

CUBAN WOMEN
South African Agony

Freedom Socialist

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Vol. 3 No. 3 Fall 1977



"Please, Sir, can we have some more?"

SOUTHERN DEMAGOGUE in the White House

by Sam Deaderick

Within one brief year after the resounding electoral victory of James Earl Carter, his glittering halo is sorely tarnished and his grin has stiffened into a grimace.

The ardor he once elicited from organized labor, ethnic minorities, feminists, gays, and the unemployed has not only cooled, it has frozen.

And President Jimmy, the down-home, goody-goody, plain-folks, born-again gentleman, stands unmasked as just another callous Establishment politico.

The man with the same initials as Jesus Christ started out as the great hope of the people: this charismatic champion of human rights would be different. He would fling open the doors of the Pennsylvania Avenue palace and really listen to the afflicted. He would restore integrity and common decency to the presidency. And he would rescue the shining god of the

Constitution from the Nixonian usurpers who had blotted America's proud history.

Everybody's Doing It

Black politicians hailed Carter, and an astonishing 94% of the Black electorate voted for him.

Organized labor came through with an across-the-board endorsement.

Middleclass feminists pleaded for and delivered Democratic votes in the hope that a Carter endorsement would gain them return support for the ERA, abortion rights and affirmative action in employment.

Even gay leaders, ignored by the Carter campaign except for vague pledges to uphold human rights, climbed aboard the bandwagon, buying the myth that a Democratic administration would help gays.

In due course, the desperate need for change swelling among workers and the lower middle class resulted in a massive response to the brilliantly wrought advertisements of the smiling, compassionate savior and swept the new White Hope to power. to page 6

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AFRICA 4**

Unprecedented repressive measures are leveled at Black South Africans, but their resistance stiffens and they gain allies at home and abroad.



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The Yankees stole it and aim to keep it—and that's the real substance of the treacherous U.S.-Panama treaties.



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Havana's first representatives to the U.S. in 16 years recount the dramatic gains achieved by women in revolutionary Cuba.

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The full text of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party's "Statement of Purpose," the programmatic basis of unity for the newly established, nationwide political tendency.

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BATMAN 8

Janet McCloud narrates a Native American legend that explains why the Bat flies alone at night and why Congressman Lloyd Meeds soon will.



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Milton and Edith Zaslow, veteran Trotskyists, denounce the Portuguese Communist Party and call for the building of a mass revolutionary party capable of establishing workers power in Portugal.

**the freedom
socialist**

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Self-explanatory, we hope!

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letters letters letters letters letters letters letters

Nickel Raises

I am sending you some news clippings.

Two hundred migrant workers went on strike at the Phoenix, Arizona ranch of Barry Goldwater's brother. The workers are forced to live in filth, get very low wages and are often raided and deported.

Another article tells how the South African government employs a U.S. law firm and the son of Mayor Beame of New York as lobbyists.

Another article quotes Senator Hayakawa of California, who said that welfare is destroying the Black race by forcing them into "permanent dependency."

Your trend of thought is the same as mine, but there are very few workers who see how things are. Some do, but shrug it off and let it go as just the way things are. A minority of workers does see the truth about capitalism and they are having a hard time convincing the nonbelievers about the rottenness.

The poor slaves should think about the total system the next time they ask for a nickel raise to buy a loaf of bread.

Maurice Anderson
Desert Hot Springs, CA

**The French
Connection**

I was very encouraged to read about the growth of the American Trotskyist movement in the form of the new Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP).

The international capitalist attacks on the workers are evidence that there is no time to waste before building a united

front to work for a revolutionary counteroffensive and protect our rights as workers, minorities, women and gays.

I first saw the summer issue of the *Freedom Socialist* at the home of friends in Paris. Before realizing what it was, my attention was drawn to it and I was very curious about the source of such a beautiful newspaper. Then I turned it over and saw it was ours. I was deeply proud! Now, if that's not objectivity, I don't know what is.

There is much interest in the paper here. Good job!

Sandy Nelson
Paris

**Poem for a
Strong Woman**

If you like my poem, would you consider publishing it in your next issue? This song will be published soon as a 45 r.p.m. Thanks.

STRONG WOMAN

*Strong woman
You got a way
to find your day.
Hurting you handled so sweetly
What makes you free?
You've really got me.
Through those changes
You shone like the sun
I couldn't help but see us as one.
Where did they take you?
Beyond the programmed rule,
what kind of school?
You know what love is
more than the usual riff
of happiness.*

*Strong woman
You got a way
You're gonna have your break.*
© Madland Music 1976

Gwyn Dolyn
Seattle, WA

Gays A Monstrosity

Too much emphasis is being placed on supporting minorities.

The main duty of any socialist party is to develop an underground and win the support of the masses. To do this in America, faith in the present economic, political and religious system must be shattered, that is, discredited.

This can be accomplished by positive and negative propaganda (constructive to us and critical to them). It can't be accomplished by merely supporting minorities. (As do bourgeois politicians.)

On gays, what is the attitude of all the world's Communist Parties? They consider them unspeakable, sick, perverts and deny having any such gross people within their borders.

Gays are not a minority, they are a monstrosity, and should not be supported in any way by a socialist party.

William Bokämper
Seattle

Bourgeois politicians never provide real support to minorities. Most Native Americans, Blacks and Chicanos are well aware of the treachery of capitalist politicians, and seek alternative solutions. Together, minorities, women and gays form the majority of the masses, and that alone warrants our emphasis.

Editor's Note: The article on "New National Tendency Launched" in the Summer 1977 issue of the *Freedom Socialist* may have conveyed the impression that the Progressive Workers Organizing Committee of Denver is a component of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party. Some PWOC members have joined CRSP, but not the organization itself.

**Fan Mail
Department**

Workers Vanguard, strident organ of the Spartacist League, is a twelve-page paper. The November 4 issue devotes two full pages plus one full column to CRSP. The story features two photos, ten quotes, three-thousand parentheses, and the usual astronomical *WV* tally of typos, invective, feeble puns, non sequiturs, distortion, and rabid sour grapes. Don't miss it.

Editor's Response:

Mr. Bokämper, together with Stalinists and most Maoists, adheres to the Anita Bryant camp. She would surely appreciate his feudal views on gays, although she might balk at going underground.

We'll stay as visible as possible and persist in far more than "merely supporting minorities." The revolutionary leadership of minorities and women is the best mechanism we know of for shattering faith in the ruling class, far more realistic than a hidden, isolated, and futile propaganda group.

Vance's Peking Visit Becomes a

**Chinese
Puzzle**

by Henry Noble

It was nothing less than a diplomatic triumph, they said, when Secretary of State Cyrus Vance returned from China.

A beaming Pres. Carter hailed the talks as a "major step forward in normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China," and the *Peking Review* reported "enhanced mutual understanding."

The press played it to the hilt. A Carter administration victory on the diplomatic front! A campaign promise fulfilled! But the news was singularly devoid of hard information.

Soon afterward, the story turned into its opposite.

"The Chinese people," said Deputy Prime Minister Li Hsien-nien, "are very unhappy" about U.S. ties with "its old friend, Taiwan."

The Chinese had no intention of conceding on Taiwan, and the secret deliberations between Vance and Deputy Premier Teng proved not only unsuccessful but exacerbated tense relations between China and Washington.

Carter's "triumph" was a hoax, manufactured with an eye to bolstering his crumbling credibility—a page from Nixon's book.

Stalemate on Taiwan

China covets diplomatic recognition by the U.S. as a weapon in its drive against

"Soviet social-imperialism," but cannot surrender its valid historic claim to Taiwan.

Before the talks, Chairman Hua told the Eleventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist party that the U.S. must meet three conditions:

"...sever its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique, withdraw all its armed forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan straits, and abrogate its so-called Mutual Defense Treaty with the Chiang regime."

But the Carter clique is paralyzed due to the current polarization over Taiwan within the U.S. ruling class.

Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater lead the rightwing opposition. They cry that concessions could spawn a crisis of "confidence in the U.S." among the governments of South Korea, the Philippines, and other reactionary regimes.

The administration seeks to normalize relations. A Peking-U.S. alliance would act

as a check on the USSR's military strength and furnish U.S. industry access to the Chinese market of 800 million people. But at the same time, American business wants to market goods in Taiwan, and protect U.S. investments there. So the Democratic party is divided over tactics.

Senator Edward Kennedy urges swift normalization. He fears the Sino-Soviet split will tend to heal, leaving the U.S. dangerously isolated. Kennedy proposes closing the U.S. consulate in Taiwan, hoping that this will elicit (1) a Chinese pledge not to attack Taiwan, and (2) an agreement that the U.S. continue to sell arms to Taiwan.

Carter is holding back from such a concession, trying desperately to prevent the Taiwan question from exploding into a Panama-type dispute that would corral support to the Republican right. And he fears jeopardizing other international deals.

A Culinary Triumph

Whatever Carter does, he loses. No amount of lavish media verbiage can turn the stalemate into a victory.

Some commentators have speculated that the talks actually produced a secret agreement to postpone any decision in order to ease Carter's domestic problems. In any event, the only superlative achieved in Peking was the fabled roast duck served at the endless round of sumptuous banquets.

interview interview interview interview interview interview interview interview

Gloria Martin talks with Jesus Mena **CHICANO TROTSKYIST**

Jesus Mena, a Los Angeles Chicano activist, is a founder of the new national tendency, the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP). During a September speaking tour in Seattle, he addressed an FSP-sponsored public forum on the subject "In Defense of Undocumented Workers" and met with many local Chicano militants. Gloria Martin, FSP National Organizer, interviewed him for the *Freedom Socialist*.

Martin: It's so interesting that you came to Trotskyism as a result of your experiences with Maoism. You never gave up on Trotskyism, even after seeing the degeneration of the SWP. You joined the Socialist Union and then you helped form CRSP. What do you think led to the degeneration of the SWP?

Mena: The isolation and demoralization it suffered during the McCarthy period. The subsequent civil rights movement and antiwar movement were so refreshing after the 1950s that the SWP tail-ended them without assessing their political nature or educating the masses.

End the War... Black nationalism... Chicano nationalism... that was the SWP's program. The really political elements in the antiwar movement were won over by other groupings, mainly Maoist, who were explaining imperialism, racism, sexism, etc.

In the Chicano movement, SWP called for Aztlan, for turning the whole Southwest into the new Mexican nation and converting all the workers there into Mexicans. This was unrealistic, contradicted objective conditions, and worked against proletarian unity.

The SWP criterion for intervention in any movement is numbers, rather than the understanding that a smaller movement built on a revolutionary program is more significant.

Martin: Why do you think the regrouped Trotskyist tendency, CRSP, will prosper?

Mena: Spartacist League and SWP will see CRSP as a threat, but there is no nationwide Trotskyist movement in the United States.

The SWP doesn't carry the politics of Trotskyism into the mass movement. The Spartacists present a program but abstain from the mass movement. SWP is reformist in practice, and SL are formalists who talk about "permanent revolution" but ignore the changing political/economic situation and the emerging social forces. They have a storybook conception of Trotskyism.

Vanguard elements, really looking for something, have been turned off and find nothing. CRSP has a strong future—it will fill the political vacuum.

Martin: During your visit, we had intensive debates on feminism and gay liberation. Have you altered your position on these questions?

Mena: The discussions have been good. The points the comrades raised clarified much in my mind. I can't at this point say I am a socialist feminist, but I realize I have a lot to learn. I am not antifeminist in the same way I was when we started. I'm more receptive to your ideas than ever before.

The struggles of national minorities and women are central to the unfolding of the American revolution. If we don't have a vanguard movement led by minorities and women and gays, we will have a movement that is divided. The capitalists use sexism and racism to divide the proletariat, to impede its unity.

Martin: What do you think of the Chicano movement in Seattle?

Mena: The people I've talked to are very political and looking to Marxism for real answers. I expected to find more of a nationalist tendency, as in Texas and other areas further away from big cities, and I had placed Seattle in that category!

I enjoyed meeting the people at El Centro de la Raza community center. Many are receptive to our ideas.

CASA, one of the strongest organizations for undocumented workers, goes far beyond just talking about Marxism. They are analyzing various political ideologies and are curious about Trotskyism.

I was impressed with United Workers Union-Independent. Where else would you find a union that asks you to speak on undocumented workers? Unions usually go along with the capitalist class in blaming these workers for the system's ills.

We're going to see more independent unions as the unorganized find it impossible to make the bureaucrats move.

Martin: What is your reaction to the FSP?

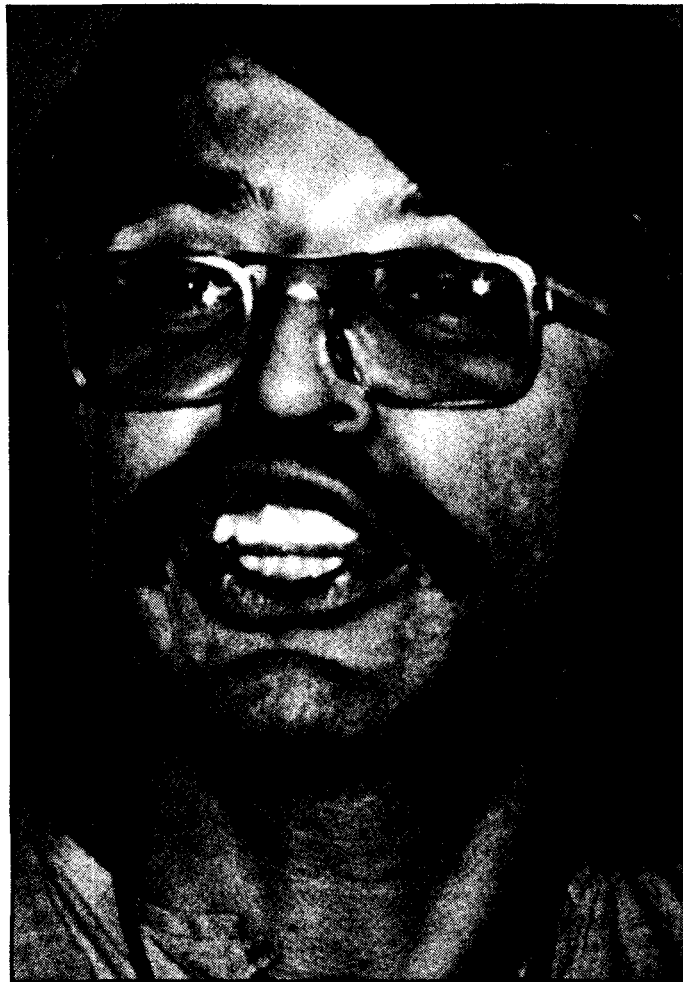
Mena: I'm impressed by the work you are doing, I really am. You are a very dynamic group—mostly young people and women.

It's especially impressive that you don't have any big honchos that act smarter or lord it over the others. All the comrades are independent thinkers, although there are differences in their political development. Everybody was ready, willing and able to put forward their position, and nobody attempted to dominate and correct everybody else—unfortunately very common on the left. That's extremely refreshing.

In terms of your analysis of the political situation, you have made great contributions in emphasizing the central role of the woman question, and the role that women and racial minorities will play in the class struggle. We are all at the beginning stages of a full class analysis of the United States, and these are the questions we have to deal with.

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Lenora Noriega/Freedom Socialist

Jesus Mena addresses a Seattle audience on the interlocking and explosive problems of U.S. Chicanos and the working class of Mexico.

Jesus Mena, un activista Chicano de Los Angeles es un fundador de la nueva tendencia nacional llamada el Comité por un Partido Socialista Revolucionario (CRSP). Durante varias presentaciones en Seattle en Septiembre, se dirigió a una audiencia pública auspiciada por el Partido Socialista de Libertad (Freedom Socialist Party) (FSP) sobre el tema "En defensa de los Trabajadores sin Documentos." También se reunió con muchos militantes Chicanos. Gloria Martin, Organizadora Nacional del FSP, lo entrevistó para el *Freedom Socialist*.

Martin: Es interesante que hayas llegado al Trotskyismo por medio de tu experiencia con el Maoismo. Nunca abandonaste el Trotskyismo, aún cuando viste la degeneración del Partido Socialista de Trabajadores (SWP). Te uniste a la Unión Socialista (SU) y después ayudaste a fundar el CRSP. ¿Por qué razón piensas tú que se degeneró el SWP?

Mena: El partido (SWP) sufrió aislamiento y desmoralización durante la época de McCarthy. Pero a pesar del gran cambio político precipitado por los movimientos en contra de la guerra y por los derechos civiles en la década del '60, el SWP no analizó la esencia política de estos movimientos ni logró educar a las masas. El fin de la guerra, el nacionalismo negro, el nacionalismo Chicano, fueron parte del programa del SWP. Pero los elementos realmente políticos en el movimiento en contra de la guerra acudieron a otros grupos, especialmente maoístas, quienes se encontraban explicando el imperialismo, el racismo, el sexismo, etc.

En el movimiento Chicano, el SWP trató de convertir todo el Sudoeste en la nueva nación mexicana, Aztlan, junto con todos los trabajadores de esa región. Esto fue idealista y contradictorio en vista de las condiciones objetivas presentes, y operó en contra de la unidad proletaria.

El criterio que rige la intervención del SWP en cualquier movimiento es el número de participantes en lugar del significado y contenido revolucionario del movimiento por más pequeño que éste sea.

Martin: ¿Por qué razones piensas tú que la reagrupada tendencia trotskyista va a prosperar?

Mena: La Liga Espartacista (SL) y el SWP consideran al CRSP como una amenaza, pero no existe un movimiento nacional trotskyista en los EE.UU. El SWP no

transmite la política del trotskyismo al movimiento de las masas. Los Espartacistas tienen un programa pero se abstienen de presentarlo al movimiento de las masas. El SWP es reformista en práctica y la SL es formalista, habla acerca de la "revolución permanente," pero ignora los cambios en la situación político-económica además de las fuerzas sociales emergentes. Ellos (la Liga Espartacista y el Partido de Trabajadores Socialistas) tienen un concepto juvenil acerca del trotskyismo.

Los elementos de vanguardia que realmente están en búsqueda de algo resultan desengañados y nada encuentran. El CRSP llenará ese vacío político. Tiene un futuro real.

Martin: Durante tu visita a Seattle tuvimos intensos debates sobre el feminismo y la liberación homosexual. ¿Ha cambiado tu posición sobre estos temas?

Mena: Las discusiones han sido útiles. Los puntos discutidos por los camaradas han clarificado mucho en mi mente. No podría decirse que ya soy un socialista feminista, pero ahora comprendo que tengo mucho que aprender. Yo no soy antifeminista del mismo modo que lo fui cuando empezamos y me siento más dispuesto a escuchar sus ideas.

La lucha de grupos minoritarios y de las mujeres es central en el desarrollo de la revolución americana. Si no tenemos un movimiento de vanguardia dirigido por miembros de grupos minoritarios, mujeres y homosexuales, tendremos un movimiento dividido. Los capitalistas utilizan el sexismo y el racismo para dividir al proletariado, para impedir su unidad.

Martin: ¿Que opinas del movimiento Chicano en Seattle?

Mena: Las personas con quienes he hablado son muy políticas y esperan extraer sus respuestas del Marxismo. ¡Yo esperaba encontrar una tendencia más o menos nacionalista como en Texas y otros lugares fuera de las grandes ciudades, y yo equivocadamente pensaba que Seattle estaba en esa categoría!

Me dio gusto conocer a miembros del Centro de la Raza (centro de la comunidad Chicana). Hay mucha receptividad a nuestras ideas. CASA, una de las más fuertes agrupaciones organizadas para la defensa de trabajadores extranjeros sin documentos, ha avanzado más allá del debate sobre el Marxismo. Actualmente están analizando varias ideologías políticas y demuestran mucha curiosidad acerca del Trotskyismo.

Me impresionó la Unión (el Sindicato) sigue en la página 11

PANAMA

Torrid Zones erupt as Carter's deceptive treaty entrenches Yankee domination and plunder

by Monica Hill

Media pundits are still rhapsodizing over the new Panama treaties, heralding the dawn of a new era between the U.S. and Latin America.

But an accurate headline would read, "Yankees' Favorite Launching Pad for Counterrevolution Retained Intact."

The extravagantly lauded treaties change nothing but the cosmetic appearance of U.S. foreign policy. Designed to whitewash Wall Street's tarnished image abroad, the agreements actually reinforce exploitation of the Canal Zone as a military base for repressing the fierce liberation fighters of Latin America.

The Che Guevara murder in Bolivia, the invasion of Santo Domingo, and CIA intervention in Chile were all prepared in Panama, a haven for mercenaries, dope smugglers and hired killers.

New Treaties from Old Molds

Revised in total secrecy over the past 13 years, the renegotiated contracts are a pure and simple license for imperialist frenzy. The semantic facelifting cannot obscure this sinister fact.

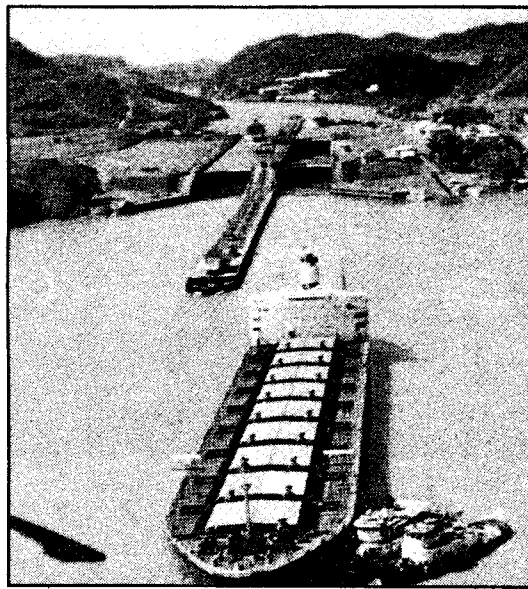
- The U.S. is allowed, as before, to intervene militarily in Panama whenever it wants, and forever.

- Full control of the Canal will be bequeathed to Panama only after the year 2000—when the Canal will be technologically obsolete. It is already too small to accommodate modern ships.

- Pentagon bases ostensibly will remain in the Canal Zone until the end of the century. But the Yankee history of broken treaties belies this promise.

Replete with spy planes and nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons, these murder factories will train troops for counterrevolutionary bolstering of repressive regimes throughout the world.

- Panama will receive U.S. "aid" for the exclusive purpose of buying U.S. exports. Loans and insurance will be provided for U.S. corporations investing there. But no U.S. capital will be transferred to Panama.



National Geographic

A Century of Treachery

Panamanians are the victims of twenty-one Yankee invasions plus chronic sellouts by their own corrupt rulers.

Panama broke from Spain in 1821—only to become absorbed by Colombia, which negotiated with the U.S. in the early 1900s to build a canal. The canal was vital to the fledgling imperialism of the United States, which aimed at consolidating economic, military, and political dominion over the western hemisphere and assuming first place in world capitalism.

But Colombia was forced to reject the grossly unfair terms demanded by the United States. So Washington engineered a Panamanian revolt and, three days later, the U.S. recognized the new nation of Panama. Less than two weeks later, in November, 1903, the scandalous treaty with the handpicked Panamanian government was ratified.

The people of Panama have resisted ever since. In 1964, after mass protests left 22 dead and 500 wounded from the gunfire of U.S. Marines, an embarrassed White House agreed to renegotiate the treaties.

Yankee Go Home!

Panama is a key political and military link to Latin America. For this reason the Panamanian proletariat's new wave of resistance to the naked imperialism of Wall Street is central to socialist revolution in all the Americas.

Internationalists the world over have rushed to the political defense of the irrepressible Panamanian workers and students. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International calls for: Full and immediate sovereignty for Panama! U.S. troops out of Panama! Dismantle all U.S. military bases in the Canal Zone! Turn the canal over to Panama now! Hands off the canal and Panama!

And the *Freedom Socialist* adds: For the Socialist Revolution in All the Americas! ■

The Reagan Wrangle

The apparently heated debate between "liberals" and "conservatives" on congressional ratification of the treaties is a classic example of a ruling class squabble over strategy.

"Fairness, not force," our grinning president intones, as he signs the agreements in the approving presence of Latin America's most venal dictators.

"Stop the giveaway!" roars Ronald Reagan, adroitly playing on rightist fears that even tiny concessions might weaken the U.S. stranglehold on South America.

But the canal is not ours to give. It belongs to the people of Panama, legions of whom perished in building it and in the struggle to liberate it.

Apartheid Agony in SOUTH AFRICA

by Laura Teague

The fanatically racist Vorster regime has unleashed a reign of terror against Black militancy in South Africa.

During October, thousands were arrested, hundreds imprisoned indefinitely without trial under the notorious Terrorism Act, eighteen Black organizations liquidated, and two major Black newspapers closed.

This pogrom revealed the extraordinary desperation of a doomed regime in the face of wave after wave of massive riots and boycotts that followed the prison murder of Steven Biko, Black Consciousness leader.

Biko was the 20th freedom fighter to perish in jail. His murder was calculated to smash the sustained protests sweeping the country ever since the 1976 student boycotts, but the murder boomeranged, and the current repression is a last-ditch attempt to stem the ascending revolutionary tide.

Permanent Revolution at Work

Each repressive reflex of the regime strengthens the revolt.

The government sent bulldozers into housing settlements and razed them to the ground in an attempt to drive out militants. But the Blacks refused to retreat to outlying tribal homelands.

Hundreds of Soweto teachers resigned en masse in sympathy with a student boycott in October. Increasing numbers of white

students support the Black student militants. Black students are joining the guerilla forces and penetrating further into the interior. White moderate newspapers advocate liberalizing the race laws. And Black workers are beginning to join the students.

This initial breakdown of rigorous social divisions is a dire threat to the apartheid system, which is the mainstay of the handful of ruling white capitalists who own 90% of the country's land and resources.

The impoverished majority population of 18 million Blacks is cruelly restricted to small, desolate areas, refused citizenship, and denied the products of their indispensable labor. Thus, the liberation movement's demand for an end to racial partition implies the massive expropriation of the capitalists and the death of the entire, bankrupt social system.

Imperialist Fear and Trembling

Human rights rhetoric notwithstanding, the imperialist controversy over South Africa is simply a tactical matter. They all intend to preserve South African capitalism and save their own enormous investments. United States capital is a major buttress of the troubled South African economy—300 known U.S. corporations operate there.

Hence the White House threat of an arms embargo is empty sermonizing. The U.S. ruling class is deeply apprehensive that unless token concessions are made, a civil eruption of such magnitude will be

provoked that all will be lost. But the apartheidists fear that the slightest concession will engender a flood of social demands that capitalism cannot grant. The regime scoffs at the proposed arms embargo. "They must not think that if they shout at us we will tremble," says Defense Minister P. W. Botha, "or that to boycott us will impoverish us and bring us to our knees." The racists clearly signal their intent to fight to the death with hardline brutality—and they have acquired nuclear arms.

Whether or not concessions are granted, the South African government cannot contain the social upheaval without destroying itself.

Mounting international support for a Black South Africa—and deepening solidarity of South Africans themselves under the onslaught of daily police attacks and wholesale demolition of their community—serve notice to the world that total dismantling of the monstrous machinery of apartheid is on the order of the day. ■



Washington Star/L.A. Times Syndicate

"Now, behave yourself, or we'll be forced to have you die of a hunger strike!"

THE REGROUPMENT FRONT

Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The historic inauguration of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party was the climax of a July 1977 conference on revolutionary regroupment held in Los Angeles, California. The launching of CRSP was a bold step on the road to constructing a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist party in the U.S.

CRSP membership and influence are growing steadily. Chapters have been formed in Denver, Iowa City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle and New York City, and members are heavily engaged in programmatic discussion and debate, extensive correspondence, and serious mass work in their communities. A public discussion bulletin and an internal newsletter are currently in preparation, and joint activities are being implemented.

The Statement of Purpose delineates the programmatic and theoretical basis of unity for the new tendency. This document also condemns the opportunism and bureaucratic practices of the Socialist Workers Party, calls for workers democracy in the revolutionary movement, raises anew the demand for independent class political action, and ends with a "warm and comradely invitation to all revolutionaries to work with us toward a regroupment of the forces on the left into a new party of socialist revolution."

The *Freedom Socialist* is proud to publish this significant new impetus to radical reunification, and we encourage our readers' response to the document.

A CONFERENCE of revolutionary socialists from various sections of the United States, assembled in Los Angeles, California, on the weekend of July 22-24, 1977, announces the formation of a new political tendency dedicated to the reconstitution of American Trotskyism and the regroupment of radical forces in this country.

Our ultimate objective is the construction of a revolutionary socialist party based on proletarian internationalism, a rich internal democracy, and firm roots in the working class and the new mass movements that have emerged in the past several decades—the kind of party that will be capable of mobilizing the broad cadres needed to achieve a workers and farmers government in the U.S.

We do not start from scratch. We adhere to the programmatic foundations and traditions of the early Communist International (C.I.) and the first workers state, the Soviet Union. We identify ourselves with the struggle of the Left Opposition against the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union and the C.I.

We consider ourselves a part of the movement to build a world party of socialist revolution—a part of the Fourth International which is dedicated to the application of Marxist principles to contemporary social reality.

The Degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party

Many of us have a common origin in the early Socialist Workers Party.

Although we left the SWP at different times and apparently over different issues, we are all convinced that the SWP has degenerated into a bureaucratic, monolithic, and centrist formation moving in the direction of the Social Democracy.

Together with other comrades who have embraced the general program of the Fourth International, we undertake the difficult, but unpostponable, task of re-creating an organized expression of revolutionary Marxism in the United States.

The opportunistic and Stalinophobic degeneration of the SWP was clearly revealed in its reaction to the momentous upsurge of revolutionary struggles in Western Europe, i.e., the overthrow of the 48-year-old fascist dictatorship in Portugal.

The SWP veered sharply to the right, toward support—in company with the U.S. State Department—of the Portuguese Socialist Party's offensive against the revolution, an assault led by Soares on behalf of Portuguese capitalism and world imperialism.

This class betrayal by the SWP was compounded by its adoption of a neutral position in the Angolan civil war, a great social conflict between neo-colonialists backed by the

United States and South Africa, and the revolutionary masses led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of the Angolan People, the MPLA.

So blinded was the SWP by Stalinophobia that it could not recognize the reality that was so clear to Washington and world reaction: that the outcome of this battle was decisive for the development of the revolution unfolding in all of southern Africa.

The political betrayals of the SWP are further compounded by its bureaucratic regime which stifles all serious criticism and thereby eliminates any possibility of correction from the ranks.

All opposition to its antirevolutionary policies in Portugal and Angola was crushed in advance by a "preventive strike": an entire opposition tendency was purged from the SWP without the elementary formalities of a trial, a hearing, formal charges, or even notification of expulsion (until after the fact).

Further evidence of the demise of the SWP as a revolutionary organization is the astonishing fact that in the face of all these political and organizational misdeeds—unprecedented in the Trotskyist movement—the severe internal and public criticism by the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the Fourth International met with not a ripple of dissent inside the SWP.

We are forced to conclude that the regeneration of revolutionary Marxism in the United States must proceed outside of and apart from the SWP.

Support to the Fourth International

The building of a U. S. section of the world Trotskyist movement lies ahead of us. The principal responsibility for this tragic situation obviously lies with the leadership of the SWP.

We must, however, reluctantly take note of the self-defeating policy of the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the Fourth International. In the interests of maintaining its worthless relations with the SWP, the IMT contributed to the liquidation of its own supporting tendency in the United States—the International Tendency (IT) of the SWP.

We declare our strong opposition to the opportunistic line of conduct followed by the IMT leadership in relation to the destruction of a sympathizing section of the Fourth International in the United States.

We nevertheless reaffirm our support to the general political line of the Fourth International and our commitment to working for a revolutionary program in the United States in struggle against the revisionist SWP which flagrantly suppresses the voice of the International in this

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*The job will be done by those who
understand the urgent tasks ahead and have
the courage to fight to win a new world.*

by Val Carlson

Two revolutionary women, the first official representatives from Cuba to make a major U.S. appearance in 16 years, were accorded a thunderous ovation by a Pacific Northwest audience inspired by the women's proud feminism and leadership.

The standing-room-only crowd at the recent National Lawyers Guild convention in Seattle heard Ana Maria Navarro and Maria Yolanda Ferrer, delegates of the two-million-member Federation of Cuban Women.

"Cuban women were the first to come forth to defend their country's revolution," Ferrer said proudly. Many women rushed to join the militia to help defend the new government from imperialist invasion and others entered the workforce to replace men on the front lines.

The massive FCW works effectively with every state organization, promoting the revolution by involving women on every level of Cuban society.

Ferrer said that before the revolution, "women were simply merchandise, sexual objects without their own personalities, conceived solely to fill an empty and passive role in society."

Women's work has been decisive in overcoming economic underdevelopment and a backward culture. Their participation in agriculture, industry, education, and government has more than doubled since the revolution.

Navarro explained that females now constitute 30% of university enrollments, and won 23% of the neighborhood offices in the elections last year.

CUBAN WOMEN

*"The First to Defend
Their Country's Revolution"*



Ana Maria Navarro Arrue, left, and Maria Yolanda Ferrer, delegates of the Cuban Federation of Women to the National Lawyers Guild Conference.

Laws have changed radically. The 1975 Family Code guarantees equality between spouses in career choices, family obligations, and domestic responsibilities. Illegitimacy has been eliminated as a legal category and both parents, married or not, are responsible for children.

"Education is one of the fundamental objectives of the new laws," declared Ferrer. "In workplaces, unions, and student and community centers, legal changes are discussed profoundly. Over 4,000 suggestions were presented during discussion of the new Family Code."

The discussion process helped people to understand what equality really meant, added Ferrer. While many women still shoulder the double burden of work outside and inside the home, everyone knows that this double jeopardy is not sanctioned by law.

Younger men, especially, are doing more housework. "But there is still the husband who will do the laundry—as long as he isn't seen hanging it up! However," she smiled, "he knows what's right and wrong. His progress is developing with the revolution."

The audience listened with envy when told that rape and domestic violence are extremely uncommon in Cuba, and offenders are severely punished. Divorce is increasing as women's economic dependence on husbands lessens.

"There is no longer any reason to stay in a marriage which doesn't accomplish the objectives that were there when it began," Navarro asserted.

The revolutionary confidence and energy of the Cuban feminists were an inspiration to their listeners and a tribute to the revolutionary dynamic that has dramatically reversed the sexist practice of centuries. ■

Val Carlson, a Seattle attorney, specializes in defending the rights of women and minorities in the fields of employment and education.

from front page

The Morning After

Surprise, surprise—the glorious new era never arrived. Instead, in a dizzying sequence of repressive moves, the harsh truth of Carter's real program emerged in all its stark ugliness.

Far from improving the conditions of anyone except his coterie of monopoly capitalists, southern financiers, and Pentagon brass, his regime caused a decline in the standard of living and conditions of the oppressed who put him in office.

Cynically repudiating the millions who trusted his glowing promises, he relentlessly sacrificed the poor and flaunted his defense of bankers, corporations, and imperialists, domestic and foreign.

The Dixieland Special

Carter had made a special, direct appeal to Blacks, guaranteeing jobs to reduce the horrendous numbers of Black unemployed. The jobs never appeared.

With unemployment among Black youth soaring to a staggering 40%, the Carter regime has yet to propose a public jobs program capable of denting the statistics.

just another callous establishment politico

Affirmative action is dying as the White House regularly demonstrates its naked hostility to equal employment opportunity. The administration, moreover, has conferred open support to Alan Bakke, a white student who sued the University of California Medical School at Davis on the grounds of "reverse discrimination." Bakke claimed he had been denied entrance so that minority student quotas could be filled.

Carter's betrayal of his legions of Black supporters sparked a storm of protest among the very Black liberals he had wooed and won.

At the National Urban League Conference in July, Vernon Jordan, the League's executive director, launched a sharp and bitter criticism of the administration. Jordan strongly protested Carter's opposition to federally funded abortions for poor women, his regressive welfare reform plan, and his empty promises.

Said Jordan, "A limited jobs program is not enough. An expanded housing policy is not enough. **Black people and poor people resent the stress on balanced budgets instead of balanced lives.**"

Carter responded promptly. "I have no apologies to make," he announced, labeling Jordan's remarks "erroneous and demagogic." And in a masterpiece of real demagogy, he accused critics of his administration of "preying upon those who are poor" by "damaging" their hopes!

Black leaders immediately rose to Jordan's defense. NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks, congressional Black Caucus leaders, Jesse Jackson from Operation PUSH, and Rev. Joseph Lowry, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, joined forces to condemn Carter.

Still, none of the Black liberals have broken with Carter or the Democratic party. They continue to cling to the false belief that the president will respond to their pressure and provide services for impoverished Blacks. They have chosen to ignore the fact that Carter's insensitivity to Blacks is a leitmotif of his career. His bid for Black support in 1976 was a hypocritical exception.

His political tune swiftly changed from "Dixie" to "We Shall Overcome." Today he is again whistling "Dixie"

When Carter ran for governor of Georgia in 1970, his running mate was none other than the arch-segregationist Lester Maddox. Maddox, said Carter, "has compassion for the ordinary man. I'm proud to be on a ticket with him." Furthermore, said Carter, "I could win without a single Negro vote."

But the presidency was a different matter. Carter's team knew that Blacks could put him in the White House, and his political tune swiftly changed from "Dixie" to "We Shall Overcome."

Today, our good-ole-boy again whistles "Dixie."

Housebreaking the House of Labor

Organized labor comprised the other massive voting bloc courted by the Carter campaign.

And just as Carter has reneged on his promises to Blacks, he has failed to respect even the minimal—



...SOUTH in

and inadequate—requests of the labor officialdom.

The administration stolidly supports the notorious "right to work" Section (14B) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits states to make union shops illegal.

Carter coolly rejects the AFL-CIO proposal to raise the minimum hourly wage from \$2.30 to \$3.00. Carter proposes \$2.65, a wage which falls below the poverty level.

These meager returns on the estimated \$11 million in union funds squandered on Carter's campaign have stung the professional conciliators of the labor bureaucracy into resentful criticism of Carter.

George Meany, AFL-CIO chief, was asked last spring if labor had any reason to be happy with the Carter administration. "No," he said.

In August, Meany publicly supported the Urban League Conference call for Carter to provide jobs to all the unemployed. Two days after Vernon Jordan raised his protest against the Carter administration, Meany said, "The greatest crime being committed today is being committed against the Black community against the Black teenagers and the white teenagers."

"We want jobs," added Meany. "We don't want welfare or unemployment insurance."

"We are in basic conflict with the White House on the (economic) stimulus program," said Lane Kirkland, Meany's second in command. "The president didn't do enough and what he did, he directed badly."

Rosalynn Carter makes Betty Ford look like a militant feminist

By September, the AFL-CIO was angry enough to jump out of character. Together with the congressional Black Caucus, the United Auto Workers, other independent unions, and civil rights organizations, they sponsored a "Full Employment Week" promotion.

Labor's participation in a public protest by such an alliance is a telling comment on the extent of Carter's sellout of workers.

Carter the Capitalist

The president's antilabor slant should come as no surprise to anyone who reads the record.

Carter had long since demonstrated his commitment to wage exploitation and the profit system, and that is precisely why he was selected as a presidential candidate—long before the public even knew his name.

In 1973, Carter joined the Trilateral Commission created as a "private American, European, Japanese Initiative on Matters of Common Concern." Composed of representatives of worldwide finance capital and international corporate heads—along with the president of the League of Women Voters and United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel to provide cosmetic cover—the Commission works to insure the safe emergence of capitalism from the worsening international economic crisis.

It was this Commission that groomed capital peanut farmer Carter for the presidency. Former Commission members are his most trusted advisers.

Carter is now the orchestrator of the imperial machinations of U.S. capital, and it is small wonder that the ranks of labor are accruing no benefits from their huge capital investment in Jimmy.

Down Mexico Way

The organic inability of a Democratic party president to represent the interests of workers was sharply revealed once again as Carter dealt with the most persecuted sector of the labor force—the undocumented Mexican worker.

HERN DEMAGOGUE

the White House

After approving brutal roundups of Mexican labor, Carter unveiled a high-sounding "amnesty" plan to permit Mexican workers who had lived here for over seven years to remain. They would not, however, be allowed to vote or serve on juries. They could apply for U.S. citizenship.

But for the huge majority of undocumented workers, the millions who have entered the United States since 1970 or who travel back and forth between the two countries, a sinister fate awaits. They would be forced to register with the government and be subject to a "pass" system. They might be granted temporary status for five years residency—or they could be deported. And Carter wants border guards increased to at least 2,000.

The real culprits, the labor-hungry growers who import Mexicans and then export them when the crops are harvested, would face only a mild penalty—a fine of \$1,000 per undocumented worker if the grower shows a repeated pattern of such hiring.

Not only will the growers lose nothing under the Carter proposal, but the border smugglers will profit under the plan! Prices charged by the smugglers have already jumped to \$300-\$400 per worker, paid by destitute Mexicans (or U.S. relatives and friends) anxious to enter the U.S. before the plan goes into effect.

Chicanos are strenuously mobilizing against Carter's bad-neighbor policy.

Jimmy's Welfare Chiseling

What has Carter done for the welfare recipients who cannot, for domestic, physical or social reasons, find adequate work?

Big Daddy has undertaken a massive renovation of the nation's welfare system, supposedly making good his promise to provide "jobs for all."

This nefarious plan involves a **forced labor system**. A person who refuses a low-paid job offered by the government will be summarily cut off from all but minimum benefits—\$2,300 a year for a single mother.

Almost one-and-a-half million deadend, temporary jobs will be created. After a year in this make-work system, each employee would be forced to conduct an "intensive job search" in the private sector.

The plan strikes particularly hard at single mothers without job experience and training. If her children are

Sexist Doublespeak

The masses of poor and working women have received nothing from the Carter administration but icy unconcern.

Carter's antipathy to abortion is well-publicized. During his campaign, he adroitly skirted the issue by promising something for everybody. While claiming to support women's right to choose, he also assured the Right-to-Lifers of his **personal** opposition to abortion.

This bit of campaign doublespeak was quickly stripped of its calculated ambivalence during congress-

class gays to meet with one of his advisers, his administration refuses to utter one single word in defense of a sizeable portion of his electorate.

Carter deliberately lends tacit support to organized bigotry.

"Bert, I'm Proud of You!"

One aspect of the Carter image central to his campaign—his vaunted honesty—was finally laid to rest when Budget Director Bert Lance was forced to resign in the wake of a sensational Senate investigation into

**he relentlessly sacrificed the poor
and flaunted his defense of
bankers, corporations and imperialists**

sional debate on the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare.

The Hyde Amendment, attached to the appropriations bill as a rider, would prohibit the use of Medicaid funds for abortions for poor women except when "medically necessary," or when pregnancy results from rape or incest.

During debate on this bill, Carter delivered a public pronouncement guaranteed to shatter any residual illusions of poor women about his benevolence.

"As you know," said this champion of human dignity, **"there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't. But I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal."**

On the ERA front, in the very midst of an organized rightwing campaign to reverse feminist gains, the Carter regime has provided no aid nor lent any support.

The leader of NOW, Karen DeCrow, tactfully complained that "women's rights are simply not a high priority of the administration." The bitter truth is that blocking progress for women is an administration priority.

And Rosalynn Carter makes Betty Ford look like a militant feminist.

his widespread misuse of deposits and securities.

Lance's money-shuffling may be no worse than that of most financiers with access to astronomical funds, but he overstepped the thin gray line between legality and illegality, and he got caught. His crony Carter stood behind him to the bitter end, affirming amidst the furor, "Bert, I'm proud of you!"

The Democratic Party Hoax

The Lance scandal has changed nothing. Carter remains at the helm of power, and only more treachery and affronts can be expected from the president and his cabal.

There is a grim lesson to be learned and re-learned here. A Democratic party hopeful is no hope at all. Never in history has capitalism made good its hollow promise to destroy its own inherent evils, and the Democratic party serves the interests of capital.

Johnson, Kennedy, Truman, and Roosevelt never acted as anything but what they were—faithful hirelings of the party of imperialism, ruthless capitalism, global war, discrimination, and injustice. The Democratic party, like its Republican counterpart of labor-haters, red-baiters and racists, has never been and will never be on the side of the popular masses, for it belongs lock,

**Again and once more again,
the illusions of labor, Blacks, women and
the poor are shattered by the huckster
politicians of the Democratic party**

over six years of age, the mother would be forced to work part-time. If her children are over 14, she would be forced into a full-time job. And no funds are available for childcare or household services.

This militaristic work conscription program would strike a severe blow at the wages of public employees. Low-skill jobs, presently paying between \$3 and \$4 an hour, would become downgraded into workfare jobs paying only \$2.65.

And Jimmy-boy calls himself a defender of the "American family."

Mum's the Word on Gays

The only White House response to harassed gays resisting a sustained rightwing assault has been a hurried washing of hands.

When asked whether he thought gays should be allowed to adopt children or teach school, Carter replied, "That's something I'd rather not answer. **This is a subject I don't particularly want to involve myself in. I've got enough problems without taking on another.**"

The very survival of gays is at stake, and though Carter permitted a carefully selected group of middle-

stock and porkbarrel to Wall Street.

It is long past time for workers, all the oppressed, and radicals who support the Democrats to definitively break with the twin parties of Big Business and organize their own political instrument.

Only when a workers and farmers government serving the people is erected over the corpse of the ruling class, will an age emerge free from poverty, prejudice, war, and exploitation. And we may all rest assured that Jimmy Carter will be the last man to lead anyone toward that beckoning future. ■

editorial editorial editorial editorial editorial editorial editorial editor

In Defense of Affirmative Action

The twisted cry of "reverse discrimination" is once more heard in the land, and there is serious cause for alarm.

The infamous Bakke case is under consideration in the U.S. Supreme Court where a pro-Bakke ruling could obliterate affirmative action.

Affirmative action is one of the pitifully few gains achieved by minorities and women in their long and fierce struggle for economic justice. But the status quo, which rests upon a vast pool of cheap minority and female labor, is threatened by civil rights and feminism—and affirmative action has become the primary target of a vicious offensive from big business and conservatives.

Allan Bakke, an engineer, blamed his rejection by the University of California Medical School at Davis on the sixteen slots reserved for minority applicants. Ignoring the one hundred nonminority vacancies—and his rejection by many other medical schools because of his age (34)—this white man insists on perpetuating academic exclusion of minorities.

Bakke and his ilk claim that programs designed to halt entrenched patterns of rejection illegally "discriminate" against white males.

Bunk! "Reverse discrimination" is a demagogic phrase concocted to deny women and minorities the right of equal opportunity.

Wholesale under-utilization and over-exploitation of female and minority labor is institutionalized in society. Socialization, education and job opportunities are grotesquely limited for anyone not white or male. Exclusion from higher education and training leads in turn to low-paid jobs and deprivation for the children of the poor. Ghetto youth especially are locked into this cruel cycle.

Minority admissions to medical schools have actually declined in the past 30 years; Black physicians today constitute only 2.04% of the nation's doctors. If the Bakkes of the world prevail, minority professionals will virtually vanish.

Affirmative action can reverse this downward spiral. It provides the extra boost needed to compensate for past discrimination and assists the disadvantaged in competing on an equal basis with white males who generally enjoy the benefits of greater opportunity and training.

Nevertheless, many white men grow hysterical

if they must surrender even an iota of privilege, and some, invoking "constitutional rights," rush to attack the real victims of persecution.

The powerful conglomerate of reactionaries who support Bakke and his brethren are the same forces fueling Anita Bryant's antigay witchhunt, the assaults against the labor force, and those who would prevent legal abortion rights to poor women. They are the race-baiters, warmongers and profiteers. They are the class enemy—and they must be challenged.

Affirmative action is not a secondary question. It is a survival issue for millions of workers chained to the yoke of virulent racism and sexism. Revolutionary socialists are committed in principle to advocate and defend compensatory action on behalf of their sisters and brothers in double bondage.

—Cindy Gipple

El grito retorcido de "discriminación al revés" se oye de nuevo por todas partes; y hay muchísima razón para alarmarse.

El infame caso "Bakke" está bajo consideración en la Corte Suprema de los EE.UU., donde una decisión pro-Bakke puede aniquilar por completo la acción afirmativa.

La acción afirmativa es una de las pocas ganancias despreciables que las minorías y las mujeres han podido alcanzar en su larga y fiera lucha por la justicia económica. Pero la situación presente, que se basa en un vasto fondo de labor barata de las minorías y las mujeres, está amenazada por los derechos civiles y el feminismo—y la acción afirmativa se ha convertido en el blanco principal de una ofensiva viciosa de parte del gran comercio y los conservadores.

Allan Bakke, ingeniero, ha echado la culpa de su rechazo en la Facultad de Medicina de la Universidad de California, a los 16 puestos reservados para solicitantes minoritarios. No haciendo caso de las cien vacantes no minoritarias—y su rechazo en muchas otras facultades de medicina a causa de su edad (34)—este hombre blanco insiste en perpetuar la exclusión académica de las minorías.

Bakke y su jaez afirman que los programas diseñados para atajar los modelos enquistados de discriminación son ilegales porque "discriminan" contra los hombres blancos.

¡Estupideces! La "discriminación al revés" es una frase demagógica confeccionada para negar a las mujeres y a las minorías el derecho de igual oportunidad.

La baja utilización y la super-explotación al por mayor de la labor femenina y minoritaria están institucionalizadas en la sociedad. La socialización, la educación y las oportunidades de empleo se limitan grotescamente para todos los que no sean blancos u hombres. La exclusión de la educación superior y del adiestramiento profesional lleva a su vez a empleos de mala paga y a privación para los niños de los pobres. Los jóvenes de los barrios bajos, en particular, están limitados a este cruel ciclo.

Los ingresos de minorías a las facultades de medicina en realidad han declinado en los últimos 30 años. Hoy en día, de los médicos negros constituyen nada más que 2.04% de los médicos del país. Si los Bakkes del mundo prevalecen, los profesionales minoritarios se desvanecerán.

La acción afirmativa puede parar esta espiral hacia abajo para unos pocos. Provee el empujón hacia arriba necesario para compensar la discriminación pasada, y ayuda a los desventajados a competir imparcialmente con los hombres blancos que, por lo general, aprovechan de los beneficios de relativa oportunidad y adiestramiento.

Sin embargo, muchos de estos hombres blancos se vuelven histéricos si tienen que rendir aun una mísera parte de sus privilegios, y algunos, invocando los "derechos constitucionales," se lanzan a atacar a las verdaderas víctimas de la persecución.

El poderoso conglomerado de reaccionarios que apoyan a Bakke y a su especie son las mismas fuerzas que dan sustento a la inquisición anti-homosexual de Anita Bryant, los asaltos en contra de la fuerza laboral, y a los que quisieran negar a las mujeres pobres los derechos de aborto legal. Son los racistas, los atizadores de la guerra, y los explotadores. Son el enemigo de clase—y hay que desafiarlos.

La acción afirmativa no es un asunto secundario. Es una cuestión de sobrevivencia para millones de labradores encadenados al yugo del racismo y sexismo virulentos. Los socialistas revolucionarios se dedican en principio a abogar y defender la acción compensatoria para sus hermanas y sus hermanos en doble cautiverio.



**Janet
McCloud**

The Legend of the Bat

When the cause of the Indians was popular on the Congressional scene and Lloyd Meeds of Washington State chaired the Indian Committee, he draped himself in a humanitarian cloak, pretending to champion our cause.

Many of us never trusted him, but when you are drowning and need a friend, it doesn't matter who throws you the lifeline. You just grab it and hang on.

But Meeds has feverishly stripped himself of his garment and trampled it in the mud, showing his true colors. He never cared about Native rights or the unbroken historical chain of injustices; he cared only for popularity.

Since our struggles have gained court victories, the tide of popularity has turned and latent racial hatred for Native Americans is again out in the open.

We were good Indians when we were dying, and the bleeding-hearts could weep crocodile tears over our misfortunes. Now that the scales of justice have tipped a little our way, our short-lived friends have hidden their smiles and are showing their fangs.

The American justice system is on trial. For 200 years U.S. courts have protected the life, liberty, and stolen goods of the white race. The same courts took away our rights, land, resources, and liberty. We are waiting to see whether the system stands or rots, whether there is justice for all or a "JUST-US" system. Anything less is a sham.

Meeds now woos disgruntled white fishermen. Let them have him, we don't want him! While the news media champions their cause, Meeds will remain their friend.

A legend is told by the elders of a long war between the Animal Kingdom and the Bird Kingdom.

Sometimes the Animal Kingdom would be almost victorious, but then would lose, and the Bird Kingdom would gain ground.

Now, the bat has fangs like an animal and wings like a bird. When the Animals won, the bat would hide his wings and ferociously display his fangs—safely in the background. But when the Birds won, the bat would desert the Animals, hide his fangs, display his wings, and fly safely in the back ranks of the Birds.

His duplicity was discovered and he was promptly and forever ejected from both Kingdoms.

That is why "The Bat must fly alone at night."

Lloyd Meeds' behavior reminds me of those bats. That is why I call him the "BATMAN."

Janet McCloud of the Tulalip tribe is a longtime organizer of Indian struggles and spokeswoman for her people.

Sandy Nelson in

PARIS

The workers' mood here is one of demoralization since the split in the Union of the Left, a popular front composed of the Communist party, Socialist party, and the Left Radicals, a bourgeois liberal party seeking left cover.

In the face of the government austerity program of speedups and wage freezes, the workers were awaiting a left electoral victory so they could press their demands. And the leftward move of traditionally conservative regions in the recent municipal elections pointed to a Union of the Left victory in the coming March elections.

The breakup of this bloc was discouraging to the mass of workers who supported it, and people

looking at the nearly identical proposals of the CP-SP for their "Common Program" cannot understand what caused the rupture.

The official reason for the split was differences between the CP and SP over the number and nature of industries to be nationalized by a left government. But it is more likely that the reformist CP-SP bloc, which fears a workers' uprising that would go beyond its parliamentary control, disunited in an effort to appease the bourgeoisie.

The CP-SP portray themselves to the bourgeoisie as the sole force capable of containing mass anger, and they have no intention of launching any basic challenge to capitalism. Nevertheless, French capitalists play their economic hand

by sending investment capital out of the country, and publicly predicting chaos in the event of a radical electoral victory.

Since the split in the Union of the Left, the French stock exchange has benefited from increased domestic and foreign investments.

The workers may well turn to militancy in protest against the treachery of the reformist leadership. The proletariat may not wait for the elections in order to push its demands; it could force a reunification of the CP-SP bloc minus the bourgeois Left Radicals.

Revolutionaries are already cooperating in an effort to reunify the workers against the class enemy and challenge the Giscard-Barre government from below.



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Letter from

ITALY

Poverty,
Machismo
and
Madonnas

Im having an unforgettable time exploring ancient Roman ruins, renaissance art, and the contemporary marvels of Italian radical politics.

Lavishly adorned churches loom everywhere, flaunting the vast wealth and power of the Vatican but impervious to the tremendous social problems confronting the people. Trigger-happy police routinely brandish submachine guns at worker and student demonstrators. And the tales of infamous Italian machismo prove all too true; twenty-thousand women a year still die from botched abortions.

A predominantly agricultural country, Italy is under-industrialized and chronically underdeveloped. Only 19 million out of 55½ million people are employed, and less than 30% of the work force are women. Many workers depend completely on the seasonal tourist trade, eking out a bare existence as craftsmen.

Three decades of rule by the anticommunist, pro-Vatican, often

profascist Christian Democrats (CD) have reduced Italy to the lowest standard of living in Europe.

The million-member Communist Party (PCI) is the CD's strongest rival. Typically Stalinist and class-collaborationist, the PCI calls for "historic compromise"—a CD-PCI coalition government—and solemnly promises to protect property and curtail civil liberties.

Italian radicals are outraged at PCI treachery: 50,000 demonstrators protested the PCI-CD alliance in September. A highly significant contingent of marchers were women and gays.

The feminist and gay movements have fought a grueling, uphill battle

in this land of the madonnas. Until the nationwide uproar over divorce legalization brought down the government in 1975, women and gays were ignored as a political force. The sexist failure of Italian socialists to incorporate feminism as a programmatic priority has turned many female militants toward "radical feminism"—a nonclass, antimale approach to women's emancipation.

In Rome, I visited the Movimento di Liberazione della Donna, a leading feminist organization. Turned off by "male-oriented" politics, they concentrate on health care, sexuality, and domestic violence as core issues.

However, the sector of union women who are feminist and socialist is growing, and in this kind of movement lies Italy's prime hope for proletarian unity and liberation from capitalism.

Vittoria alla Rivoluzione Italiana Socialista Feminista!

Angela Merlino

Clara
Fraser

Message to the Media

To comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable—that is the reporter's mission, as defined by Heywood Broun, the great journalist who founded the Newspaper Guild.

I have encountered dozens of newswriters who did exactly that. I have an abiding respect for the working press—their facility with language, their splitsecond, deadline-haunted timing, and their skillful creation of concise stories that vividly capture the flavor of a happening or viewpoint.

But I have also seen issues cynically distorted by reporters who turn the victim into the villain, and the establishment into the good guys. And many of the bigtime editors who trim the stories and write the heads and captions are something else!

I have never met an editor or publisher of the bourgeois press, but it is clear that their attitudes are securely anchored in their advertisers' wallets. News about social problems receives some weird and wacky treatment, and a recent experience of mine is a case in point.

• • •

I was "laid off" from Seattle City Light because the superintendent was rendered apoplectic by my philosophy and activities. My "crimes" were legion:

I joined the striking electrical workers at the utility.

I organized and tried to preserve a trainee program for female electricians.

I testified against the big boss before a public committee investigating his controversial personnel and management policies.

I helped negotiate an employee Bill of Rights that would have subdued his napoleonic powers, had not the mayor illegally stonewalled the Bill.

I supported a recall campaign against said mayor.

I advocated career training and upgrading for Black women clerical workers.

So I was fired, and I protested. I contend that I, a socialist, have as much right to work for the government as a Republican or Prohibitionist.

• • •

I appealed to the city's Department of Human Rights, charging discrimination on account of sex and politics, and the agency found on my behalf.

This judgment was exceptionally significant because mine was the first complaint filed under the "political ideology" section of the fair employment practices ordinance. It may well be the first such case in the country.

Since the agency cannot publicize its findings, I did—and many reporters and photographers came to my press conference.

• • •

TV treatment was curt and cursory. One channel flashed the item by so fast that I couldn't follow it, especially since wrong information was being transmitted.

On another channel, the anchorman "talked over" a picture of me on the screen, so my own words were not heard.

The third station let me speak. Their review was relatively extensive and correct—which may explain why the story was not rerun on the late evening time slot, when office workers and women watch the tube.

Came the dawn, and the morning paper featured a front-page capsule preview: "CLARA FRASER, fired by City Light in 1975, said the Seattle Dept. of Human Rights backs her six-point discrimination complaint." The gist of the matter was not that an impartial agency upheld me—but that I said they did! This introductory blurb hinted that perhaps I was talking through my bonnet, even though the full story quoted the agency's attorney.

The headline was a triumph of folksiness: "Clara Fraser Isn't Through With City Light Yet." My photo was captioned "Clara Fraser—Not Through Yet." (My paranoid vibes whispered that the subliminal, missing word was "unfortunately.")

OK, no big problem, and what's wrong with humor, anyway. But this PR experience triggered an old irritation. We, the afflicted, are being taken—and in my next column, I'll tell you where.

(To be continued)

seattle

Chicana Challenges University Frame-Up

Seattle—An abrasive legal confrontation over workers rights is raging at the University of Washington where a hotly-contested hearing is underway to consider the charge of Rosa Morales that she was fired from the Chicano Studies program because of sex and race discrimination and in violation of her political rights.

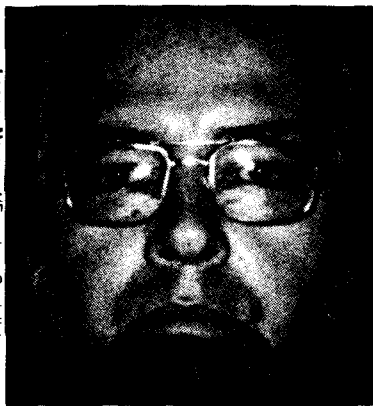
Morales, a Chicana activist, is conducting a determined defense against her ex-boss, Dr. James Vasquez, head of Chicano Studies. A judge appointed by the state's Higher Education Personnel Board is hearing the case.

It's a bitter fight—Chicana secretary against Chicano administrator, political radical against conservative academic hierarchy. But to Morales and her friends in United Workers Union-Independent, MEChA, Mujer, the citywide Committee to Defend Workers and Students Rights, El Centro de la Raza, and many other supporting groups, the class lines are clear and the issue is free speech.

Antagonisms originally flared at a MEChA meeting when Morales



Rosa Morales



James Vasquez

criticized Vasquez for weakening the Chicano program. He thereupon instigated sustained harassment against her, culminating in her suspension and dismissal.

Incensed by Morales' valiant defense effort, Chicano and white rightwingers subjected her to a reign of terror—threats of violence, goon squads following her and her children, physical attacks on her supporters, slashing her auto tires, etc. Thugs tried to attack Morales' attorneys at the United Workers union office, shouting, "We're not commie radical fags!"

Morales and her defense team successfully resisted the hoodlums through defense guards and wide publicity. "We will not be disrupted or intimidated by fascist hoods or CIA-type provocateurs," said Yolanda Alaniz, president of the union, which is coordinating the legal work. "The University administration is responsible for this protracted violence and we demand they stop it."

The press has printed dozens of letters of support to Morales, and the daily trial proceedings are regularly reported. ■

Prominent Feminists Evaluate Their Movement

"I don't think we're at a crossroads—we're at a dead end," said Ti-Grace Atkinson, a founder of radical-feminism. "The crossroads was 1971, when the antiwar and civil rights movements disintegrated. With our former comrades gone, we turned inwards, upon ourselves."

"The moderates back away from confronting the right wing," said Rosa Morales, Chicana militant. "That leaves minority women and women radicals isolated in the fight for all women's rights."

"Women are at an impasse—they must choose between fascist reaction or socialism," said Clara Fraser, pioneer revolutionary feminist. "The only salvation for the movement will be a strong and dynamic radical wing."

The three theorists spoke at a forum on "Women's Rights at the Crossroads" in early November. They all advocated a united front

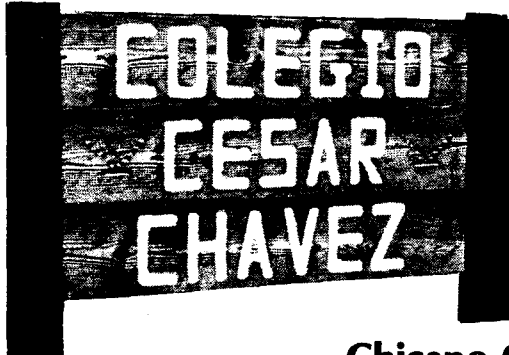


Ti-Grace Atkinson

against the ultra-right antifeminists. Audience response focused on a comparison of radical-feminism and socialist feminism—whether sex or class is the key social category in the modern world.

Two hundred people attended, and the exciting forum, sponsored by Radical Women on a weeknight, didn't adjourn until 1:30 a.m., testifying to the enormous interest in political analysis and ideological exchange of views about the destiny of the women's movement. ■

portland



Chicano College Defies Eviction

Portland—Protesting a court-ordered eviction by a federal agency, Chicano students and teachers at the innovative Colegio Cesar Chavez in Mt. Angel, Oregon have occupied the four-year-old school's buildings and vowed to stay there until arrested.

Six Colegio students have filed a U.S. District Court countersuit against the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), charging that their right to an equal education is violated by the threatened eviction.

HUD demands eviction because a \$1 million debt, incurred when the school took over the former Mt. Angel school's premises and debts remained unpaid. HUD wants the property

after the Benedictine Sisters of Mt. Angel College defaulted on the loan.

HUD not only refuses to consider Colegio proposals to purchase, lease, or receive the school as a gift, but is secretly conspiring to sell the property to the county Housing Authority.

This is HUD's fourth attempt to evict the determined college. School supporters view the eviction as part of the intensified government offensive to seal off educational opportunities for minorities. The drastic discrepancy between HUD's treatment of the Colegio and its Anglo-Catholic predecessor is clear.

The Colegio is the only independent Chicano College in the country. ■

Peltier Needs Support Letters

Leonard Peltier, AIM leader who was framed and convicted of first degree murder, is planning to appeal that decision. Letters are urgently needed demanding a move for a mistrial on the grounds that Peltier was denied a fair trial, and calling for all charges against him to be dropped.

Send the letters to: President Jimmy Carter, the White House, Washington, D.C. 20500; Attorney General Griffin Bell, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530; and Lawrence Taylor, Office of Pardons, U.S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.



Expressions of your support can be sent to: Leonard Peltier, 896-37-132, P.O. Box 1000, Marion, IL 62959. ■

houston

Cops Murder Chicano

Houston—Police sadism has descended to new depths in Texas.

Six white cops arrested 23-year-old Joe Campos Torres, Jr. last May, handcuffed him, viciously beat him, and took him to jail.

Refused admission to the jail and ordered to the hospital, he was dragged by police to a downtown dock and pushed off a 17-foot drop into Buffalo Bayou, where he drowned.

"I always wanted to see a wetback swim," said Officer Terry Denson, quoted in court by policeman Glenn Brinkmeyer, who admitted his own involvement in the beating but defended the heinous act by citing the "need for police to administer justice on the streets through beatings." (Houston Post)

Brinkmeyer was granted immunity for testifying, and the two officers selected as token defendants

for the trial—Denson, who pushed Torres into the water, and Steven Orlando—were found guilty and slapped on the wrist with a \$1.00 fine and one-year probation.

Margaret Torres, mother of the slain victim (whose bloated and bruised corpse was discovered floating in the bayou on Mother's Day) led a Chicano community protest in May. Shouting "We want justice!", "Stop the war against Chicanos!", and "Equality, not brutality!", the demonstrators demanded a full explanation of the murder and a Citizens Review Board to monitor police. The police chief refused the demand, establishing instead a meaningless Internal Investigation Unit.

Torres' parents were arrested at an October demonstration of 350 protesters when they objected to police pointing guns at teenagers.

Four cops involved in the original beating were later indicted by a federal grand jury for violation of Torres' civil rights, and a fifth was named a co-conspirator. ■

san antonio

National Chicano-Latino Conference Demands Amnesty

workers, advocating open borders, and affirming Chicano-Latino self-defense by any means necessary.

A national delegation will be sent to Washington, D.C. on November 18-20 to present the conference proposals.

Scores of organizations were represented at the conference, in addition to CASA: La Raza Unida party, United Mexican American Students, MEChA, LULAC, GI Forum, AIM, Coalition of Mexican Workers, El Caso por La Revolución Feminista, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) of Mexico, Seattle's El Centro de la Raza, El Concilio, the SWP, the Freedom Socialist Party, and the recently formed Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party. ■

San Antonio—Unconditional amnesty for undocumented workers, urgently needed to protect them from deportation and violence, was demanded by 1500 participants at a Chicano-Latino conference held in San Antonio, Texas on October 28-30.

The U.S. government's racist program for perpetuating harassment of Mexicano workers came under scathing attack as speakers denounced Pres. Carter's plan for tightened visa procedures, wholesale deportations, and denial of benefits to temporary residents.

A bitter and prolonged debate over the Socialist Workers Party's role in the Chicano community broke out on the floor on the final day. CASA disrupted the united front with a red-baiting and race-baiting attack on "white socialist" involvement in the conference. Though CASA announced it would only work with Chicanos and Latinos, the conference majority elected to maintain the coalition. Resolutions were passed defending the rights of undocumented



san francisco

BART Union-Busting Foiled

San Francisco—Using every sleazy trick imaginable, the Bay Area Rapid Transit District recently attempted to break a 2-week strike of the BART police officers union, SEIU Local 1008.

But the rank and file of BART's other two unions refused to cross picket lines and the hated BART management failed to smash the new union.

After eight long months of negotiations, a tentative agreement between BART and Local 1008 was abruptly squelched when the bosses submitted a new demand: in the event of a strike by the other unions representing BART workers, Local 1008 was required to cross their picket lines.

Injunction Defied

While 1008 considered striking over this outrage, BART rushed to

court. California Superior Court Justice William Hayes granted an injunction. "No public worker," he ruled, "has the right to strike."

The defiant union struck anyway and won support from the clerical, professional, and maintenance workers in SEIU Local 390, and the Amalgamated Transit Local 1555 operators and station agents.

Many of these BART workers joined the picket line against the wishes of their own union leadership.

Union Leaders Jailed

Judge Hayes charged the president and vice-president of 1008 with contempt, jailed them, and fined them \$2,000 each. The union refused to bargain until they were released and Hayes capitulated.

But when bargaining resumed, negotiator Paul Varacalli (also 390 executive secretary) surrendered 1008's demands for a union shop and the right to honor coworkers'

picket lines. He accepted an agency shop, a wage raise, and benefits, but agreed that the strike's legality would be settled in court, and each striker fined \$100 pending the outcome of an appeal.

Also, amnesty for the strikers was traded for amnesty for scabs from the other two unions.

Planning Ahead

Militants in all three unions, enraged by the sellout, have vowed to fine and press charges against the scabs (5% of the work force).

Local 390's negotiations are not due until July 1979, but the workers are already planning a strike fund and strike organization.

BART, a computerized toy designed at enormous public expense, charges fares which workers can't pay and aims to bust every union they deal with. The workers hope to stop them with militance and solidarity.

—Sukey Durham

...jesus mena

from page 3

Martin: What about international issues?

Mena: We have to develop a truly international perspective. For example, the entire left is surprised to learn of the severity of the crisis in Mexico.

Mexico could explode, and it is crucial for the American left to become familiar with the situation there. American business plays a decisive role in the economy and politics of Mexico. In turn, Mexican politics have an enormous impact on this country, whose situation affects the entire U. S. working class. The radicalization of the masses of Mexican workers and peasants could spark a similar radicalization here that would have far-reaching effects on our domestic and foreign policy.

These relationships must be closely studied and analyzed. This work needs to be done; that's what I mean when I say we

don't yet have a full class analysis of the U.S. This is what CRSP will begin to develop. ■

continuado de la página 3

de Trabajadores Unidos-Independiente. Donde podría encontrarse otro sindicato que le pida a uno hablar acerca de los trabajadores sin documentos. Los sindicatos generalmente se unen a la clase capitalista en hechar la culpa a estos trabajadores por los problemas del sistema.

Creerá el número de sindicatos independientes a medida que organizaciones de trabajadores se den cuenta que es imposible hacerles mover a los burócratas laborales.

Martin: ¿Cual es tu reacción al Partido Socialista de Libertad (FSP)?

Mena: Me ha impresionado de verdad el trabajo que Uds. están haciendo realizando.

Uds. son un grupo muy dinámico—más que nada gente joven y mujeres.

Es especialmente impresionante que Uds. no tengan ningún gran jefe que lo domine todo por sobre los demás. Cada uno de los camaradas es un pensador independiente. Cada persona estuvo lista y dispuesta a expresar su posición y nadie intentó interponerse o corregir a los demás—lo cual desafortunadamente es muy común en la Izquierda. Es muy alentador.

Han hecho Uds. una gran contribución en su análisis de la situación política al resaltar la parte central que la mujer y los grupos minoritarios tiene en la lucha de clases. Nos encontramos al comienzo de un análisis de clases completo en los EE.UU. y estas son las cuestiones que deben presentarse.

Martin: ¿Que opinas de asuntos internacionales?

Mena: Debemos desarrollar una perspectiva realmente internacional. Por ejemplo,

la Izquierda entera se asombra al saber de la crisis en Mexico.

Mexico podría explotar, y es imprescindible que la Izquierda americana se familiarice con la situación que existe allá. El capitalismo americano desempeña un papel decisivo en la economía y política de Mexico. Al mismo tiempo, la política mexicana tiene un impacto enorme sobre Chicanos y trabajadores sin documentos en este país cuya situación afecta a la clase trabajadora de EE.UU. por completo. La radicalización de las masas de trabajadores y campesinos mexicanos podría precipitar una radicalización similar aquí que tendría efectos trascendentales en la política interna y extranjera de EE.UU.

Estas relaciones deben ser estudiadas y analizadas profundamente. Este trabajo necesita ser realizado. Eso es lo que pienso cuando digo que todavía no tenemos un análisis de clases completo en EE.UU. Esto es lo que el CRSP empezará a desarrollar.

...PORTUGAL

from back page

of the old ruling class led to a very favorable relationship of social forces in which the overthrow of capitalism was accomplished without the flowering of workers democracy (China and Vietnam being two outstanding examples). But it is necessary to underline the exceptional character of these experiences, which will not be repeated in most semicolonial countries and **cannot be repeated in imperialist countries.** (Our emphasis.)

Furthermore, where the CPs did seize power, the regimes were dominated by cynical, Stalinist-trained bureaucracies which consolidated their power and privileges at the expense of the masses of their own countries, and made deals with imperialism at the expense of the world masses.

Even granting that such a variant were possible for Portugal, we would still not give an ounce of political support to the PCP, because this is not *our* program. We are for the permanent, proletarian, international revolution.

Stalinized parties are incapable of providing revolutionary leadership to the urban proletariat

Some reject this as Trotskyist "purism," saying, "A revolution is a revolution, whether or not it measures up to the Russian Revolution, and *that* not so pure either." True, no revolution is pure, especially the Russian October. But it is a fact that it was made by workers themselves, supported by the peasants and some intellectuals, and in the first years they actually held power. This phenomenon, sadly, has never been repeated, but it remains our model and our program.

This is not a quibble. A vast difference exists between workers power—even if bureaucratically deformed—and bureaucratic power over the workers. The difference between the corresponding political programs is equally great.

A Problem of Method

The key question is: Can the PCP be transformed by mass pressure into a party capable of leading workers to state power? There is no clear answer from comrades who "leave open" a possible "revolutionary role" for the PCP. We hear instead that it is "undialectical" to "categorically" rule out this possibility: "Just because it hasn't happened before doesn't mean it never will."

This methodological approach—anything is possible, nothing can be ruled out regardless of the weight of accumulated evidence—is the *negation* of all science, and therefore of dialectics. If anything can happen, nothing is predictable, and it is impossible to ever arrive at a strategic line. We are reduced to improvising tactics from day to day while waiting to see how things go.

But a Marxist must seek out the pattern of development, project the future from these findings, and act on the basis of this projection. And an examination of all the social transformations since the degeneration of the Communist International leads to the conclusion that nowhere have any CPs led the proletariat to the conquest of power.

Clearly, there is some kind of pattern here. The key is to be found in the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party's *Statement of Purpose*: "We firmly believe that bureaucracy and revolution are antithetical social phenomena; that full and open discussion of all differences . . . is a necessary precondition for assembling and educating a revolutionary cadre."

Bureaucracy vs. Revolution

This proposition is corroborated by the rigorously documented and detailed account of the proletarian insurrection in Petrograd, *From June to October* by Rabinovich, who proves that contrary to widespread assumption, the Bolshevik success was *predicated* on its wide support in the population and *its rich, thoroughly democratic, often hectic, internal life*. Only a party which reflects in its internal life the cross-currents of the masses in ferment, and which has confidence in the masses, can release and channel their full revolutionary energies. Without this, victory is impossible.

The following conclusion is indicated: Stalinized parties may lead specific types of revolutionary struggles (i.e., peasant and/or guerilla wars) whose predominantly military character allows for a bureaucratic-empiricist leadership, but they are incapable of providing revolutionary direction to the urban proletariat.

It is not true that anything is possible. Stalinist parties cannot be transformed into Leninist parties.

Is the PCP an exception? No, it provides another verification. The PCP executed a tactical left turn (not the first Stalinist party to do so). But a left turn does not imply an orientation toward the conquest of power by the proletariat. The PCP bureaucracy is incapable of even thinking in such terms, because like all bureaucracies, it fears and has contempt for the masses. Its most ambitious goal at the height of the revolutionary upsurge was a coalition cabinet composed of itself and the left wing of the (bourgeois) military, while the mass movement served as a strictly-controlled support group.

Perhaps Cúnhal dreamed of a Czechoslovak-type takeover, but that was never in the cards.

With the changed climate following the November 1975 counter-coup, the PCP veered back to the right, promptly dumping the radical general Gonçalves and trying to link up with the "moderate" generals. Again, it called for restraint, pacifying reaction, "consolidating the revolution," "winning the battle of production"—i.e., for helping the bourgeoisie stabilize its rule.

Classie Class-Collaboration

Comrade Weiss contends (without the slightest hard evidence) that the PCP has broken not only with the Kremlin, but with the peoples-frontism of the Eurocommunist parties. But the PCP participated in six coalition governments with bourgeois parties and/or the military. It is not participating in one now, but not by choice; PCP leaders want desperately to become ministers in Eanes' capitalist government. This has been their orientation throughout, whether or not undertaking a left turn.

The PCP call for a "government of the left" no more constitutes a break with class-collaboration than the French CP's "Union of the Left."

The PCP neither broke with the Kremlin nor oriented toward revolution

Indeed, the PCP central committee stated in December 1976: "Given the difficulties resulting from the blindness of the SP leaders, the Eighth Congress of the CP has proposed a second democratic alternative (the first being an understanding between the CP and SP), namely, the formation of a government presided over by a personality not in any party, whether a civilian or an officer, with the participation of members of the parties, independents, and officers with the support of at least the SP and CP." (*Inprecor*, 10 February 1977)

This proclivity for class-collaboration, especially with the military, is further revealed in the pact of the parties and the Council of the Revolution (the ruling military

group) participated in by both the CP and the SP. This pact is a necessary instrument for the pacification of the masses by the bourgeoisie.

As for the "revolutionary" aims of the PCP, listen to its press representative, interviewed by U.S. radical Joe Martin in Fall, 1976.

Answering Martin's question on PCP attitude toward national big business, the official replied, "If they are willing to respect the law and the constitution, they can make much money here. They will do quite well. If they try to take all the money of Portugal for themselves, they will be making a serious mistake. But we can negotiate with them. And if they choose, they can make a lot of money here." (*Radical America*, May-June 1977)

The PCP, fearful of being outflanked from the left and isolated, shifted its course leftward

So what is left of the PCP's revolutionary potential? With all its "leftism," it never transcended its consistent reformist strategy of infiltrating the bourgeois state apparatus at all levels and gradually transforming it.

The Fourth International "Theses on the Portuguese Revolution" sums up the PCP perspective: "The overall reformist project of the CP consists of getting into the bourgeois state apparatus so as to subject it to a process of 'democratization,' which objectively implies the survival of that apparatus. Whatever the tactical turns, the overall project of the CP remains the establishment of 'advanced democracy' . . . Within this perspective, the mass movement is thus deprived of all autonomy and must serve solely to prop up this plan."

A Life and Death Issue

The question of the PCP is one of life or death for the Portuguese workers. *Everything* depends on providing the Leninist party in good time which can provide the necessary leadership. If anything is categorically excluded, it is the possibility of building such a party and simultaneously holding out hope that the PCP can do the job—even if imperfectly.

To build a Leninist party almost from scratch at this advanced stage of the game is a most difficult undertaking, even if it is understood that such a party is *indispensable* to the revolution. It is utterly *impossible* to build such a party either as a pressure group upon the PCP, or as a fall-back alternative, should hopes for the PCP prove unfounded. If the revolution is to succeed, and a Chilean-type solution prevented, a new party must be built from the vanguard elements now divided among the CP, SP left wing and the centrist groups.

The LCI (Portuguese section of the Fourth International) has the heavy responsibility of serving as the conscious catalytic force for achieving this realignment of the Portuguese left, and this can only be accomplished in direct struggle against Stalinism, social democracy and centrism.

Yes, ideological struggle must be supplemented by positive tactical approaches, including such actions as united front initiatives, critical support to candidates, demands that the CP and SP take the power. Yes, a revolutionary party can only be built through a process of splits and fusions. These are tactical problems which can only be resolved by comrades on the scene.

What we must clarify for ourselves is the strategic end which such tactics are to serve. Rather than pressure the CP or SP to lead a revolution, the Fourth International's aim is to unify the class around a revolutionary program and wrest control of the vanguard from reformists and centrists. This is the only road that can lead to the seizure of power from the capitalist class. ■

Milton and Edith Zaslów

Crisis of Leadership in PORTUGAL



Portuguese Information Center

Milton and Edith Zaslów, leaders of Trotskyist regroupment in this country and founding members of the new Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party, analyze the problems facing the Portuguese working class and the character of the Portuguese Communist Party. The Zaslóws reside in Los Angeles, California.

Their article is a counter-position to that of "Murry Weiss on Portugal," which appeared in the Spring, 1977 *Freedom Socialist*.

The editors are happy to provide the necessary space for discussion material concerning key issues of international socialism.

In *The Death Agony of Capitalism*, Trotsky wrote: "The world political situation . . . is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat . . . The central task of the Fourth International consists in freeing the proletariat from the old leadership, whose conservatism . . . represents the chief obstacle to historical progress."

The Portuguese crisis verifies this once again.

Despite a most promising revolutionary situation, the bourgeoisie was permitted to reestablish control over the organs of repression and institutionalize its rule. It seems clear enough that the treacherous, class-collaborationist politics of the Stalinist and social-democratic parties were responsible for this setback as they have been for all the missed opportunities in Western Europe over the past four decades.

All this would appear to be a truism—at least among Trotskyists—and is the unanimous view of Fourth Internationalists in Portugal and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the question of the character and potential role of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) has become the subject of controversy among some U.S. Trotskyists.

There is no disputing the fact that the most cohesive, disciplined and strongest block of revolutionary workers is concentrated in the PCP; the revolution will not be made without them. A correct policy toward the PCP, therefore, is crucial; a sectarian, ultimatic approach to it would be fatal. But so would the slightest illusion about its revolutionary potential.

PCP Record of Treachery

Reviewing Spinola's *Portugal and the Future*, written after the overthrow of the Caetano regime, Kenneth Maxwell describes the PCP as follows:

The Communist Party which maintained a more disciplined underground organization than any other group—and which unlike the Spanish party, still takes its cues from Moscow—will now have considerable power, particularly in organizing workers and keeping their demands within bounds. The party has long been considered as a cautious and even conservative influence by the radical Portuguese parties; now the only Communist Party sharing power in any Western European country, it will have a strong interest in making a coalition regime allied with Spinola and the Army work.

(*New York Review of Books*, 13 June 1974)

Indeed, the PCP did its best to make the coalition work. The only organization with substantial authority in working class, its leaders were irreplaceable as labor unions and police for the Spinola government. The party's full weight into restraining the masses, denouncing them as fascists, and openly, even physically,

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, 21 June 1974, "The Post Office Workers' Union ended its four-day-old strike in Portugal, saying it was doing so because of threats of violence by Communist and Democratic Party followers." (The Democratic Party is a CP front.)

The justification for this treachery? "This is a national democratic revolution . . . Socialism is not on the agenda . . . We must not provoke reaction . . . We must win the battle of production," etc. And the PCP behaved with true Stalinist high-handedness and arrogance toward other tendencies in the workers movement.

In short, the PCP which emerged from the underground was a typical Stalinist party with absolutely

Can the PCP be transformed by mass pressure into a party capable of leading workers to state power?

nothing to recommend it to the working class. The only difference between it and the Eurocommunist parties was its continuing loyalty to the Kremlin.

But the masses refused to be restrained, and Spinola attempted a takeover. The masses resisted, raising the revolution to new heights. They occupied land and factories, installed workers control in many places, formed new popular organs of struggle and potential dual power, penetrated and undermined the armed forces, etc.

Powerful forces independent of the PCP (or PSP) were advancing a revolutionary perspective. The PCP, fearful of being outflanked from the left and isolated, shifted its course leftward. During this short-lived left turn, it supported and led mass mobilizations, and even made gestures of cooperation toward the revolutionary left.

Some comrades then concluded that the PCP could be transformed into a revolutionary party—and this is the crux of our dispute.

Can the PCP Lead a Revolution?

The issue is not confined to Portugal. Other CPs would also yield to mass pressure in equivalent circumstances. Indeed, we should learn from Portugal to expect precisely such developments.

Comrade Weiss points to CP-led revolutions in Yugoslavia, China and Vietnam, and claims support for his views in the decisions of the Third Congress of the Fourth International.

The resolutions of the historic Third Congress recognized that social revolutions in Yugoslavia, China, etc., were led by Communist parties. The Congress' analysis was essentially as follows:

World War II ended with a gigantic offensive by pro-

letarian and peasant masses in large areas of the globe against a seriously weakened world imperialism. However, the ripe objective circumstances were not matched by a corresponding maturity in the class consciousness of the international proletariat, i.e., by a revolutionary Marxist world party leading the insurgent masses.

This discrepancy resulted in the failure of the revolutionary thrust in advanced countries of Western Europe. But in more undeveloped regions where the bourgeoisie was exceptionally weak, capitalism was defeated by means other than a proletarian uprising, and under the leadership of non-Leninist parties.

A distinction was made between Eastern Europe (other than Yugoslavia) on the one hand, and Yugoslavia and China on the other.

Social transformations in Eastern Europe were imposed from above by the military-bureaucratic might of the Kremlin and its native agents, whereas the Yugoslavian and Chinese revolutions were supported and powered by the masses.

The popular character of the latter revolutions, while tightly controlled by bureaucratic-centrist parties, lent impetus to world revolution and merited full, although critical, support. The CPs there were caught up in a whirlwind of social forces which compelled them to end their dependence on the Kremlin and chart their own courses.

Thus, one of the most important new developments emerging from the new world configuration was the beginning of the breakup of the Stalinist monolith.

It is possible, then, under certain exceptional circumstances in underdeveloped countries, where both bourgeoisie and proletariat are weak, for CPs to break with the Kremlin and project a revolutionary orientation.

But Portugal is not an underdeveloped country, and the PCP neither broke with the Kremlin nor oriented toward revolution.

To say that the PCP can lead a successful revolution in an industrialized country implies: (1) the overthrow of capitalism can be accomplished in industrialized countries by means other than workers insurrection, or (2) a workers insurrection can be led by a reformist or centrist party, or (3) Stalinist parties can become Leninist parties.

Supporters of Comrade Weiss have been anything but definite on this point. While they agree that the Portuguese revolution can only occur through the conquest of power by the proletariat, they refer repeatedly to Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam, etc., as historic evidence for their views. But since the proletariat did not come to power in any of these countries, these experiences simply don't apply.

The resolution of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on "Socialist Democracy and Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (*Inprecor*, 7 July 1977) states that:

. . . in some semicolonial countries the weakness