

## Unions Balk as Berlinguer Props Up Government

# Revolt in Italian Communist Party

**Break with the Christian Democrats!  
For A General Strike  
Against Austerity  
Measures!**

Italian trade unionists got a good taste of the Italian Communist Party's (PCI) "historic compromise" this month and they don't like it. The Christian Democratic party (DC) is pushing through its austerity measures with the active help of the PCI. The PCI's abstentions in parliament are the only way the minority DC government of Giulio Andreotti can stay in office, and the workers who will have to live with the government's "anti-inflation" austerity plan want to know why "their" party is not voting against the DC as it has for the last 29 years. Shattered illusions among the PCI's working-class base are being reflected in an unusually acrimonious public dispute among the PCI tops.

In spite of decades of class collaboration, the PCI has retained the loyalty of the mass of the Italian working class. But the PCI's support for the austerity plan ("stagnata") and its suspension of parliamentary opposition to the DC have triggered a revolt in that section of the PCI bureaucracy which is directly



Factory workers cheer Berlinguer at PCI rally in Verona before June elections. No cheers for Berlinguer today.

Sygma

responsible for keeping the militant ranks in line—the trade-union wing of the party.

The "stagnata" which has provoked such a furor in the ranks was announced on October 8 and includes among its major points: a 25 percent increase in gasoline prices, a slash in the cost-of-living allowances, a reduction of the 17 paid holidays (the largest such number in Europe) and a price increase on state-taxed items such as cigarettes. The key plank is the attempt to arrive at an implicit system of wage controls—an attack upon industrial wages, which

have been rising at about 25 percent a year according to the *New York Times* (8 October).

The "stagnata" depends upon the PCI's commitment to disciplining the workforce. In countries like Italy and France, where social democracy is not the dominant party of the working class, the Stalinist parties are busily showing the bourgeoisie that they "cannot rule without the Communists." The CP's must prove to the capitalists that they can be trusted. Thus the "stagnata" is an important test for the grovelling Stalinists and their dreams of a "historic

compromise" with the DC which would hand the PCI a few ministerial portfolios.

As the DC's attack on the working class went into gear, the PCI ran along behind: "the gravest danger is inflation" which "threatens the democratic regime itself. Avoiding such a catastrophe is therefore the primary task of the workers, the laborers and of all democrats today," whined a 7 October PCI declaration (*Le Monde*, 10-11 October). PCI head Enrico Berlinguer promised that the parliamentary policy of the

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## CIA's Latin American Murder, Inc.

# Gusanos Blow Up Cuban Plane, 73 Die

**Connection with Letelier  
Assassination?**

OCTOBER 25—On October 6, a powerful bomb ripped apart a Cuban passenger airplane, hurling the craft into the sea off the coast of Barbados and killing all 73 persons aboard. The next day in Trinidad a Cuban exile confessed to planting two bombs on the plane. Since then the unfolding of the case reveals an elaborate, well-organized and financed network of thieves and assassins who leave a bloody trail from Miami's "Little Havana" to Caracas, from Pinochet to the CIA.

In the last year, Castro has been gaining influence in the Caribbean. Cuba has been building schools and factories in Jamaica, and Castro's Angolan intervention won support from blacks throughout the region. Washing-

ton has been looking for a way to "teach Castro a lesson." The mass murder of 73 passengers is the lesson: that the U.S. is still determined to politically "quarantine" Cuba is the message.

Pique at the State Department over Castro's diplomatic successes coincided with a mood of desperation in Cuban exile circles. In fact, last spring in Miami at least 12 exiles were gunned down, at a rate of almost one per week, for supposed softness on Castro. With the increasing "legitimacy" of the Cuban regime as big business has been pressuring for relaxation of the trade embargo, the former *batistianos'* dreams of sailing back to Cuba, a bank book in one hand and a CIA machine gun in the other, have faded. So finding the "teachers" was no problem.

At the same time that Cuban exile groups in Miami claimed responsibility for the October 6 terrorist bombing, two men, Hernán Ricardo and Freddy

Lugo, were arrested for the crime. Ricardo confessed to planting the bombs on the plane. The two reportedly boarded the plane in Trinidad, got off in Barbados without their luggage and returned to Trinidad. The two are supposedly the same ones who planted a bomb on another Cuban plane in Kingston, Jamaica, last month.

Meanwhile, in Caracas, Venezuela, police have arrested at least seven Cuban exiles in connection with the plane bombing. The most prominent was one Orlando Bosch, head of the exile umbrella group "Commandos of United Revolutionary Organizations." Bosch received extensive training by the CIA during the 1960's, spent four years in prison for firing a bazooka at a Polish ship in Miami harbor, was paroled and then skipped the U.S. in 1974. He spent three months in Chile last year and ended up in Venezuela in September.

Arrested with him was his close

associate, Luis Posado Corriles, who left Cuba in 1960, was trained by the CIA in Brigade 2506 (the Bay of Pigs Cuban exile army), and after more training by the U.S. Army went to Venezuela as an aide to then Interior Minister Carlos Andrés Pérez. He fought against Castroite guerrillas and ended up chief of operations for the Venezuelan secret police. The confessed bomber, Ricardo, reportedly works for a detective agency in Caracas owned by Posado and staffed with Cuban exiles.

Two other exiles, a special adviser on security to Venezuelan president Pérez and an officer in the Venezuelan secret police are also in jail. In fact, it is now believed that Pérez, president of "the last refuge of democracy in South America," has maintained contact with Pinochet through the Cubans in his secret police. It was these same Venezuelan secret police who last July tortured

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# Break with All Wings of the USec!

# French Militants Resign from LCR

We reprint below the resignation of three comrades from the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec). The LCR is the showpiece of the centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the faction-ridden USec; hence, empirical oppositions which have chronically sprung up in reaction against the LCR's petty-bourgeois opportunist practice have tended to gravitate toward the IMT's main factional antagonist within the USec, the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (L-TF) led by the reformist American SWP. It was only after participating in several oppositional tendencies that these three comrades found their way to the Trotskyist politics of the international Spartacist tendency.

The comrades' resignation also highlights the internal disarray of the LCR. The principled Trotskyist course outlined in the document was a direct challenge to those critics of the LCR majority who have sought to pose as "orthodox" "left" oppositionists while refusing to break from the maneuverist methodology of the USec rotten bloc. One such grouping, Tendency A led by Matti, felt obliged to attempt a lengthy political answer. As the Matti reply states:

"Our tendency has a particular responsibility since these comrades were politically closest to us before they began to look outside the organization for the political answers they could not find within it."

Matti's is a peculiar document which attempts simultaneously to use the comrades' resignation as a club to beat the LCR leadership and to reassure the leadership that, unlike these "sectarians," he has no intention of drawing from his partial and empirical criticisms the principled conclusions which would demand a break from the Pabloist USec.

Matti stresses that these comrades' resignation "is a politically serious event" as they are "valuable Trotskyist cadre" who "carried out their duty as militants of the LCR with exemplary discipline to the end." He notes that two of the comrades were long-time LCR members and part of its city leadership in Rouen. He is also obliged, to protect his own "left" image, to solidarize with important criticisms raised by the three comrades:

"When they denounced the organization's impotence when confronted with the Union of the Left, when they denounced the tactic of building the party by conquering the 'broad vanguard' and the abandonment in practice of the method of the Transitional Program these comrades were correct." [emphasis in original]

## Statement of Resignation

Dear comrades,

The LCR stands in the programmatic continuity of Pablo Mandel/Frank/Maitan's rejection of Trotskyism at the beginning of the 1950's, which led to the destruction of the Fourth International. This political line has been expressed in a long history of betrayals: political support to the Titos, Maos, Gomulkas, Castros—all deemed authentic anti-Stalinist revolutionaries; 15 years of entrism sui generis in Stalinist and/or social-democratic parties to pressure them to take up a revolutionary course; rejection of political revolution and thus of building Trotskyist workers parties in the deformed workers states, for example, China, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos; support to the Algerian FLN and Ben Bella's bourgeois government, presented as a "workers and peasants government"; enthusiastic embrace of petty-bourgeois guerrillaism for Latin America, Ceylon and Spain; tailing after the "new mass vanguards." But the fundamental line remains the same: denying the need for the Leninist party, refusing to struggle to win over the working-class vanguard to the essential conclusions of the Trotskyist program, seeking to replace the Leninist party by substitutes which supposedly fight for the historic interests of the proletariat.

Today the consequence of this Pabloist line is a perspective of fusing with the reformist PSU. On February 11, Pablo sent a letter to Mandel referring to a previous meeting between them, and noted: "we foresee this eventual unification in the framework of a new organization that would not at the outset be part of any international formation..."

Four months later, Mandel wrote: "What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered forces which agree with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference [Trotskyism] and the name [the Fourth International], we would get rid of the

latter in 24 hours" (*Politique Hebdo*, 16 June 1976).

## The United Secretariat: A Rotten Bloc

The United Secretariat (USec) is nothing but an unprincipled bloc between the centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (L-TF) dominated by the reformist SWP. The USec's existence is not based on programmatic agreement but on the desire of its main elements to maintain the fiction that they represent the Fourth International. In most countries where the IMT and L-TF exist, they have already split into competing groups (Canada, Argentina, Peru, Australia, Mexico, Spain, U.S.). The rottenness of this international conglomerate was more than amply demonstrated over Portugal, where faced with a pre-revolutionary situation the main factions of this so-called "Fourth International" took positions which led each of them to a different side of the barricades!

The IMT lined up behind the Stalinist Communist Party and the "left" generals of the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA), in August 1975 signing the infamous declaration which politically supported the Gonçalves government and called for the formation of a popular front with the MFA. The reformist SWP tailed the Socialist Party, which covered for the reactionary July 1975 mobilizations against the Communists and the workers commissions. For the SWP, this anti-Communist hysteria was a manifestation of "the most courageous" workers fighting to defend "their right to decide for themselves who will run the country and the workers organizations" (*Militant*, 8 August 1975)—a position which aided the rapprochement between the SWP and OCI. These international tendencies in no way whatsoever represent Trotskyist politics.

The L-TF is led by the social-democratic SWP. During the Vietnam war, the SWP limited its intervention to the slogan "immediate withdrawal of troops," a demand also supported by a

To separate himself from the comrades' generalization of these criticisms into an attack on the fundamentally Pabloist method of the USec itself, Matti retreats behind empty characterizations of "dogmatism" and "ultra-leftism."

The only programmatic issue which Matti attempts to treat substantively is the question of the LCR majority's capitulation to the popular-front Union of the Left. Matti is forced to admit that the Union of the Left does not represent the independence of the working class and agrees "that the popular front obliterates the independence of the workers parties vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie." He is now caught in an intolerable contradiction. Unable to deny, as does the LCR majority, that the Union of the Left is a bourgeois formation, Matti in typical opportunist fashion wants to leave open the option of voting for it (through the intermediary of the workers parties in it). Accordingly, he terms this a "tactical" question. In other words, for this "left" oppositionist, voting bourgeois is a tactic!

Matti does not try to reply to the other issues raised in the resignation statement. Yes, he says, "the question of Pabloism must be broached sooner or later"—but, perish the thought, not now. Matti also waxes ironic over the characterization of the IMT as centrist and the L-TF as reformist, but dares not offer any alternative. This is not a matter of mere terminology; Matti must at all costs conceal that despite his "leftist" criticisms, he has aligned himself with the right wing of the USec.

Matti's rationale for remaining within the USec is quintessential opportunism: that's where the action is. Making a virtue of necessity, he boasts that the components of the USec are not "monolithic" and looks toward the integration of more of the same (perhaps Matti will get his wish, as the USec has apparently just hatched an even more ambitious non-aggression pact, to include not only the bitterly antagonistic factions of the present USec but the international grouping led by the French OCI as well). For Matti, one needs merely to gather together a sufficient number of centrists to have a "recomposition." But adding one centrist and another centrist does not make a Trotskyist party—merely a rotten bloc. Only in the bible is order born from chaos.

The international Spartacist tendency and its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, welcome Cochise, Clément and Thibault into the ranks of those fighting for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

[adapted from *Spartacist* (French edition) No. 12, November 1976]

section of the bourgeoisie. By failing to call on the working class to take action against the war and not calling for military victory to the NLF—which would have damaged its bloc with liberal Congressmen—the SWP refused to oppose its "own" imperialism. It adopted feminism, a bourgeois ideology, as "revolutionary in itself" and opposed the slogan "free abortion on demand" so as not to weaken its bloc with feminist bourgeois politicians. This party's current presidential campaign has the goal of partially amending the American constitution to include a "Bill of Rights for Working People." It systematically demands sending the imperialist U.S. army to "protect" blacks against racist attacks, and fights against the slogan of black/labor defense squads. Today its faith in bourgeois democracy leads it to campaign for "respecting the democratic rights of fascists."

The centrist nature of the IMT is clearly illuminated by its policies of tailing after popular fronts. It is now turning toward the PSU social democrats in order to form a "big" pole whose function will be the same as that of the Portuguese FUR and of "Democrazia Proletaria" in Italy: to chain the workers to the popular front while pretending to push it to the left. Drawing their arguments from the arsenal of the POUM, the IMT Pabloists refuse to characterize the Union of the Left as a popular front because the Left Radicals are only the shadow of the bourgeoisie; they thereby avoid the "unpleasant" task of struggling against the popular front, of calling for the workers parties to break with the bourgeoisie, instead politely trying to push it to the left. As Krivine explains: "The bourgeoisie is the main adversary and we criticize the Union of the Left precisely because it doesn't really fight against the bourgeoisie state" (*Politique Hebdo*, 16 June 1976). Trotskyists demand that the workers parties in a popular front break the coalition with the bourgeoisie as a precondition to being able to struggle for the workers interests. With its line of capitulating to the popular front, the

LCR leadership has no problem in forming electoral propaganda blocs with the social-democratic PSU, which is only awaiting the nod from Fabre [head of the Left Radicals] and the treacherous workers leaders to enter the popular front on an equal footing!

If the USec is only a rotten bloc, its factions themselves are unprincipled groupings. This was clearly shown by the split between the SWP and the Argentine PST over their differences on Angola. In this war, which began as a confrontation between rival nationalists and became essentially a war between American imperialism and the troops of the Cuban deformed workers state, the PST counterposed to the SWP's pro-imperialist "neutrality" (which refused to choose between the South African-supported FNLA and the MPLA) a formally orthodox position for military victory to the MPLA/Cuban army without political support to the nationalists of the bourgeois MPLA.

This orthodoxy in Angola is only a cover for a miserably opportunist political line. The PST has denounced the Argentine guerrillas as the "reflec-

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## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Mexican Standoff in the USec

Although the presidential elections in Mexico this summer predictably installed the candidate of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), José Lopez Portillo, they nevertheless had some interesting side effects. For the first time in decades a left-wing opposition slate, whose candidate (Valentine Campa) is a member of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM), received substantial write-in support.

Moreover, the Stalinist-initiated ticket included one self-styled Trotskyist party and was supported by two others, all of them associated with different factions in the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The sharp three-way polemic between these groups is of particular interest since Mexico is the main arena where representatives of all the competing international tendencies in the USec have squared off.

The bourgeois PRI, which maintains a rigid monopoly on political power at all levels throughout the country, was the only party on the ballot due to reactionary Mexican electoral laws. A party needs to have 65,000 signatures of supporters spread over two-thirds of the states to qualify. Given the victimization that an endorser of a left-wing candidacy could expect from the semi-bonapartist regime, this requirement is extremely difficult to fulfill. In the June elections, Campa supporters had to write in their vote following a complicated procedure. Nevertheless the PCM claims to have received about 10 percent of the total.

## USec: Two Divides into Three

Following a period of quiescence subsequent to the 1968 "Tlatelolco massacre" which ended a four-month student strike, there has been an upsurge in activity by ostensibly socialist groups to the left of the PCM along with ferment in the working class.

The oldest of the self-proclaimed Trotskyist groups, however, the Posadista Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), has mainly been active in hailing the "revolutionary government" of former president Luis Echeverría and then voting for the PRI's Portillo. Consequently, the POR has gone nowhere, and instead since 1972 two USec-affiliated groups have grown and managed to gain influence in a segment of the radicalized students. These were the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI) and the Liga Socialista (LS) which originated in a 1972 split from the GCI.

The GCI was associated with the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the USec led by Ernest Mandel, while the Liga Socialista was the local affiliate of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (L-TF) led by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Characteristically, the GCI oriented itself toward an eternal search for a "new mass vanguard" of Castroite-influenced youth, and the LS sought to implant itself in a more sedate academic milieu.

However, beginning last year there was a spectacular revolt in the LS in which the pro-SWP leadership was toppled by agents and supporters of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), up until then the second major group of the L-TF. Following the LS split last fall/winter the L-TF split internationally as well, with pro-PST elements heading back toward the Mandeliste majority.

In order to out what it called the "Marxist professors"—the pro-SWP leaders of the LS—the PST-backed group founded the Militant Tendency (TM), captured a majority of the Liga, elected a new central committee and pushed through new organizational rules. Under these bizarre regulations,



Tanks suppressing student demonstrators in 1968 anti-government protests in Mexico City.

the membership was re-registered as candidates for a month's "testing" period to show their "activism," resulting in a classic Stalin-style bureaucratic political purge. Then, in typical USec fashion, the deposed leadership, now calling itself the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction (FBL), declared itself a "public faction" and began a fight in the public press. The TM, denouncing the old leaders as mired in abstract propagandism, announced it would go to the masses.

## PST/TM: Stalinism and Popular Frontism

For the Militant Tendency, a turn to the masses meant capitulation before the Stalinist PCM, the largest left-wing organization in the country. In mid-1975 the PCM had held a large rally in Mexico City at which Communist leaders called for a "Coalition of Left Organizations." Almost immediately after taking control of the Liga Socialista last fall, the new pro-PST leadership suddenly published a "joint PCM-LS electoral program" of 17 points.

It appeared surprising that the PCM had decided to form a bloc with an ostensibly Trotskyist party (particularly since in 1940 the PCM organized an attempt on Trotsky's life before he was finally assassinated by a GPU agent). But the PCM is trying to break out of isolation and for the moment is apparently willing to take any kind of electoral bloc it can get.

The more interesting question is why a so-called Trotskyist tendency should seek an election agreement with a Stalinist party. Hasn't the bitter struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism over the past 50 years represented the battle between class struggle and class collaboration—between revolution and counter-revolution? What joint program could unite such opposites?

With its Mexican allies organizationally blackjacked by its international bloc partners, the SWP counterattacked by asking embarrassing questions about the Militant Tendency's coalition with the PCM. SWP leader Joseph Hansen wrote a letter (25 October 1975) to the Political Committee of the Liga Socialista pointing out that a joint electoral platform would

only serve to mask other differences. "For example," he wrote, "does the PCM stand for the parliamentary road, for 'peaceful coexistence'?" ([SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, March 1976).

The explanation of the TM's opportunist behavior is that it has nothing to do with Trotskyism (nor has the SWP) and had no qualms about forming a bloc with the Stalinists. In fact, the TM reveled in it. On the point which Hansen worried about—"peaceful coexistence"—not only did the PCM support it, but it turned up in the final version of the joint electoral program the following January, with of course a vague pro forma disclaimer by the TM.

Concretely, the joint program is from the very outset aimed at the reform of the capitalist state, not its overthrow; calling for "a limitation on capitalists' profits," but not an end to them, and for a better "fiscal policy" (*Intercontinental Press*, 1 March 1976). The program had its radical-sounding side as well. Not only was there a call for nationalization of all basic industry, but it added, "whether in the hands of national, foreign or mixed capital..." There is a demand for the elimination of large estates and "the big capitalist landholdings," and turning "the land over to those who work it."

As for the rest of the program, it is no accident that it leaves out of its so-called "revolutionary" call for nationalizations the necessary demand that they be without compensation. The section dealing with foreign policy, in addition to calling for "peaceful coexistence" and defense of the "socialist states" without a mention of political revolution, calls for Mexico to join up with the money-hungry sheiks of OPEC, hardly an "anti-imperialist" measure.

Behind the left rhetoric, the Stalinists invite all those forces who are for "democracy" and for the alliance between the workers, the peasantry "and other sectors of the people" to join its Coalition of the Left. This appeal for the participation of bourgeois democrats and the support for peaceful coexistence clearly make the electoral bloc *popular-frontist* in character. Although it does not now include direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, the coalition sought to include left populist forces and put forward a class-collaborationist program of reforming capitalism.

The program is certainly somewhat left for a Stalinist party, and the TM has used this to argue that bourgeois forces could never support it. But in times of need the bourgeoisie will sign just about anything. In Bolivia in 1972 the so-called "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" (FRA), which included former president General Juan José Torres, came out for a workers and peasants government without for a moment ceasing to be a bourgeois popular-front formation. Unable at present to win more respectable liberal petty-bourgeois bloc partners, the Mexican Stalinists settled for a coalition with "Trotskyists" on a mutually acceptable paper program.

If there was ever any doubt about the real intentions of the Mexican Communist Party, an interview with Arnoldo Verdugo, general secretary of the PCM explains it all. Describing the PCM's concept of "the broad alliance," Verdugo includes among the forces his party seeks to unite those who are "rejuvenating the church," as well as the "patriotic democratic" forces in the army, and even some "progressive" businessmen (*Intercontinental Press*, 31 May). The PCM, which has supported the bourgeois PRI in the past, even says that the

"official left" within the PRI could be their allies.

## IMT/GCI: What's to Complain About?

The international majorityites of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI) greeted the split in the LS last fall with glee, reveling in the problems this would cause for the USec minority L-TF, while adopting a generally pro-Militant Tendency slant. Since the disarray in the LS momentarily relieved it of the obligation (imposed by the USec's 10th World Congress) to fuse with the LS, the GCI proceeded to fuse instead with the tiny Rojo group, forming the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI). (Rojo was itself an earlier split from the GCI, having balked at the horsetrading deals cooked up at the world congress.)

Although the SWP faction has now been gotten rid of, the USec's penchant for wheeling and dealing continues and the current issue of *Inprecor* (21 October) announced the fusion of the pro-PST Liga Socialista (Militant Tendency) and the LCI at a conference in mid-September to form the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT).

In the electoral maneuvering last spring, the LCI, after engaging in some mild "comradely" criticism of the Militant Tendency, put forward its own election gimmick, the "Revolutionary Left Front" (FIR). The LCI called for a "class-conscious and revolutionary" vote—i.e., a vote for Campa but not the program of the "Coalition of the Left." Instead, it proposed the program of the FIR which called for nationalization of basic industry without compensation, and included the demand for a workers and peasants government.

All the LCI had to say about peaceful coexistence was that it was the "weakest link" of the Coalition of the Left program. The Mandelites totally refused to admit the popular-frontist character of the Stalinist-initiated coalition. Moreover, the LCI specifically said that "it is one thing to be dealing with a front with a reformist program and another to be dealing with a popular front.... This is not the case presently..." (*Bandera Roja*, 17 April 1976). It cautioned that criticism directed at the PCM/LS (Militant Tendency) bloc "should not be exaggerated in a sectarian manner."

As Trotsky wrote to Victor Serge in 1937 defending the necessity of maintaining working-class independence from the bourgeois popular front in Spain, "If it is sectarianism, then all of Marxism is only sectarianism, since it is the doctrine of class struggle and not of class-collaboration" (letter to Victor Serge, 30 July 1937). For Marxists the popular front is not simply a matter of addition—the more parties, the stronger. The PCM-initiated Coalition of the Left openly invites unity with all those "seeking democracy." In other words, it seeks to unite with bourgeois "democrats," who in the end are unalterably opposed to *proletarian* democracy and will fight alongside the arch-reactionaries and even fascists against the working class.

In any case, the LCI's refusal to support the PCM-dominated front was simply factionally motivated. USec majority groups elsewhere have formed or joined fronts with openly bourgeois forces, as in the Bolivian FRA, and joined explicitly popular-frontist blocs, such as the Portuguese FUR. All that Mandel, leader of the international majority, demanded of his followers in these cases was that they issue a formal disavowal of some of the more gro-

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# Arab CP Mayor of Nazareth Condones Zionist Occupation

BERKELEY, October 15 Two leading members of the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah) who are currently touring the U.S. spoke last night at a forum held at the University of California. A sharply divided audience of 400 containing many Zionists heard Felicia Langer (a prominent Israeli civil-rights attorney who has defended numerous Palestinians victimized by the Israeli bourgeoisie) and Tawfik Zayyad (the Arab mayor of Nazareth) graphically describe the oppression and persecution dished out by the Zionists to both those Arabs living within Israel and those who live in the territories occupied by Israel following the June 1967 war.

Yet Langer's and Zayyad's solution to this brutal oppression to the Zionist policy of confiscation of Arab lands, destruction of Arab housing and forced resettlement of Arabs in refugee camps; to the systematic harassment, torture and murder of Palestinian militants by Israeli occupation authorities; to the infamous British emergency regulations issued in 1945 and now used by the Israelis against all opponents of Zionism is only the mildest reformism.

Both Langer and Zayyad made it very clear that they accept the pre-1967 borders of Israel. Further, they accept the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." And while calling for the right of return for those Palestinians driven out of Israel by the Zionists' military terror campaigns, they accept the imperialist sop of a West Bank mini-state as a just solution to the Palestinian national question.

Following Zayyad's speech a supporter of the Spartacist League pointed out to the speakers that while

achieve an equitable solution of their national rights! After all, he stated, didn't the Vietnamese achieve peace and national independence without the destruction of U.S. imperialism?!!

"The main obstacle to peace," said Zayyad, "is the expansionist policy of Israel." If the Israeli bourgeoisie could be pressured to withdraw to its pre-1967 borders, admit all the Palestinians it has forced out since 1948, and bring itself to accept a West Bank Palestinian mini-state, then, this Stalinist assures us, all would be fine. Meanwhile, Nazareth Arabs would still be subjected to Zionist rule.

Langer and Zayyad did not, of course, speak to the other side of Stalinist policy in the Near East, namely the role of the Soviet Union. In part this was doubtless motivated by fear of alienating the liberal public opinion the speakers were so zealously attempting to appeal to, and in part because Soviet policy in the Near East has been an unmitigated disaster.

Although the Soviet Union favored the formation of the state of Israel (Stalin saw the formation of Israel as a blow to British imperialist interests in the Near East) it quickly reversed this position. From that time onward the USSR has lavished billions in military and economic aid on the various Arab bourgeois regimes of the region, with calamitous results.

In Sudan Soviet weaponry was used by the Numeiry regime to massacre the largest Communist Party in Africa. Egypt, which for a long time was the chief recipient of Soviet arms in the Arab world, has expelled all Soviet military advisors and closed down the Soviet naval facilities at Alexandria. Iraq and Syria, two other major recipients of Soviet arms, have currently massed troops along each other's border, threatening war. And while the Syrians are now busy butchering Palestinians with Russian tanks in Lebanon, the Iraqis have made effective use of Soviet arms to curb the struggles of the Kurdish people living in Iraq.

Clearly the working masses of the Near East cannot look to Moscow or to any of its followers to solve any of the fundamental problems facing them. ■



R. Shmuel Sygma

Nazareth mayor Tawfik Zayyad

Israel must immediately and unconditionally withdraw from the territories it has occupied since 1967, the pre-1967 borders of Israel are also, as is clear in the case of Galilee, "occupied territories." The Spartacist supporter went on to point out that the state of Israel was created by the forcible dispersal of the Palestinian people and that neither the West Bank mini-state nor a solution which denies the national rights of the Hebrew-speaking people would represent an equitable resolution of the problem. He then asked how Zayyad could project a just and democratic resolution of the conflicting national claims in the area without overthrowing the respective ruling classes, both in Israel and the Arab states, and establishing a socialist federation of the Near East.

Zayyad's response was that it was "infantile and dogmatic" to propose socialist revolution as the only way forward for the working masses of the region. According to the wisdom of Comrade Zayyad, the Palestinians need not await the destruction of Zionism to



Joe Walker/Italian News

Lewis 17X Dupree (second from left) outside Manhattan Criminal Court with Angela Davis and attorneys.

## Black Muslim Victim of Cop Frame-Up Free Lewis 17X!

Four years after a New York City police raid on the Nation of Islam's Harlem Mosque No. 7, the case of a Muslim accused of killing a cop in the incident has finally come up in court. The trial on murder charges of Lewis 17X Dupree, a school teacher at the mosque, began on August 2 in N.Y. Supreme Court. Although the defense has not yet made its presentation, the damaging admission by the key prosecution witness that he was a paid police informer came like a bombshell in court September 21.

The charges against Dupree and a second Muslim—Bobby 9X Hopes, who is charged with felonious assault in the case and will be tried separately—stem from the 14 April 1972 cop invasion of the mosque. It began when two cops barged into the premises claiming they were responding to a call that a detective was in trouble inside. More cops piled in close on their heels, and shots rang out as the occupants tried to expel the invaders.

Outside, thousands of Harlem residents poured out of neighboring stores and restaurants and gathered round the building. Some threw bottles and a police car was burned in protest against the invasion. Within minutes a full-scale cop riot had broken out as over 100 policemen, decked out in bullet-proof vests and some sporting machine guns, descended upon the area beating residents and firing into the air.

Three days later Patrolman Phillip Cardillo, one of the cops who broke into the mosque, died of a gunshot wound and the heat was on to nail someone for his death. Five members of the mosque were taken into custody, and Lewis 17X and Bobby 9X were subsequently booked for assault. Two years later Dupree's charge was changed to murder.

There is much evidence to suggest that Cardillo was actually killed in the police crossfire. Witnesses who were present in the lobby during the melee have testified that the area was so jammed with people it was impossible to tell what was going on. Moreover, a thorough search of the premises after the shooting produced no weapons, and the only witness who claims he saw Dupree shoot the policeman now turns out to have been a paid cop informer!

In any case, the cops had no right to invade the mosque in the first place. As Louis Farrakhan, the minister of Mosque No. 7 at the time of the incident, charged, the police committed

an "unprovoked, wanton, and possibly premeditated attack." The mosque has long been a center of black nationalist activity in Harlem (it was the home base of Malcolm X and was recently renamed the Malcolm Shabazz Mosque). At the time of the attack, more than a thousand children were attending school in the building.

Farrakhan pointed out that, to prevent incidents, police and mosque officials had worked out an elaborate procedure for police visits, including a stipulation that the cops would not proceed past the lobby without an official escort. But in this case, in a clear provocation Cardillo and his buddies rushed past the desk clerk and up the stairs to the second floor. Particularly suspicious was the speed with which scores of heavily armed police in battle gear descended on the mosque.

No "Detective Thomas," who allegedly called the police for aid, ever turned up. However, when prosecution witness Foster 2X Thomas (who claims Dupree killed Cardillo) testified on the stand, he admitted under cross-examination that he was on the police payroll at the time, at a salary of \$140 per week. Thomas denies he made the contested phone call and says he has not been offered any deal in exchange for implicating Dupree, but does not deny that he is presently under indictment for using stolen credit cards.

Stop the Frame-Up! Drop the charges against Lewis 17X Dupree and Bobby 9X Hopes! The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a contribution for the defense of these victims of a cop frame-up and urges the readers of *WV* to do likewise. Donations can be sent to the Lewis Ali Defense Fund, c/o Malcolm Shabazz Temple No. 7, 102 W. 116th St., New York, N.Y. 10026. ■

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## The First Workers Political Revolution Against Stalinism

# SL Commemorates 20th Anniversary of Hungarian Revolution



WV Photo

Spartacist forum on Hungary 1956/China 1976 drew 125 participants in NYC.

Approximately 125 people attended a New York Spartacist League forum October 23 held in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian workers' revolt. In his talk, Charles O'Brien, editor of *Young Spartacus*, hailed the rising of the Hungarian proletariat as a key event of the post-World War II period and a profound vindication of the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism. For communists, he said, the uprising was a "beacon for the future because it indicated the forms of organization and the political leadership the future revolutionary overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies" will take.

His discussion of the course of the first workers political revolution against Stalinist rule contrasted the Hungarian Revolution with the present intra-bureaucratic fighting among Mao's

heirs in China. In drawing the lessons of the Hungarian uprising, O'Brien pointed first to the key role of the workers councils. The vital importance of the proletariat throwing up its own organs of soviet democracy to organize the insurrection and provide the framework for a revolutionary workers government is not generally understood in the radical movement, whose image of an anti-bureaucratic struggle is the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in China.

"The Hungarian uprising was a genuinely anti-bureaucratic struggle," said the speaker. "The bureaucracy dissolved and the remaining state force, the AVH [Stalinist secret police] was shattered. The workers created their own organizations. They formulated manifestos.... They weren't poetry; they weren't references to Confucius; they weren't references to dark evil snake-like capitalist roaders who had been the closest comrades-in-arms of Imre Nagy for the past 45 years, or perhaps even his wife!"

In contrast, Mao's Cultural Revolution was a bureaucratic clique fight where decisions were made behind closed doors in high party circles. "Then after the decisions are made and the lines are drawn...., then the struggle is taken to the streets, then the masses are told who it is in their midst that has been a secret capitalist roader for generations, whose innermost carefully hidden thoughts have been the introduction of capitalism in China."

"The Cultural Revolution was against the so-called 'rights' who were Mao's opponents," he said. "Now, although it's against the so-called 'left,' it is the same kind of struggle. They decide that Chiang Ching was secretly planning the restoration of capitalism and even worse, nagging Mao as he lay in his deathbed...." "So that's the first important lesson—that a political revolution has to have a program and organization, that it's a genuine political struggle."

Secondly, O'Brien continued, the events in Hungary dramatically destroyed illusions of bureaucratic self-reform which had been perpetrated by the "reform" Stalinists. In the wake of Stalin's death and the short-term wave of liberalization which swept through East Europe and even more briefly in China, there arose the illusion that "under the pressure of the masses" the Stalinist bureaucracies would no longer be a bureaucratic excrescence on a collectivist economy, but would give way to an ever-expanding democracy.

"Hungary demolished all that," he said. "At every step, from October 23 on, the only consistent demand which came out of the Nagy government in Budapest was for the workers to lay down their arms. Nagy made this demand until the very day the Russian tanks rolled up to Parliament. That government would have either strangled the workers councils had it achieved a certain independence from the Soviet bloc, or it would have had to be overthrown by the workers councils."

The third lesson of Hungary, O'Brien said, lies in the character of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Hungarian Revolution definitively smashed all "new class" theories on the nature of the deformed and degenerated workers states. The

continued on page 10

## Smash New York's Taylor Law!

# UFT Loses Dues Check-Off

It was announced in Albany October 11 that New York City's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) will have its payroll dues check-off revoked for a two-year period for violating the state Taylor Law forbidding strikes by public employees. The action by the New York public employment relations board was a reprisal for the UFT's September 1975 contract strike. The Democratic state administration also provided an "escape clause" which underlines the union-busting character of the action, which will cost the UFT an estimated \$2 million; all the union has to do to get the sentence reduced is to recant its "no contract, no work" policy and its claim on the right to strike!

Simultaneously the Buffalo Teachers Federation (BTF) was ordered to pay a \$50,000 fine in reprisal for its three-week strike last month, and its president was served with a 30-day jail sentence and an additional \$250 fine. The BTF, which is associated with the National Education Association, is challenging the decision in court.

Were the fate of the 50,000 UFT members not bound up with UFT-head Albert Shanker's fall from grace with the Democrats, labor militants might get some wry satisfaction out of the humiliation of this labor faker. After years of licking his masters' boots, he now hollers out in protest when they step on his face. But it was only after a prolonged probing, during which Shanker repeatedly proved to Albany he would take anything it could dish out, that the state selected the UFT as its target for a confrontation over the Taylor Law.

Last summer during the midst of the bank-manipulated NYC "fiscal crunch," in a desperate effort to appease the state and avoid loss of his dues base through mass layoffs, Shanker threw \$150 million of the UFT's pension funds down the rat hole by buying worthless Big MAC bonds. Unimpressed, the school board went ahead with the layoffs and by the time the union's contract came up in September it had

lost an estimated 20,000 jobs! Sentiment for a strike was then so strong in the ranks that even Shanker could not avoid it.

Obviously the state would not now be suspending the dues check-off had the union won the strike, refusing to go back to work without a guarantee against reprisals. This it could have done by rallying to its cause the masses of poor and oppressed people affected by the NYC cutbacks and spearheading a movement for a general strike of all city labor. Instead, the union went down to defeat, with Shanker settling the strike over the heads of the massively disgruntled membership. Since then the teachers have been working without a contract while their wages have been frozen and preparation periods have been eliminated. And the paltry 2,000 jobs which were returned are being paid for by the use of \$25 million in court penalties and teachers' salaries which went unpaid during the strike.

This defeat is the answer to the snivelling question Shanker raised October 17 in his *New York Times* column when he asked why the teachers had been singled out from the rest of the city unions for such harsh discipline. It is, of course, true that Victor Gotbaum, Shanker's rival who is head of NYC municipal workers' organizing drives, anyone when it comes to grovelling before city rulers. Last summer Gotbaum gave up the hospital workers' cost-of-living allowance in the AFSCME Local 420 contract. But the state apparently saw more advantage to picking this fight with the UFT, which had previously been in the forefront of municipal workers' organizing drives especially in the late 1960's when the Taylor Law was written.

In a separate announcement this week the state Board of Regents released new statistics showing that over one-half of New York City's public school students drop out before high school graduation, a damning indictment of the miserable conditions in the city schools which have now been worsened by the enor-



WV Photo

UFT president Albert Shanker (left) marching with striking teachers a year ago.

mous teacher layoffs and budget cuts.

The need is ever more urgent for the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the city labor movement which can rally behind it all the exploited against the austerity program of the bankers, corporations and capitalist politicians. The union leaderships' suicidal policy of appeasement must be stopped! The labor fakers' class collaboration with the capitalist courts and their treacherous "friends" in city hall must be broken! New York teachers must answer the state's attempt to bankrupt and gut their union with a strike aimed at mobilizing the entire state labor movement to smash the Taylor Law and roll back the murderous layoffs and cutbacks. ■



# The Fall of Swedish Social Democracy

STOCKHOLM/NEW YORK—After 44 years in power, the Social Democratic Workers Party (SAP) of Sweden was voted out of office in the September 19 parliamentary elections. Although the SAP remains by far the largest party in the country (with 2.3 million votes and 152 seats in parliament), its three bourgeois opponents together garnered an 11-seat majority in the Riksdag.

The bourgeois parties trumpeted the end of "one-party domination," and incoming prime minister Thorbjörn Fälldin pledged "to lead Sweden step by step toward decentralization." Social Democratic leader Olof Palme, however, reacted to this signal defeat with a calm prediction that his party would regain office "within the foreseeable future."

Palme's confidence appears well-founded. Although it has lost ground in parliament over the past six years, the SAP retains the advantages of a loyal working-class vote and a politically fractured bourgeois opponent bloc. Virtually the only point of unity among the Center, People's and Moderate parties was their opposition to continued rule by the Social Democracy, which they attacked as the party of "establishment and bureaucracy."

The bourgeois parties mounted their "anti-bureaucratic" campaign by tapping middle-class resentment over high taxes, making a cause célèbre out of the cases of tax evasion by wealthy film director Ingmar Bergman and other famous personalities who have recently left the country. The Center (formerly Agrarian) Party headed by Fälldin also sought to win votes by appealing to the national quasi-religion of returning to nature, the so-called "green dream" of unfettered country life, and calling for channeling more government funds to rural regions.

In the last weeks of the campaign, the issue of energy policy was pushed to the fore. Sheep farmer Fälldin successfully garnered votes from the ecology-minded petty bourgeoisie of Stockholm by opposing nuclear power. In an unusual twist, the Center Party managed to capture a large share of the youth vote (the age limit was lowered to 18, adding half a million new voters) with a campaign pledge to close Sweden's five nuclear plants and scuttle the government's plans to build eight more by 1985.

Although the nuclear plant issue was a successful device for mobilizing support from the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie, it also provides an index of the instability of the new Center/Liberal/Moderate coalition government. The People's Party (Liberals) and Moderates had supported the Social Democrats' nuclear power programs as necessary for industrial growth, turning a jaundiced eye to the ecology movement's prescription of installing windmills and turning off the lights. Within days of the election, pressure from his allies forced Fälldin to shelve his opposition to opening a new nuclear power plant (*International Herald Tribune*, 9-10 October).

In the campaign the bourgeois parties could not work out a common platform and, in fact, they publicly squabbled right up to election day. Relations between the People's Party, supported by urban intellectuals and various pacifist and temperance groups, and the

Moderate Party, based on the conservative bourgeoisie, senior civil servants and armed forces officers, have been particularly frosty. At the time of the elections, the pro-Liberal *Aftonbladet*, the biggest evening paper in Sweden, called on Moderate leader Gösta Bohman to resign.

While the campaign rhetoric of the bourgeois parties talked of eliminating bureaucracy, in presenting his government to the Riksdag Prime Minister Fälldin was careful to promise to continue Sweden's extensive social welfare system. The first decisive test for this government of sheep farmers, green dreamers and big businessmen will be posed next month when national contract negotiations begin between the employers' confederation (SAF) and the trade-union federation, the Landsorganisation (LO), representing 1.8 million members in 25 industrial unions.

For decades, the single national LO/SAF framework agreement covering all unions, usually for a one- to three-year period, has served the bourgeoisie and its labor lieutenants as a straitjacket on the class struggle. However, the long era of labor peace was premised on an expanding economy, higher wages and more social welfare schemes. Facing an openly bourgeois regime for the first time in two generations, the LO bureaucracy will most likely be constrained to bluster a bit, since it can no longer assure the workers that cooperation on the economic front will be rewarded by token concessions from "their" government.

## Weakening of Social Democratic Political Dominance

The dual nature of the Swedish Social Democracy—balancing between the pressures of its working-class base and the needs of capitalist rule, which it supports—has been particularly evident over the past three years. Following the 1973 elections, the SAP and its "Communist" backers held exactly half the seats in the Riksdag. Under parliamentary rules, tie votes would be broken by pulling "yes" or "no" votes out of an urn! Hence, passage of major legislation required compromises with one or another bourgeois party (usually the Liberals).

But beset by falling exports, rising unemployment and a current inflation rate of 11 percent, the SAP has faced mounting dissatisfaction from its trade-union supporters (expressed in demands for greater government programs and in an increased number of wildcat strikes) along with sharpened criticism by the big bourgeoisie.

In June the Palme government introduced a bill allowing the unions "co-decision... on questions relating to management and the assignment of work, the commencement and termination of employment or the conducting of the firm's activities in general." The bill passed after a stormy 13-hour debate during which it was amended by the bourgeois parties to allow employers to withhold information on company finances and to increase fines on wildcat strikes.

Although the big corporations have prospered under the long Social Democratic rule, growing sections of the bourgeoisie have been considering alternatives to continuing SAP domination of Swedish political life. One of the



Thorbjörn Fälldin, newly elected Center Party prime minister



Olof Palme, ousted Social Democratic prime minister

more outspoken, Lars Eric Thunholm, managing director of Skandinaviska Enskildabanken (the country's largest commercial bank), wrote in a blunt article in the conservative newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet*:

"If we can't stop inflation, we'll have to get rid of democracy. Such a change, of course, cannot come all at once but must come gradually. Various government regulations, price controls, subsidies, fiscal measures, etc. will gradually undermine the free market economy. 'One must, in this connection, remember that among the strong groups is the organized workers movement. Sooner or later this process must result in a collision between the political regime on the one side, which must secure for itself more and more authoritarian power, and the trade unions on the other side. This is a confrontation that is taking place in several European countries today.'"

—quoted in *Inprecor*, 9 September

The ruling class waits expectantly to see if the Fälldin regime can effectively wield its heterogeneous constituency against the labor movement. If the evident shakiness of the bourgeois coalition opens the road to heightened class struggle, the capitalists may well long for the return of the staid era of Social Democratic class collaboration.

## The Myth of Swedish "Socialism"

The so-called "middle way" of Swedish "socialism" has long been the subject of enthusiasm by bourgeois New Dealers and hardened labor reformists alike. In fact, Swedish "socialism" rests on one of the most monopoly-dominated economies in West Europe. Sweden has the greatest concentration of inherited wealth of any country on the continent, and only 6 percent of production is from state-owned enterprises, far less than in Christian Democratic Italy (where more than half of industrial production is in state hands) or the rest of West Europe, and even lower than in such bastions of "free enterprise" as the United States. The Social Democrats have traditionally

encouraged new capital formation and productivity boosts by enormous corporate tax breaks, in contrast to steep personal income tax rates.

The Swedish government's sole claim to "socialism" is its wide-ranging welfare-state programs, which the bourgeoisie has accepted because the country has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. Even leaving aside Sweden's vastly superior social services, the average wage of a Swedish worker is higher than that of an American. The secret of this prosperity is not a planned economy but the success of the Swedish ruling class in remaining neutral during two world wars while assiduously doing business with both sides. As the rest of European industry was systematically reduced to rubble, Sweden's SKF trust was making a tidy profit from the sale of ball bearings to Hitler's Wehrmacht, and the Swedish Intelligence Bureau (IB) was unobtrusively collaborating with the Gestapo.

In return for high wages and job security, the Swedish worker is subjected to a killing work pace. Most industry is run on a piecework basis. Commenting on Volvo's famous experiment in "abolition of the assembly line," Per Ahlstrom, editor of the Metal Workers union newspaper, pointed out that:

"Interruptions always occur on the continuous assembly line, since the speed of the belt is geared to the operation that requires the most time. No such pauses arise in group work. All working time is utilized...."

"With piecework no moving assembly line is required. The worker is still forced and enticed to work hard in order to earn as much as possible."

—Sweden Now, March 1976

Moreover, so effective are the Social Democracy's techniques of delivering labor discipline that Volvo has lost exactly one work day to strike action since 1932!

The innovations of the labor reformists are strictly geared to the needs of capitalist industry. The so-called "solidarity wage policy" (eliminating wage differentials) of the LO has been welcomed by Swedish big business. Its practical effect has been to hold down the pay of skilled workers in large industry while driving low-wage small businesses to the wall, thereby accelerating the concentration and rationalization of the economy. (Neither the LO nor the SAP calls for expropriating the Wallenbergs and other monopolists who control the means of production.)

Likewise, the SAP government constructed a (still inadequate) number of day care centers in order to ease the traditional labor shortage, enabling 60 percent of Swedish women to enter the workforce. This is combined, however, with tremendous pressure, both financial and social, encouraging couples to have children and otherwise reinforcing the bourgeois family. The social welfare schemes of the 1930's were similarly motivated by a desire to offset a declining birth rate.

The political bankruptcy of Swedish Social Democracy is graphically demonstrated by its newly adopted "maximum program," the Meidner Plan. According to this scheme, 20 percent of



before-tax profits of all businesses with more than 50 employees would be diverted to a fund under the control of union bureaucrats, which would be used to purchase corporate stock. Thereby the labor fakers would presumably be enabled to gradually and painlessly buy out the capitalist class!

In an interview in *Le Monde* (23 June), Palme explained that "Nationalization is not a Swedish solution." He reassuringly added that the Meidner Plan would have to spend ten years on the drawing board because of its complexity. Any remnants of panic in corporate boardrooms ought to have been eliminated by the speech of LO chairman Gunnar Nilsson explaining the purpose of the plan at this summer's union federation convention: "The mixed economy is not put into question. We want a little less capitalism and a little more influence for the workers."

While the ossified SAP and LO hacks have been chloroforming the Swedish proletariat with utopian programs and a few crumbs from the bourgeois larder, they have not neglected to keep the machinery of state repression well-oiled. "Neutral" Sweden maintains a large, well-equipped and -trained military establishment closely associated with the armies of NATO members Denmark and Norway. Since 1965 the police budget has tripled, and the budget of the security police has increased from 17.6 million to 65 million kronor.

In 1973 the Swedish magazine *Folket i Bild/Kulturfront* revealed that the Intelligence Bureau had compiled dossiers on 20,000 citizens, and that its agents were involved in burglary, forgery and attempted murder. For example, IB provocateur Gunnar Ekberg, as head of a Palestinian support group in 1969, had made the first bomb threat on an Israeli airliner. The journalists responsible for these revelations were promptly arrested and charged with espionage (*Daily World*, 14 December 1973).

### The "Revolutionary Left" and the Elections

The Social Democratic Workers Party remains the recognized party of the Swedish proletariat to a degree unequaled elsewhere in West Europe. Fully 80 percent of the working class votes for the SAP. Moreover, approximately three-fifths of the party's membership is in the form of collective membership by trade unions, which subsidize the Social Democratic press, support the SAP at election time and whose leaders are themselves Social Democratic bigwigs.

Recently, the SAP has also sought to mobilize the large number of foreign workers on its behalf. Under new election laws, non-citizens who had lived in Sweden for at least two years (approximately 250,000) were allowed to vote for the first time in local elections, and here the Social Democrats did much better than in the parliamentary vote.

Although the Swedish Social Democracy has been reformist practically from its birth, this bourgeois workers party still contains some token "leftist" trappings (when compared to Helmut Schmidt's West German SPD, for instance), such as singing the "Internationale" and sending a few thousand kronor to various petty-bourgeois nationalist movements in Africa. More importantly, it has met resistance within its ranks to blocs with any of the bourgeois parties, even where there were strong pressures in this direction in order to secure a majority in the Riksdag. Thus in 1973, when the parliamentary deadlock led to talk of a coalition government, LO chief Nilsson stated that the labor federation "would oppose every form of organized cooperation between the Palme Government and any opposition party," according to the *New York Times* (20 September 1973).

Under these circumstances, where a mass reformist workers party is running

independently of the capitalist parties (and has not recently committed a major atrocity leading the most militant sections of the class to break from it), a small revolutionary formation could call for critical support to the candidates of the Social Democratic party. In doing so, it would make clear that its purpose was to draw a class line against the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie and to place the reformist misleaders in power in order to expose the bankruptcy of their parliamentary cretinism and welfare-state panaceas.

However, while critical support is one of the tactical weapons in the arsenal of a Leninist vanguard, it is by no means obligatory, and after having experienced 44 years of Social Democratic rule, the Swedish working class doubtless has a good idea of what re-electing Olof Palme and his cohorts would mean. Thus a Trotskyist nucleus in Sweden would make a particular effort to present a revolutionary alternative to Social Democratic reformism in the elections. However, the various ostensibly communist tendencies which presented candidates all ran on election programs of varying hues of reformist pink, in no case qualitatively superior to the SAP.

The "official" Communist Party, the VPK, some time ago changed its name to "Left Party (Communist)," and is today little more than a wart on the left flank of the Social Democracy. Like the Italian PCI, the VPK espouses a unique "Swedish road to socialism" in order to distance itself from the Soviet bloc bureaucracies. (Programmatically, it beat Berlinguer and Marchais to the punch by eliminating all references to the dictatorship of the proletariat three decades ago.) There are a number of left oppositionists in the party, from unregenerate Kremlin loyalists to former student radicals, and the factional beat threatened to sink the VPK vote below the 4 percent minimum for parliamentary representation.

Almost from the day he stepped into office, Olof Palme was dependent on Left Party support in the Riksdag. This merely confirmed the VPK leadership in its standing policy of acting as a pressure group on the Social Democrats, and the relationship between the greater and lesser parties of labor reformism in Sweden was accurately characterized by one Western diplomat as "a case of the dog wagging the tail" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1974). In the recent elections, the "Communists" called for voting VPK in order to save the "workers government."

Apparently, at least some workers had a different idea of how to strengthen the "socialist bloc," and there was evidence of noticeable vote shifts from the VPK to the Social Democrats. Thus even though the voting percentage was a high 90 percent of the electorate, and more than 500,000 youth were added to the rolls, the Left Party lost 22,000 votes, a stunning setback.

The VPK has also been losing influence in the trade unions, where in the past it has had support among iron miners and dock workers. More and more often it has found itself on an equal footing with other left groups in size and ability to intervene, and has occasionally been outflanked. But while the Maoists had a surge of popularity a few years ago, their hysterical propaganda about a "Soviet threat" to Scandinavia has begun to alienate serious militants en masse. When Kissinger came to Sweden in late May, the Maoists complained that he was coming to make Palme more obedient to the USSR!

Since the last elections, one of the Maoist groups, the KFMLr, has lost almost half of its organization and this year passively boycotted the voting. Only the largest of the phony "Marxist-Leninist" groups, the Swedish Communist Party (SKP), ran candidates this year with the central aim of taking votes away from the VPK so as to drive the

"agents of Soviet social imperialism" out of the Riksdag. The SKP is politically similar to the West German KPD-ML of Ernst Aust—who sued the federal defense minister for failing to adequately arm against the "Soviet threat"—and just as crazy and dangerous. They are playing with age-old Russophobia in Sweden, and on the anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia the Maoists held a demonstration together with the youth leagues of the bourgeois parties. Altogether the SKP received 16,000 votes, down about 2,000 from 1973.

### The KAF: Pabloists Tailing the "Broad Vanguard"

With the Maoists increasingly isolated on the left and the "official" Com-



Shipyard workers in Sweden face layoffs and wage reductions due to increased international competition among shipbuilders.

munists embroiled in factional difficulties, large groups of their respective sympathizers have been left homeless. A whole forest of support groups for different "Third World" nationalist guerrillas has shot up, including one devoted exclusively to the cause of the Polisario Front in former Spanish Sahara. There is also increased interest in several centrist groups collectively referred to as the "anti-Stalinist left." A propaganda bloc called the "Red Front for Workers Power" on May Day this year brought together three of them, the FK (Communist League, associated with Lotta Continua in Italy), the FAM (League for Workers Power, a mysterious mixture of classical syndicalism and Bordigism) and the KAF (Communist Workers League, Swedish section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat [USec]).

After a period of being one of the leftmost groups of the centrist USec majority, the KAF has been moving sharply to the right in recent months. In general it has sought to form unprincipled blocs with forces it considers to be the local embodiment of the "broad vanguard" of radicalized youth and workers. Thus it tried to entice the FK (which did not run candidates) into voting for the KAF slate by offering it a page per issue in the KAF's newspaper, *Internationalen*. Instead, the FK called for a vote to the VPK, arguing that in some cases these reformists acted as a voice for "extra-parliamentary movements" (such as Chile, South Africa, tenants' and child-care protests).

The KAF has also been sidling up to the VPK, and at the big Volvo plant in Göteborg earlier this year it formed a joint opposition with pro-Moscow elements and independents, receiving 27 percent of the votes. (The KAF hailed this as a great victory, although the previous year the VPK alone got 22 percent and the year before that 29 percent.) The program of the campaign was centered on demands for more union democracy.

For the first time, the USec supporters decided to run in the parliamentary elections, fielding over 275 candidates and receiving an unexpected

2,700 votes. They attracted a certain degree of attention in the radical milieu and brought more than 2,000 to hear Mandel speak in Stockholm in late August. However, the program they ran on was a bland hodgepodge of left social-democratic reformism that was astounding in its vagueness. (The crowning demands were for a "democratic and fighting labor movement," a "new workers party" and a "real workers government"!)

The election platform (*Internationalen* supplement, 5 August) had tendencies toward social-democratic anti-Stalinism, supporting anti-bureaucratic protesters in the deformed workers states while leaving out a call to defend these states against imperialist attack. (This is not unimportant given

the Maoists' anti-Soviet frenzy and the importance of Sweden as a sounding board for anti-communist Russian dissidents—for example the Nobel prize awarded to tsar-lover Solzhenitsyn.) Other foreign policy statements could have been uttered by Olof Palme himself in a left mood: calls for solidarity with workers the world over; break with bloody dictatorships and imperialist institutions; not just neutrality but active help to peoples struggles for liberation; break ties to the Common Market, etc.

In fact, except for a single abstract reference to a "society based on soviet organizations of the working class," the KAF's call for a "true workers government" was nothing more than a left-wing version of an SAP government of the capitalist state: six-hour day, protect the environment, make decisions in democratic discussions with mass organizations and through referenda, open radio and TV up to all workers organizations.

The only issue where the KAF did sharply differ with the Social Democrats was on nuclear power, and here it sided with the reactionary utopian petty-bourgeois ecology furor whipped up by the Center Party! Rather than warning about how capitalism sacrifices the safety of working people, it called for junking atomic power and relying on windmills and solar power (not much help during Sweden's long winter!). Marxists do not oppose technological progress as such or call for a return to pre-industrial eras of rustic stagnation; we fight instead for the most comprehensive safety precautions and the overthrow of a society that kills tens of thousands every year in death-trap factories for the sake of increased profits.

(The FK took up the anti-atomic power cause with even greater fervor, adding a call for recycling garbage, and coining the catchy slogan, "Better active and red than radio-active and dead!")

The Left Party is nothing but a "left" support to the SAP, not an alternative to Social Democracy. The SKP is actively championing the interests of

continued on page 11



# Italian Communist Party...

(continued from page 1)

party would be limited to a "fight within parliament to have our constructive proposals passed." Another top Communist leader, Giorgio Amendola, went on the offensive against the trade unions and others who "lack consideration of the seriousness of the danger of inflation" (*New York Times*, 19 and 21 October).

The world bourgeoisie looked on approvingly as the PCI squirmed to keep the workers in line. The London *Economist* (16 October) explained the price of bourgeois respectability to Luciano Lama, secretary of the PCI-dominated CGIL labor federation: "But unless Mr. Lama can keep control of his unions' rank and file, the government's economic policy may prove unenforceable." And the *New York Times* (24 October) editorialized: "Now, Communist leaders underscore the workers' interest in fighting inflation..." But since the new program "may" have "painful impact on many workers" and "the new line is bewildering for many Communists and workers," the PCI must be prepared "to pay a price" to prove its "responsible behavior" and "give credibility to the new Eurocommunist myth."

The workers who are faced with drastic cuts in their wages and living standards have far more immediate concerns than the bourgeois respectability of Amendola and Berlinguer. On October 7, even before the announcement of the terms of the austerity plan, 8 million workers staged a two-hour protest walkout across Italy. The following day, within hours of the concretization of the government's measures, the factories of northern Italy were in revolt. Beginning at the Alfa Romeo plant near Milano and the Fiat plant in Torino, massive wildcats unleashed large-scale protests and demonstrations which swept across the industrial region (*Panorama*, 19 October). After walking out at Alfa Romeo, the workers marched to the regional union hall and demanded strike action (*Lotta Continua*, 10-11 October). The

workers. Similar mass meetings were abruptly called in major centers throughout the country.

Among the trade-union tops the kneejerk reaction to the announcement of the "stagnata" had been to call a token walkout. At the October 8 meeting of the coordinating committee of Italy's three labor federations, the initial position was to condemn the government and to proclaim a general strike. During a break, the word came down from the PCI, Socialist and DC heads to play ball with the government. Upon resumption of the meeting only one voice was raised in opposition—that of "left" Communist Sergio Garavini who denounced the measures as "unilateral and anti-popular." Significantly, it was Luciano Lama who did the hatchet job for the PCI. Lama shut up Garavini with a few words of caution, "Sergio, you don't know how things stand" (*L'Espresso*, 17 October).

However the wave of wildcats soon straightened out the trade-union tops as to "how things stood." The PCI was pushing a policy of lie down and die, but the working class wasn't buying. Within days Lama, terrified that escalating working-class militancy would leave the PCI behind, was orchestrating the trade-union proposal for a series of general strikes protesting the austerity measures.

The rank-and-file discontent provoked by the manifestly anti-working-class thrust of the "stagnata" provisions rekindled unrest over the PCI's propping up the DC in parliament. In the last week Amendola has made headlines again, this time in opposition to PCI "hardliner" Luigi Longo. The debate opened up over how far the party would be willing to capitulate to the austerity plan. Taking off from Berlinguer's dictate that the PCI must keep the DC in power, Amendola proclaimed that the party and trade unions must "go all the way," subordinating everything to the anti-inflation fight. Longo led the section of the party—comprising a goodly number of the trade-union

of popular frontism. The difference between Longo and Amendola is symptomatic of the conflicting pressures operating on a bourgeois workers party.

By its very nature, a bourgeois workers party—Lenin's expression for the social contradiction embodied in the bourgeois program of reformism as opposed to its proletarian social base—must balance between its policy of pro-capitalist conciliationism and the limits imposed by the necessity to preserve the social weight of its mass base. Reformist

of the Left, in Spain accommodation to the timid bourgeois opposition to the Francoist state) results in intra-party strain between those who most strongly feel the pressure of conciliationist appetites and those whose political weight within and outside the party rests upon their bureaucratic control of the trade-union movement.

Thus the debate in the PCI represents more a difference in milieu than a left-right political difference. The pressure on Berlinguer and Amendola is to impress their bourgeois friends in parliament by their reliability in disciplining the workers in the service of capitalist austerity. Longo and Lama are the ones who have to marshal the forces in the unions, and it is they who fear losing control of the workers by a too naked display of pro-capitalist "responsibility."

## The Popular Front and the Far-Left

The PCI is caught in the web of its history of class collaboration. Its strategy for class treason—the popular-front "historic compromise"—stands exposed as never before. Both wings of the PCI accept this sellout strategy: the "right" grabs single-mindedly for "power sharing" while the "left" cautions that if "we lose influence among the masses...we also lose our bargaining power." This "bargaining power" is the PCI's route to convincing the bourgeoisie to accept the "historic compromise."

Revolutionists forthrightly refused to critically support the PCI in the June elections, insisting that the PCI was not running a campaign independent of the bourgeois parties. Only this policy could have demonstrated to the advanced workers a programmatic alternative to



Panorama

Demonstration against factory closings in Milano.

workers parties such as the PCI are capable neither of breaking with the interests of capitalism nor of directly smashing the mass organizations of the working class—the trade unions—upon which they rest.

In this context Amendola's obscene eagerness to get into the government soon is merely the crassest expression of toadying to the DC. PCI president Longo presently stands with those in the party who are more acutely conscious of the immediacy of pressure from the ranks. Aware that the PCI's ability to make itself valuable to the bourgeoisie depends upon the maintenance of a mass base to sell out, he warns, "we not only will lose the influence and prestige among the masses that is the source of our strength but we also will lose our bargaining power" (*New York Times*, 21 October). To be an attractive governmental partner for the DC, the PCI must not allow the militant workers to bypass its hegemony.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the Spanish Communist Party (PCE). The PCE holds out its control of the semi-clandestine workers commissions (and with them the major sectors of the industrial proletariat) as a calling card for its popular-front "Coordinación Democrática." Within the PCE a public dispute, analogous in content to that within the PCI, has broken out between the exiled general secretary, Santiago Carrillo, and the organizer of the workers commissions, Marcelino Camacho. Carrillo wants to throw the PCE's lot in with the major sectors of the liberal bourgeoisie, in pursuit of which he is prepared to liquidate the workers commissions into the corporatist CNS union structure. Camacho, who also supports the Coordinación Democrática, places emphasis upon the maintenance of the workers commissions and with them the party's ability to consolidate its influence among the working class.

The PCE and PCI are experiencing a similar process of social-democratization. The mass Stalinist parties are seeking greater credibility in the eyes of their nations' bourgeoisies. The appeal of ever broader popular fronts (in Italy the "historic compromise" with the DC, in France the Union



L'Espresso

CGIL head Lucio Lama

the class collaborationism of the Stalinist reformists. The PCI campaign was based on a proposed coalition with the DC and the promise to do whatever was necessary to bring about a popular-front government, thereby guaranteeing in advance the elementary class betrayal which has been so graphically demonstrated by the PCI's response to the anti-government strike wave.

Yet with the exception of the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, no left group in Italy took the position that the PCI's proposed coalition with the DC precluded critical electoral support both in the 1975 "administrative" elections and in this year's parliamentary vote, and called for a break not only with the "historic compromise" but with popular frontism. In contrast, several centrist and reformist organizations, some of which supported PCI candidates in 1975, ran on the Democrazia Proletaria (DP)



L'Espresso

Luigi Longo and Berlinguer



Berlinguer and Giorgio Amendola

local union bureaucrats quickly switched gears, calling a four-hour general strike—the traditional manner of defusing class struggle—in Torino for October 13.

The proletariat, far from being placated by this tokenistic defiance, wildcatted in Milano, Torino and Genova on October 12. The Torino general strike burst the bounds intended by Italy's three national labor federations and became a militant demonstration led by the metal workers. Repeated wildcats and roadblocks set up by the workers of Milano and the surrounding region followed the Torino general strike.

## Bureaucrats on the Defensive

The PCI tops moved to stave off any challenge to their bureaucratic stranglehold. On October 10 Luciano Barca harangued the militant Torino workers for two hours, and at 5 a.m. the next morning the 27-man party/trade-union local leadership was out at the plant gates trying to appease the angry

leaders—who challenged the "inequality" of the sacrifices demanded of the workers while accepting cutbacks and controls in the "fight against inflation."

In this dispute Berlinguer and the majority of the Central Committee have been harsh with Longo while keeping at arm's length from Amendola. Despite CC member Napolitano's correct disclaimer that "the Longo and Amendola positions are not rigidly counterposed, but are two ways of seeing the contemporary crisis with the same line" (*La Stampa*, 21 October), the debate is unusually acrimonious, revealing a more fundamental tension in the PCI.

## Social-Democratization of the CP's

The point at issue is not any vestige of a policy of class independence among the well-trained Stalinist hacks, or even an impulse to defend the Italian proletariat against inflation and government wage-slashing attacks. Both wings of the PCI are fully committed to the "historic compromise"—the full-blown program



ticket, an unprincipled electoral bloc with a program for a mini-popular-front compromise of its own—less “historic” but no less class-collaborationist in intent.

Against the PCI’s “historic compromise,” the DP posed the “government of the lefts”—a bourgeois parliamentary reform coalition. Following the bloody demise of the Chilean model for popular frontism, the Popular Unity (UP) government of Salvador Allende, which paved the way for the reactionary Pinochet coup, the PCI had reasoned



Rinascita

Italian premier Giulio Andreotti

that the UP was not popular enough, proposing that in Italy the popular front be broadened to include the historic party of capitalism, the Christian Democracy. In response, the “far-left” DP conglomeration replied that the UP was just what the doctor ordered, proposing an Allende-style “government of the lefts” which would be “open to Catholic forces that free themselves of the political Catholicism of the Christian Democracy”—that is, liberal-bourgeois forces similar to the bourgeois Radicals in the Chilean UP.

Now that the PCI’s pro-capitalist strategy stands nakedly exposed and the most militant workers threaten to break out of the PCI’s stranglehold; now, when those workers are cursing the votes they cast last summer for the PCI; now that the hegemonic CP is having visible trouble in its balancing act between labor and capital—now is the time for a Trotskyist policy that can speak to the workers breaking out of the reformist mire of Stalinism toward the road of class struggle. ■

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## Small-Change Reformism...

(continued from page 12)

in favor of Ford, McCarthy was excluded from the ballot last week. Nevertheless he continues to poll around 6 percent nationally and is expected to get 10 percent of the vote on a write-in basis in California, where it takes 99,284 petitioners to get on the ballot (*New York Times Sunday Magazine*, 24 October). Despite such manipulations, the protest vote this year will probably be a higher percentage of the total count than in any presidential election since the days of Henry Wallace’s Progressive Party.

### Reformist Twins

Speaking on nationwide television as a result of a successful “equal time” suit, the SWP’s Peter Camejo was asked by interviewer Tom Snyder what separated him politically from Snyder’s previous guest, Gus Hall of the CP. Camejo replied with a speech about how the SWP’s program differs from that of the Democrats and Republicans. In fact, this year—with the CP having temporarily shelved its “fight the right”-style thinly concealed support for the Democratic “lesser evil”—the SWP and CP look very much alike. The CP has even picked up on the SWP’s gimmick of “revolution” by constitutional amendment, now offering its own “workers charter” of “anti-monopoly” reforms.

Neither group attempts to address the problems of the working class from the perspective of a militant class struggle against capitalism. Both, for instance, treat unemployment in much the same way as the “progressives” of the Democratic Party—as a matter of misplaced “priorities.” The SWP suggests that money from the military budget can be funneled into jobs. The CP, which calls for a version of the demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to eliminate unemployment, infuses this demand with a purely reformist content.

Both the SWP and CP have managed to pick up a lot of publicity. The SWP has virtually become a darling of the media with its civil libertarian propaganda surrounding its anti-FBI court suit. As a reward for its shameless reformism, Geoffrey Stokes of the *Village Voice* is backing the SWP for New York state senate: “In this election, at least, the SWP offers a left alternative that is neither mired in the internecine squabbles of the past nor blinded by a cloud-cuckoo-land of the future” (*Village Voice*, 25 October). In other words, the SWP has long ago abandoned any reference to its revolutionary Trotskyist past and does not pose a revolutionary future for the U.S. working class.

The CP is having an easy time

denouncing Carter, who is favored neither by the CP Central Committee members who admittedly voted for McGovern last time around, nor by Moscow which if it has a preference probably opts for Ford. So for the first time in years the CP is actually running against the Democrats, and as Gus Hall said “on a scale without precedent in our party’s history” (*Daily World*, 3 April). Last weekend the CP held a Madison Square Garden rally; the nearly 4,000 who attended heard Hall give an unaccustomed speech against “lesser evilism.”

Neither of these reformist campaigns deserves the votes of militant workers. The main point of the CP’s “anti-monopoly” campaign is the idea that a large CP vote will help to pressure the capitalist parties into passing progressive legislation: “a big Communist vote in Detroit would become a serious concern for the executives of GM and Ford”; similarly, a good showing in New York City would “make the banks come to the rescue of NYC” (*Daily World*, 3 April). A vote for the SWP is a vote for “community control” strike-breaking and anti-Sovietism, as Camejo regularly equates the lack of “democracy” in Chile, Spain and the USSR.

The SWP candidates often give the impression that they believe they might be elected if only the election laws were fair and if they could get more media time. This willingness to cater to the illusion that the bourgeoisie will permit itself to be voted out of power only betrays the SWP’s fundamental electoralism. For revolutionists, an election campaign is only one tactic for bringing the party’s propaganda before the working masses. The main arena in the battle against the Democrats must be the mass organizations of the working class—the trade unions. There the SWP calls for support to Sadlowski, the treacherous up-and-coming bureaucratic faker in the Steelworkers, as the wave of the future. Meanwhile, the CP (which also likes Sadlowski) is busy groveling before the entrenched pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy; Hall’s polemics against “lesser evilism” never pass the lips of CP supporters in the unions.

In order to consider giving critical support to one of these propaganda groups, it would have to break to the left on some key issue facing the working class, such that a vote for its candidate could be understood as a vote not for “reform” of the capitalist state but for class struggle against it. Neither the CP nor the SWP meets this criterion.

Nor do any of the smaller groups deserve the votes of militant workers. In the 1974 elections the Spartacist League called for critical support to the candidates of the Workers League as a minimal expression of a working-class thrust. But the present activity of the WL is centrally defined by its vicious and baseless slanders against SWP

leaders Hansen and Novack, charged by the WL with being “accomplices” of the Stalinist secret police in the 1940 assassination of Trotsky. When the WL’s Harlem candidate came to speak at City College, she spent her time pushing one of her tendency’s vile slander pamphlets. Increasingly given over to provocative physical attacks on other left groups, these Vishinskys of the second mobilization deserve only the condemnation of the workers movement.

The Stalinist Communist Labor Party is running a few candidates on a totally reformist program. In Detroit the CLP is running General Baker in the district of Democratic Congressman Conyers, but on a program indistinguishable from the CP’s. Meanwhile Lyn Marcus, cult leader of the semi-psychopathic Labor Committee/U.S. Labor Party, has come out for Gerald Ford.

The Carter-Ford presidential contest is a telling example of the bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie, but the ostensibly socialist candidates have provided nothing in the way of a proletarian political alternative. In the campaigns of the SWP and CP capitalism was not opposed, and as one or another imperialist front man steps into the White House, the SWP and CP are already planning to “continue the struggle” ... by mounting bigger and better reformist electoral campaigns.

A revolutionary opposition to capitalist rule, while making use of bourgeois elections to the extent possible, must struggle within the mass organizations of the working class to oust the present misleaders who are the main roadblock standing in the way of a militant proletarian mobilization against the bourgeoisie. In addition to demanding the ouster of the Woodcocks and Meany’s, class-struggle militants call for a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. This is what the CP, SWP, CLP, WL and other reformist or centrist left tendencies fail to do, preferring instead to tail after the “progressive” bureaucrats. In the U.S. as elsewhere, the possibility of a programmatic alternative to capitalism remains with the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

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# Hungarian Revolution...

(continued from page 5)

speaker asked the audience to suppose for a moment that there had been some new type of capitalist class in Hungary, which had consolidated its rule in the decade prior to the 1956 revolt. "Then what does this 'new class' do?" he asked. "It dissolves! Eighty percent of the Communist Party cadres and the military either become neutralized or become active supporters of the workers councils. One would be hard put to think that the American ruling class—if the workers of this country were to rise up, form workers councils and have a general strike—would simply dissolve, with 80 percent of the capitalists becoming partisans of the new soviet state power."

"The lesson of Hungary," he concluded, "is that only Trotskyism provides a guide and a road forward for the workers to overturn these bureaucracies, in the process forming the revolutionary parties and organs of soviet rule so that all the deformed and degenerated workers states will become in a genuine sense bastions of proletarian communist revolution."

A vigorous discussion followed O'Brien's talk, as the Trotskyist position was attacked from both sides—first by the Marcyites, who support the Russian invasion, and then by various Schachtmanite groups and individuals who argued for a social revolution to overthrow what they characterize as "state capitalist" and "bureaucratic collectivist" regimes.

The exchange grew heated at times, and norms of workers democracy were violated by disruptive cat-calling by some groups. Particularly egregious were repeated interruptions, by the Communist Cadre, which calls the Hungarian uprising counterrevolutionary while supporting the Mao faction in the Chinese "Cultural Revolution." Insistently, these crackpot Marcyites defended the Russian invasion on the grounds that, despite the dual power situation in Hungary in which the bulk of the Hungarian armed forces as well as most of the Communist Party's cadre had gone over to the workers councils, it was supposedly the impotent Nagy government (containing within it members of the conservative peasant Smallholders Party) which dominated events.

This led one SL speaker to note that the Marcyites' notion of the state was not Marxism but simply inverted liberalism: they ignore the concentration of effective power in the workers councils and argue that in the unlikely event that parliamentary elections had taken place and the Smallholders Party won, capitalism would automatically have been restored to Hungary.

"The slogan, 'Victory for the Smallholders Party Equals Capitalist Restoration,' telescopes a civil war," said the speaker. "Between these two conditions there is a civil war in which the Smallholders Party would have to organize the embryo of a new state power to smash the workers councils. Implicit in [the Marcyites'] lack of confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the working class is a denial of the Leninist theory of the state." ■

# S.F....

(continued from page 12)

personal fiefdoms. Proposition E would allow department heads to fill vacancies by selecting from the top three on civil service examination lists, rather than the top one. Proposition I would exempt about 65 top-level management positions from civil service requirements altogether. The effects of Proposition M, which changes the method of funding city employees' pensions, is not immediately clear, and it is opposed both by the CLC and by anti-labor supervisor Quentin Kopp.

This massive array of union-busting propositions must be sharply defeated! Class-struggle union militants must show the way by providing a program to mobilize the Bay Area labor movement to smash the S.F. city rulers' continuing



1974 demonstration against anti-labor Proposition "L"

offensive against the workers movement!

All these anti-labor measures are the fruit of the CLC's strategy of class collaboration. Had the CLC pulled out all of San Francisco labor to defeat the attack on city craft workers, there would be no union-busting propositions on the ballot today, for city rulers would fear to again provoke the powerful organized labor movement. This time the right to strike itself has been put on the chopping block of the ballot box referendum, yet the traitorous bureaucrats have done virtually nothing but gear up their usual electoral machine for the Democratic "friends of labor."

It was just such class collaboration which helped elect the Board of Supervisors and Mayor Moscone, who have spearheaded the anti-labor drive and even humiliated their buddy Joe Mazzola of the plumbers union by removing him from the airports commission through a mock "trial" in order to intensify the anti-labor atmosphere. Yet the CLC continues to make endorsements of Democratic "friends of labor," from anti-union Senator Tunney to peanut boss Jimmy Carter for president. It should be clear to all union militants that these labor bureaucrats are totally committed to class collaboration. The road forward lies in ousting the labor traitors on a class-struggle program—including a call to strike against all the anti-labor propositions, and the creation of a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■

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Labor and the Elections

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# Gusanos...

(continued from page 1)

to death Jorge Rodriguez, general secretary of the Liga Socialista.

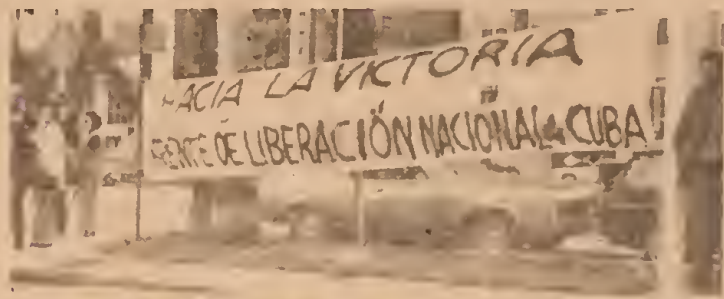
These are the gusanos, the counter-revolutionary "worms," whose services in assassination, torture and other terrorist and criminal specialties are constantly on call for the agencies of imperialist "law and order." Two weeks ago they sent 73 victims to the bottom of the ocean, and it is now believed they are connected with the assassination of Orlando Letelier, former Chilean foreign minister under Allende, and a co-



Orlando Bosch

worker in Washington, D.C., last month. Having spent the last month "investigating" the absurd "theory" that leftists murdered Letelier, now that Venezuelan authorities uncovered evidence of the possible connection, the U.S. is reluctantly requesting extradition of Bosch.

The FBI's latest ploy to take the heat for Letelier's murder off the hated Chilean secret police agency, DINA, is to blame gusano exiles. They are certainly plausible enough as triggermen. But as the incident of the Cuban airliner shows, it is illusory to think that the gusano terrorists are independent agents: virtually every one of them has been trained or employed at one time or another by the imperialist secret police and spy agencies. Cuban exiles are



Anti-Castro Cubans demonstrating in Miami.

suspected in several international bombing cases, and when Venezuelan police raided Posado's heavily fortified villa they found maps of Washington along with "equipment and plans" linking him and Bosch to the October 6 attack.

A connection between Bosch, who recently spent time in Chile, and the bloodthirsty DINA would not be hard to imagine. Even such liberal publications as *Newsweek* (1 November) now speculate that Bosch may have assassinated Letelier on a "contract" from DINA.

In response to the heinous mass murder of 73 plane passengers by CIA-trained exiles, Castro could only threat-

# Spain Expels Krivine, Arrests Four

On October 19 Alain Krivine, a leading member of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and Pierre Jouvett, an editor of the LCR's newspaper *Rouge*, were arrested in Madrid and "invited to leave Spanish territory." The arrest and expulsion followed an address by Krivine on the subject of amnesty.

Arrested with Krivine and Jouvett were four Spanish left-wing political leaders: Lucio Lobato, a member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party; Miguel Castell, lawyer; Jaime Pastor, member of the LCR; and his wife, Lucia Gonzalez. As we go to press the four are still being held.

The Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League protest this attack, which is directed against the entire left, and demand that Lobato, Castell, Pastor and Gonzalez be released immediately! Full amnesty for all victims of Francoist terror!

en to bring a halt to the fledgling mini-détente with U.S. imperialism by breaking the anti-hijacking agreement signed in 1973. (American authorities, who at least trained and maintained for some time the bloodthirsty gusano bombers, thereupon had the gall to reply that they would hold Cuba accountable for "any encouragement of hijacking or any act of terrorism!")

Revolutionaries have no illusions that a mere diplomatic snub would put an end to the determination of the rapacious imperialists and their sadistic gunmen to take Cuba back into the U.S.

orbit, reopening it to profitable investment by American corporations and lucrative gangland activities. The collectivized property forms in Cuba must be defended against imperialist attack, but the workers must have no illusions in Cuban Stalinism and its class-collaborationist *lider máximo*.

Castro has been a target of U.S. imperialism for 16 years, and his militant reputation is based essentially on this hostility. But Castro does not just build schools and resist gusano attacks. He fostered treacherous illusions in the supposedly "constitutional" military officers in Chile before the 1973 coup, and in the last year has begun training the Jamaican police.

From putting out a Mafia "contract" on Castro's life to mass murder in the skies to the Cuban missile crisis threatening world war, the imperialists will stop at nothing unless met with the infinitely more powerful force of international workers revolution. Jail the October 6 bombers and the murderers of Orlando Letelier! Smash the FBI CIA DINA through proletarian revolution! Hands off Cuba! ■

## CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (WV No. 130, 22 October), the name of Chief Kaiser Matanzima was misspelled in two articles on the Transkei. Also in that issue, on page 11 the captions for Chinese leaders Wang Hung-wen and Hua Kuo-feng were listed in reverse order.

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# LCR...

(continued from page 2)

tion" of the AAA [death squads] and other ultra-rightist organizations (*Intercontinental Press* 28 October 1974). In one of the meetings with the Argentine government, PST leader Coral promised President [Isabel] Perón that the PST would "struggle for the continuity of this government because it was elected by the Argentine workers and because it authorized the exercise of some democratic freedoms..." (*Avanzada Socialista*, 15 October 1974). In addition, the ease with which the PST slid from the L-TF toward an accommodation with the IMT—which in Angola, literally liquidated itself into the MPLA—reveals the fundamentally unprincipled nature of the main factions in the USec.

## Break with Pabloism!

None of the various current oppositions in the LCR has been capable of breaking with Pabloism. The Matti tendency presents itself as the champion of "mass work" trying to cover up its capitulation to the workers' present level of consciousness behind a facade of orthodoxy. Its program, to the right of the IMT's, is entirely contained in the "unity" panacea which leads it to put forward a minimum program in order to round up as many people as possible. Such a line opens up the possibility of a bloc with the SWP and an accommodation with the right-centrist OCI. Tendency A, although it has an "orthodox" characterization of the Union of the Left as a popular front, has fundamentally the same line as the IMT toward it: to push the popular front to take power, push it to the left. The Matti tendency's "orthodoxy" even leads it to term the Second Congress of the LCR as the 25th congress of the "French Section of the Fourth International"—thus recognizing that they stand in the tradition of Pabloist politics from 1952 to the present.

As for Tendency C, the fact that it is run by the reformist SWP's "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" suffices to define its rightist character. Applying the SWP's line in France, the L-TF would probably demand that the riot police (the CRS) occupy Algerian neighborhoods to protect them against attacks by racists! Last summer, when the Portuguese Social Democrats, with the financial support of the CIA, organized reactionary mobilizations, the L-TF covered for them and wrote that because of the Communist Party's "totalitarian methods," the Social Democrats "inevitably had to ask support from the European socialist parties and 'democratic' capitalist governments" (August 1975 L-TF resolution, our emphasis).

This line prepares the French L-TF for the SWP's accommodation with the right-centrist OCI, which has been analyzing the interests of the working class from the viewpoint of classless democracy (*Informations Ouvrières*, 8-15 September 1976). The French L-TF avoids all questions which might embarrass the SWP, in particular the key question: the nature of the USec and its main components. The French L-TF, and even more so Tendency C\*, represent attempts to build a rotten bloc between elements which support the SWP's reformist practices and militants who really criticize the LCR leadership from the left.

The Matti tendency, as well as the French L-TF, proposes to refuse to vote [in the 1977 municipal elections] for the single slates of the Union of the Left [which are required in cities of over 30,000 inhabitants]. Aside from the fact that they called for a vote for Mitterrand's "single slate" in [the] 1974 [presidential elections], there will not be two different policies presented by workers candidates on the two different kinds of slates: they are all part of the popular front and will be presented in its

name. In cities of less than 30,000 inhabitants, the Communist Party (PCF) and Socialist Party (PS) will merely ask the voters to vote for whichever workers party is best able to govern in a coalition with the bourgeoisie!

Trotskyists do not call for votes to the candidates of a popular front, whether the candidates belong to a workers party or a bourgeois party. They must make breaking the coalition with the bourgeoisie a precondition to electoral support to the reformists. The popular front obliterates the independence of the workers parties toward the bourgeoisie: only when this independence exists it is possible to consider voting for them.

For the Matti tendency and the French L-TF (as for the OCI), the call for a "PCF-PS government" represents a call for the popular front in power to form a government without bourgeois ministers within the parliamentary framework. For Trotskyists, the slogan "break with the bourgeoisie, take power in your own hands" makes sense only if it means: "commit yourselves to the path of forming a government based on working-class mobilization, responsible to the working class organized in embryos of soviet power, and expropriate the bourgeoisie." The essential function of this slogan is to set the base of the reformist parties against their leaderships. But what the Matti tendency and the French L-TF are demanding is a parliamentary "workers" government!

## Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

All past oppositions [in the LCR] have capitulated before the international majority or minority because of their incapacity to make a coherent reply, based on a grasp of the nature and history of Pabloism, to the bankruptcy of the two main factions of the USec. Up until now the only tendency in France which has recognized that the USec has nothing in common with Trotsky's Fourth International was the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International led by Laffitte, bureaucratically expelled in April-May 1975.

As for us, we are convinced that the only organization which is fighting for an authentically Trotskyist program and for a democratically centralized international organization is the *international Spartacist tendency*. We are resigning from the LCR in solidarity with the Ist and its French sympathizing section, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France.

\*which also includes some non-L-TF members

2 October 1976

Thimbault,  
secretary,  
Elbeuf/Renault-Cléon section

Clément,  
member of the leadership,  
Elbeuf/Renault-Cléon section

Cochise,  
member of the leadership,  
Rouen city aggregate

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NEW YORK

# Mexican Standoff...

(continued from page 3)

tesque, class-collaborationist sections of the coalition programs. This is exactly the fig leaf the Militant Tendency gave itself in Mexico!

The USec has nothing to complain about in the TM's scandalous behavior: it's all according to the Pabloist rule book. It is not surprising, therefore, that the United Secretariat last July voted down an SWP motion to dissociate itself from the Mexican Coalition of the Left.

## SWP/FBL: Look Who's Talking!

The most "orthodox" arguments against the Militant Tendency's participation in a popular-frontist bloc have emanated from the SWP-backed Bolshevik-Leninist Faction. In an article entitled, "Is the Mexican CP No Longer a Stalinist Organization?" (translated in *Intercontinental Press*, 1 March 1976), the FBL takes the TM to task for the statement in the Coalition election program referring to the "socialist objectives" and "revolutionary method" of the signatories.

The Coalition platform, in fact, openly declared that the Mexican CP is no longer a Stalinist organization and has become revolutionary. Challenged on this by FBL spokesmen, the leader of the Militant Tendency yelled out to a crowd at a Campa campaign meeting that "The Communist Party is more revolutionary than you are!" The TM newspaper went on:

"We do not want to educate the masses, because then our task would be to become good professors of Marxism. Our task is to pose concrete solutions to concrete problems.... Therefore we prefer raising a class-struggle program, even if it is not our own, and achieving unity which makes mass work more possible...."

—quoted in [SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*,  
July 1976

To charges that it had betrayed Marxism by signing a document calling for "peaceful coexistence," the TM replied blithely that "foreign policy is a problem that interests the masses least now" (*ibid.*!)

Against this unashamed anti-Marxist drive, it is not hard for the FBL to look orthodox. But the TM was able to land some telling blows of its own. If the program of the Coalition of the Left is really reformist, then the Liga Socialista (Militant Tendency) should be expelled from the USec, it pointed out—we'll know that for the SWP and its allies to propose this obviously appropriate step would have meant bringing the whole shaky USec house of cards crashing down.

Moreover, said TM leader Ricardo Hernández, how can they vote for Campa (as both the LCI and FBL did), while claiming that the Coalition is popular-frontist, and consequently Campa is a candidate "not of a 'class' organization but of class collaborationism" ("Reply to an Essay on Sectarianism," quoted in *ibid.*). A good point, since the SWP/L-TF/FBL repeatedly denounce the IMT's capitulation to popular fronts, yet then turn around and themselves vote for popular-front candidates!

The Mexican situation shows in microcosm the bitter triangular polemic now wracking the USec. The fact that the pro-PST Militant Tendency could go from L-TF pseudo-orthodoxy on the popular front into a class-collaborationist alliance in a matter of a few weeks tells a great deal about the reformist character of the L-TF. And the fact that the most right-wing grouping (both in Mexico and internationally) can effortlessly shift from the international minority to accommodation with the majority speaks volumes about the unprincipled nature of all the

factions.

Now a new PRT has been born, at a fusion conference in the "Miguel Enríquez Auditorium" at the National University of Mexico. The 1,000 people present at the meeting reportedly named Mario Roberto Santucho, the murdered leader of the Argentine PRT/ERP, honorary president of the congress. Given the ex-Militant Tendency's unabashed rejection of Trotskyist opposition to popular fronts and the TM's naked Stalinist methods, it is entirely appropriate that the unification should take place under the symbolic auspices of Enríquez and Santucho, two leaders of centrist groups set up by the USec who became renegades. As Santucho was taking the PRT out of the USec, he blasted "the Fourth International" composed of "counterrevolutionary adventurers" and based on a "scarcely redeemable tradition." No doubt in short order we will be hearing similar words from some of the more intrepid renegades from Trotskyism in the Mexican PRT.

The *Imprecor* article on the LCI/Militant Tendency fusion says it demonstrates that "in spite of genuine political differences (especially on international questions)," groups that support the USec "can and must unite in a single organization and settle their debates in the framework of democratic centralism." But the whole experience of the last four years in Mexico (as well as the record of the international faction fight) demonstrates just the opposite: the various currents cohabiting in the USec cannot remain together in a common organization. The latest fusion will not last much longer than earlier combinations, nor will it contribute to achieving Marxist clarity on the issues in dispute.

Only a struggle against all wings of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, which is united only in its common rejection of Leninism, can lead to a rebirth of the Fourth International. No electoral support to any parties of the popular front! Not popular-frontist coalitions but a struggle to build an authentic Trotskyist party in Mexico! ■

# Swedish Social Democracy...

(continued from page 7)

U.S. imperialism and the Swedish bourgeoisie against the USSR. As for the KAF, its program is not very-left social-democratic in content, and on the only question where there is a sharp counterposition to the SAP it lines up with the bourgeois opposition. Even though revolutionary Trotskyists would relish a chance to vote for a class-struggle opposition to moribund Social Democracy, with the SAP running independently of the capitalist parties we can find no reason why Swedish workers should pick VPK reformists of the second mobilization, SKP anti-Communists or the KAF's warmed-up reformist pabulum over the historic party of the working class. In the September 19 elections, a correct policy was to call for votes to the candidates of the Social Democratic Workers Party, while placing no confidence in its pro-capitalist leadership and policies. ■

## Le Bolchévik

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Hall/Camejo No Answer to Carter/Ford

# Twin Candidates of Small-Change Reformism

Commentators from one end of the political spectrum to the other have had a hard time with the current U.S. presidential election campaign. For the bourgeois media whose job it is to try to wake up the voter, the biggest "news" stories about Carter and Ford are their slips of the tongue and mind. So they endlessly editorialize on Carter's famed *Playboy* interview and relish Ford's gaffe about Eastern Europe's not being under the thumb of the Kremlin. One

day last week the featured television news event was Ford's campaign speech at the University of Iowa where, at a football stadium packed with cheering "Hawkeye" pep-ralliers and the marching band, he greeted his audience with outstretched arms and the words, "It's great to be in Ohio!"

But it has also been a difficult campaign for the left-wing press whose traditional stock-in-trade is to expose the bourgeois candidates' lying prom-

ises to reform capitalist society. This year the capitalist twins are not even bothering to make the usual empty claims. To a yawning, disgusted, increasingly anti-political population—an unprecedented number of which will probably not vote this year—Ford and Carter say this system can't get any better.

Into this otherwise uninterrupted vista of gloom come the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and

Communist Party (CP). They burst upon the scene with the energy of an old "Mighty Mouse" cartoon to "save the day," declaring that capitalism *can* be reformed. This is the consistent and fundamental message of the campaigns of the SWP's Peter Camejo and the CP's Gus Hall, the reformist left's Tweedledee and Tweedledum lookalikes, courting the votes of an electorate starved for an "alternative." Although the SWP and CP are part of the workers movement, the Camejo and Hall campaigns do not differ in their essential pitch from the message of bourgeois "challenger" Eugene McCarthy.

McCarthy's capitalist "protest vote" campaign has been greeted by systematic anti-democratic harassment by the state, which has utilized its legal system and control of broadcast media to shore up its "two-party system." Court decisions have systematically ruled against "equal time" for any but "serious" candidates, and election laws are geared to run sweet for the Democrats and Republicans but decidedly bitter for minor parties.

The Democrats have been particularly zealous in driving the McCarthy campaign off the air and the ballots. In New York, a key state where Democratic bigwigs feared he could tip the scales

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Camejo and Reid



Militant Hall and Tyner

UPI

## Defeat Anti-Labor Propositions in S.F.

Once again the working class in San Francisco faces a barrage of anti-labor propositions on the November ballot. The broad sweep of the propositions is a direct result of the defeat of last spring's city craft workers strike, which was sabotaged by the refusal of the Central Labor Council (CLC) to implement its own call for a general strike.

This time around the CLC has identified eight anti-labor propositions! The most drastic union-busting measure is Proposition B, backed by virtually the entire Board of Supervisors. This charter amendment would require the dismissal of all city workers who engage in strikes, or who "cause, instigate or afford leadership to a strike." Any worker dismissed or suspended under this draconian measure would be denied appeal to the Civil Service Commission; workers would be tried by a "special committee" consisting of the presidents of the various city commissions (airports, civil service, fire, police and public utilities).

Proposition B is a rewrite of last June's Proposition E, which was removed from the ballot as part of the "settlement" of the craft workers strike.

Gloating in victory, the supervisors now restore the measure to the ballot. Clearly this must be voted down; but even if it is passed, the labor movement must not allow its central weapon to be thrown away by a manipulated ballot vote. It will be necessary to organize strike action against this vicious measure, against the wishes of the labor traitors of the CLC.

Other ballot measures must similarly be opposed. Proposition D, sponsored by anti-labor supervisor John Barbagelata, would define in great detail what "prevailing rates of wages" are for most municipal job categories, using the five Bay Area counties and the ten largest cities in those counties. This is a newer version of the notorious Proposition L of 1974, which was designed to lower city workers' wages and lock them into a precise "legal" formula, thereby undermining any basis for collective bargaining.

Proposition J, also sponsored by Barbagelata, would allow the city to hire private contractors for certain city jobs "where the work or services can be practically performed under private contract at a lower cost to the city or

county." Proposition O, backed by all members of the Board of Supervisors, would require that if there is a deadlock in wage negotiations between the Board and any city labor group, a referendum would be called to choose between the Board's final offer and the union's last demand!

Proposition L, sponsored by Barbagelata, would reduce the overall



SF Bay Guardian

Supervisor John Barbagelata



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San Francisco mayor George Moscone

accrued retirement benefits of new city employees. While controversy has centered on the police, who are not part of the working class, the measure would affect other newly-hired employees as well, and hence should be opposed.

Propositions E and I undermine civil service regulations and would make it easier than before for bourgeois politicians to dispense favors and build

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