peng Chen, and his only direct backers

in the party leadership were his wife, Chiang Ch'ing, and Mao-sycophant Chen Po-ta, who were given harmless posts in the cultural field. His most powerful ally was defense minister Lin Biao.

Under Liu, Chinese economic policy in the early 1960's was one of severe retrenchment, with industrial production regulated by marketed agricultural surplus. In an effort to regain the good will of the peasantry, a free market in agricultural produce was allowed, private plots restored and, most important, the communes were de facto liquidated, the basic economic unit being reduced to the production team (usually a village of about 20 families). During the dog days of the "great limping backwards" in 1962 Mao himself was forced to admit that it would take China at least 50 years to catch up to the industrial West. But two years later he was again talking of "smash[ing] conventions" and a new "great leap forward."

The Army, the Red Guards and the Workers

A key element in Mao's launching of the "Cultural Revolution" was to lay the political basis for another economic Great Leap Forward. This required a purge of those leaders strong enough to



Mao and Lin Biao pass cheering Red Guards during 1967 rally in Peking.

stand up to him as well as their most loyal followers. To achieve such a massive shaking out, Mao turned to two very different forces: the People's Liberation Army (PLA) officer corps and the student youth.

In both cases there was a logic to the alliance. Over and above Mao's ties to Lin Biao, army officers are more removed from the direct pressure of the laboring masses than the Liu-led economic and administrative apparatus, and would consequently be more inclined to demand sacrifices from the workers and peasants or favor grandiose schemes to enhance the strength of the Chinese state. The student youth, on the other hand, had not experienced the original Great Leap Forward, and as the inheritors of the state apparatus, the future administrators would want it to be great and powerful and its subjects hard-working and frugal.

Lin's army was used to capture the central party apparatus for Mao. In a rump central committee plenum in August 1966 held literally at gun point, for PLA units had occupied the offices of the party center in Peking on July 18-19, Mao "won" a majority and set up the Cultural Revolution Group under Chiang Ch'ing. With the universities closed, Red Guards were turned onto the streets to humiliate and frighten conservative civilian apparatuses. While Mao easily toppled his main opponents, Liu, Teng and Peng Chen, an extensive purge and reconstruction of the party/government apparatus proved far more difficult. In the end, it proved impossible.

The threatened bureaucrats soon began creating their own "revolutionary rebel" organizations, largely consisting of workers, such as the Workers Scarlet Guards in Shanghai. In general, the workers were prone to defend the established order for fear that if the Red Guards took over they would be working 12 hours a day and chanting Mao slogans for another eight. The escalating conflict between the radical Maoist Red Guards and organized workers came to a head in January 1967 with the Shanghai general strike and nationwide rail strike.

Mao then realized that the frenzied Red Guards did not have the popular support or organizational discipline and muscle to replace the entrenched bureaucrats, much less run the government. At that point, he called upon the direct intervention of Lin Biao's army. However, as a condition for hacking up the students, army commanders insisted that there be no wholesale purge, that

the officialdom he allowed to "reform" itself.

The role of the PLA in preserving the bureaucracy was codified by a change in the program of the Cultural Revolution. When launched in 1966, the "revolution" was supposed to create a political system "like that of the Paris Commune" ("Decision of the Central Committee of the CCP Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," 8 August 1966). In early 1967 this was changed to the so-called "triple alliance" of "revolutionary rebels" (student-based Red Guards), the PLA and "revolutionary cadre" (incumbent bureaucrats).

The running conflict between Chiang Ch'ing's central Cultural Revolution Group and the military reached an extreme in the Wuhan incident in July 1967 when the local commander mutinied and arrested two radical Maoist emissaries from Peking. After this incident fighting escalated between Red Guards and PLA units. At that point Mao, recognizing that the army was the core of his bureaucratic power, turned against the Cultural Revolution Group and its followers. In September 1967 he asserted in no uncertain terms:

"The army's prestige must be resolutely safeguarded and there can be no doubt whatsoever about that. The chief danger of the moment is that some people want to beat down the PLA. There must be no chaos in the army."

Survey of the China Mainland Press, 5 November 1967

Once the army had been called in to "support" the Red Guards, Mao abandoned any consistent political line and simply maneuvered between PLA officers, Red Guards and remnants of the civilian bureaucracies and the various cliques therein to maintain his personal authority. By the end of the Cultural Revolution, he had to accept that the only organized force in China, the army, had gained a near monopoly of political power.

The Regional Military Commanders in Command

The main beneficiaries of the Cultural Revolution were the PLA regional commanders who took over the party government apparatus. In the 1969-71 period, 72 percent of the "revolutionary committees" (the local government unit) and 74 percent of the CCP local committees consisted of PLA officers (*Chinese Law and Government*, Fall Winter 1972).

The predominance of the PLA intensified the already pronounced

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Commune peasants building dam.

Der Spiegel

Daily Rouge: New Left Pot Pourri



s during 1967 rally in Peking.

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Turning the pages of a recent issue of France's newest "far-left" daily paper, the reader comes upon a cartoon showing an angry-looking man with curly hair, a big nose and glasses. The balloon above his head shows him muttering, "One more time *Rouge* has copped out. I cancel my subscription..." The paper is *Rouge* (No. 69, 8 June 1976). The man is Alain Krivine, superstar of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and *Rouge*'s co-editor.

The cartoon epitomizes the light-minded attitude which is as characteristic of the LCR as its opportunist political line. An LCR internal bulletin of November 1975, discussing the format of the projected daily, criticized another far-left paper, *Libération*, for its "jocular tone which not only often failed to be funny but moreover contributed to the scantiness of the paper's credibility." The document urged that the forthcoming LCR daily "give an impression of seriousness and solidity." But the petty-bourgeois radicals of the LCR are congenitally incapable of treating revolutionary politics like the serious business it is.

Rouge luxuriates in unprofessionalism. The 21 April issue contained a little box "To the Readers": "There are even more mistakes than usual in this paper. This comes from the correction-

daily will become the de facto spokesman and informal organizer of the "broad vanguard" the pool of "far-left" militants and other volatile strata to whose every mood the LCR capitulates politically.

The more "orthodox" minority, in an internal discussion bulletin of January 1976, took exception to the liquidationism which is the logical consequence of the LCR's political method, raising the spectre of a parallel organization "alongside the one which already exists." The opposition document insisted, "The daily is not an enlargement of our organization by 'fusion' with the number of readers necessary to make it live," to the detriment of the LCR's "program." It also urged a permissive attitude toward expression of internal differences in the public press.

An interview with *Rouge* sub-editor Pierre Julien in the 25 March *Red Weekly*, organ of the LCR's English co-thinkers, summarized the debate:

"It was around two positions, one said we need a Trotskyist daily, and the other replied that we need an open daily."

We want to bring out a daily which will be the organization's paper, which doesn't hide its colours. The articles will defend the line of the Ligue.

"But... we want it to be a paper to which the different components of the broad vanguard can relate... We want to have a militant daily for the organization in which, at the same time, a large



"What we must avoid like the plague is to turn *Rouge* into a morning paper made up of last night's supper (*Le Monde*) dished up with some Trotskyist sauce."

screen which suddenly decided to amuse itself by adding mistakes instead of correcting them. It was impossible to fix it in time." The next day's edition featured this follow-up item: "Despite yesterday's careful attentions, the state of health of the correction-screen is still unsatisfactory. An attentive reading of this paper should permit you to uncover the still numerous mistakes in the columns of text. Those who find the exact number, don't write, we aren't holding a contest."

The launching of the daily *Rouge* some four months ago is the fulfillment of a perspective projected by the LCR beginning in spring 1974. Prior to its March 15 inauguration, the daily generated a heated controversy within the LCR which inevitably fed into the organization's endemic factional war of nerves. The LCR majority hopes the

place is reserved as an open tribune where all those who in some way represent the broad vanguard can express their point of view.

A postscript to the debate was the removal of the minority spokesman from his position as sub-editor for French affairs for having "snuck in" his line on a disputed question.

The *Red Weekly* interview specified as a goal of the daily *Rouge* "to try as much as possible to suppress the division of labor... What would be good is if they [the writers] could handle the switch-board, do the cooking in the canteen..." This utopian scheme, harkening the division of labor in a classless society in which scarcity has been eliminated, is in the present context merely a formula for anarchic dilettantism, Julien admits, "so far we don't have enough journalists to do anything else than write the

newspaper otherwise it won't come out."

It is far from uncommon for *WV* "journalists" to be found sweeping floors in the canteen room. But internal party democracy rather than new left participatory chaos is the operative mechanism for keeping the alienation of capitalist society from reflecting itself within the party.

The LCR's utopianism has apparently not succeeded very well in welding its production team into a collective. Evidence can be found on the "culture" page of the 29 May *Rouge* where a reviewer, P.-L.T., ended his comments on a recent French film with the sentence, "The necessity of such a movie remains problematical." Beneath the review appears the italicized phrase: "The necessity of P.L.T. too... (typist's note)!" The 2 June issue had to apologize for the "vindictive and sarcastic lines" which had found their way into the paper and to remind everyone that "the normal route for debate is the letter from the reader, including for the members of the daily who want a disagreement on an article made public."

Rouge's endemic flippancy is a reflection of the LCR's defining characteristic: anarchic impressionism. The organization has a line when the opportunist appetites of its various components converge. When they do not, the result is chaos. Thus the 30 June *Rouge* featured a discussion among LCR leaders on the recent Portuguese elections. The leader of the minority argues for a vote for the Communist Party candidate, Pato, Alain Krivine calls for support to Carvalho. And there is even a third position—that of Ben-said, who wants to vote for both!

The *Red Weekly* spread hailing the daily *Rouge* illustrates how far from primary is the question of program to the LCR. The interviewer asks, "Don't you feel that the existence of a bourgeois newspaper, *Le Monde*, which provides not only detailed information but also sometimes very competent analysis is a major problem?" One might expect this question to elicit some discussion of the counterposed functions of ruling-class and working-class "analysis." *Le Monde*'s function is to intelligently and informatively present the attitudes and "line" of the liberal bourgeoisie on the preservation of the status quo, a truly revolutionary press takes as its task the organization and political arming of the advanced workers, as an integral part of the construction of the revolutionary vanguard party. The key element in Julien's response, however, is: "Yes, it's a big problem... Our main advantage is that *Le Monde* is an evening paper while ours will hopefully arrive in the morning!"

The LCR does not have to sell its new daily. Its circulation, estimated at 13,000, receives a boost from France's unique nationalized newsstand distribution apparatus, required by a post-World War II law to distribute any publication which meets certain technical specifications. But money may be the bottleneck: *Rouge*'s structural deficit is currently running at 140,000 francs (about \$32,000) a month.

"What we must avoid like the plague," says Julien, "is to turn *Rouge* into a morning paper made up of last night's supper (*Le Monde*) dished up with some Trotskyist sauce." Unfortunately for the militant workers of France, the "sauce" with which *Rouge* dishes up the news is not Trotskyism, but centrist opportunism. It remains to be seen whether the "broad vanguard" will find the LCR's warmed-over Menshevism and home-grown eclecticism to their taste. If not, perhaps chef Krivine would consider transforming the *Rouge* canteen into a pizza parlor! ■

Hospital Strike...

(continued from page 1)

step, the 1199 bureaucracy has opposed militant action, relying instead on assuaging fickle bourgeois "public opinion." Moreover, it has abandoned all the union's original contract demands in favor of a roughly six percent cost-of-living increase recommended by a federal mediation team, promising to accept binding arbitration "without reservation" on this and all other issues. But the League of Voluntary Hospitals, which represents most of the private hospitals and nursing homes, refused to consider *any* wage increase, so the union, whose members had voted nine to one to authorize a strike, had no choice but to call the walkout.

The contradictory statements of "progressive" Local 1199 president Leon Davis (who *before* the strike said that no scabs would cross the picket lines) led the ranks at the more militant centers to attempt to enforce the lines. Without centralized leadership or planning, however, this led mainly to wholesale arrests. By today a total of 52 were arrested, including several 1199 union delegates, at eight different hospitals, some of them facing serious charges of inciting to riot and assault. Dozens have been injured, especially at Columbia Presbyterian on Friday, where police, emboldened by the union's weak-kneed policy, removed their name tags and then, according to bystanders, launched a wholly unprovoked attack. The assault was so vicious that one cop was quoted as saying afterwards, "This doesn't reflect all of our attitudes" (*New York Times*, 10 July).

Yet despite cop brutality, the bureaucracy's betrayals and successful scabbing by literally thousands of special "volunteers," traditionally militant 1199ers on at least some of the key picket sites are neither cowed nor resigned to defeat. When a striker was arrested Friday at Maimonides Hospital and the picket line was informed that she was being charged with resisting arrest, a felony 100 of her co-workers won her quick release on lesser charges after they sat down on the steps of the hospital chanting, "We Want Gail Out Of Jail!" and singing, "We Shall Not Be Moved." But demoralization and cynicism are spreading rapidly.

1199 Isolated

The rank and file of Local 1199 have been set up by the entire NYC labor bureaucracy for a stinging defeat. In an incredible display of criminal backbiting and shortsighted double-dealing, 1199 has been abandoned by a union movement which is itself under all-out attack by the corporation/banker cabal of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) and their politico front men in the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB). The EFCB has been granted full veto power over all city employee money negotiations during the budgetary crisis by NYC and state Democratic Party administrations.

Particularly despicable have been the maneuvers of AFSCME District Council 37 president Victor Gotbaum, a liberal misleader who stands at the head of 120,000 municipal workers, more than 18,000 of them hospital workers in Local 420. Although Local 420 has been working without a contract since June 30, when 852 of its members were laid off (joining the 5,000 other municipal hospital workers eliminated through attrition or layoffs during the last 11 months!), and although Local 420 faces the likelihood of another 1,700 layoffs postponed to the end of July pending discussion of "alternatives," Gotbaum signed a "memorandum of interim understanding" with the city and EFCB to avoid a strike.

What does this "interim understanding" promise the Local 420 municipal hospital workers and other unions that

signed, representing in total 67 bargaining units and 160,000 city employees? It "promises" a partially deferred cost-of-living escalator clause, to be paid for entirely through increased productivity or loss of fringe benefits or, as Gotbaum would have it, through "new revenues." As for "new revenues" being found in bankrupt New York City, EFCB director Stephen Berger frankly declared: "Theoretically that's possible, but as a practical matter that will not happen." Despite Gotbaum's cynical claim to have "won something" for DC 37 workers, the cost clause, partially deferred until "the end of the crisis," and to be paid for in any case by speed-up or by cutting fringe benefits, can only be considered *after* an additional \$24 million is eliminated from employee compensation in the budget.

DC 37 workers voted authorization for a strike for a better contract. Gotbaum returned without a strike and without a contract. His "interim agreement" is worse in every way than what the ranks had before he began "negotiating" with the city. However, in the course of his talks across the bargaining table with management, Gotbaum did suggest one possible source of "new revenue": to divert city funds from the Health and Hospital Corporation's affiliation contracts with the private hospitals! In other words, the AFSCME leader is demanding layoffs of 1199 workers. When, after four days of stalling, Leon Davis finally pulled out 1199 workers on July 10 and sent them to picket several municipal hospitals where his members work (primarily as x-ray technicians), Gotbaum instructed Local 420 workers to cross the lines!

Leon Davis Likes It This Way

From the beginning of the strike, the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation declared a health emergency, ordering municipal hospitals to cease taking elective surgery cases, thus making them available to handle patients transferred from the struck private hospitals. In this situation one would expect any leader of striking hospital workers to encourage a fighting unity between municipal and private hospital workers.

But Leon Davis has not even once publicly protested Gotbaum's scabherding policy, let alone organized massive 1199 worker delegations to appeal directly to Local 420 members to join the strike. Instead he has done everything possible to keep the unions separated and weak, even lauding the advantages for workers of the private hospital system: "Our members don't work for the State or City, and frankly, most of them have no desire to do so" (*1199 News*, June 1976).

This pandering to and encouragement of private hospital parochialism is especially malicious in light of a recently unveiled NYC "master plan" under consideration which would eventually close all but five of the city's 18 municipal hospitals, as well as encourage the liquidation of numerous smaller private institutions. Not only does this threaten hospitals that primarily serve poor, black and Latin communities such as Gouverneur on the Lower East Side and Sydenham in Harlem, but funding private hospitals at the expense of public ones is fundamentally reactionary. Private institutions are unwilling to provide medical care at prices even remotely affordable by working people who are not covered by medical insurance or Medicaid/Medicare.

A hint of the utterly mercenary character of these "non-profit" hospitals was given by the director of public relations at the Beth Israel Medical Center. In explaining why his hospital had been reluctant to reduce its number of patients in the face of the strike, he asserted: "We're very conscious that every time we have an empty bed we have lost income. We have to practice sound business as well as sound medicine" (*New York Times*, 8 July).

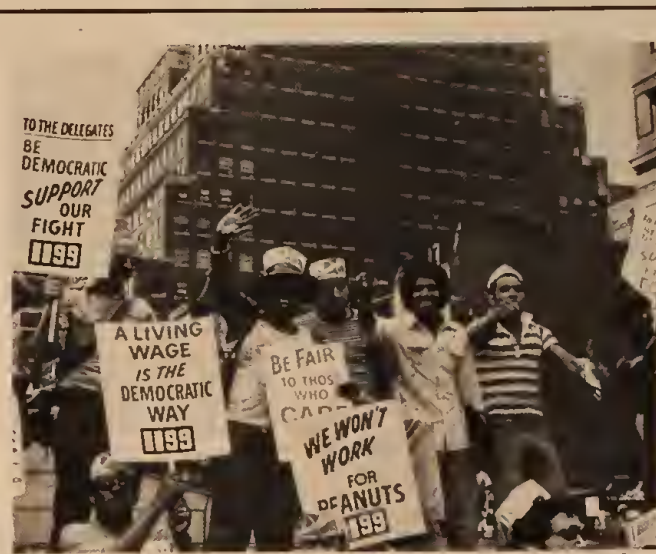
Both Local 1199 leader Davis and private hospital management are cur-

rently demanding higher Medicaid/Medicare payments from New York state, with Governor Carey adamantly resisting the proposal. Indeed, funding of medical services for working people is woefully inadequate at all of the private and public institutions. However, simply boosting subsidies will only be used by the private hospitals as an excuse to further increase their already skyrocketing rates. It is necessary to demand instead that the private hospitals be expropriated without compensation. Medical care must be made available to all, free of charge, with funding on a national scale!

The "progressive" Davis regime in 1199 has not only turned its back on Local 420 and the SEIU-organized workers in "proprietary" profit-making hospitals, but has also failed to demand

that the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR) respect 1199 picket lines. The CIR, which led a four-day doctors' strike last year demanding a reduction of the maximum intern workweek to 80 hours (!), claims that it is "supporting" the strike by politely reminding its members that they should do no extra "non-professional" work. But, in fact, the CIR (with the Davis bureaucracy's encouragement) is actually *scabbing*—there is no other word for crossing the picket lines. The much greater effectiveness of the strike at St. Barnabas Hospital, where 1199-organized nurses are out as well, demonstrates the potential of a solid strike supported by nurses and doctors.

Far from pursuing class-struggle policies and expanding the strike, the 1199 bureaucracy won't even involve all



WV Photo

JULY 12—"Welcome to New York...don't sit too near the air conditioner" was the greeting Leon Davis had thousands of Local 1199 strikers deliver to the delegates who paraded into the first session of the Democratic Party's red, white and blue "Jimmy Carter Convention" today. The demonstration was designed to put pressure on Democratic Party politicians to engineer a settlement of the NYC hospital strike.

Many of the strikers, who had spent the day picketing under the hot sun, wanted to demonstrate more than concern for the health of the delegates! But Davis, whose main message was that binding arbitration would end the strike "in a minute," labored to co-opt the instinctive unfocused hostility of the ranks to this bosses' convention by circulating union signs bearing such slogans as "We Won't Work for Peanuts," an apparent reference to the crop raised by Carter in Georgia.

However, the 1199 leadership took considerable pains to suppress any criticisms of the Democratic Party. A song specially written for the occasion contained such lyrics as "We'd like to ask you/For your attention/We're fighting harder/Like Jimmy Carter/In a union that fights for you and me." The words were reportedly written by Henry Foner, the pro-Stalinist head of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers union whose brother is Moe Foner, executive secretary of Local 1199. Union handbills were revised to remove any criticism of Hugh Carey and in fact praised the governor for taking the initiative in urging binding arbitration! This was underscored by the banner draped across the 1199 speakers' podium reading, incredibly, "End the strike—Arbitrate now!"

This holiday for capitalist politicians should have been "welcomed" by NYC labor with massive militant demonstrations against the layoffs and cutbacks authored by the Democratic Party city and state administrations and approved by every section of that party. Instead, the protests outside Madison Square Garden, which in no way demanded a break with the capitalist political parties, were a crazy-quilt mixture of 1199 strikers, liberals protesting the S-1 bill, pro-marijuana Yippies and anti-nuclear power environmentalists.

When Progressive Labor Party (PL) supporters (at least some of whom were also members of 1199) tried to raise a "NO ARBITRATION" banner within the demonstration, Leon Davis—with his customary disdain for workers democracy—personally ordered his goons into action. After a brief fight the banner, or what was left of it, was right where Davis wanted it—safely tucked under the arm of a NYC cop.

Of course the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was circulating its own reformist "Bill of Rights for Working People" and selling the Militant. Also present was District Council 37 delegate and occasional Militant writer Ray Markey, who is on a first name basis with "Vic" Gotbaum. Markey told a WV reporter at the demonstration that "for tactical reasons" he had not spoken up at the July 1 DC 37 Delegates Assembly meeting where Gotbaum foreclosed on any possibility of a joint municipal/private hospital workers strike. When asked whether he thought Local 420 workers ought to refuse to cross 1199 picket lines at municipal hospital sites, he answered: "That's crazy...you can do that!" Markey proudly pointed out, however, that he had (silently) voted against Gotbaum's settlout.

of the union's members. It bled off pulling out the 5,000 Local 1199 workers at municipal hospitals and nursing homes. Even now, 1199 workers at hospitals whose contracts have not expired remain at work, even though several delegates from NYU Medical Center circulated a petition at the July 7 delegates assembly meeting specifically requesting that they be called out. In addition, despite much-touted "democratic" institutions like the 138-member negotiating committee (which has nothing to negotiate since the union has promised to accept binding arbitration), the Leon Davis/Moe Foner regime has systematically resorted to the use of goon squads against union militants. During the strike, harassment of union oppositionists distributing leaflets was reported on several picket lines.

Leon Davis' efforts to "explore every avenue possible...anything...anything...rather than have a strike" has led the union down some pretty crooked avenues lately. While relying on the dead-end of arbitration, Davis is planning to lead thousands of union members in a stroll down Eighth Avenue to the Democratic Convention at Madison Square Garden. In a pathetic imitation of the "Fear City" slogan of the NYC cops' racist campaign last year, Davis has initiated a "Sick City" campaign to "welcome" the Democratic delegates, advising them to "stay healthy" while in town. The demonstration is aimed at embarrassing Governor Carey but in fact will only embarrass the union. A spokesman for the governor, whose election in 1975 was also "welcomed" by Leon Davis, contemptuously dismissed the union's campaign as "utterly ridiculous." Significantly, two officials from Local 1199, along with Victor Gotbaum, are delegates to the convention of this capitalist party. Labor must break with the bosses' parties and form its own party, to fight for a workers government!

New Leadership Needed

As in Local 1199's eight-day strike in 1973, no alternate leadership has emerged within the union capable of leading the struggle against Davis' sellouts to a successful conclusion, despite initial militancy and subsequent widespread disillusionment of the ranks with the official leadership.

Many of 1199's leading officials have well-known and long-standing ties with the reformist Communist Party (CP), which rewards the bureaucracy for its Martin Luther King-style "progressivism" with uncritical support. The CP has been active in rallying community support for the union's demands at Presbyterian Hospital, the largest struck private institution, but its policy of tailing the class-collaborationist bureaucracy of 1199 backfired on at least one occasion during the strike. A *Daily World* vendor, who regularly drops off hundreds of free papers at each picket site, was threatened and chased away from Mount Sinai by union goons. Evidently having been geared up to "protect" the ranks from "ultra-left" influences, the goons mistakenly meted out their heavy-handed treatment to the *Daily World* as well.

The 16 July *Militant*, organ of the equally reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), has made its hobby horse the defense of CIR scabbing. It reports that Dr. Jay Dolkin, head of the interns

and residents group, "blasted" the hospital administration's attempt to maintain business as usual during the strike. The article goes on to applaud 1199 for having "taken relatively good positions on important social issues," while significantly failing to explicitly criticize what it terms the "risky" decision to submit to hindering arbitration.

Meanwhile, other left groups have tail-ended the 1199 bureaucracy in capitulating to "public opinion" in the guise of "serving the people." The Medical Committee for Human Rights, which includes supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, issued a leaflet condoning the crossing of picket lines by doctors, nurses and students, merely suggesting that, "Those who feel they must come in to work...should do only their own work and not the work of striking 1199 members." The Maoist grouplet Workers Viewpoint, in an effort to conjure up a strike that would not inconvenience the public at all, went so far as to advocate that "patients be transferred out of striking hospitals." This treacherous suggestion would require the employees of the municipal hospitals to do the work of their striking union brothers and sisters in Local 1199!

It is precisely by its threat to cut off a necessary social service that a hospital strike can be successful. A militant union leadership would call for a joint city-wide hospital strike, bringing out the members of AFSCME Local 420 and the SEIU health workers as well as Local 1199. Such a leadership would build mass picket lines capable of halting the widespread scabbing by doctors, nurses, "volunteers" and administration personnel. Arbitration and impotent appeals to Democratic Party hewigs must be rejected. Rather than leaving the fate of the strike demands in the hands of (not so impartial) arbitrators and capitalist politicians, the unions must fight for their just demands, including a big pay boost with full cost-of-living protection, an end to all productivity agreements and jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. To guard against the treachery of the union bureaucracy, a democratically elected strike committee must be created to coordinate the strike activities and negotiations. ■

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Mao's "Socialism": No Electricity...

(continued from page 7)

regional economic autarky. Central administrative and technical cadre were among the chief victims of the Cultural Revolution and national economic planning was impossible for lack of personnel. In 1971, Chou En-Lai told Edgar Snow that the central government had only 10,000 employees compared to 60,000 before the Cultural Revolution (*New Republic*, 27 March 1971). Another source reported that whereas in 1965 roughly 20 percent of industrial enterprises were administered at the *hsien* (county) level or below, during 1969-71 the proportion increased to about 50 percent (Stuart Sechram, ed., *Authority, Participation and Cultural Change in China*).

Local economic self-sufficiency was officially hailed as a desired result of the Cultural Revolution and linked to the Great Leap period:

"The experience of the Great Leap Forward in 1958 and the facts since the start of the Cultural Revolution prove that the principle of giving play to both the central government and the localities and letting the localities undertake more work is the only correct principle for developing China's industry..."

Peking Review, 25 September 1971

Much of the attraction of Maoism for petty-bourgeois radicals in the West is the myth that China, unlike Brezhnev's Russia, is an egalitarian society. Quite apart from the considerable vertical income differences (the wage system has not fundamentally changed since the 1950's), the principle of local economic self-sufficiency produces the most extreme irrational income differences. Because the existence and expansion of small and medium-sized plants depends on local agricultural surplus and local demand, industrial production is concentrated in the richest regions. Even in the absence of economic statistics, one can safely assert that there is greater regional economic inequality in China than in any of the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, except perhaps Yugoslavia.

The similarity in economic policy between the Lin Piao period and the Great Leap Forward did not stop at emphasis on local self-sufficiency. Military commanders tried to extract a greater surplus from the peasantry in 1969-71, through a guarded attempt to reverse de facto liquidation of the commune system. Direct pressure (as distinct from economic inducements) were used to curtail the private plots. Production teams, responsible for basic agriculture, were forced to supply uncompensated labor for local industry, social services and conservation projects.

While these policies did not lead to the disaster of 1959-62, the mini-leap forward did lead to serious imbalances between agricultural and industrial production. Industry recovered from the Cultural Revolution with extraordinary rapidity: during 1968-71 manufacturing output grew over 50 percent. But agriculture increased by only about 15 percent, and in 1972 food grain output fell (*Far Eastern Economic Review Yearbook*, 1975).

The relative weakness of agriculture in the Lin Piao period had three main causes. The local industry servicing agriculture was too primitive to allow for major technological breakthroughs. Too much labor was deflected from basic farming to glamor industrial projects which were often bureaucratic hoondoggles, the equivalent of the backyard blast furnaces of the Great Leap. And not least important, the

peasants responded to the elements of renewed forced collectivization in 1969-71 by voting with their productivity.

Post-Cultural Revolution China under PLA dominance has had considerable regional autonomy, containing the seeds of warlordism. Mao, who is committed above all to the unity and strength of China, was naturally disturbed at this situation. The PLA commanders' tendency toward parochial "mountain-topism" was an important source of friction between Mao and Lin.

Apart from the dangers of regional disintegration there were other important reasons that Mao was unhappy about the predominance of the PLA and the untrammelled power of Lin's circle. The utopian strain in his pronouncements is not primarily a primitivist or even simply nationalist ideology; it is above all an expression of extreme bureaucratic fiat. (This is the sense of his frequent references to past Chinese rulers, when an all-powerful emperor made China great.) To play the prescribed bonapartist role, he requires a broad-based party/government apparatus to serve as a transmission belt to the unorganized masses. As early as 1969, Mao pushed for and Lin resisted the reconstruction of the civilian bureaucratic apparatus.

An astute emperor/bonaparte will also keep a sharp eye out for palace intrigues, preventing any one potential usurper from gaining too much power, while insisting on rigid hierarchy. Appropriately, the specific focus of the Mao Lin conflict was the state chairmanship, a post left vacant by the purge of Liu Shao-chi. Lin Piao, who had been named Mao's heir as party chairman, wanted to become formal head of state, figuring that he would naturally inherit the position when the Chairman went to his final reward. Mao insisted on keeping the position vacant, leaving open the possibility of appointing someone as a counterweight to Lin.

The conflict between Mao and Lin was essentially one of personal power, which accounted for its unusually violent outcome. There were no significant policy differences between the two other than those inherent in the locus of governmental power, such as the degree of regional autonomy. Neither Mao nor Lin's alleged factional statements go beyond questions of personal power, with Lin denouncing Mao as a cruel tyrant and Mao accusing Lin of inflated ambitions and PLA encroaching on legitimate party functions.

With Lin outmaneuvered in conventional clique fighting in the Heavenly Palace, there are allegations that he plotted a military coup which was aborted at the eleventh hour. If he did indeed have contact with the Kremlin, it would not represent a more pro-Soviet stance against China's emerging alliance with Nixon's America. Lin was simply a desperate man groping for allies.

In any case, whatever ill Lin may have wished Mao in his last year as officially designated "close comrade-in-arms," his fiery death in a plane crash in Mongolia more than made up for it. He was the perfect scapegoat for the Mao/Chou regime. The humiliation of veteran cadre during the Cultural Revolution, the assaults on foreign legations during 1967, the abuses against the peasants in 1969-71 could all be laid to Lin's unprotesting corpse.

The fall of Marshal Lin was followed by a massive, if bloodless, purge of the PLA. Of the PLA officers elected to the CCP central committee at the ninth party congress (1969), 86 percent were not reelected at the tenth party congress in 1973. The political bureau was composed of 55 percent PLA officers at the ninth congress and only 29 percent army men at the tenth congress (*China Quarterly*, April-June 1974). In 1974, the commanders of eight of China's eleven main military regions were relocated

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Political Gang Warfare Escalates in Jamaica

(continued from page 3)

ment Bank, is "to broaden the base of business ownership" (*New Yorker*, 19 January 1976).

The Bank of Jamaica's *Bulletin* (September 1975) discusses in some detail the government's program for dealing with the current economic crisis. This phony "socialist" regime proposes that "incentives to the private sector include credit at subsidized rates of interest." It notes a rash of strikes "as workers' demands intensify in general anticipation of the government imposed incomes policy." These strikes crippled the hauxite industry, owned by the giant North American corporations, Alcoa, Alcan, Reynolds and Kaiser. Public service workers and university employees also struck, and troops were used against workers at Kingston airport. Manley's Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act clamps a lid on wage increases and virtually outlaws strikes. The leadership of the island's main trade-union body, the pro-PNP National Workers' Union, is attempting to maintain labor discipline in the face of the workers' desire to fight the bourgeoisie's austerity program.

The Jamaican left has also capitulated to the PNP's phony leftism and dire warnings of an imminent right-wing coup attempt. Trevor Munroe, leader of the Workers Liberation League, touted by the "independent radical" *Guardian* (16 June) explains that his group has abandoned its former opposition to the government and now calls for "a united front against imperialism which would include the Manley government." Munroe disingenuously maintains that "Manley does not stand with the imperialists and has distanced himself from bourgeois reformers." But friendship with Castro and socialist rhetoric do not an anti-imperialist make.

Neither, at the present time, does the violence of the pro-American JLP against the "Third Worldist" Manley pose a direct threat to bourgeois democracy and the organized workers movement as was the case with the military coup against the Chilean popular front in 1972-73. The current wave of political gang warfare in Kingston does not require class-conscious workers to make a military bloc with the ruling PNP. Manley's state of siege does, however, make incumbent on revolutionaries in Jamaica a militant struggle for democratic rights and defense of working-class organizations, while equally refusing to be sucked into the JLP's rightist intrigues or provocations. ■

Entebbe...

(continued from page 1)

not be drawn into this hypocritical chorus! Unlike the right of nations to self-determination, "national sovereignty" is not a bourgeois-democratic demand that Marxists support. Moreover, Uganda's "national sovereignty" was subordinated by Idi Amin's complicity with the hijackers. Israel's real crimes are precisely those crimes committed to forge and defend its "national sovereignty"—from the forced expulsion and dispersal of the Palestinian people to the shooting down of a Libyan commercial airliner over occupied Sinai in 1972, which resulted in the death of over 100 passengers.

According to the *London Observer*, a 75-year-old hostage was dragged



Israeli premier Yitzhak Rabin

screaming from her hospital bed and burned in gasoline. This atrocity—to reactionary nationalists an "appropriate" retaliation for Zionist humiliation of Ugandan national pride—has provoked a frantic hue and cry in the imperialist press, which has remained silent about Amin's other acts of frenzied revenge. These included shooting the three Entebbe air controllers, the director of civil aviation as well as 200 Kenyans resident in Uganda because Kenya allowed Nairobi airport to be used for the Israeli commando operation. There is an implicit racism in the bourgeois press coverage of Amin's atrocities: the murdered hostage held both Israeli and British citizenship, while Amin's other revenge killings were "merely" Africans killing Africans.

After Amin ousted Uganda's former ruler, Milton Obote, in 1971, he proceeded to massacre perhaps as many as 90,000 members of Obote's Longi tribe and the closely related Acholi. This was Idi Amin exercising his "national

sovereignty." Likewise Amin's expulsion from Uganda of 55,000 Asians with British passports.

The hijacking of the Air France Airbus is no more supportable than the shooting down of the Libyan commercial airliner even though the former is done in the name of national justice for the Palestinians while the latter is done to defend a state which rests on the racist and violent subjugation of the Palestinians. Terror which does not discriminate between the enemy of the oppressed and the innocent—which instead chooses its target according to the type of passport an airline passenger possesses—is nothing but genocide hiding behind the slogans of national justice.

When PFLP hijackings threatened to precipitate a global confrontation in 1970, PFLP leader Dr. George Habash was quoted as saying:

"The whole world would stand to lose something in such a war, except for us. If that should be the only way to destroy Israel, Zionism and Arab reaction, we would in fact welcome the third world war."

quoted in *Workers Press*, 18 September 1970

As an ideology the nationalism of the PFLP is just as chauvinist, racist and reactionary as Zionism. The material difference is that Zionism has state power, an organized and centralized monopoly of the means of violence based on advanced technology, while the PFLP are dispersed guerrillas with grenades and small arms. Further, as a movement the PFLP attracts to its ranks some idealist youth motivated by the desperate plight of the Palestinians. But if the PFLP had state power it would behave in the same chauvinist manner toward non-Arab minorities as have its mentors in Baghdad toward the Kurds and its foes in Tel Aviv toward the Palestinians.

Nationalism in power, even the nationalism of a formerly oppressed people, strives to compact a racially homogeneous state through the brutal methods of bourgeois nation-state building: forced assimilation, expulsion or genocide of racial and national minorities. Idi Amin is a consistent bourgeois nationalist when he wears with pride his Israeli paratroop wings while praising Hitler for the massacre of



Sebastiao Salgado/Gamma-Liaison

No Tears for Mercenaries in Angola!

After last minute intercession to save the life of an American mercenary condemned to death in Angola, U.S. president Ford is now shedding copious crocodile tears, expressing "shock" and sympathy for the bereaved widow, who has to go on welfare. But Kissinger and Ford's "humanitarianism" is reserved solely for white, bloodthirsty mass murderers. At home they mount a racist electoral campaign and unleash the death penalty upon hundreds of prisoners, overwhelmingly black. Where are the pleas for mercy for these men? Where are the special lawyers rushed to their side for defense? Where are the American Congressmen so ready to intercede on their behalf? Where, indeed, is the "sympathy" for the hundreds of thousands forced on welfare by decaying capitalism?

By all accounts Daniel Gearhart, the American mercenary executed in Angola July 10, was a rather sleazy, incompetent, confused thrill-seeker, who was picked up a mere three days after arriving in Angola. His cohorts included a mafioso goon and errand boy, and the notorious "Colonel Callan," sadistic kill-crazy mass murderer of his own men as well as Angolans. We shed no tears for these "dregs of humanity" (as the defense itself characterized them) who have become the latest heroes of the equally sordid and corrupt capitalist states which encouraged their ill-fated mission to loot, rape and murder. We sympathize with the anger of the victims of the CIA-abetted South African invasion and understand the Angolan people's massive outcry of "death to the mercenaries." Our sympathies are also with the thousands of victims of racist capitalism rotting in America's prisons.

The Col. Callans and Lt. Calleys ("martyred hero" for American reactionaries) of this world are indeed fitting symbols of the racist, brutal bourgeois state—such depraved elements are the potential SS-men of fascism. Yet the Angolan mercenaries are just a few amateurs who happened to get caught. Meanwhile among the greatest mass murderers in history are those who sit comfortably in their State Department offices, oozing humanitarian platitudes about "international law." Only the victorious international socialist revolution can wipe their ilk off the face of the earth, along with the rotting society which breeds both imperialist death merchants and two-bit desperado mercenaries.

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six million Jews.

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Ugandan president Idi Amin

strikes. But the Lod airport massacre, the killing of Israeli athletes at Munich, the kidnapping of more than 250 people whose "crime" was to board an aircraft in Tel Aviv—these atrocities are indefensible and criminal.

At bottom responsibility for these crimes is borne not simply by the guerrillas who perpetrate them, but by the racist Zionist state which turned the Palestinians into stateless and desperate people. Thus we give no support to the provocative (and audacious) Israeli commando raid, for the same commandos who free innocent hostages today will be used to shell and bomb Palestinian refugee camps tomorrow. The answer to Entebbe is self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew peoples in a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

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Italian Crisis...

(continued from page 12)

top honors for unprincipled political maneuverism.

Avanguardia Operaia took the prize for blind optimism, declaring that "the electoral results strikingly confirm our political analysis and the proposals we have advanced" (*Quotidiano dei Lavoratori*, 23 June, quoted in *Inprecor*, 8 July). Even AO was forced to admit that the electoral success was not "commensurate," however. This was explained away with the remark that a "positive" transformation of the DP's social base is taking place, losing left reformists to the PCI and the "radicalizing petty bourgeois" to the new Radical Party (PR), while gaining workers; the latter, however, are "yet being consolidated."

At the other extreme is Lotta Continua, whose leader Adriano Sofri declared that the unexpectedly low vote was the "most gigantic" political error "of our political history" (*Lotta Continua*, 1 July). The GCR pointed to clear

QUARTA INTERNAZIONALE



Shazzamo, it's the Gruppi!

signs that former PDUP supporters voted for the PCI, and others for the PR. Not only was the majority of the DP electorate petty-bourgeois, said the GCR resolution, but "only a very modest if not insignificant part of the working class opted for the united list of the far left" (quoted in *Inprecor*, 8 July).

But why the unexpectedly low vote? There is one point on which all agree: the incredible parliamentary cretinist squabbling and reciprocal knifing by the various components of the amalgam. This permitted the PCI to attack it as an unprincipled combination, and apparently win some support with this legitimate observation.

A Government of the Lefts?

Equally fundamental was the utter failure of Democrazia Proletaria to present a hard opposition to popular frontism, the only way it could give revolutionary political direction to those militants who wish to break from the treacherous "historical compromise." Instead the DP offered the slogan of a "government of the lefts" that was clearly intended to include minor bourgeois parties.

"Democrazia Proletaria is the only electoral formation that clearly poses the objective of providing a positive way out of the crisis of the regime through a government of the left in which the historic parties of the working class, the PCI and the PSI, will have decisive weight, a government open to Catholic forces that free themselves of the political Catholicism of the Christian Democracy, open above all to the movements of struggle within society, whose strength can impose a program based on the popular interest and devoted to its realities."

"Joint Appeal" elaborated by PDUP and AO, *Inprecor*, 24 June

"Open to Catholic forces" means of course open to bourgeois forces. What is



Fiat workers on strike at Mirafiori plant in Torino.

being talked about here is an Italian equivalent to the Chilean MAPU or Christian Left, bourgeois mini-parties that were part of the UP coalition. The Democrazia Proletaria formula is actually nothing new: merely a bourgeois reform government which claims to lead ("open the road") to socialism. In reality, as in Chile, such bourgeois coalitionism opens the way to counterrevolution.

The DP joint statement (subsequently agreed to by Lotta Continua) proposes a low-level reformist program while calling for Italy out of NATO in favor of a vague alliance with "third world countries" against the "superpowers." The "left government" will also expand the "productive apparatus" through "utilization of private industrial development," while elaborating taxation schemes that will strike "drastically at the big tax evaders and block the flight of capital." This will be done, of course, "within the sphere of the present constitutional order."

Despite the liberal use of magic phrases such as "development of workers and people's control," it is hard to imagine a more frank program for a bourgeois government committed to reforming capitalism!

Lotta Continua eagerly subordinated itself to the PDUP lash in order to get in on the action which electoral success by the Democrazia Proletaria was expected to bring. It had a few criticisms, of course, notably that PDUP and AO were content to call for a "government of the lefts" without further qualification; for LC it was also necessary to struggle to "win hegemony" within the government of the left. But on the fundamental points it agreed:

"Even a very advanced government like the one we are struggling for will never be able to change the nature of this state, will never be able to completely satisfy the interests of the proletarians."

The strategy of Lotta Continua is clear: first a government of the left that doesn't "completely" serve the proletariat, then revolutionaries within that government "win hegemony" and, presto, "Socialism!" Meanwhile the Leninist understanding that the state serves the ruling class, and must be smashed rather than taken over, is conveniently forgotten.

Yes Equals No, Plus Equals Minus

The most completely opportunist of all, however, was the GCR, which prior to the election campaign had opposed a "government of the lefts, conceived in the parliamentary framework and without a precise class discrimination" as being no alternative to the "historic compromise" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 18 February). But the GCR joined Democrazia Proletaria which called for a "government of the lefts" that invited bourgeois elements to join, and explicitly stated that it would be within the

parliamentary framework!

This called for some fast footwork from that master obfuscator, GCR sage Livio Maitan. While at the beginning of the campaign the Italian Usec group was calling for a PCI/PSI government, during the electioneering Maitan reportedly rose at Lotta Continua's closing rally in Rome to announce that the DP's "government of the lefts" corresponded to the GCR's slogan. And in *Lotta Continua* (24 June), a communiqué from the GCR proclaims the "left government" to be the "only current way out of the crisis." Maitan is seldom without a fig leaf, however, and in an election declaration the GCR piously warns of the "negative" impact of actual bourgeois participation in a "government that defends the interests of the working class and the other exploited layers."

"But no bourgeois group or party—even potential new groups created by splits from the traditional formation—should be admitted. The experiences of Spain and Chile, in spite of their many differences, highlight the negative role that can be played by such Trojan Horses, regardless of their precise composition."

Inprecor, 24 June

Nowhere in this declaration did these cynics attack the popular-front policies of the DP, just as the Usec majority alibis the Allende regime in Chile, denying that the small bourgeois parties of the UP had any importance.

The Gruppi position is basically the same as that of all the other parties in the Democrazia Proletaria coalition: that an Allende-style popular front would open opportunities for the working class. They have it exactly backwards. It is because the bourgeoisie can no longer rule solely through the classical capitalist party that they rely upon the reformists (and possibly a few centrist hangers-on) to form governmental blocs that subordinate the working class to capitalist rule.

Certainly a popular front in Italy, like Allende's, would cause "movement" and stir up a "dynamic." But it will not aid the struggle for workers power—on the contrary, it is a barrier. In one sense, the classic popular front espoused by the DP is more treacherous than the PCI's "historic compromise," because it would create greater illusions. The PCI, at least, makes no promises about a "dynamic" leading to socialism—it only wants to give Italy an explicitly capitalist "stable government." So does the Democrazia Proletaria. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Democrazia Proletaria in the Camp of the Popular Front

Italian Parliamentary Crisis Drags On

JULY 13 The June 20 parliamentary elections in Italy, despite anguished bourgeois predictions of a red tidal wave engulfing the country, ended in an uneasy stalemate, with both major parties, the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Communists (PCI), claiming "victory." The PCI did increase its total vote percentage by over 6 percent since the previous "political" elections in 1972 (and by 2 percent above its score in last year's "administrative" local and regional elections). It also greatly reduced regional disparity in its vote to only 2 percent, gaining heavily in the traditionally reactionary South. But the PCI was far from overtaking the Christian Democrats as the leading party.

Speaking on election night to a less than overjoyed crowd outside party headquarters on Via delle Botteghe Oscure, Communist Party leader Enrico Berlinguer took comfort in the "shift to the left in parliament." In a post-election interview (*Corriere della Sera*, 23 June), Berlinguer went out of his way to reaffirm the campaign theme of PCI moderation: "Many people have interpreted our proposition of a coalition of broad democratic unity as anxiousness to join the government," he said. "But we aren't anxious, the PCI isn't in any hurry!" In return for this modesty, the new chamber of deputies elected a Communist speaker, Pietro Ingrao, giving the PCI its most important parliamentary position since the post-war government in 1946-47.

The deeply corrupt and internally divided Christian Democrats actually maintained their 1972 percentage, marking a 3 percent advance over last year's vote and a 4.3 percent plurality over the PCI. This immediately set off a debate over whether the election results represented a victory for the "reform" line of party secretary Zaccagnini or for the "old guard" headed by party president Amintore Fanfani. More important was the fact that the DC was able to hold its own only by deeply cutting into the electorate of "center" parties such as the Social Democrats (PSDI) and the Liberals (PLI), whose votes were roughly halved. Since a political upheaval resulted from the DC's last attempt to hook up with the fascist MSI (Italian Social Movement-National Right) in 1960, a center-right coalition is now ruled out.

Another big loser was the Socialist Party (PSI), down almost 700,000 votes since 1975, tarnished by the stench of

corruption and stagnation of DC-led "center-left" governments it has propped up for the last decade. Already on June 21, the Christian Democrats had begun their usual horsetrading with the PSI, but the latter, trapped in the middle of an overwhelming polarization between the PCI and DC, refused any coalition without some guarantee of Communist support, whether formal or otherwise. The stage is thus set for a "summer" minority caretaker government, allowing several months for negotiating an emergency economic program with the PCI, and an eventual center-left coalition supported by the Communists in parliament.

The "Historic Compromise"

But beyond the prospect of continued parliamentary crisis, the real losers in the scramble for ministerial portfolios



"Vampire government, get out!"

are the Italian workers, huffed by the deep social and economic crisis wracking the country and faced with a choice between the bloodsucking DC regime and a "Communist" party whose overwhelming aim is to join the Christian Democrats in administering a capitalist austerity program.

In both Italy and France the absence of an entrenched social democracy has passed to the Communists the task of disciplining the working class for the bourgeoisie. With the Christian Democrats clearly incapable of dealing with massive inflation and unemployment, there is an opening for the PCI to act even more directly as the watchdog of



PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer campaigning for "historic compromise" with Christian Democracy.

big capital. So while Henry Kissinger warns gloomily of the dangers of Communist participation in the government, the PCI has bent over backwards to prove it can be just as reliable as any social-democratic party. In a pre-election interview Berlinguer, while rejecting a direct "social pact" between government and the unions to hold down wages (as in Britain), guaranteed that "the unions will know how to behave themselves."

On the question of NATO, Berlinguer waxed positively lyrical. Going beyond the PCI's repeated pledges to remain within the anti-communist imperialist military alliance, he added: "since Italy doesn't belong to the Warsaw Pact [the Soviet bloc military alliance], from this point of view there is absolute certainty that we can proceed along the Italian road to socialism without any conditions." He favored staying within the Atlantic Pact not only because leaving would upset the international equilibrium, but "also" because "I feel safer here" (*Corriere della Sera*, 15 June).

Since the fall of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government in 1973, the Italian Communist Party has harped on the need for a "compromesso storico" (historic compromise) with the other two main political currents in the country, Socialist and Christian Democrat. The only lesson the PCI drew from the bloody demise of the Chilean popular front was that it wasn't "popular" enough, that is, it didn't contain the major historic party of the capitalists. So the PCI's "historic" contribution to Stalinist class collaboration has been to call for a "broad coalition" with the Christian Democrats.

But the fundamental lesson of Chile is that the working class must intransigently maintain its class independence from all sections of the bourgeoisie. The popular front, as Leon Trotsky noted, is the central issue of the epoch, it is also the central issue immediately facing Italian workers today. Revolutionaries presenting candidates in the June 20 elections would

have campaigned uncompromisingly against the popular frontism of the PCI. But no parties fielding candidates ran on such a program of class independence; the so-called "far left" simply capitulated to Berlinguer & Co., trying to pressure them by advocating a slightly more "left" popular front of the Allende brand.

Democrazia Proletaria

For the heralded "election of the century," the "extra-parliamentary" radicals of yesteryear fielded a conglomerate slate under the rubric of Democrazia Proletaria (DP). Their hope was to capture the "significant audience" that rejected the PCI's grand coalition with the Christian Democrats, but all the DP could come up with was their own much less grand but equally class-collaborationist amalgam.

The DP was originally created as an electoral cartel by Avanguardia Operaia (AO Workers Vanguard) and the Partito di Unità Proletaria per il Comunismo (PDUP—Party of Proletarian Unity for Communism) for the "administrative" elections of 15 June 1975. This year, after considerable opposition from the PDUP leadership, a third major group, Lotta Continua (LC—Continuing Struggle) was permitted to include its own candidates for lower slots on the DP tickets. Bringing up the rear were the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups), Italian section of Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), who were granted a few token candidates at the bottom of the lists.

Prior to the voting, all three major components of Democrazia Proletaria had expected the slate to garner roughly 3 percent of the ballots. In actuality, the figure was only 1.5 percent, a full half million votes less than expected, although they managed to elect six deputies. This setback produced a series of election postmortems that ran the gamut from pollyannaism to electoralist catastrophism, with the GCR winning

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