

Carter, Mondale cave in

Gas price gouge!

By JAQUI O'SHAUGHNESSY

NEW YORK, Oct. 5—The U.S. Senate yesterday voted to drop governmental regulation of the price of natural gas, a move that is sure to send the price of this vital product skyrocketing by this winter.

This move, which has been in-

tensely lobbied for by the big gas and oil monopolies for years, came after the Carter administration made a startling turnaround and knifed its own supporters in the back by breaking the filibuster that had been attempting to hold off the vote in the Senate.

In an absolutely unprecedented move, Vice President Mondale, the supposed great liberal of the administration, came to the Senate Monday morning and, reading from a written script that had been worked out with Senate majority leader Robert Byrd, dismissed all

remaining amendments to the bill as out of order. The two pretended to ignore the turmoil that erupted on the Senate floor and read their statements over shouted requests for the floor from a number of Senators.

Even staid, hardened members of the Senate, long dubbed a "millionaires' club" because of the ruling class position of almost all its members, were shocked. Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota, who had been leading the filibuster as a stalking horse for the administration, called Carter a liar. Senator Gary Hart of Colorado, another opponent of deregulation, said, "This is a very sophisticated form of a steamroller."

After performing this service for the gas and oil barons, Carter had the incredible nerve to dub the Senate vote "an injustice to the working people of this country," thus trying to maintain his image as a man of "concern" with the very people whom he had just knifed in the back.

While Carter talks about the workers out of one side of his smile, however, he goes about his business of running the government in the interests of those billionaires who got him the job. (It should be remembered that on July 1, 1976, before his election, Carter told a gathering of 130 oil men in Houston, Texas, that he wanted "to be sure that we have a minimum of interference of government in the affairs of business." Just to clarify

what candidate Carter meant, the New York Times commented that "Mr. Carter appeared to stress the idea that private enterprise had no legitimate fears, should he be elected President." That's one promise "Jimmy" Carter came through on.)

"TAKES MONEY FROM ALL, GIVES IT TO A FEW"

The plan Carter had originally offered to the Senate (and which was defeated) proposed an initial 20% price increase to the gas companies while maintaining so-called regulation of prices on interstate gas until 1986. But 20% was not enough to appease the monopolies' growing appetites for profit, and so by a vote of 50 to 46, a measure was passed on Tuesday which, in the words of Sen. Riegle (D-Mich), will "lock into law a monopoly pricing structure that takes money from everybody and gives it to a few." With no government regulation on natural gas prices, the producers in this highly monopolized field will be able to get almost any price they demand.

The bill passed by the Senate now goes to a House-Senate conference committee, where some compromise with the original Carter plan, passed by the House, is expected. However, it is being predicted that even if some kind of regulation is retained, natural gas prices will be increased by at least 30%!

While the increase is supposed to encourage new discoveries of (Continued on p. 11)



Veronica Gonzales, a cook at Paco's Restaurant in Crystal City, Texas, prepares food with an electric hot plate after the town's natural gas supply was shut off. A poor town, Crystal City couldn't pay the gas companies' extortionate rates. Scenes like this will become far more common if Carter and Congress remove price controls on gas.

Only 3.1 percent of workplaces have adequate hygienic protection

One out of four workers in U.S. exposed to unsafe substances

By CONNIE HARRIS

NEW YORK, Oct. 3—An extensive survey recently released by the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), reveals that one out of every four U.S. workers is exposed to some substance thought to be capable of causing disease or death.

Just as shocking as this statistic is the fact, also made public in this report, that only 3.1% of workplaces have industrial hygiene services or programs to prevent or reduce the exposure of workers to hazardous substances and other conditions such as radiation and excessive noise.

The report also stated that a large proportion of workers exposed to dangerous substances such as asbestos, benzene, lead, and others, are not even tested to determine whether their health is threatened.

There are many known dangers at the workplace. Countless workers have lost fingers or hands working on assembly lines or through working with machinery. Coal miners are well aware of the black-lung disease that can kill them. Textile workers run the risk of contracting brown-lung disease from the dust in the factories where they work.

These conditions are inexcusable, but they are known dangers. Workers who are daily exposed to less visible threats to their lives in the form of cancer-causing substances are usually not even aware of the dangers.

NIOSH, which last April collected the names of 74,000 workers known to be exposed to carcinogenic substances, never informed these workers of the possibility that they might someday have cancer.

This act of criminal negligence which may sign the death warrants of many thousands of workers was "explained" by Dr. John F. Finklea, head of NIOSH. The agency, he claimed, lacked the funds to make such notifications.

When a sub-division of the powerful Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) claims that it cannot afford to even inform potential cancer victims of the danger to their lives, one can guess what the prospects are for the removal of cancer-causing hazards from workplaces.

NO MONEY TO SAVE WORKERS' LIVES

According to a study released by the government's General Accounting Office, care and treatment of cancer victims costs \$3-5 billion annually in medical and hospital costs.

This money, of course, was paid by workers themselves. Considering the prohibitive cost of medical and hospital care, it is not surprising that many working people have gone into ruinous debt in an attempt to save the lives of members of their families.

The cost of preventing such financial and personal tragedies through monitoring workers exposed to dangerous substances, providing them with medical tests and counseling would, according to the NIOSH report, cost \$2 billion a year. Government figures for what it would cost to provide full programs of warnings and health surveillance services to the at least 21 million workers exposed to harmful conditions are as high as \$54 billion, according to the Oct. 3 New York Times.

The government, which does not hesitate to spend \$120 billion an-

nually on the Department of Defense, is sure to balk at spending less than half that amount to save people from suffering, pain, and death.

Nor can it be hoped that private industry, which is fully responsible for creating this threat to the lives of working people, will voluntarily shoulder the financial burden of removing or even reducing this threat.

The attitude of big business towards workers and their health is typified by the National Peach Council. An article in the Sept. 26 New York Times stated that this group, which represents 6,300 peach growers, suggested that older workers who do not want children and persons who want to avoid religious bans against birth control should be allowed to handle a

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THE STRUGGLE IN BRIEF

White House picket on Oct. 30 to demand freedom for Five Nationalists

By P. MEISNER

NEW YORK, Oct. 3—The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) has called for a mass picket and rally in front of the White House on October 30, the 27th anniversary of the Puerto Rican Nationalist uprising against U.S. imperialist enslavement. The demonstration will focus on four main demands: Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalist Political Prisoners, Free all political prisoners, Independence for Puerto Rico, and Stop all grand jury repression.

The picket line will be held in Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House in Washington, D.C., from 1 to 4 p.m. The initial call has already drawn sponsors such as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), El Comité, Workers World Party (WWP), the Wilmington Ten, and the American Indian Movement (AIM). LUCHA, an all-women singing group will be performing at the rally, which will

include speakers from the above-mentioned organizations.

CORDERO ILL

In a late development, one of the five Nationalist prisoners, Andres Figueroa Cordero, has apparently been struck with a fatal illness. Doctors at the Springfield, Ill., Medical Facility of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons have given Figueroa just a few weeks to live. The PRSC has called on all progressive people to send telegrams and letters to President Carter to grant the stricken Nationalist immediate executive clemency so that he may spend his last days with family and friends. Also, a picket line will be held tomorrow morning by the PRSC at the UN, where Carter will be speaking.

Buses for the Oct. 30 demonstration will leave New York City at 8 a.m. and return at 9 p.m. For bus departures from other cities and any other information, call the PRSC at (212) 673-0540.



Andres Figueroa Cordero

Boston bus company backs down on pay cut in face of wildcat strike threat

By LEE BRADFORD

BOSTON, Sept. 29—The threat of a wildcat strike threw the management of Hudson Bus Company here into a frenzy on Sunday, and forced them to rescind a pay cut. Hudson holds contracts for the busing of some 10,000 Boston school children to elementary and secondary schools.

The company's action, affecting over 175 bus drivers, reduced hourly pay to only \$3.50 an hour during the time period when the children were not in the bus. This represented an average wage reduction of \$25 per week per driver. Wages had been \$5.39 per hour from punch-in to punch-out.

WORKERS TALK STRIKE

Following the pay cut, spontaneous meetings occurred in every corner of the bus yard. Angry cries of, "We can't take this," and "This is the last straw," were heard as drivers discussed the possibility of a walkout on Sept. 26.

Over the weekend, Hudson backed down, going so far as to call each driver, explaining that the pay cut had been a mistake and that the balance of their wages would be awaiting them at the bus yard on Monday.

It is significant that the Boston

School Committee squeezed out most other Boston school bus companies to give Hudson the contracts. About 160 routes were originally given to the Hub Bus Company, which has financial links to John Kerrigan, a member of the Boston City Council, former School Committee member, and well-known racist.

However, Hub, with only 60 buses, was unable to fulfill the contracts during the first days of school this year. This caused massive confusion, and these contracts were lifted as well.

One effect of the move to Hudson was to cancel contracts from the William S. Carroll Bus Company. The workers at Carroll had organized themselves into Local 829 of the Teamsters last June, and were in union contract negotiations when the school bus contracts were taken away.

Most of the former drivers from Carroll were picked up by Hudson, boosting the sense of solidarity between the drivers.

According to one driver at Hudson, "We have been fighting for our rights for three long years. Boston school bus drivers will not turn back, no matter which company the School Committee gives the school bus contracts to."

Imelda Marcos at UN met by protest against martial law in Philippines

By MOLLY CHARBONEAU

NEW YORK, Oct. 3—Angry demonstrators converged on the United Nations on Sept. 30 to protest a scheduled speaking appearance there by Imelda Marcos, wife of U.S.-backed Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos. The protest, organized by the Anti-Martial Law Coalition (AMLC), called for an end to martial law and to U.S. aid to the Marcos dictatorship.

"NEW IMAGE" FOR MARTIAL LAW

Imelda Marcos' talk at the United Nations, like the recent so-called World Peace Through Law conference held in the Philippines, is part of an effort by the U.S.-backed Marcos regime to give a "new image" to its brutally repressive martial law policies. The rightist Marcos regime is striving to portray itself as a leading force among poor countries and, despite the fact that nearly every basic human right is denied to the Filipino people, the regime has hypocritically declared itself in favor of human rights!

Marcos' phony "human rights"

ploy has been clearly exposed by hundreds of thousands of Filipino workers, students, and progressives who recently took to the streets in Manila demanding that martial law be lifted.

The Sept. 30 protest at the UN further cracked Marcos' mask with chants of "Marcos, Hitler-dictator, fascist" and "No U.S. aid to the Marcos dictatorship," indicting the U.S. for its role in the Philippines. A number of progressive organizations were represented at the multinational demonstration.

Correction

Through an error, the number of attendants at a celebration of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations was reported in last week's *Workers World* as 2,000. In reality, those attending numbered over 3,000.

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DECLINE AND FALL

'And that's the way it was... in Colorado'

New York Times, Aug. 10

"WASHINGTON—Bob Bergland, the Secretary of Agriculture, demanded today to know what legal justification the General Services Administration had for removing the dedication plaque from the department's grill, newly named in honor of Alfred Packer, who was convicted of killing and eating five Colorado prospectors in 1874.

"Secretary Bergland announced last week that the dining facility was being named in honor of the early Colorado pioneer and mountain guide because his life 'exemplifies the spirit and the fare of this Agriculture Department cafeteria.'

"It was later discovered that the G.S.A.'s building manager, at the Department of

Agriculture removed the plaque because he feared it was 'in bad taste.'

"The judge who sentenced Alfred Packer was quoted as saying: 'There was only six Democrats in all of Hinsdale County and you ate five of them. I sentence you to hang—as a warning against further reducing the Democratic population of this country.'

"He was saved from execution by leaders in Colorado who won parole for him.

"In defense of the decision to honor Packer in this way, Mr. Bergland stated: 'The fact that Packer is considered anti-Democratic in some circles obviously did not enter into his choice for this honor.'

"The Alfred Packer Grill at the University of Colorado at Boulder has borne its name

proudly for nearly 10 years," James Schafer, director of the university's Memorial Center, said yesterday. 'We've been doing real well,' he added.

"Some students felt the food wasn't up to par and that the name was therefore appropriate,' Mr. Schafer said. But he reported that things had improved and that the grill now served... Packerburgers and Packersnackers... without hearing any complaints about the association with one of the more notorious persons in Colorado's history.

"We've taken the name and played up on it to get across the historical significance not only of Alfred Packer but also of the state of Colorado,' he said."

Panama Canal debate: 'Trying to avoid another Vietnam'

By ANDY STAPP

NEW YORK, Sept. 28—"I took the canal and let Congress debate," bragged President Teddy Roosevelt back in 1903. This week and last, Congress was debating the question of the Panama Canal again, as the Secretaries of State and Defense, flanked by the top Pentagon brass, appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee arguing in favor of Congressional ratification for the new canal treaties negotiated between the Carter administration and the Panamanian government. (There are two treaties under consideration: one dealing with U.S.-Panamanian relations up to 1999, the other, supposedly to run from 1999 on.)

The first thing that would strike any open-minded person who was able to follow the televised hearings is what a bad deal the new treaties are for the people of Panama. Of course, for them, the canal set-up has always been grossly unfair, but the latest treaties hardly rectify these long-standing injustices. Under these new treaties, the U.S. keeps its troops in Panama until the year 2,000 and after that has (according to the Carter administration) "the right" to invade Panama at any time "to maintain a regime of neutrality" in the Canal Zone. And what could be more "neutral" than the U.S. Marine Corps!

Despite the protestations of the

Reaganites, any treaty endorsed by John Wayne, the New York Daily News, William Buckley, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) could hardly be called a "giveaway."

TRYING TO AVOID "ANOTHER VIETNAM"

In any case, Gen. George Brown, chairman of the JCS, admitted that all key portions of the treaties were "conceived within the Defense Department," that is, written by the generals and admirals themselves.

In trying to sell the treaties to other rightwingers, Gen. Brown explained that "divesting ourselves of the last appearance of colonialism" is an important goal, adding that "we've profited by the

experience of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique and of the French in Algeria."

Congressional failure to ratify, he argued, could spark "the same type of warfare as Vietnam," warning that in this case "continuous operation of the canal could not be maintained even with 100,000 troops."

In a radio address to the Panamanian people, Romulo Escobar Betancourt, that country's chief negotiator in the talks, stated that the new treaties do not legalize future U.S. interventions in Panama.

"They intervene where they damn well please," said Escobar.

"The new canal treaties don't give

them that right. It's the guns and atomic bombs of the imperialists that give them the power. The U.S. had no right to invade the Dominican Republic in 1965, but they did anyway and for the same reasons the U.S. can land its troops in Panama."

RIGHT WING SPLIT

While most of the big U.S. capitalist interests and their political mouthpieces seem to be for ratifying the treaties, the right wing is badly split over the question.

SOFT COP, HARD COP

One side says the treaties will "give us a lower profile," the other side decries it as "lowering the flag." One side says it will help shed the image of the "ugly American," the other side calls it "losing face." One side talks of "looking to the future," while the others mutter about "turning tail." What is described as "changing tactics" and "damping the fires of revolution" by pro-treaty advocates, is denounced as "selling out" and "fanning the fires in the Caribbean under the aegis of Dr. Castro" by the Reaganites.

To class conscious workers, of course, there is no principled difference between these two sides, both of which are only interested in improving the declining fortunes of U.S. imperialism.

Ironically, while the treaties are supposedly symbols of Carter's desire to treat Latin nations with new respect, UPI reported on Sept. 26 that, "United States intelligence services had bugged communications of the Panamanian delegates to the canal treaty negotiations." A real "good neighbor" policy!

No progressive person here in the U.S. should be pulled in on the canal debate, either on the side of Carter, or, obviously, on the side of the foam-at-the-mouth patriots who are trying to whip up jingoism on the issue.

Over 20,000 Panamanians died constructing the canal. They built it, they paid for it a hundred times over with their sweat and blood. It rightly belongs to them.

Carter cuts taxes—for big business

By IRIS HOLMES

NEW YORK, Oct. 3—Under the guise of "tax reform," President "Jimmy" Carter has proposed a \$3.4 billion tax cut for big business. Carter and his Council of Economic Advisors tried to cover up this giveaway with talk of cutting taxes for

low-income workers, but this worn-out promise will probably go the way of the \$50 rebate—nowhere!

The Carter administration said that the \$3.4 billion bonanza to the corporations is a "tax reduction aimed at stimulating the economy" which "will create jobs." But in

reality, there is nothing to compel any corporation to use this bonus to create a single job to benefit poor people, who have been suffering from layoffs, unemployment, and high prices. Carter's plan is no more than a warmed-up "trickle-down" theory of previous administrations—and no worker has seen a drop yet.

The \$3.4 billion could be used to create 340,000 jobs at \$10,000 each. Or the government could use this money to order steel to build new schools and houses and stop the layoffs of 18,000 steel workers, and still have enough left to provide thousands of jobs to Black and Latin youth.

This latest corporate tax cut comes on top of the billions business gets through tax loopholes and outright non-payment of taxes. According to Public Citizen, a consumer group, 26% of the country's top corporations paid less than 10% in federal taxes in 1975 and 11 corporations with a combined income of \$1.2 billion paid NO taxes at all!

HOW DO THEY DO IT?

Poor people trying to figure out how to save a few of their hard-earned dollars from the tax collector may as well forget it. Workers, welfare recipients, and unemployed people don't qualify for the many

exemptions from sales and income taxes that corporations enjoy. The corporate tax laws passed by the servants of the corporations in government, many of whom are ex-corporate executives themselves, consist of dozens of special exemptions. Companies can get exemptions from sales taxes, equipment and building depreciation expenses, and can write off entertainment costs. The oil companies rake in from the oil depletion allowance, and banks claim bad debt loss.

While U.S. corporations scream about imports, many of them operate factories overseas themselves and have their taxes deferred to the tune of \$16 billion a year. That money would certainly provide a few jobs.

Down the drain with other promises to poor and working people, Carter's promise to reduce the military budget has ended with an increase of \$120 billion a year for the war machine. Whether from personal or corporate taxes, that \$120 billion in reality comes from the workers and poor who produce everything in society.

One day, this \$3.4 billion, the \$120 billion war chest, and all the rest stolen from working and oppressed people will be taken back. Now that will be a real rebate!



An abandoned apartment building in Philadelphia. Carter is proposing a \$3.2 billion tax give-away to big business, while millions of poor people don't even have a decent place to live.

N-bomb funds hidden in 'Energy' Dept. budget

House okays super-killer

By HILLEL BAILIN

NEW YORK, Sept. 29—"Let them eat bombs!" This was the message from Washington today when the House of Representatives voted to authorize funds to develop the neutron bomb. In the face of rising food prices and terrible unemployment, the House voted to spend \$20 million or more for the research stages of the so-called N-Bomb. Production of the new super-killer will cost much more.

According to Pentagon war-planners, the neutron bomb differs from other nuclear weapons. While the blast and heat from the bomb are smaller, they say, the radiation is much greater. The bomb is designed to kill people by radiation and leave buildings and factories with less damage. In military language it is a "tactical nuclear weapon" which can be fired within a short 75-mile range and cause a 300-yard crater of total destruction. This is small for the military, but larger than all of Yankee Stadium. And it will kill people in a much larger area.

The House authorized funds for the N-Bomb as part of a bill which created the Energy Research and Development Administration. The Senate had passed a similar bill earlier, and it will become law after a House-Senate conference comes up with common language.

President Carter is expected to sign the bill into law since he introduced it in the first place. Carter has said that he will "reserve decision" on whether or not the bomb will be "deployed" after it is developed. This is Carter's way of persuading people not to protest until it is too late.

PART OF "ENERGY DEPARTMENT" BUDGET

An interesting point about the new bill is that the N-bomb money is part of an Energy Department budget instead of the already over-swollen Pentagon budget. The Energy Department was created by Carter, who brought nuclear war theoretician James Schlesinger into

the Cabinet to be its first head.

When Carter had announced the new Energy Department, **Workers World** pointed out that the single biggest user of energy was the U.S. military and the weapons industries. The Energy Department, **Workers World** said, could take on the character of a war preparations department—especially with Schlesinger as chief.

James Schlesinger had been a CIA head and the Defense Department head under Nixon and Ford. He became a symbol of the most aggressive, war-threatening anti-Sovietism. Schlesinger has advocated that the U.S. use "tactical" nuclear weapons first, in the event of a military confrontation in Europe, even at the risk of all-out nuclear war. Now the neutron bomb is seen as the "perfect weapon" for this perfectly insane plan and it will be developed under the direction of Schlesinger himself in his "Energy Department" until the poor and working people of this country put a stop to it.

The unkindest cutback of them all



For two years, Felix Rohatyn, chairman of New York City's banker-dominated Municipal Assistance Corporation, has been ordering the city to close daycare centers, hospitals, and firehouses, layoff municipal workers, raise subway fares, and increase classroom size.

"The free lunch is over," was Rohatyn's response to those protesting the cuts in social services.

But now Felix is hopping mad. Why?

Because Carter has proposed a 50% cut in tax deductions permitted on business lunches! Rohatyn says this will be "bad for business."

Part of national day of protest

Broad Detroit alliance rallies for affirmative action

By DANA ELLIS

DETROIT, Oct. 3—Over 300 Black, Latin, and white anti-racists marched and rallied in downtown Detroit as part of the "National Day of Protest Against the Bakke Decision" observed here today.

Chanting loudly, "Equality yes, racism no, Bakke case has got to go," the demonstrators marched from the rally point in Kennedy Square to the Federal Building, which they surrounded almost completely for an hour with a swiftly-moving picket line. The brightly-colored lead banners read,

"Overturn the Bakke decision, save our affirmative action program," and "Affirmative action must be: implemented! maintained! expanded!" The banners were signed by the Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision, a broad-based alliance of third world, community, women's organizations, and other progressive groups which sponsored today's activity.

The rally was chaired by Alice Jennings, Midwest Regional Coordinator from the Black American Law Students Association

(BALSA) for the national day of protest.

WHAT THE BAKKE CASE IS

Carl Edwards, of the Black Legal Alliance of Wayne State University Law School, explained the Bakke case, which he characterized as probably the most important civil rights decision since the Supreme Court declared the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities unconstitutional in the 1954 case of Brown vs. the Board of Education.

Alan Bakke is a white engineer

who, after being rejected from over a dozen California medical schools, took the University of California Medical School at Davis to court in an effort to outlaw its affirmative action program—which allotted only 16 out of 100 seats for disadvantaged and non-white students. He claimed he was denied admission because of "reverse discrimination," and the reactionary California Supreme Court ruled in his favor. On Oct. 12, the U.S. Supreme Court will hear his case.

Edwards described the long history of the struggle by Black and other oppressed people in this country to gain equal opportunities in the educational field and in all areas of life. He discussed the history of the struggle for civil rights in Detroit, including the 1967 rebellion in the Black community, and condemned the devastating effects that reversal of local affirmative action programs would have on the Black community here.

Bill Roundtree, a member of Workers World Party from New York, recalled the recent uprising of tens of thousands of oppressed Black and Latin people in that city during the power blackout there, and predicted that Black, Latin, and Asian people in this country will not stand for a reactionary decision by the Supreme Court in the Bakke case.

OTHER SPEAKERS

Also speaking were Gloria House of the Collective Against Discrimination and Racism in Education (CADRE), attorney Kenneth Cockrel and speakers from the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Lawyers Guild, the Latin community, and others.

A speaker from the National Organization of Women (NOW), explained that women have a vital interest in the Bakke case as well, since many affirmative action programs were won as a result of struggles by the women's movement.



A recent demonstration at Berkeley, Calif. against the case of Alan Bakke, a racist who is contesting special educational opportunities for Black and Brown people who have suffered from discrimination.

Call for reversal of racist decision

Black trade unionists hit Bakke

NEW YORK, Oct. 4—The President of the National Black Communications Coalition (NBCC), an organization made up of Black trade unionists in the field of communications, has called on all NBCC members to actively oppose the Bakke decision.

Jewell White, President of the NBCC and also President of Local 5011 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in Joliet, Ill., has sent out an appeal to the coalition which reads in part:

The Carter administration has prepared another blow against rights for Blacks under the guise of a "friend of the court" brief which was prepared by the Justice Department on the Bakke case, which is a major challenge to any gains in education and employment made by minorities and women.

Bakke, a white engineer, sued the University of California Davis Medical School because the school reserved a mere 16 out of 100 places for Blacks, Native Americans and Asian-American and Chicano students. Bakke had been turned down by 12 other medical schools and by UC Davis twice. Yet he claims the minority-admissions program discriminated against him! His reason is "there were minority students admitted with grades lower than his." What he does not say is the fact that 36 white students with grades lower than his were also admitted. The California Supreme Court upheld Bakke's suit. The ruling was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The case is scheduled to be heard in October.

The Carter Administration's position is that "quotas to enforce affirmative action be declared unconstitutional." He says he is for goals, not quotas. He forgets conveniently that it is not whites who have been victims of centuries

of discrimination, but Blacks, Asian-americans and Hispanics.

When Carter was elected through efforts of minorities, it was said that Blacks would have a friend in the White House. If the brief Mr. Carter allowed the Justice Department to submit is a sign of friendship to Blacks and other minorities, then our enemies must be shouting with joy.

To rule in favor of Bakke would be opening the door to wholesale assaults on all affirmative action programs. For these reasons, I appeal to you to take immediate action to protest the Bakke decision

by contacting the U.S. Supreme Court, President Carter, the Justice Department: DEMAND A REVERSAL OF THE BAKKE DECISION. Even while asking you to contact the above I must make it clear that we can not depend on Carter, the Justice Department nor the Supreme Court of the U.S. to defend affirmative action. We must depend upon ourselves. Our demands may best be won by taking them to the streets in rallies, teach-ins, picket lines, because we must remember affirmative action was only won through protests of this sort in the first place. . . .

200 rout Ku Klux Klan in Mobile, Ala.

By SUSAN SCHNEUR

ATLANTA, Sept. 28—On Sept. 24, anti-racist demonstrators confronted a Ku Klux Klan march on the streets of Mobile, Alabama.

Around 100 Klansmen, their ranks fortified by on-duty members of Mobile's SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactical) Team, marched from the courthouse to Bienville Square, a park in downtown Mobile, where they held a rally.

The Klan carried signs on heavy sticks, in support of District Attorney Charles Gradick's opposition to a recently instituted work-release program for the prisons. The outlines of pistols were visible in the back pockets of some of the Klan members.

The racists were met before they reached the park by over 200 mostly Black demonstrators who were singing "Amen." The singing reached up to the sky as the two groups faced each other on a narrow street between two bank buildings.

Later, at the rally site, Don Black, grand dragon of the Alabama KKK, attempted to speak. Although he used a sound system, his words were completely drowned out by the anti-Klan demonstrators, who sang "We Shall Overcome" and "Amen" and chanted "Ku Klux Klan go home."

With their grand dragon's fire spent, the KKK'ers tried to march back to the courthouse. But they were forced off the street and into getaway cars by the demonstrators, who got in front of them and blocked the way to the courthouse. Klan members drove away, directed through red lights by cops, as anti-racists chanted, "Cops and Klan work hand-in-hand."

COPS ATTACK

When most of the Klan had gone, the police began to attack some of the demonstrators. A group of people crossing a street were shoved onto a sidewalk and pushed up against a brick wall. Then they saw Black off-duty policeman Donald

Pinckney being grabbed by two SWAT Team cops. The two held Pinckney's arms while Rassist Smith, a third racist cop, used both hands to bring his night stick crashing down on his skull. The blow opened up a three-inch gash, which required 12 stitches.

Pinckney was arrested and charged with assaulting a police officer, refusing to obey a policeman's order, and resisting arrest. According to witnesses, Pinckney, a member of the SWAT Team, had been angered that no Black cops had been assigned to the Klan march. Attending the event in plain clothes, Pinckney had seen Smith trying to club a young Black man and had told him to stop. Smith had then shoved his stick into Pinckney's stomach instead. When Pinckney put his hands on the club to defend himself, he was grabbed by the other two cops.

Another Black man, Labarron Longcrier, was also arrested while the Klan were fleeing. He was

picketed for over two hours today with determined chants of "Justice for all, Bakke must fall," and "Affirmative action, you choose; if Bakke wins, we lose" ringing from the walls of the courthouse.

A leaflet distributed at the rally summed up the spirit of the event. It stated, "This attack on affirmative action, under the battlecry of 'reverse discrimination' . . . comes in the midst of growing attacks on minority people and paves the way for even greater attacks in the future."

The leaflet continued, "It is imperative for all who oppose the oppression of minorities and women to join the renewed fight against discrimination and call for the defense and expansion of affirmative action and minority admissions programs."

The Oct. 8 demonstration against the Bakke decision in New York City will gather at noon at the Harlem State Office Building at 125th St. and Adam Clayton Powell Blvd.

allegedly throwing bottles. He is charged with four counts of assault with intent to murder. As of this writing, funds are desperately needed for his defense.

The Klan has announced plans for another march in Montgomery, Alabama, on Oct. 1. This march will also be against the Panama Canal Treaty.

The latest Klan marches are among many in the right-wing campaigns being launched by reactionaries across the country against the rights of Black and Latin people, lesbians and gay men, women, and other poor and working people.

But hundreds of thousands of people throughout the country are standing up to these attacks on their rights. Like the people of Mobile, they will rise in an organized movement which will smash and disperse the Klan and other fascist organizations, and will move on toward building a workers' society free of oppression and bigotry.

As ILA begins selective strike

Ranks say: 'One out, all out!'

By a Baltimore Longshoreman
BALTIMORE, Oct. 3—Local 333 union officials finally called a meeting here to discuss the status of negotiations between the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the Council of North Atlantic Shippers Association (CONASA). The meeting took place only 24 hours before the contract expired.

The meeting was a tumultuous, raucous affair. Local 333 President Garris "Mac" McFadden tried to explain the rationale of the International's strategy of a selective strike. According to international president Thomas J. Gleason, the main obstacle to a settlement was the opposition of the automated

carriers—the containerlines. So, in the view of the international, a selective strike against these carriers was in order. General cargo carriers, perishable goods, military cargo, and passenger carriers would not be affected.

Almost unanimously the membership rejected the argument. Speaker after speaker denounced the selective strike as a losing strategy. They pointed out that this would divide the union. Some men would be working, while others would be idled. The low seniority men, in effect, would bear the brunt of the strike.

"ONE OUT, ALL OUT"

But the solidarity of the rank-and-file was exemplified by the older, high seniority men taking the lead in demanding, "One out, all out." One crusty old gang carrier with one simple, direct question demolished Mac's defense of the international and his claims that only automated, containerized carriers are the problem, saying, "If the general cargo carriers aren't the problem, then why don't we have a contract with them?"

This reporter pointed out at the meeting that the international's strategy was not well thought out. "We tried this last spring. It didn't work then, it won't work now. All we got were promises from the government. Since then the Supreme Court has refused to review the NLRB's decision to take away our stuffing and stripping jobs. And the NLRB has reaffirmed their original decision with two subsequent decisions in favor of the trucking firms. If management's house is divided that's good, but it doesn't mean we should have a divided house. We should strike them all and let the general cargo carriers put pressure on the automated carriers. Let's take a

vote!"

The demand to vote on the matter was enthusiastically received with sustained applause and shouts of approval. But the president, who chairs all meetings, was so incensed he launched into a vicious red-baiting diatribe.

The meeting erupted with a wild uproar. "Shut up, shut up," "We don't want to hear it," and "Let's get on with the issue of the strike" were some of the responses of the ranks.

The chair was literally shouted down. The membership clearly wanted a vote. One member attempted to get recognition on a point of order. He was going to quote from the union's constitution showing that the membership did have a right to vote on the strike. He was ruled out of order.

The chair arbitrarily adjourned the meeting. Feelings were running very high. A selective strike had been crammed down the memberships' throat.

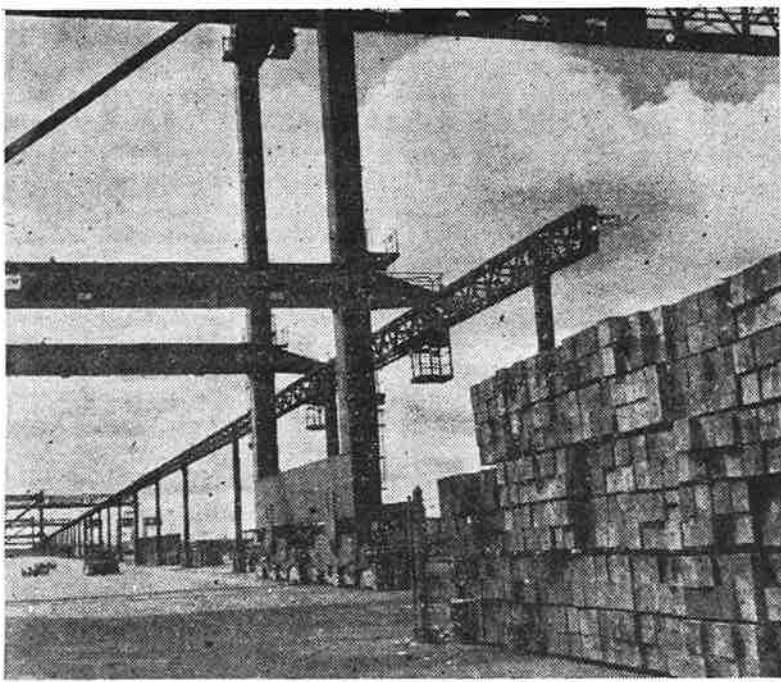
RANKS SET UP BRIEF PICKET

But the first day after the contract expired, two gangs refused to work one of the general cargo carriers. They walked off the ships and set up a brief picket line.

Local officials were frantic. A notice was posted threatening that anyone who set up a picket line would be subject to severe sanctions. Privately the union leaders were saying that offenders would be kicked out of the union.

Through heavy-handed tactics the international and Local leadership have so far, been able to prevail on the issue of a selective strike.

But time may be running out on them. Just the week before, a rank-and-file negotiating committee was elected over the objections of the president. This is but a harbinger of things to come.



Longshore strike has left the docks deserted at Port Newark, a container terminal.

Companies balk on guaranteed annual income

Dockers fight for their jobs

By a Baltimore Longshoreman
BALTIMORE, Oct. 3—Just three days before the contract between the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and the Council of North Atlantic Shippers Association (CONASA) was to expire, talks between the two sides were broken off.

In ports from Maine to Texas, dockworkers immediately walked out. The ILA strike is selective, focusing only on container ship operations. Other cargoes are being unloaded.

JOB SECURITY AT ISSUE

The contract deadlock centers around job security. In January of this year, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) struck down a provision of a 1974 agreement which guaranteed that all stuffing and stripping of containers that had its origin or its terminus within a 50-mile radius of the docks had to be done by ILA labor.

This provision was important, since longshoremen's jobs are being threatened by the companies' use of containers to be unloaded by non-ILA workers.

The NLRB ruled that this provision constituted a "restraint of trade" and therefore was invalid. The ILA's position was that these agreements had been made to compensate for the loss of jobs to ILA members due to the increased containerization of cargo. Therefore, the companies were duty-bound to come up with the proper alternatives.

In early spring, the union ordered a selective strike against seven of the largest automated carriers. The strike lasted five days, but was called off when the Carter administration promised to come up with some alternatives. The companies and the union were to continue to bargain in good faith.

ISSUE OF GUARANTEED WAGES

Six months later, the talks had broken off with the parties bogged down over the issue of a Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI). The GAI insures longshoremen will have a minimum living wage as a protection against underemployment. The union wanted to make the GAI part of the master contract with uniform rules. Heretofore, the GAI has been negotiated on a port-by-port basis. The result is that only New York has an effective GAI where members

actually collect money when there is no work.

Only the New York shippers were willing to go along with the proposal since they were already paying on their GAI, but the other ports were adamant in their opposition. In recent weeks the union has backed off from the original position of making GAI part of the master contract with uniform rules, substituting a "feeder fund."

A "feeder fund" is a backup fund from which local shippers can draw if they exhaust their own GAI. Without uniform rules for all ILA members, many of whom don't have an effective GAI, this fund will benefit only those ports with the strong guarantee, leaving the weaker locals unprotected.

The GAI will still be negotiated on a local level. This greatly

weakens the union, since, in effect, each local has to shift for itself. The shippers can easily threaten to divert cargo to another port if one port persists in demanding parity with New York.

Just two days before the strike deadline, International President Thomas J. Gleason announced a repeat of last spring's selective strike.

At least two ports, New Orleans and Baltimore, are resisting the selective strategy. As of today, the New Orleans port remains closed completely.

The International is caught between the intransigence of the companies on the one hand and the rising militancy of its rank-and-file on the other. A selective strike is at best a temporary measure. The real battle lies ahead.

In a bigot's bid for votes

Racist bombers arrested 20 years later

By JESSE LEE
NEW YORK, Oct. 3—After 20 years, two men have been arrested for the terror bombing of two Black churches in Birmingham, Ala., during the civil rights struggle there.

Robert Chambliss was arrested on four counts of murder in Birmingham on Monday for the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. The blast left four young Black children dead.

Following the bombing, Chambliss, an active member of the Ku Klux Klan, had been arrested and convicted for possession of dynamite, but this conviction was later overturned by the courts.

The second bomber arrested was J.B. Stoner. Stoner, a lawyer for the Ku Klux Klan, is the leader of the National State Rights Party, an openly fascist and racist organization. He was arrested in Marietta, Ga., for the 1958 bombing of an unoccupied Black church in Birmingham. Stoner was released on bail.

KNOWN RACIST

The indictments were brought by Alabama Attorney General Bill Baxley. Baxley is a known racist in the George Wallace tradition.

Baxley is hated by progressive people in Alabama for his vengeful prosecution of the Inmates for Action (IFA) at the prison slave camps of Atmore and Holman. Baxley revived the death penalty in Alabama, and personally

prosecuted IFA member Imani, who received the death sentence in phony homicide charges stemming from a rebellion at Atmore and Holman prisons in 1974. Imani lost his appeal of the death sentence in a Sept. 9 ruling by the State Supreme Court.

Baxley hasn't changed his racist ways with the indictments of Chambliss and Stoner. He's just running for governor and is trying to clean up his bad image with Black people.

But it won't work. At the time of Imani's sentencing, the head of the Escambia County, Alabama NAACP told a reporter from *Workers World*, "Black people will

never forget that Baxley brought the death penalty back to use against Black people."

WHY HASN'T U.S.

OUTLAWED FASCIST GROUPS?

Chambliss and Stoner should have never been allowed to carry out their racist acts, since they both should have been in jail in the first place as outspoken leaders of notoriously fascist organizations. In the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, as ratified by the U.S. Congress and signed by the Soviet Union and other governments, the U.S. agreed to eradicate and outlaw all Nazi and fascist organizations in all territories under its jurisdiction. Ratified treaties have the same status as

federal law. If the U.S. government were to honestly live up to its agreement, Stoner and Chambliss would have been locked up long before they carried out the bombings.

In fact all of the fascist and neo-fascist groups like the American Nazis, the National States Rights Party, and the Ku Klux Klan wouldn't be allowed to harass, threaten, and kill to further their ultra-rightist aims.

Clearly even progressive legislation is not enough to bring justice and stop these racists. Only a government run by the poor and oppressed will finally rid the earth of racism and reaction.

The funeral of the four Black children murdered by the Klan in the 1963 Birmingham, Ala. church bombing. The KKK, like all other fascist groups, is financed by right-wing businessmen.



While union locals call for community control of steel plant

Politicians offer no solution to Youngstown shutdown

By AL NORMAN

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Sept. 30—With the immediate shock to the Mahoning Valley brought on by the Youngstown Sheet and Tube's

(YS&T) recent layoffs of 5,000 workers, most people are now eager to know what can be done to save their jobs.

When one sits in any bar or

restaurant, the conversation is about YS&T and the future of Youngstown. The Youngstown Vindicator, the city's daily, is filled with articles covering every facet of the shut-

down.

Workers World spoke with steelworkers from the U.S. Steel Ohio Works and the YS&T Brier Hill Works. With steel production for the whole area running at only 55% capacity, these steelworkers do not think those mills will operate for a long time.

1,050 HAVE LEFT AS OF THIS WEEK

As of this week, the first 1,050 YS&T workers have left the plant gates. Hardest-hit have been the blooming mill, open hearth, blast furnace, billet mill, and many of the shops and services.

YS&T is in the process of laying off as many workers as it can before the first of the year. The company believes this would exclude older workers with long years of service from being eligible for the newly-negotiated job security program. The United Steelworkers Union (USW) is fighting this false interpretation of the agreement which characterizes YS&T's contempt for the workers who have given so much of their sweat and blood to YS&T.

As an immediate buffer to the workers' anger—and to add fuel to the fire of the false cry about "imports"—the Federal government will provide Trade Adjustment Assistance benefits (given to workers who supposedly lost their jobs to "imports").

But Ed Mann, president of USW Local 1462, calls these added benefits "inadequate," and has instead called for jobs.

Local politicians are all scrambling around trying to come up with a "solution." Their idea of a solution is to bow before the corporations, giving in to their every demand, regardless of the effect it will have on the workers.

As part of this effort, the Youngstown area Chamber of Commerce has attacked the "purveyors of doom and gloom," assuring the community that everything will turn out just fine. Campbell Mayor Michael Katula, running for re-election, has established the Campbell Recovery Commission to attract a diversity of industry. Such attempts have usually led to big tax breaks and other bonanzas for the corporations, which usually outweigh the handful of new jobs they bring the workers.

BOWING BEFORE STEEL BOSSES

Youngstown Mayor Jack Hunter has said he wants to set up a

meeting with local steel producing bosses so they can "present to the city any suggestions or proposals that could be implemented to strengthen the local base of the steel-producing facilities."

During a recent speech, U.S. Steel Board Chairman Edgar B. Speer gave an indication of what type of suggestion the steel industry has in mind. In a not-so-veiled threat, he warned that if environmental controls are not lifted, "there won't be a steel maker operating in this area within three to four years . . . Campbell is only the first."

Two Federal task forces will come to Youngstown to study the effect of the shutdown. USW District 26 director Frank Lesaganich has called on the Justice Department to begin an investigation, too.

All of these plans for "recovery" leave the affected workers in the background to "wait and see" what the politicians can do. Yet, the steelworkers themselves are beginning to move and raise their demands.

PROPOSAL BY USW LOCALS

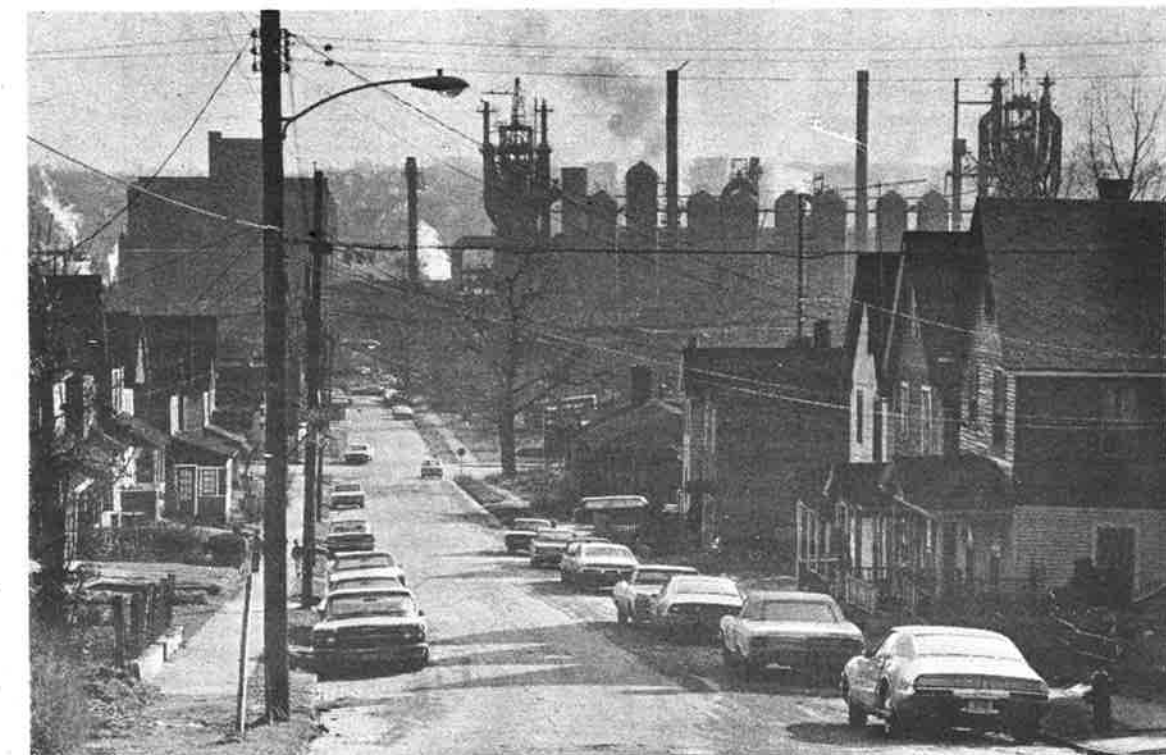
In a press conference attended by officers from USW locals 1418, 4211, 3098, and 1462, Gerald Dickey, recording secretary of local 1462, proposed that a coalition of Mahoning Valley area citizens purchase the plant.

Dickey suggested that this idea "may be lost in the business community . . . (but) might have great appeal in the communities where many will lose their jobs." He stressed the "grass roots" origin of the plan.

This growing acceptance of the need for community control of the soon-to-be-abandoned plant will certainly be a captivating idea to the 5,000 who lost their jobs, as well as to all the poor of Youngstown.

This demand is the first important step in the fight to win back the jobs and to save the Mahoning Valley. With labor at the lead, a struggle for community control of the plant would command national attention, for if the YS&T workers could do it, why couldn't others?

There are strong indications that a district-wide show of protest to raise these and other demands led by the ranks and their leaders is in the making.



Youngstown, Ohio, where steel barons recently laid off 5,000 workers. To prevent the city from becoming a ghost town, these steelworkers have a right to re-open the mills under community control.

At Lackawanna

New 'temporary' steel layoffs

By J. MARQUARDT

BUFFALO, Sept. 28—The 3,500 workers whose jobs are currently being eliminated at the Lackawanna plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation near here are still waiting to hear the decision of the U.S. Department of Labor regarding their eligibility for "special unemployment benefits," called "trade adjustment assistance."

Federal supplements, including additional unemployment pay, job-search and relocation money, and new job training funds are made available to unemployed workers whose joblessness is deemed as being caused by "foreign steel imports."

The Labor Department today "certified" that the 4,750 workers whose jobs are being eliminated at the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. in Youngstown, Ohio, will be

eligible for these special benefits.

Though the current wave of drastic cut-backs and layoffs at steel mills across the country are due to the over-all decline of capitalism, causing major industries like steel to go to extreme measures to maintain their customary profitability while overproducing, the workers need help from anywhere they can get it.

Since "foreign imports" is one of the many excuses the giant steel corporations have given for their callous elimination of thousands of jobs eventually affecting tens of thousands of workers in every steel mill area, many jobless workers will be able to receive a little more money, for a very limited amount of time.

BENEFITS LIMITED

However, these "special benefits" are so limited they can in no way

compensate the workers for their real loss. They cover only specific job categories in which the adverse effect of foreign competition can be proven—thus many of the most demanding jobs, in which many Black and other non-white workers have been forced to work, will not be covered. And the meager assistance in finding another job isn't going to help many workers who've been steelworkers all their lives, who know no other work than steel, and cannot hope to be hired as a steel worker anywhere else when virtually every steel plant is cutting back. The most a worker might do is re-locate in an area where jobs, less-skilled, low-paying, non-union are available. Such is the federal "special benefit."

In addition to the 3,500 being permanently laid off, hundreds more Lackawanna Bethlehem workers are on "temporary lay-off." To date, only 235 of the 3,500 scheduled for job termination have been cut from the payroll, yet 800 workers from the Lackawanna Bethlehem Steel plant were added to the jobless figures during September. These 565 workers are considered "temporarily laid off." What does this mean in relation to the permanent lay-offs? Are considerably more than 3,500 workers' jobs being eliminated?

This status of "temporary layoff" will certainly make it difficult for them to receive any special federal "trade adjustment assistance." Also, these additional layoffs have in some departments meant the scheduling of the remaining workers to 6-day weeks. At least one sit-in protesting this company action has been carried out by some of the workers and union officials.

The steelworkers in the Lackawanna Bethlehem Steel plant, and elsewhere certainly deserve better. By uniting to save their jobs—their livelihoods—they CAN be successful.

Children's letters tell of steel families' plight

YOUNGSTOWN, Sept. 30—Mayor Jack C. Hunter of Youngstown has been flooded with letters from seventh and eighth grade students at St. Christine School here. Many of the children come from steelworker families.

The letters were reprinted in part by the Youngstown Vindicator. Here are some excerpts:

"For me, this situation hits home," a child named Peggy Golden wrote. "My father is employed with the company. My family will be crushed if we must move. I am not willing to leave Youngstown and leave all the friends and all the wonderful people of Youngstown."

Another, Paul Patuto said, "Our family will have to be broken up. A lot of uncles and cousins work there (YS&T), and I'm very close to them. What about the kids? What will we

do when we get out of school?"

A "concerned future voter" wrote the Mayor saying: "You and all the other high officials in our government are at the top of the basket, and all the little people are holding you up. Well, if we fall, we're gonna hit, but not as hard as you cause you're at the top."

The letter from young Christine Connors told it all: "My grandpa worked in the mill for 45 years. That's a long time. Doesn't the president of Sheet & Tube care about people. I would love to meet him and tell him what I think to his face!

"Doesn't he care about the lady down the street who has kids to feed and clothe, whose husband lost his job because some people decided to move somewhere else so they can make more money?"

No unemployment in Soviet steel industry

By a retired steelworker

CLEVELAND, Sept. 28—Every year Cleveland hosts an exhibition by the Iron and Steel Institute where capitalist countries from all over the world show off their latest technologies for producing steel and other related products. But this new technology could not explain why they were all producing (and selling) less.

One exception could be seen in an exhibit this year by the Soviet Union, marking the first time a workers' state was allowed to participate. The Soviet exhibit displayed a chart showing the steady rise in steel production in the Soviet Union over the decades. Starting with less than 10 million tons, production has risen to 160 million tons in 1976. The 1980 projection is for 176 million tons.

Workers World spoke with

Dmitry Bogdanov of the Soviet delegation, whose comments about steel production in his country were revealing, particularly in the light of the steel crisis here and all over the capitalist world.

There is no unemployment in the Soviet steel industry; in fact, there is a shortage of labor. "We need 30 million more workers," Bogdanov explained.

Steelworkers in the Soviet Union work a 6-hour day, 5 days a week. There steel is produced to fulfill the needs of the people—for housing, schools, farm machinery, appliances, and anything else that needs steel. In the Soviet Union, steel production offers a living testimony to the superiority of the socialist system, where production for profit is but a period in the history books.

Slump leaves thousands laid-off**Failing economy fuels trade war between capitalists**

By BILL DEL VECCHIO

NEW YORK, Oct. 3—Thousands of workers, first in the steel and now in the electronics industry, have been told by their bosses that they are being thrown out of their jobs because of "unfair competition from cheap foreign imports."

But the "unfair competitors" in imperialist countries such as Japan and West Germany are having the same kind of problems, cutting out workers' jobs and complaining about competition and unfair treatment from the U.S.

So who's really to blame for the increasing unemployment in the imperialist countries, which has already hit an estimated 24 million workers and is sure to soar as these layoffs take effect?

The question is really not **who**, it's **what**. A new downturn in the world capitalist economy, the signs of which are becoming clearer every day, is what is really to blame for causing production cutbacks and for heating up trade rivalries between the imperialist powers.

SIGNS OF THE DOWNTURN

Among the signs of the downturn have been the layoffs of almost 15,000 steel workers with threats of more to come, over 10,000 copper workers, and 5,600 Zenith workers. A worried Wall Street Journal carried a front page article today entitled, "Factory Layoffs Spread Beyond Steel; Will the Trend Persist?" An index of business executives' confidence in the economy published by the Conference Board dropped 12 points during September; and another business organization, the National Association of Purchasing Managers, reported a similar confidence drop among its members.

In Japan, home of the chief "unfair competitors," according to the jingoist U.S. steel and TV bosses, unemployment is at the highest point since 1959. According to the Sept. 8 Wall St. Journal, in recent months the Japanese steel industry has cut back production by 20%—a bigger cut than the U.S. steel barons have made. Sales of color TV sets, another area of cutthroat competition with U.S. capitalists, have dropped 9% since last year. Bankruptcies are running at an all-time high, and the overall Japanese Gross National Product is expected to drop from a 7.6% increase in the first quarter to an estimated 5.7% increase this quarter.

West Germany, the other chief "unfair competitor," has been hit even worse in this year, with unemployment six times higher than pre-1973 levels, and no signs of a decline in joblessness.

The ruling classes of these imperialist powers have tended to respond to the growing crisis by turning to protectionist measures in an attempt to insulate themselves from their international competitors.

WHEN TRADE BARRIERS WERE VALID

In the developing days of capitalist production (about 150 years ago), national trade barriers played a progressive role by helping to protect the lesser developed industries (such as German or French textiles) from more developed foreign competitors (such as British textiles) and in that way permitted the younger industries to advance and grow.

Nowadays in the era of imperialist monopoly capitalism, trade barriers

help the monopolies to completely strangle and stagnate the national market. Protectionism in modern times plays a **reactionary** role, holding back the productive forces and sharpening inter-imperialist antagonisms which have in the past been settled by war.

Reflecting this growing imperialist rivalry, at last week's conference of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) held in Washington, speech after speech was centered on the growing U.S. trade deficit, which is expected to reach as high as \$30 billion this year.

This means that the U.S. imported \$30 billion more of goods from abroad than it exported, leaving the Japanese, West

European, and Arab capitalists flooded with dollars. This leaves these countries extremely vulnerable to a devaluation of the dollar, something that Nixon, back in 1973, proved the U.S. was all too willing to do to gain a temporary advantage. If the dollar were devalued, it would cut the value of the funds these countries hold from goods that have already been sold. It would be just a way of ripping them off after the sale.

Of course, the temporary advantage the U.S. ruling class would gain would quickly be wiped out by the soaring inflation it would cause (as was the case in 1973); but in the heat of an imperialist trade war, long-term considerations are usually thrown to the wind.

This would be the situation if the Carter administration agreed to the steel industry's arrogant demands for a ban on imported steel. Such a ban would inevitably cause the Japanese to retaliate against other U.S. industries, which would in turn cause more layoffs. Possibly, it would also have the effect of pushing the Japanese closer to the West European imperialist powers, which would isolate the U.S. But that doesn't automatically mean that Carter won't do it.

Although the drop in demand is overall responsible for the steel cutbacks, the extent of the layoffs and the way they were made were meant by the steel barons to be used as a club to force the Carter administration to yield to their special

demands at the expense of other industries. The trustified steel companies would rather retain their monopoly and keep their prices high than lower their prices and increase production to undersell their Japanese competitors, even if this means pushing the whole U.S. economy deeper into crisis.

As each imperialist country erects further trade barriers to protect itself from the crisis, the net effect will be to speed the spin downward. Unlike the early days of capitalism, the productive forces of the capitalist world have outgrown the profit system. Only socialist planning can straighten out this mess and fully utilize the factories that the profit-hungry bosses are now letting go to waste.

Stuffing themselves with caviar and champagne**Meeting of world bankers plans squeeze on poor**

By KEY MARTIN

NEW YORK, Oct. 3—Over 3,000 bankers from all over the world gathered in Washington last week for the 32nd annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Headed by the former architect of the Vietnam war, Robert McNamara, the IMF is dominated by U.S. imperialism and is financed by funds from the major imperialist powers of North America, Western Europe, and Japan.

With net capital assets of over \$41 billion, the IMF functions as an enormous slush fund to insure imperialist economic domination of poor countries.

The 3,000 bankers gathering in Washington—including large delegations from the big New York banks (40 from Citibank alone) as well as private bankers and government central bankers from every capitalist country—carried on much of their business in the back rooms and at business and social gatherings.

ROBBERY IN THE GRAND STYLE

One such lavish gathering, hosted by the First National Bank of Chicago, wine and dined 1,500 bankers in the Corcoran Gallery of Art and entertained them in the style of the old European nobility with classical music, played by a string ensemble.

Hundreds of other similar gatherings, large and small, took place all week long. Morgan Guaranty Bank of New York used the house of former Senator John Sherman Cooper to entertain its clients. One of the big Rockefeller banks, Citibank, hosted one of its fetes at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

IMF loans are used, as Business Week has put it, "to enforce conditions on the borrowers"—thereby opening up business opportunities for the private banks and large trans-national U.S. corporations.

For instance, one central banker who was arguing for increasing the IMF's capital said, "How can the fund negotiate an economic stabilization program with a country like Turkey unless it can lend it as much as \$1.5 billion? The IMF cannot push the Turks with a \$150 million loan."

The role of the IMF in Chile, Indonesia, Peru, and other countries is increasingly well-known. The fund creates large debts and creates a "payments crisis" if the government carries out policies that are not popular with imperialism. The IMF

is a major factor in the imperialist destabilization and sabotage of the economies of progressive countries, such as in Chile during the Allende years.

The fund also gives large loans to governments which are favorable to imperialism to develop their economies for imperialist investments. For example, under the Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique, the Cabora Basa Dam, one of the largest hydroelectric installations in the world, was begun with IMF financing to supply cheap electric power to South Africa and to open up Mozambique to imperialist investment. The fact that the project eventually fell into the hands of the Mozambique liberation forces was

not foreseen by these master class bankers!

This week's IMF meeting was part of an orgy of currency speculation and business deals designed to further imperialist penetration, control, and domination of the economies of the developing countries.

SUFFERING OF MASSES

Each of the bankers' glad-handed deals concluded over pheasant-under-glass or caviar represents enormous suffering by the masses. The "economic stabilization" of Turkey means the busting of Turkish unions and workers' organizations; the loans to Chile or south Korea mean the police state regime keeping real wages at rock-

bottom levels.

And when a progressive country like the Socialist Republic of Vietnam applies for a loan, all of a sudden none is available because the bankers know that after 35 years of fighting for liberation, the Vietnamese cannot be bribed into the imperialist orbit.

They call themselves the IMF and the World Bank and have subsidiaries with polite-sounding names such as the International Development Association and International Finance Corporation. They are the economic counterparts to the Central Intelligence Agency and NATO. Their real business is the same: domination of the world economy in search of profits and super-profits.

Zenith slashes work force by 25 percent to protect profits

By SUSAN KAMENETSKY

NEW YORK, Sept. 28—Zenith Radio Corporation announced today that it intends to slash its workforce by one-quarter. It will join the steel corporations in making dramatic cutbacks by laying off 5,600 of its 21,060 workers.

What reason did this multi-million dollar corporation give for bringing economic havoc into the lives of so many workers?

Foreign imports and its profits. Zenith Corporation, according to its president and board chairman, John Nevin, will make a profit this year, but it can't insure its profit margin because "competitive manufacturers are obtaining increasingly significant cost advantages from production activities in lower-labor-cost areas of the world."

Zenith Corporation is caught in a classic life-and-death competition for survival in the capitalist market. Business Week (Oct. 10) reports that television sales have dramatically dropped by nearly three million a year since 1973 for the leading U.S. and Japanese companies.

ZENITH TRYING TO SOW CONFUSION

Zenith says that by laying off workers and moving production to Mexico and Taiwan, it can slash costs and thereby remain "competitive." But this talk from the television industry—and similar reasoning given by the steel barons—blaming foreign imports for unemployment is just meant to derail the labor movement.



Bosses all over the world tell their workers the same thing: Some years ago it was U.S. capitalism that was exporting cheap, mass-produced goods all over the world. But it was also exporting something else: capital. That is, U.S. corporations and banks were investing in plants, machinery, and ports and mines all over the world because the greatest profits could be made abroad.

This accelerated the development of industries which are now considered competitive with the older industries here in the U.S. But often this "competition" from abroad is coming from subsidiaries of U.S. corporations, or from companies that are really owned by U.S. banks!

Unfortunately many unions like the International Ladies Garment Workers Union have gotten on the bosses' bandwagon and blamed the loss of jobs here on foreign imports.

They call for government action to cut down imports, or what is known as "protectionism."

But this is not an answer, it is a dead-end for the workers. For once one country begins an attack on imports, all the others will follow, and it will result in cutting down on all international trade, something sure to only deepen the economic crisis being felt throughout the capitalist world and lead to an even greater depression.

WHAT UNION LEADERS COULD DO

If the union leaders were seeking a serious solution to the problem of runaway shops, they would take the millions of dollars they are wasting on TV commercials and their "Buy American" campaigns, and spend it assisting the workers of Mexico and Taiwan in organizing unions that could demand decent wages and working conditions from the U.S. companies coming in there.

International workers' solidarity, something which has been utterly torn to shreds by such agents in the labor movement as George Meany, must be revived and fought for. Just as workers in this country eventually answered the mass unemployment of the thirties with militant organizing in place of fighting over the dwindling number of jobs available, so must this concept of solidarity be extended now to workers of other countries, who are fighting the same giant international corporations and banks as we here at home.

EDITORIAL

Three days in October

This October marks three great anniversaries in the advance of the world socialist revolution: the victory of the great Chinese revolution (Oct. 1, 1949), the launching of the Sputnik satellite by the Soviet Union (Oct. 3, 1957) and the founding of the Communist party of Korea (Oct. 10, 1945).

THE KOREAN WORKERS PARTY

The establishment of a Marxist-Leninist party as the general staff of the Korean revolution made it possible to rally the Korean working class and the broad masses against U.S. imperialism which had occupied south Korea with tens of thousands of troops in September, 1945. This was a most difficult and complex period for the Korean national liberation movement, facing the huge problems of carrying out anti-feudal reforms, uprooting the remnants of Japanese imperialism, rehabilitating and developing the economy in a socialist direction, and protecting the northern half of Korea from the subversive plots and outright attacks being directed against it by Wall Street and the Pentagon.

Within half-a-decade after its founding, the Korean communist party, the Workers Party, faced its supreme test: a full-scale war of aggression by U.S. imperialism and 16 of its allies and junior partners.

Under the leadership of Kim Il Sung, the Korean people turned back the counter-revolutionary assault of the class enemy, and today the Democratic People's Republic of Korea remains a powerful bulwark guarding the eastern flank of the socialist camp.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the Korean people during their great trial in the 1950-53 war were the people of China, who less than a year before had made their own socialist revolution. Led by Mao Tse Tung, the Chinese revolution brought hundreds of millions of hungry people, the victims of imperialism, up from the depths of the kind of sub-human existence which, even today, is the reality for the overwhelming majority in capitalist India and in other poor countries.

Since the earth-shaking victory of the Chinese revolution, there has not been a country in Asia where the banner of struggle has not gleamed red, where toilers have not been inspired to break the chains of colonialism and neo-colonialism, as was so brilliantly accomplished in Vietnam, Kampuchea (Cambodia), and Laos.

SPUTNIK

In a like manner, the successful launching of the Sputnik by the USSR twenty years ago this month was a powerful victory for socialism and a defeat for capitalism. Although it is often forgotten today, when the U.S. media and others characterize the Soviet Union as a "super-power," technology hardly existed in the USSR prior to the 1917 communist revolution. Before the October Revolution, all of Russia, except for a few palaces of the nobility, was a sea of huts and hovels, mud roads and mass illiteracy, the most backward, most crude and most underdeveloped country in all of Europe.

Sputnik signified a gigantic leap forward, the first step of humanity's voyage to the planets and eventually to the distant stars. U.S. imperialism, of course, feared it as a dramatic example of what socialist planning can accomplish.

Many years later, in 1974, Walt Rostow, a top aide to both presidents Kennedy and Johnson, was asked why the U.S. committed so much of its wealth, military forces, and prestige to winning the war in Vietnam.

Rostow replied with just one word: "Sputnik."

"Sputnik," like "Watergate," has become a code word. "Watergate" is understood to symbolize the decay of U.S. capitalist democracy, while "Sputnik" represents the growing power of world communism.

The Chinese revolution, the founding of the Korean Workers Party, Sputnik: three days in October, three stepping stones toward the inevitable socialist future, three coffin nails for the dying capitalist system.

**DON'T FORGET
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'Turning up the heat'



—Unsafe substances

(Continued from p. 1)

pesticide know to cause sterility!

The pesticide, dibromochloropropane (DBCP), has been used since the 1950s. In July it was discovered that 14 of the 27 men handling the substance at the Occidental Chemical Company plant in California had either become sterile or had low sperm counts. Studies with rats showed the development of cancer.

Shortly afterwards, three federal agencies imposed emergency restrictions on the pesticides.

Three days later, the National Peach Council made their infamous suggestion to NIOSH, saying that "while involuntary sterility caused by a manufactured chemical may be bad it is not necessarily so. After all, there are many people now paying to have themselves sterilized to assure they will no longer be able to become parents."

As an alternative, the National Peach Council offers workers cancer for free!

YET ANOTHER OUTRAGE

Every worker in this country suffers the daily indignity of having her or his labor exploited, and often faces forced overtime and speed-ups—all to increase the profits of the bosses. Black, Latin, and Asian workers, women workers, and gay workers suffer the additional oppression of racism, sexism, and anti-gay bigotry from the bosses.

Working people are forced to breathe the toxic fumes from factory emissions and other forms of air pollution. Carcinogenic substances also abound in food.

On top of all this, poor and working people are being made to suffer from unsafe working conditions. These conditions affect all working people, for even though many workers are not directly affected by a dangerous proximity to cancer-causing substances, the chances are great that members of their families or friends may be.

The threat to their health from dangers at the workplace helps to make it clear to working and oppressed people that when they fight for better working conditions and, ultimately for the elimination of that class which poses the greatest health hazard to all, they are fighting for their lives.



Che Guevara

By JAIME VEVE

NEW YORK, Oct. 3—Ten years ago on Oct. 8, 1967, Ernesto Che Guevara, proletarian internationalist leader, was murdered by agents of U.S. imperialism after his capture in Bolivia.

Born in Argentina, Comandante Che joined the July 26 movement in 1955, going on to become one of the legendary figures of the Cuban Revolution. He fought by the side of the African freedom fighters in the Congo in the early 1960s, and engaged in guerrilla war in Bolivia in order to create a new front against imperialism as an act of solidarity with Vietnam.

The essence of Che Guevara was summed up by the leader of the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro, in his eulogy in memory of Che delivered at the Plaza de la Revolution on Oct. 18, 1967. The following are excerpts from this eulogy:

"Che fell defending the interests, defending the cause of the exploited and the oppressed peoples of the continent. Che fell defending the cause of the poor and disenfranchised of this earth. . . .

"Che carried to its highest expression revolutionary stoicism, the revolutionary's spirit of work. Che brought the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to their freshest, purest, most revolutionary expression. . . .

"And in the future, when an example of a proletarian internationalist is spoken of, when an example of a proletarian internationalist is sought, that example, high above any other, will be Che's example.

"In Che's example we will always find inspiration, inspiration in struggle, inspiration in tenacity, inspiration in intransigence toward the enemy, inspiration in internationalist sentiment."

The Palestinians' right to their homeland and

Joint U.S.-USSR statement on the Mideast

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

NEW YORK, Oct. 5—The U.S. and Soviet Union issued a joint statement on the Middle East this week that was presented as the groundwork for the convening of the long-discussed Geneva Conference before the end of the year.

Both in the statement, and in President Carter's subsequent speech to the United Nations, the U.S. for the first time gave lip service to recognizing "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." The big question which now remains to be answered is what exactly does Washington mean by this, and how much of a departure from past policy will it prove to be?

The U.S. does not mention in its statements the Palestine Liberation Organization, which as a coalition of most of the groups fighting for Palestine, must be considered as representing the Palestinian people. However, the PLO regards the statement as a significant concession, and has praised it.

The Israeli regime, of course, has reacted in horror as though this development means that the U.S. is going to abandon its long-held support for its bastion of racism and imperialism in the Middle East. Such a reaction by Israel (and some grandstand plays by a few U.S. politicians) are to be expected, however, and are hardly a gauge by which to judge the significance of the statement.

The Palestinian question boils down to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, that is, their right to return to their homeland and erect a Palestinian state there. This is what the Palestinians have been fighting for ever since



Members of Youth Against War & Fascism demonstrate against U.S.-Israeli aggression during the June 1967 Mideast War.

their expulsion by the Israelis in 1948, and this is what must be recognized in any just settlement in the Middle East.

Any agreement made by the parties at Geneva that limited self-determination for the Palestinians would be depriving them of their "legitimate rights." The Soviet Union, above all, has the obligation to oppose imperialism's schemes on this score and also to make sure that the Palestinians are legitimately

represented at any meeting that is to decide issues pertaining to the Middle East.

U.S. AND ISRAEL

U.S. imperialism with its multi-billion dollar investment in Mideast oil has been the main beneficiary over the years of the setting up of the state of Israel in 1948 on land where the majority of the people had been Palestinian Arabs. Washington has poured tens of billions of dollars

into constructing a garrison state there that has been faithful in the defense of Western imperialist interests in the Middle East.

Israel has rewarded the imperialists by consistently opposing progressive moves in the area and siding with reaction, often through direct military intervention. Most notable were its invasion of Egypt in 1956, along with Britain and France, to prevent Nasser from nationalizing the Suez Canal and its efforts along with France to crush the Algerian Revolution.

Most recently, Israel has invaded southern Lebanon to assist the openly fascist Phalange Party in the civil war against a combined force of Palestinians and Lebanese leftists.

Up until the present administration, the U.S. refused to even recognize the existence of the Palestinians as a people, and virtually all sections within the U.S. ruling class, from liberal to reactionary (and including plenty with long records as anti-Semites), gushed with praise for Israel and supported the huge expenditures in arms and aid needed to keep it viable.

PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE FOR HOMELAND

The Palestinian people over this period have been fighting a heroic struggle to recover their homeland. The program of the Palestine

Liberation Organization (PLO) calls for the setting up of a democratic, secular state in Palestine with equal rights for all regardless of national origin or religion. Israel is a racist settler state which gives first-class status only to people who can prove Jewish ancestry and discriminates even against dark-skinned Jews.

Most of the Palestinians have become refugees, driven from their homes by open terror (such as the 1948 massacre at Deir Yassin, which was led by present Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin), economic harassment, and political pressure. At the instigation of U.S. imperialism, they have been under constant attack.

One of Washington's most pliant puppets in the area, King Hussein of Jordan (who was recently revealed to have been personally receiving \$1 million a year from the CIA), carried out a brutal massacre of the Palestinian refugees in Jordan in 1970 which has become known as "Black September." Fifteen thousand Palestinians were killed as their camps came under attack from jet planes, tanks, and artillery.

To the effect that anything has been won in this present agreement, it is due to the long and heroic efforts of the Palestinian people themselves, who have regrouped after the cruelest setbacks and continued the struggle.

During visit to Peoples Republic of China

Kampuchean leader cites gains of revolution

By JOYCE CHEDIAC BETRIES

NEW YORK, Sept. 5—Last week Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Government of Kampuchea (Cambodia) took the opportunity during a fraternal visit to the Peoples Republic of China to announce that the Kampuchean Communist Party was responsible for the victory against the U.S. there and to cite some of the gains of the Kampuchean revolution.

The reaction of U.S. imperialism, which lost the war in Cambodia two years ago and has taken every opportunity since to slander the people's government there, was not out of character. Every time Kampuchea is mentioned in the press the U.S. rulers foam at the mouth.

However, as more and more of the tremendous accomplishments of the Kampuchean revolution become known worldwide, protest by U.S. imperialism begins to sound more and more like sour grapes, and its characterization of Kampuchea may be beginning to backfire.

In a Washington Post article entitled, "Cambodia leader leaves shadows for meeting in China," (Sept. 29), the self-named U.S. "Cambodia watchers" perched at "a major listening post on Cambodia, are anxiously awaiting photographs of Pol Pot from Peking," to ascertain, of all things, his true identity!

U.S. ANGERED BY REVOLUTION

It was U.S. imperialism that, in the five-year war, murdered one-tenth of the population of Cambodia and maimed or wounded another tenth. However, even after causing such enormous destruction Washington and Wall Street could not prevent a revolutionary overturn, and this is what really angers them.



The people of socialist Kampuchea [Cambodia] work together to build irrigation canals and new embankments for rice fields.

The China trip was Pol Pot's first publicized journey outside Kampuchea since the victory there on April 17, 1975. China sent aid and technicians to help reconstruct the country after the devastation by U.S. bombing.

In a Peking speech on Sept. 28, and in a talk given in celebration of the 17th anniversary of the founding of the Cambodian CP, which was released by Phnom Penh, Pol Pot spoke of some of the tremendous achievements of the Kampuchean revolution.

In the Phnom Penh speech, Pol Pot declared that Kampuchea's "great victory over the U.S. imperialists was due to the leadership of the Cambodian Communist Party."

He scorned U.S. charges of mass murder in Cambodia. After all, it is well known that the U.S. killed 800,000 Cambodians during the

five-year-war!

He added that Kampuchea has solved its food problem and is now exporting rice. This is itself a heroic achievement. At the end of the war, Phnom Penh's swollen population of three million, forced to flee the bombings in the countryside, were starving.

In his Peking speech Pol Pot vividly described the blight of cultural genocide wrought by the U.S. He said "social blemishes and the depraved culture, debauchery, brigandage, crimes, and other decadent phenomena in the age of imperialism, colonialism, and other exploiting classes have been basically abolished by the mass movement in our country."

GAINS OF REVOLUTION

The "general situation of the revolution is excellent," he said, adding that industry, agriculture,

education, and public health work were all flourishing. This is in a country where the U.S. dropped more than 500,000 bombs between 1969 and 1975, most of which were aimed at population and production areas of the countryside.

He continued, saying that since the end of the war the new government has "wiped out illiteracy by 80 to 90%." This is quite an accomplishment among a population that had been up to three-quarters uneducated only two years ago. In addition, he said, now "tens of thousands of our young men and women work in the many branches of science and technology."

The people's government has set up a "network of hospitals and pharmaceutical centers" so that for every hundred families, there is a clinic with 20 beds, three trained medical personnel, and a shop for making herbal medicine.

—Protests in Italy

(Continued from p. 10)

frustration over the PCI's policy of collaboration with the Christian Democrats, the Bologna demonstration did not represent an adequate revolutionary working-class alternative. It had a conglomeration of groupings, many ultra-left, many anarchist, and some even to the right of the PCI on important questions such as the class character of the USSR. Above all, the leaders do not have an effective strategy to reach the mighty Italian working class, who see the PCI very much as their party and look with hope to the ascendancy of the PCI to a role in the government.

The responsibility, however, for the growth of ultra-leftism as a strong political current in Italy, which the Bologna demonstration reflected, must be placed squarely at the feet of the PCI leaders themselves. Ultra-leftism has historically been an inevitable reaction to the policies of reformism and opportunism. Such a widespread movement would not be possible if the PCI were pursuing a revolutionary policy and inspiring the workers and oppressed in a struggle against the bosses and the fascist menace.

If, however, the PCI does enter the capitalist government, this will undoubtedly stimulate tremendous expectations and produce a resurgence of revolutionary, working-class activity—a prospect the Italian and world bourgeoisie find horrifying and an opportunity that all class-conscious workers eagerly look forward to.

PCF, PS negotiations break down

French left still divided

By JOHN CATALINOTTO
NEW YORK, Oct. 3—The three parties in the French Union of the Left came together Sept. 21 in Paris to try to patch up the rift that had occurred the week before. After hours of discussion lasting past midnight, the Socialists (PS), Left Radicals, and the French Communist Party (PCF) had to call an end to the negotiations without any agreement.

The Bourse, or French stock exchange, remained a sensitive stethoscope for the heart of the French ruling class; after the break-up was announced, the stocks jumped more than 4% in value.

The French bourgeois parties immediately tried to take advantage of the rift by making overtures to the PS. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber of the Radicals (not the so-called Left Radicals) congratulated the PS on the firmness with which they handled the PCF and invited their participation in a new bourgeois anti-Gaullist majority. The PS answered no, fearing they'd lose their supporters if they jumped class camps too quickly.

The French ruling class, which has trusted the PS to run its government before, has been trying to provoke a split in the Union of the Left since its establishment in 1972. The French bosses and bankers don't want Communists in the government, no matter how tame they are, no matter how "Eurocommunist," no matter how much they pledge to abide by bourgeois legality.

WORKERS SHAKEN UP

The majority of French workers, who support the PCF and who looked to a victory of the Union of the Left to provide a solution to their grave economic problems, are understandably disappointed and upset by the crisis. They are asking themselves how the split will affect the chances for the left parties to put an end to the rule by the right-wing parties. Will it be impossible now for a left victory in the elections? And how will the split affect the relationship of forces between the PS and the PCF?

Although the PCF did not desire a break-up of the Union of the Left, that the break-up occurred gives the PCF the opportunity to carry on independent class politics during the coming election period. They already have gone to their membership and directly to the workers to explain their differences with the PS.

The PCF has a record of acting as a brake on the workers' struggle, despite their undeniable ties to the French working class. When ten million French workers went on a general strike in 1968, it was the PCF which turned that movement from a revolutionary seizure of the factories back into electoral channels. At their last congress in 1976, the PCF removed the call for the dictatorship of the proletariat from their party program and oriented their members toward the so-called peaceful road to socialism.

Still, the French workers consider the PCF their party, and have exerted pressure on the leadership to take a more clearly defined pro-working class position relative to the PS. Within the confines of the "Common Program" shared by the Union of the Left, the PCF has struggled for further nationalizations of firms and for a narrowing of wage differences (which now are as great in France as in the U.S., with the top 20% of French employees getting 47% of the income and the bottom 20%

getting only 4.3% of the income—August 1977 Fortune magazine).

A split in the left doesn't automatically mean defeat in the election. The French system of voting allows a number of parties to run in the first round, and then pits the two candidates who get the greatest number of votes against each other in the second round, assuming no one gets a majority. The PCF and PS have often thrown their support behind whichever of the two parties makes it to the second round, even when there was no Union of the Left, and they could do it again.

By going to the workers with their own program, the PCF has the possibility of increasing its relative strength with respect to the PS. They are now more free to criticize the PS policies.

LIMITS OF PARLIAMENT

It should be made clear that even a parliamentary victory for the left parties, and even one which put the PCF in a stronger position relative to the PS, would not settle the question of socialism in France. It would not put the workers in power but simply put some of their representatives in the leading offices of a bourgeois state.

The PCF and PS would still have to contend with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, as well as with the army, courts, and police and the private capital which remains in the hands of the old ruling class.

Unemployment, fascist violence spark massive protests from Italian youth and workers

By ROBERT DOBROW

NEW YORK, Oct. 2—Tens of thousands of youth took to the streets yesterday in major cities across Italy to protest the murder of Walter Rossi, a young student, by fascists in a Rome suburb. Armed with stones, clubs, and molotov cocktails, demonstrators set fire to the headquarters of the Italian Social Movement, the neo-fascist organization responsible for the

slaying. Barricades were erected in Bologna and Florence, right-wing hangouts were firebombed in Turin and Milan, and up to 15,000 marched through the streets of Rome.

These events were followed today by a one-hour general strike called by all of Italy's labor unions and all parties except for the extreme right. Shops, factories, public transport, offices, and most other economic

activities were shut down as tens of thousands of workers and students marched in the major cities in honor of Rossi.

At the same time, the police closed down four Rome headquarters of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement.

The murder of Walter Rossi last Friday was the latest in an escalating climate of repression by the right-wing and the government against the progressive movement. Earlier this year police shot and killed a leftist demonstrator and arrested hundreds more following giant anti-government protests at the University of Bologna.

BOLOGNA DEMONSTRATION

A further indication of the growing anger against the climate of repression was an outpouring of youth which descended on Bologna for an "International Conference Against Repression" on the weekend of Sept. 23-26. The action was also a protest over the Italian Communist Party's (PCI) collaboration with the Italian government and the ruling Christian Democratic (CD) party.

According to the Sept. 26 New York Times, "The heavy turnout of workers and students from all over Italy went beyond all predictions and was regarded as a success for the extreme leftist groups that sponsored the meeting. The number of demonstrators grew from 10,000 on Friday to perhaps 50,000 at the final march through the city."

The protesters consisted largely of unemployed youth as well as activists of the women's and gay liberation movements. They feel betrayed by the position of the PCI, which has been propping up the capitalist government in Rome.

The PCI, a leading representative of so-called Eurocommunism, has for some time been pursuing a policy of "historic compromise"

aimed at getting cabinet seats alongside the bourgeois Christian Democrats. The minority CD government has been able to stay in office only by the PCI's abstention on crucial votes in Parliament, thereby giving the CD a majority it would not have if the PCI voted in opposition.

Last July the PCI went so far as to vote with the CD on a bill which, in addition to increasing cutbacks in social services, gave the police greatly increased powers to wiretap phones and detain people without warrants. And the PCI has not offered the workers any real program of struggle against the escalating economic crisis, even though Italy's jobless represent one-third of the total unemployment of Western Europe.

The Bologna protest was primarily organized by Lotta Continua, a Marxist group, and Autonomia Operaia, which is anarchist. But the demonstration as a whole represented a vast conglomeration of leftist groupings.

PCI REVERSES ITSELF

When plans for the action were first announced, the PCI was openly hostile to the demonstrators and Berlinguer, the CP head, even labelled them "plague carriers." Fortunately, however, the PCI changed its position and opened up the city, making sports arenas, universities, transportation, housing, and low-cost food widely available. (Bologna has a CP mayor and CP-run local administration.)

Today's general strike, supported by PCI-led trade unions and by the party itself may represent a further effort to adopt a more conciliatory policy toward revolutionary youth who have increasingly turned away from the PCI in recent years.

While expressing genuine

(Continued on p. 9)

West German regime denies right to legal counsel for kidnapers of ex-Nazi official

By JOHN CATALINOTTO

NEW YORK, Oct. 4—Last Friday the West German Parliament passed a new repressive law that stops detained prisoners who are suspected of being "terrorists" from seeing their lawyers or other visitors.

The Bonn government claims the bill is aimed at preventing communication between jailed members of the Baader-Meinhof Group, Red Army Faction, or others jailed for alleged acts of violence against the imperialist West German state. It would effectively isolate suspected urban guerrillas from all outside contact and in effect deny them their basic right to counsel.

Under the pressure of right-wing hysteria following the kidnapping of leading industrialist (and former SS-leader) Hans-Martin Schleyer, the three parliamentary parties sponsored the measure and passed it by a vote of 371 to 21.

Members of the Red Army Faction (RAF) abducted Schleyer in Cologne on Sept. 5, killing four of his bodyguards. They demanded the release of 11 of their comrades who had been jailed for other actions in the past. For the past month, negotiations have gone on slowly between the RAF and the West German government. The govern-

ment has issued virtually no statements on the state of the negotiations, while conducting extensive police searches in West Germany and Holland.

While the U.S. press, not to mention the bourgeois press in West Germany, has shrieked out hysterically against the "terrorists," they haven't said much about Schleyer himself. Head of the West German Employers Association and the Association of Industrialists, Schleyer is as powerful as most government figures, and even more unsavory.

The West German progressive newspaper, Arbeiterkampf, printed a short biography of Schleyer from the document on the Christian Democrats, Blackbook: Strauss, Kohl and Co.

Schleyer joined the Nazi youth group in 1931 (two years before Hitler came to power) while still in high school. He served them well as youth organizer in the early Nazi years, played a role in the annexation of Austria, and during World War II as an SS-leader organized the industry of occupied Czechoslovakia to serve the war machine of German imperialism.

Fleeing before the Red Army in 1945, he surrendered to the Allies

and did three years in prison before resuming his career as industrialist with Daimler-Benz.

RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

The West European bourgeois press has expressed alarm over the witchhunt atmosphere pushed by the right wing in West Germany. Even they have pointed out the irony of how the West German press almost welcomed the kidnapping of war criminal Kappler (who murdered 335 Italians) from an Italian jail to safety in West Germany, but rants and raves against the Red Army Faction.

Even before these latest incidents, progressives in Europe were concerned about the restriction of rights in West Germany. This concern led to a call for a Russell-Tribunal to investigate repression in West Germany. Russell-Tribunals have previously investigated U.S. war crimes in Vietnam and torture and repression in Brazil, Chile, and Latin America.

The new attack on individual rights and especially on West German progressives following the kidnapping of the old Nazi Schleyer makes the defense of these rights even more important.

POLITICAL PRISONERS



Two battle California death penalty

By East Bay Graham/Allen
Defense Committee

OAKLAND, CA.—Eugene Allen and Ernest Graham are two Black men who have been active political organizers in prison. They have been fighting for prisoner unity and against the racist and unjust system. They are on death row in San Quentin, framed for the killing of a prison guard in Duell Vocational Institute in Tracy, California on Nov. 27, 1973. This particular killing was used to justify a total lockdown of all prisoners in California's main prisons.

The first trial was held in the conservative community of Stockton in October of 1974 with a dozen guards wearing bullet-proof vests inside the courtroom and Graham and Allen chained. The

prosecution, even with such scare tactics, was not able to get a conviction. The trial, with a jury on which there was only one Black member, ended in a hung jury.

The second trial was moved to San Francisco in March of 1976. With no new evidence, with an all-white jury, and with the press covering only the Patricia Hearst trial, the prosecution got its conviction. The judge sentenced Graham and Allen to death, even though the actual killing took place five weeks before the (California) death penalty was reinstated.

The verdict is now on appeal and we, the Graham-Allen Defense Committee, are working for a retrial. But in the meantime, Graham and Allen are in effect still on death row. They, along with all political

prisoners, are subjected to the hatred and racist abuse by the guards and prison authorities. Graham and another prisoner are now being "held under investigation" for the murder of another death row prisoner which occurred Oct. 18, 1976, even though they have witnesses verifying their innocence. This is yet another example of the continual harassment that they face.

We must unite in our support for Eugene Allen and Ernest Graham and for all political prisoners. These brothers need our outside support to insure that they are not isolated. Donations for their defense are urgently needed, and can be sent to The Graham-Allen Defense Committee, 3931 Opal Street, Oakland, California, 94609.

Jail officials promote attacks on Chicanos

I have been getting your paper for some time now. I have been reading the articles on all your readers of rights and struggles they are fighting for, in the world and in prisons. I would like to share, along with other issues, what's going on in other prisons. Among myself and other Chicano inmates here at Tracy Institution, there seems to be another move by the staff members of this institution to continue their practice of harassing the Chicano population.

On the 28th day of June, 1977, I, along with other Chicano inmates, were removed from the general population. The scene that took place June 6, 1977, with racial problems with white "anglos" was known to be with involvement by the Tracy staff members.

Harassment has been going on for approximately three months now with searching more often and repeatedly of cells of the Chicano inmates; instigating racial disorder by telling racist jokes to other ethnic groups; nit-picking the Chicano population in every way imaginable. . . .

The latest and most outstanding harassment is the recent mass warehousing of the 90% of the Chicanos . . . from the Tracy mainline to East Hall Administrative Segregation Unit. Since this outrageous exodus, many of our rightful privileges have been denied.

VISITS RESTRICTED

Our visits have been seriously restricted to a mere two-hour period, and only at night we get visits. This limit in our visiting privileges is highly unfair to all of us, especially those like myself whose family must travel miles away.

My people and many other Chicano families will try and get up here at an early time, so they would get a full two-hour visit. Unfortunately with the mistakes and

errors done deliberately by the officer working in the visiting room, it will take an hour-and-a-half to let in our families. Families are coming miles away for only a half-an-hour.

Since we were segregated in East Hall, we have been denied any kind of exercise program. The only movement we have now is coming out for meals and showers.

We, the Chicanos here at Tracy, are being punished for being the victims of aggression. The DVI administration maintains that there was a confrontation between Chicanos and white "anglos." That confrontation they speak of was an unprovoked attack on Chicanos by a group of about 50 to 60 anglos with baseball bats.

This administration also maintains that after that one-sided confrontation, a general lockdown of this institution took place, if one cares to call it that! Here again the lockdown was designed to discriminate against the Chicanos. While the Chicanos stayed confined to their cells, the "anglos" were allowed to continue with their normal routines such as working in industries, kitchen, gym, yard crews, and whatever other assignment they had prior to the so-called "lockdown."

During the so-called lockdown the same group of white inmates who had attacked the Chicanos in the yard with baseball bats, again made a second attack. This time throwing fire bombs into the cells of Chicanos who were locked in their cells, seriously burning one of the victims.

Taking all into consideration and carefully weighing all the circumstances, the administration here at Tracy has discriminated against the Chicano population. This has manifested itself in the action the administration took when it singled out 90% of the Chicanos and segregated them in a

disciplinary type unit.

We, the victims of these discriminatory actions, would appreciate any and all help you could give us, even if it's only to make public the wrongdoings of the administration here at Tracy Institution. Rudy G. Melenudo (B-77564), Freddy Valdez (B-75901), P.O. Box 600, Tracy, Ca., 95376

Prisoners put real criminals on trial

By SALVADOR GONZALES

HUNTSVILLE, Tex., Sept. 27—This week a unique trial took place here. For once the real criminals—prison officials—were on trial and prisoners acting without aid of legal counsel were the prosecution.

The federal civil rights suit, filed by prisoners of one of the most racist and inhumane state prison systems in the country, the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC), challenges the cruel and barbaric conditions of that prison's solitary confinement. The prisoners are demanding that the solitary be torn down.

Plaintiffs in the trial were David Ruiz and Salvador Gonzales. Ruiz, who is still a prisoner, has long been active as a jailhouse lawyer and fighter against prison injustice. Gonzales, who has a long history of fighting against the prisons from within, was recently released and is continuing the struggle on the outside.

Defendants charged in the case were several wardens, guards, and the director of the prison system. **HORRIBLE CONDITIONS**

Yesterday, the first day of the trial, several prisoners presented convincing testimony that the conditions in solitary consisted of filthy mattresses and blankets; no heating or ventilation; no toothbrush, toothpaste or soap; a

Message to the people:

We will win!

The following is excerpted from a message to the people by Ernest Graham. He and Eugene Allen face the death sentence in California. [see related article]

Speaking on behalf of myself (and) comrade Gene Allen, it has been proven that two Blacks cannot receive a fair trial in the American courtroom. We have been systematically discriminated against, and the main reason, the same thing that's going on in prison in our day has been going on since 1760. Young Blacks are being killed, discriminated against in the institution. Like in 1970, three innocent Blacks were shot down in the exercise yard in Soledad. Yet still no one was indicted for the murder of those three Blacks.

Speaking on behalf of myself and Eugene Allen, we don't feel no sympathy for nothing that has happened in the institution, and to the pigs that live in the institution. We feel no sympathy for them because they have showed no sympathy for us as people in this country. The only regret in this world is that my eyes woke up a little too late to find out who were the true enemy.

And in the American system it has neglected the poor for 400 years and served the rich for many years.

Yet still they say that we are being treated equal in the United States. This country has developed a form of a higher stage of slavery, which is a sophisticated higher neo-slavery. It is economic slavery. It has made slaves of the People for hundreds and hundreds of years. And people must wake up and realize what's happening.

And I have no regrets on behalf of nothing. And I hope many other young Blacks of oppressed class, mens, womens, and children of every race, wake up and rise against them imperial force of America. America's downfall is coming, and we know its coming and our spirit remains high. And nothing that a fascist judge or stupid DA do can break our spirit, because we know the people is coming and they will show no mercy when they be crowned king of this world. And we are going to have a society that will serve all people of every race and it will not discriminate against you or no people. We will have a society that will serve everybody equally.

I would like to say again thanks to you all for everything and the people will win and we will have the last say so in the end.

Power to the people and long live all oppressed peoples, mens, womens and children of every race. Power to the people.

starvation diet of one full meal every 72 hours with 12 tablespoons of vegetables in between; and inadequate medical attention.

They also testified that prisoners held in solitary confinement were subjected to five days of psychological torture from a radio playing full-blast through the ventilation system of their dark cells, 24 hours a day.

The defense argument offered by an Assistant Attorney General of the State of Texas representing the TDC was that since none of the prisoners actually saw the radio, surely they could not be sure it existed.

STATE CONTRADICTS ITSELF

Today the defense apparently changed its strategy as Assistant Warden David Christian took the stand and explained that he had actually ordered the radio placed in the solitary cells. He testified that solitary prisoners hollering from their cells were urging other prisoners passing by on their way to the fields not to perform the slave labor demanded of them by the state. And furthermore, this "harassment" had caused near-mutinous conditions within the work gangs. Thus, with the radio playing, the solitary prisoners could not hear when the work gangs went by.

Several guards testified to signed statements they brought dated May

15, 1973, claiming that on May 16, 17, 18, and 19 and for several days thereafter, there was much "agitation" from the prisoners in solitary. Then, much to the embarrassment of the defense attorney, the prisoners brought to the attention of the court the fact that since the statements were signed on May 15—and relating events that supposedly took place several days thereafter—there was no way they could be true unless the guards possessed an ability to foresee the future.

Then came the most incredible testimony of the trial. Prison doctor Dudie Cotrell swore that on three consecutive days of visits to solitary he did not once hear any radio. Just minutes before, the warden had explained why he had had the radio on around the clock for three days. The whole courtroom broke into grins, including the judge and the guards, who were there to control the prisoners. The defense attorney sheepishly asked for a ten-minute recess.

Although the prisoners recognize the fact that the abolition of the concentration camps for the poor will come about only through socialist revolution, they also know that any time they, as prisoners, win concessions from the ruling class, it is indeed a step closer to victory. Long live the prisoners! Tear down the walls!

—Gas price gouge

(Continued from p. 1)

natural gas resources, it will in fact allow the companies to extort even higher profits from the working and poor. The definition of "new" gas has been broadened so that gas wells sunk only two miles from existing facilities can be sold at the higher

price. This will mean simply that "old" gas can be sold as "new" at an inflated price. This is in addition to the fact that gas prices have increased by 500% over the last six years, even with "regulation"!

The gas companies last winter conspired to withhold gas at a time when a cold wave was devastating parts of the country dependent on gas supplies from other states. They claimed there was a "shortage" of fuel, but as soon as "Jimmy" Carter came through with his Natural Gas Emergency Act which allowed even higher prices, they "found" plenty of gas within days.

Not even the U.S. Congress can get accurate information from the companies as to how much energy is actually available! All information is provided by the companies through "voluntary" industry reports.

While the energy producers and the utilities that they dominate will rake in the money hand over fist, the poor who suffered immeasurably through last winter's crisis will be burdened with yet higher ransoms to be paid for heating fuel. And make no mistake, it is ransom—for who produces the fuel, who runs and maintains the pipelines and the offices? Certainly the few thieves

who say they own the energy don't. They won't even tap the energy until the price satisfies their mad cravings for profit.

Last winter, in this, the wealthiest country in the world, many people died in their homes as a result of exposure to the bitter cold only because the gas companies capped the wells and waited for the price to go up. The price increases now supported by Carter are said to provide an "incentive" to the producers to discover new sources of energy. But in reality it only serves to clarify who the government truly serves—the minuscule minority of

billionaires.

There is enough natural gas, according to the Wall St. Journal (Sept. 14), to meet current demand for the next 20 million years! (And this is a conservative estimate.) That is far longer than the human race has been in existence.

Only a socialist society whose first priority is the needs of the broad majority of the people can put an end to all the crises that are inherent in the anarchy of the capitalist system—and reclaim all the bounties of nature that are now in the hands of a few billionaire parasites.

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En Panamá EEUU mantiene el derecho de intervención

Por P. MEISNER

NUEVA YORK—Mientras realmente existe una división entre los gobernantes capitalistas de los EEUU sobre la aprobación de los dos nuevos tratados del Canal de Panamá, la administración de Carter ha exagerado deliberadamente la dimensión de la oposición derechista a los tratados.

La maquinaria propagandística de Carter siempre ha descrito la existencia de una gran "resistencia pública" en los EEUU a los tratados, pero de la derecha. Esto le ha dado a Carter el pretexto de conciliar la verdadera oposición de la clase dominante derechista y forzar que Panamá acepte tratados altamente favorable a los intereses del imperialismo norteamericano.

De hecho, la oposición en los EEUU, como ahora está constituida en el senado, se trata de una minoría que quizás podría apenas reunir los 37 votos necesarios de un total de 100 votos para rechazar los tratados. Sin embargo, según un prestigioso experto de la prensa burguesa, James Reston del New York Times, la oposición en el senado actualmente no tiene mucho más que 20 votos.

Clave a la estrategia de la administración ha sido el papel del pentágono en apoyar los tratados. Mientras se supone que el cuerpo militar sea apolítico, y simplemente debe cumplir los mandatos del gobierno civil, el gran número de actos públicos hechos por comandantes en jefe de las FFAA apoyando los tratados demuestran que todos en Washington, incluyendo los liberales y reaccionarios, comprenden la gran influencia de la fuerza militar imperialista en decidir las políticas en esta supuesta "democracia".

Así, mientras Carter ha aplacado y



Miles de panameños rechazan la ocupación del Canal por los EEUU. La pancarta lee Panamá Sí, Zona del Canal No."

asegurado de nuevo a los Reagan y Goldwater que no se ha traicionado a los "intereses nacionales" de los EEUU, las continuas injusticias forzadas sobre el pueblo panameño en los dos nuevos tratados del Canal apenas recibieron noticias en la prensa capitalista.

Aunque el jefe del gobierno panameño Omar Torrijos ha luchado duramente para que los EEUU apruebe los nuevos tratados, tuvo que admitir que los tratados aún contienen indignidades para el pueblo panameño. En la ceremonia llevada a cabo en Washington el 7 de septiembre para

firmar los tratados propuestos, Torrijos dijo:

"Quiero decirles que este tratado que luego firmaremos y que terminará el anterior que ningún panameño jamás firmó, no tiene el apoyo total de nuestro pueblo porque los 23 años acordado como período de transición significan 8,395 días en los cuales las bases militares de los EEUU permanecerán convirtiendo a mi país en un posible blanco estratégico para represalias. También hemos acordado sobre un tratado de neutralidad que nos pone bajo la jurisdicción de defensa del pentágono—un tratado que si no es administrado juiciosamente por generaciones futuras podría convertirse en un instrumento de intervención permanente."

Se han efectuado varias manifestaciones últimamente en Panamá reflejando masivos sentimientos por el retorno completo e inmediato del Canal y la Zona del Canal al pueblo panameño. El 7 de Sept., cientos de manifestantes protestaron la negociación del tratado frente al edificio del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores Panameños en la Ciudad de Panamá. Docenas de personas fueron heridas por la policía y por lo menos 30 fueron detenidas.

Hay dos tratados distintos firmados por Carter y Torrijos que tienen que estar aprobados por una mayoría de dos terceras partes en el senado de los EEUU y por un plebiscito nacional en Panamá. El primer tratado concierne la operación y la defensa del Canal entre ahora y el año 2000. El segundo tratado garantiza la "neutralidad permanente" del Canal después de que los EEUU ceda el control administrativo sobre el Canal en el año 2000.

(vea página 2)

frente a la Casa Blanca era una protesta a la presencia de los dictadores, que Carter había invitado a su "festival." Pero también, muchos carteles y banderas atacaban el rol que el imperialismo norteamericano ha jugado en la creación y mantenimiento de estos regimenes. Algunos decían: "Salvador Allende, Miguel Enríquez viven en la resistencia chilena." "Fascismo en Argentina, hecho en EEUU." "Guatemala. Bolivia, Uruguay y Haití, la resistencia vencerá," y "Apoya la huelga general de los trabajadores colombianos."

La mayoría de los manifestantes pertenecían a las comunidades latinas y caribeñas de Washington, D.C. 200 manifestantes viajaron en bus desde Nueva York, también viajaron pequeñas delegaciones de los estados de Nueva York, Ohio, Michigan y de la ciudad de Filadelfia.

Esta manifestación constituye la acción más grande y más militante, (vea página 2)

2,000 manifestantes

Denuncian a los asesinos de Argentina y Chile

Por G. DUNKEL

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 12 — "¡ASESINOS!, ¡ASESINOS!" gritaron 2000 manifestantes, el pasado 7 de septiembre, a los dictadores latinoamericanos y a sus amos norteamericanos, a la salida de la Casa Blanca después que asistieron a la cena de estado que dió el Presidente Carter para señalar la firma del tratado del Canal de Panamá.

Carter realizó estas elaboradas ceremonias, no sólo con el objeto de ganar el apoyo de algunos sectores aún indecisos de la clase dominante de Estados Unidos; sino también, para estrechar los lazos con dictadores tales como: Jorge Videla de Argentina,

Augusto Pinochet de Chile, Alfredo Stroessner de Paraguay, Joaquín Balaguer de República Dominicana y Hugo Banzer de Bolivia; países, donde la resistencia popular sigue creciendo, a pesar de la represión fascista.

A su regreso a Chile, en el discurso principal del 11 de septiembre, Pinochet expresó que había mejorado la actitud del gobierno norteamericano para con, lo que él llamó, "la realidad chilena." Realidad que significa el estado de sitio fascista que su gobierno ha impuesto al pueblo chileno, por los últimos cuatro años.

MANIFESTACION MILITANTE
La manifestación fue fuerte y muy militante. Las 2000 personas man-

tuvieron los gritos y el espíritu militante, por más de 3 horas en frente de la Casa Blanca.

La policía arrestó a 2 manifestantes, cuando ya la mayoría se había retirado quienes fueron dejados en libertad horas más tarde después que pagaron 50 dólares de multa.

De acuerdo a despachos noticiosos; al mismo tiempo que se realizaba esta manifestación en Washington, panameños que se oponían al tratado llevaron a cabo una manifestación frente a su Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, demandando el retiro inmediato de los Estados Unidos de Panamá.

Ciertamente, esta manifestación

En California

Luchan contra el racismo y las deportaciones

Por SUSAN SCHNEUR

LOS ÁNGELES, CAL., septiembre 23— Cantando "la lucha obrera no tiene fronteras," "el pueblo unido jamás será vencido," y "ni con Bakke, ni con bala, esta lucha no se para," más de mil personas marcharon por las calles del este de Los Ángeles el 28 de agosto. Demandaban amnistía incondicional para los trabajadores indocumentados; revocación del fallo Bakke; alto a las deportaciones y al programa del bracero; Migra fuera de las fábricas; y trabajos y derechos a organización para todos. Muchos espectadores en este barrio predominantemente mexicano dieron señas de solidaridad a la marcha.

La demanda de amnistía incondicional para los indocumentados fue la respuesta al plan de inmigración propuesto por el Presidente Carter hace algunas semanas. En ese plan, extranjeros indocumentados que están en este país desde el primero de enero de 1978 pueden aplicar para un estado legal de extranjero con residencia permanente. En cinco años más, podrán aplicar para la ciudadanía.

Bajo el plan trabajadores indocumentados que están en los EEUU desde el primero de este año pueden aplicar para estado legal de residencia temporal y pueden quedarse trabajando aquí por cinco años pero no pueden traer a sus familias.

Para los trabajadores indocumentados que han entrado al país durante este año, no hay cambio en el estado legal. La ley de deportación será aplicada contra ellos. Y la patrulla fronteriza del sur será reforzada con un mínimo de dos mil nuevos agentes, para que no entren más indocumentados de México.

Con este plan de amnistía con-

dicional los agentes del Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización (la Migra) todavía van a poder entrar en las fábricas, buscando a los indocumentados. Esto pasa cada vez que los trabajadores en una fábrica se unen y tratan de formar una unión.

La arrogancia de la clase dominante es tal que ellos ni han estado en América del Norte 200 años y sus antecesores son de Europa y ahora pasan leyes limitando y tratando de ponerle fin a la inmigración de un pueblo (los mexicanos) cuyos padres han estado aquí miles de años.

DEPORTACIONES Y BAKKE

El fallo Bakke es un ataque a los derechos a la educación superior y a la igualdad de oportunidad para los latinos, los negros, las mujeres y todos los que han sufrido discriminación. El fallo fue anunciado algunos meses atrás por la Corte Suprema de California. Deshace muchas de las victorias del movimiento por derechos civiles y del movimiento estudiantil de los 60's. Los jueces de California han llamado programas de acción afirmativa para combatir los efectos de discriminación "racismo inverso." Se apelará el fallo a la Corte Suprema de los Estados Unidos este otoño.

Oradores en el Parque Salazar, después de la marcha, reflejaron el espectro comprensivo de organizaciones que apoyaron la manifestación. Entre estas figuraron CASA (Hermandad General de Trabajadores), El Comité Binacional para Defensa del Indocumentado, Panteras Negras, Unión de Filipinos Democráticos (KDP), Brigada Venceremos, Comité Pro Defensa de José



Cientos de manifestantes marchan para demandar amnistía para los trabajadores indocumentados en Los Angeles, California.

foto: Sin Fronteras

Medina, y varias organizaciones laborales y progresistas.

Antonio Rodríguez, director nacional de CASA, hizo recordar a los presentes que el Moratorio Chicano del 1970, en solidaridad con el pueblo Vietnamita, sucedió en el mismo parque y fue brutalmente atacado por la policía. "En esa época, protestábamos una guerra a más de 10,000 millas de distancia, pero dijimos que la guerra era qui también. Hoy es una batalla en la misma guerra—la guerra de un pueblo oprimido contra el explotador. La gente de Angola, de Vietnam, de Cuba, de Puerto Rico, la gente India y la gente mexicana, y la clase obrera— todos luchamos en la misma guerra." El discurso de Rodríguez fue puntualizado con cantos de "somos un pueblo sin fronteras," y "aquí, allá, el pueblo vencerá."

Otros oradores atacaron las fuerzas reaccionarias que se han movilizad en contra de la desegregación de los colegios, los derechos sindicales, los derechos al aborto y a pago durante el tiempo de incapacidad por embarazo, y

la campaña histórica contra los homosexuales guiada por Anita Bryant.

El abogado progresista Len Weinglass analizó el plan de Carter para deportaciones y el fallo Bakke en relación a la crisis económica del imperialismo, la cual crece cada día. El dijo que hace cincuenta años, Sacco y Vanzetti fueron ejecutados. El "crimen" de ellos fue que eran inmigrantes y políticos. El gobierno necesitaba una respuesta a los muchos trabajadores desempleados en los Estados Unidos en los años del 1920. "En esa época y en la de hoy, el gobierno tiene la misma respuesta al inmigrante."

Pero esta respuesta no sirve más. La gente sabe que los indocumentados son trabajadores, y que se van a unir con los trabajadores que ya están en los Estados Unidos para demandar sus derechos a medicina, educación, y pago decente. Estos son sus derechos, porque ellos también producen la riqueza.

-Canal de Panamá y los EEUU

(de página 1)

El primer tratado proporciona una compensación incrementada a Panamá de los ingresos de la tarifa del Canal (de una increíblemente baja cantidad de 2.3 millones dólares hasta 50 millones dólares anualmente, que todavía es un porcentaje bajo y muy injusto de los ingresos totales del Canal), y una mayor participación de Panamá en la administración de la compañía del Canal de Panamá. Pero el primer tratado todavía permitirá al pentágono mantener tres grandes complejos militares dentro de la zona del Canal por lo menos hasta el año 2000. Y según el texto del Artículo IV del primer tratado: "Por la duración de este tratado, los EEUU tendrá primordial responsabilidad de proteger y defender el Canal."

EEUU PUEDE INTERVENIR

Esta provisión y la provisión del segundo tratado que implícitamente le concede a los EEUU el derecho de intervenir en el Canal de Panamá, es obviamente la fuente mayor de humillación al pueblo panameño, como Torrijos mismo admitió. Pero el lenguaje usado en el segundo tratado fue redactado cuidadosamente para que no se lea claramente el derecho de intervención militar por parte de los

EEUU. Por otro lado, los oponentes derechistas, de los tratados, en los EEUU han levantado este punto en cuestión del lenguaje indefinido en el texto del tratado como una causa para rechazo total.

Pero Carter, el pentágono, y la mayoría de la clase dominante de los EEUU se sienten muy confiados que la terminología diplomática contenida en los tratados no ofrecerá verdaderos obstáculos para una futura intervención militar de los EEUU en Panamá.

El ala derecha de los EEUU, sin embargo, tiene objeciones más fundamentales con los nuevos tratados del Canal. Primero, alegan que la administración de Carter está entregando lo que realmente "pertenece" a los EEUU. (Hasta Carter, en la ceremonia de firmar, implicó que los EEUU se había robado al Canal de Panamá en 1903.) Segundo, la ala pro-guerra de los EEUU teme que los nuevos tratados representan otra retirada mayor para el imperio estadounidense, como en Vietnam y Korea, y podría estimular a los panameños a nacionalizar el Canal completamente como pasó en Egipto cuando Nasser nacionalizó el Canal de Suez.

Carter y la mayoría de la clase dominante de los EEUU, por otro lado, parecen analizar la experiencia y las lecciones de la guerra en Vietnam

desde diferentes puntos de vista. Su opinión es que se puede evitar que Panamá sea otro Vietnam, si las concesiones proporcionadas en el nuevo tratado se cumplen. Y como vocero principal de Wall Street, Business Week (Semana de Comercio), declaró en su revista del 12 de Sept.:

"La Zona del Canal es un centro mayor para EEUU de la banca, del embarque, de petróleo, minerales, y otros intereses. El temor de muchas compañías (de los EEUU), es que un desacuerdo insuperable sobre el tratado encendería las pasiones a través del hemisferio, posiblemente iniciando una agitación política de nacionalizaciones de intereses comerciales más allá de Panamá mismo."

Mientras tanto, Carter mobilizó el apoyo para los nuevos tratados al ordenar a casi todos los jefes de estado de América Latina a asistir a la ceremonia de firma del tratado en Washington. Carter también usó la ocasión para afirmar el apoyo de su administración a las represivas dictaduras derechistas de América Latina, como Chile, Argentina, y Bolivia.

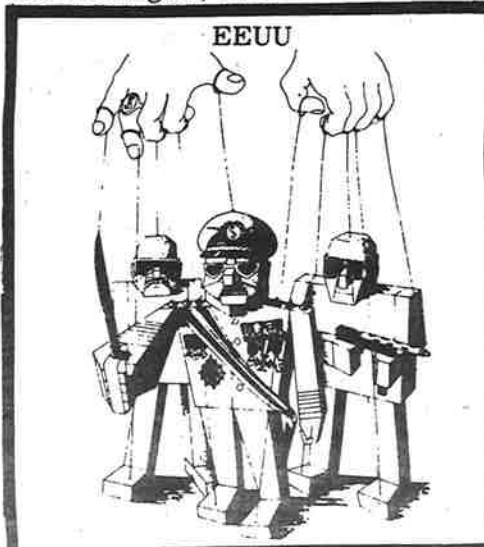
Si los tratados del Canal son ratificados, puede que den a la clase dirigente de los EEUU un corto respiro antes de que el movimiento de la resistencia anti-colonial se levante de nuevo en Panamá. Pero antes de que se imaginen los estratégicos imperialistas, la administración de Carter o sus herederos estarán enfrentados con un levantamiento revolucionario de un pueblo decidido a liberar su Canal y su país entero de las garras del imperialismo yanqui.

—Manifestación

(de página 1)

que se ha realizado en contra de la política exterior de Carter, hasta el momento.

La comunidad latina de Washington, D.C. salió a la calle en gran número y con ul alto espíritu militante. Algunos de los grupos que participaron activamente en esta manifestación, fueron: NICH (No Intervención en Chile); MASA (Movimiento Antiperista por el Socialismo en Argentina); YAWF (Juventud Contra la Guerra y el Fascismo); el Comité MINP; Unidad Colombiana por el Socialismo; y el Partido Mundo Obrero (Workers World Party); además de delegaciones de las comunidades de El Salvador, República Dominicana, Panamá, y Bolivia, de Washington, D.C.



El Grito de Lares y la lucha antiesclavista

Por RAY RAMOS

Para puertorriqueños progresistas y luchadores de la independencia el 23 de septiembre marca un avance decisivo en nuestra marcha hacia la liberación. Este día, el 109 aniversario del histórico levantamiento en contra del sistema colonial español es celebrado no solamente por los partidarios de nuestra causa pero también por los pueblos anti-imperialistas alrededor del mundo.

El Grito de Lares encarna la búsqueda de Puerto Rico por su independencia nacional; en el 1868 ese fue el punto culminante en la lucha contra la esclavitud en el hemisferio occidental. De hecho, la esclavitud fue abolida en Puerto Rico cinco años después del levantamiento de Lares.

LARGA HISTORIA DE REBELIONES

Las rebeliones de esclavos contra las autoridades españolas datan desde el 1527. En el 1553 habían en Puerto Rico 1,500 esclavos, pero para el año 1834 el número creció hasta 30,000, indios también como africanos.

Naturalmente revueltas anti-esclavistas han existido en Puerto Rico desde que la isla que en ese tiempo se llamaba Borinquén, fue invadida y sujeta a la dominación española en el 1493. Pero en el siglo 18 estos ataques crecieron en magnitud y frecuencia. En 1821, 1822, y 1825, varias rebeliones estallaron a través de la isla; la última tuvo lugar en el distrito de Ponce en la costa sur. En el 1826 los españoles tuvieron que pasar leyes más estrictas y represivas regulando las relaciones entre esclavos y amos. Pero eso no detuvo a los esclavos de rebelarse. En el 1843 una insurrección de esclavos ocurrió en el pueblo de Toa Baja tan cerca a San Juan que el gobernador español fue forzado a enviar tropas para poder aplastarla. Rebeliones continuaron y se extendieron por las cercanas islas de Cuba y Santo Domingo donde los españoles colonialistas también estaban atrincherados explotando a esos pueblos.

Por el 1855 la Sociedad Abolicionista de Puerto Rico fue fundada por el Dr. Ramón Emeterio Betances quien comenzó a organizar secretamente para la independencia del dominio español, particularmente en contra de la institución de la esclavitud. Betances fue pronto forzado a ir al exilio debido a sus actividades y se marchó a Francia donde él había estudiado anteriormente y sin duda fue afectado por los acontecimientos revolucionarios de ese día. A su regreso, otra vez, se solidarizó con las organizaciones secretas anti-esclavistas y anti-coloniales.

Betances también tomó mucho interés en las luchas que se desarrollaban por ese entonces en Cuba y en Santo Domingo. El dijo: "Nuestro grito de independencia será escuchado y apoyado por los amigos de la libertad; y no habrá escasez de armas. Y muchos comparecerán para pulverizar al déspota en Cuba, Puerto Rico, y Santo Domingo."

Betances y otros líderes fueron apresados en el 1867 pero se escaparon a San Tomás y después a Nueva York donde continuaron sus planes para la revolución en Puerto Rico. Allí ellos proclamaron los "Diez Mandamientos de Hombres Libres" y los enviaron al gobernador colonial de Puerto Rico. Incluían el derecho a portar armas, libertad de prensa, libertad de reunión y religión, el derecho a elegir a los oficiales públicos y la abolición de la esclavitud.

Las demandas fueron rechazadas. Y Betances, convencido que nada se iba a conseguir de España a través de reformas internas, concluyó que la revolución violenta era la única ancla de salvación.

El 6 de enero de 1868, Betances formó el Comité Revolucionario de Puerto Rico. El Comité era una organización de patriotas dedicados a establecer una república democrática en Puerto Rico por fuerza de armas. Comiteses fueron establecidos en varias partes de la isla y los revolucionarios ganaron muchos simpatizantes y recaudaron grandes sumas de dinero. Con la ayuda de revolucionarios de La Asociación Republicana de Cuba, Betances pudo comprar armas en los Estados Unidos.

La insurrección de Lares fue planeada para el 29 de septiembre de 1868, el día en el cual los esclavos iban a celebrar el festival de San Miguel. Pero los planes fueron descubiertos por las autoridades españolas forzando a los partidarios a cambiar la fecha del levantamiento. Los españoles intervinieron inmediatamente y Betances y sus fuerzas armadas de 3,000 hombres que habían embarcado y estaban en San Tomás fueron detenidas por los ingleses. Su ejército libertador de 3,000 hombres jamás llegó a San Juan.

Las fuerzas insurreccionales en Puerto Rico fueron dirigidas por un revolucionario venezolano, Manuel Rojas, quien apoyaba la revolución de Puerto Rico y la de toda América Latina. Otro importante dirigente era el norteamericano Matias Brugman.

En septiembre 23, 1868 (la nueva fecha), los patriotas salieron desde la finca de Rojas cerca de Lares; por todos 400 hombres y mujeres. Criollos, negros, hasta algunos ricos, pero la mayoría eran pobres, y casi todos estaban armados con machetes, rifles, todos unidos tras la bandera de la libertad de Puerto Rico.

SE PROCLAMA LA REPUBLICA DE PUERTO RICO

A media noche los compatriotas empezaron a gritar "Muerte o libertad; que viva Puerto Rico libre!" Rápidamente ellos tomaron control de Lares y pusieron al jefe oficial militar español bajo arresto. Entonces proclamaron la República de Puerto Rico y al mismo tiempo los "Diez Mandamientos de Hombres Libres."

Los revolucionarios trataron también de tomar el cercano pueblo de San Sebastián, entre otros pueblos; pero fueron rápidamente sometidos por las fuerzas coloniales españolas. Muchos pelearon y murieron en el campo de

batalla; otros fueron capturados, torturados, y asesinados en prisión. La república fue aplastada en unos pocos días. Pero El Grito de Lares dejaría detrás un indestructible espíritu de resistencia al colonialismo español y a toda opresión extranjera. Noticias de lo que había pasado en Lares se extendió rápidamente por todo el Caribe.

En octubre 10 de 1868, El Grito de Yara estalló en Cuba, el cual fue el preludio de la guerra de diez años que el pueblo cubano sostuvo para lograr su independencia del imperio español. Betances otra vez en el exilio dedicó sus energías a la lucha por la liberación, esta vez la de Cuba; pero sin olvidar jamás su sueño eterno de la libertad de Puerto Rico.

En julio 25 de 1898, una nueva potencia imperialista, los Estados Unidos, invadió a Puerto Rico reemplazando al imperio español. El 16 de septiembre de 1898 Betances murió en el exilio en París; vivió bastante como para ver a los nuevos invasores nortños. Pero antes de morir dijo "no quiero colonia ni con España ni con los Estados Unidos."

Hoy día el espíritu del Grito de Lares está profundamente arriagado en los corazones de la nueva generación de patriotas que continúan la lucha para la liberación de Puerto Rico.



Miles de puertorriqueños asisten la celebración del Grito de Lares en Lares, Puerto Rico, 1976.

foto: Julio WW

Castillo: '¡Alto a las deportaciones!'

Por CHRIS CHRISTIANSEN

HOUSTON, el 16 de septiembre—El mitin "secreto" llevado a cabo esta tarde entre Leonel Castillo, jefe nacional del Servicio de Naturalización y Inmigración (INS) y los líderes negociadores del Pan American Airways y los oficiales del sindicato Teamsters, fue dilatado y desmembrado por los cantos de "libertad para José Medina, alto a las deportaciones, y alto a las deportaciones de estudiantes iraneses."

Dicho mitin cuyo propósito era recoger fondos y apoyo político para que el cuñado de Castillo alcance un

puesto político se volcó sobre la cuestión de deportaciones.

En un momento en que los manifestantes gritaban, "Castillo, ¡alto a las deportaciones!" el jefe del INS se asomó por la ventana del salón del juntas del hotel frente al cual se llevaba acabo esta demostración y explicó a sus asociados, "Ese es el Partido Mundo Obrero (Workers World Party) y probablemente el Partido de La Raza Unida. No quieren más deportaciones," indicando así que tenía conocimiento del problema. Mientras tanto a pesar de la insistencia del gerente del hotel, de que en ese

lugar no había reunión alguna, la demostración continuó.

Mientras que solo unas pocas personas asistieron al mitin, 35 camaradas de las Asociación de Estudiantes Iraneses, el Comité de Apoyo a los Trabajadores Agrícolas de Tejas, el Partido Raza Unida, y el Partido Mundo Obrero pararon el mitin durante hora y media e informaron a muchos transeúntes sobre el racismo y los vicios que el gobierno usa tocante al asunto de las deportaciones para así intimidar a las comunidades oprimidas y mantener bajos los salarios de los trabajadores.



China, Taiwan, y la tecnología de los Estados Unidos

Desde que la Revolución Rusa introdujo la época histórica mundial de la transición del capitalismo al socialismo y la división del globo en dos campos hostiles de clase, un persistente y dificultoso problema para los países socialistas ha sido como normalizar las relaciones diplomáticas con las naciones capitalistas y participar en el comercio económico sin socavar sus objetivos revolucionarios de desarraigar las divisiones de clase y privilegios internos mientras erigen solidaridad proletaria de clase en las relaciones exteriores.

El hecho de que las revoluciones socialistas han ocurrido donde el capitalismo era más débil—y por esto las economías eran las menos desarrolladas—esto tremendamente ha agravado este problema, ya que las naciones imperialistas han tenido una tremenda ventaja tecnológica y productiva basada en siglos de industrialización.

La política Leninista era ambos, flexible y dura como un clavo en utilizar el comercio y hasta la ayuda de los países imperialistas para reconstruir la economía soviética mientras mantuvo sin piedad una firme rienda sobre aquellos elementos burgueses y neoburgueses de la sociedad soviética cuyos crecimientos pudieron haber sido estimulado por los contactos con los imperialistas occidentales.

En los pasados años los EEUU en particular ha tratado de usar el comercio y la tecnología como una arma para penetrar políticamente en los países socialistas, con más grande éxito en algunos países de Europa Oriental. Ahora está tratando de hacer lo mismo con la República Popular de China, y sus objetivos son dos: 1) avanzar el crecimiento en China de una burocracia conservadora y privilegiada sobre el estado obrero y 2) continuar a profundizar la cuña entre China y la Unión Soviética, un objeto que ha sido fundamental en la diplomacia de los EEUU hacia los dos países socialistas por varias décadas.

Cuando el Secretario de Estado Cyrus Vance visitó China el mes pasado, estos eran sus objetivos.

LA DUPLICIDAD DE LA ADMINISTRACIÓN DE CARTER SOBRE TAIWAN

Desde que Nixon entabló discusiones con los líderes de China, la cuestión de Taiwan ha sido planteada por los chinos repetidamente. Taiwan es una provincia de China—hasta los “nacionalistas” que son apoyados por los EEUU admiten esto—la cual ha sido ocupada por los chinos contrarrevolucionarios desde que huyeron del continente en el 1949 cuando la revolución triunfó allí. Ha sido una neocolonia de los EEUU desde entonces como igualmente una base militar contra la República Popular de China.

Por años Washington mantuvo la ficción de que el gobierno de China residía en Taiwan, pero esto fue imposible mantener después que las negociaciones de Nixon comenzaron. Los EEUU desde entonces se ha estado cuidadosamente encaminando hacia

una política de “dos Chinas.”

Naturalmente la República Popular de China quiere a los EEUU fuera de Taiwan. Esto fue presentado originalmente como una precondition para cualquier tipo de relaciones diplomáticas entre Peking y Washington. Pero la administración de Carter si algo ha hecho es que ha tomado un paso retrógrado sobre Taiwan, como lo han señalado los líderes chinos desde el viaje de Vance. Vance no solamente renegó la Comunicación de Shanghai firmada por Nixon, la cual prometía el encaminar hacia una dirección de retirar el reconocimiento al régimen de Taiwan, pero hace tres semanas atrás Vance hizo una movida que China tiene que apreciar como significativa: el se reunió con el embajador de Taiwan—la primera reunión a tal nivel en tres años.

Y esto fue después que el Vice Premier Teng de China había llamado a la prensa extranjera para quejarse publicamente de la falta de palabra de Vance sobre Taiwan.

Pero dentro de 24 horas surgió otro lado de la estrategia multicaras de Washington: una oferta a venderle tecnología a China la cual hasta el momento estaba retenida, supuestamente por que tiene aplicaciones relacionadas a la defensa.

Sin embargo estos pasos fueron ambos cuidadosamente calculados para hacer a China dependiente de los EEUU en el futuro y para inflamar las relaciones entre China y la Unión Soviética. Mientras que la oferta, hecha en un memorándum para el pentágono y escrito por el Secretario de Defensa Harold Brown, alivia las restricciones de exportar mercancías acabadas, también añade nuevas restricciones en transferir diseños y conocimientos tecnológicos, es decir, haciendo imposible para que los chinos mismos puedan comprar y producir la tecnología que ahora tienen que importar.

Además, el memorándum era basado en un reporte preparado por un “Consejo de Ciencia Defensiva” que recomendó que los EEUU “drásticamente refrenen la exportación de producción sensitiva a la Unión Soviética” (New York Times, 11 de septiembre).

En caso de que China o la Unión Soviética no hayan entendido el significado de este memorándum, que al principio no fue recogido por la prensa, “los observadores sobre China” (significando la CIA, sin duda) consiguieron al corresponsal del Times e hicieron seguro que un artículo de mayor importancia apareciera en el periódico exactamente cuando 15 miembros de una delegación de comercio llegaba de China.

La clase dominante de los EEUU está actuando en una manera arrogante como si tuviera a China sobre un barril. Y es cierto, mientras perdure la presente amarga y hostil lucha persistente entre los dos más grandes estados socialistas, el imperialismo seguirá maniobrando a costa de los dos.

Los imperialistas han estado jubilantes sobre la victoria de la facción derechista de Teng y la derrota de

¡CHE VIVE!



El 10 de octubre del 1967 marca la muerte de Ernesto “Ché” Guevara. Sus asesinos los imperialistas de los EEUU estaban jubilantes teniendo esperanzas que con su merte también le iban a poner fin a las luchas guerrilleras a través de América Latina. Pero lo opuesto ha pasado. No existe un país en América Latina en donde la clase trabajadora y los campesinos no estén organizados y luchando por su liberación (excepto en Cuba donde la clase trabajadora está

en poder).

Ché, hoy en día, también como antes es una inspiración para todos los oprimidos que luchan por el socialismo y contra la explotación. Su participación como un dirigente de la revolución cubana, su participación en la lucha armada en el Congo y finalmente su muerte en las montañas de Bolivia sirven como ejemplo del más alto nivel y dejan a la clase trabajadora mundial el legado de su implacable resistencia contra la explotación del hombre por el hombre.

CARTAS

Compañeros:

Aunque mis ocupaciones me mantienen con el tiempo medido siempre me las arreglo para leer “El Mundo Obrero”. Permítanme felicitarlos por el suplemento en español de junio 24 de 1977.

Ojalá sigan publicándolo. Aunque existen menores errores, de traducción estoy seguro que las cosas mejorarán.

Si puedo servir en algo, avísame.

En solidaridad
Omar

Compañeros, felicitaciones por su sección en español MUNDO OBRERO. Claro que deseamos iniciar un intercambio de periódicos. Nos gustaría que enviaran dos periódicos; uno dirigido a EL CUHAMIL y el otro a Texas Farm Workers Union. Nosotros les enviaremos dos consecuentemente; uno a WORKERS WORLD, y otro a MUNDO OBRERO.

Agradecemos el apoyo que han dado a la Marcha por los Derechos Humanos. ¡En la Lucha!

Carlos Marentes, editor

los asociados más cercanos con la Revolución Cultural y la lucha contra el privilegio. Pero su sentimiento de más compatibilidad con los nuevos “pragmáticos” líderes de China nunca se opondrá a que ellos usen cualquier palanca, cualquier trampa, cualquier arma contra lo que es la esencia social

de la República Popular de China: su propiedad colectiva y socialmente poseída basada en la clase proletaria.

Sería buen tiempo para que la Unión Soviética declarara publicamente su apoyo incondicional a la demanda de que los EEUU le devuelvan Taiwan a la República Popular de China.

En contra del encerramiento y desmembramiento por el imperialismo

A favor de la revolución etíope

Este artículo fue escrito el 17 de agosto de 1977. Durante el pasado mes y medio la guerra entre Somalia y Etiopía ha seguido creciendo, dándole más validez a los puntos centrales de este ensayo. Queremos recordarles a nuestros lectores que para un análisis más profundo deben referirse regularmente al periódico Workers World.

Por DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Hoy en día en Etiopía una amplia y profunda revolución social ha demolido siglos de opresión feudal y está llevando a las masas de trabajadores y campesinos a una intensa lucha y organización a favor de sus intereses de clase.

El consejo militar dirigiendo esta revolución, conocido como el Derg, ha "cortado su cordón umbilical con el imperialismo"; fue así como dijo el jefe de Estado Coronel Mengistu Haile Mariam en su reciente discurso ante la Organización de Unidad Africana.

El imperialismo norteamericano y los regímenes reaccionarios árabes se están movilizand para aplastar la revolución en Etiopía y están coordinando sus esfuerzos para estrangular y desmembrar a Etiopía antes que la revolución avance más.

"La clase trabajadora, los movimientos de liberación nacional y el pueblo progresista como un todo deben dar su completo e inequívoco apoyo a la revolución de Etiopía," escribió Sam Marcy, presidente del Partido Mundo Obrero (Workers World Party), en un documento de discusión de dicho partido el 18 de julio. "La revolución etíope es uno de los verdaderos grandes acontecimientos en el continente africano y probablemente esforzará aún una gran influencia política."

FEUDALISMO DESARRAIGADO

Desde el derrocamiento de Haile Selassie en 1974, el balance de las fuerzas de clase en Etiopía se ha estado inclinando decisivamente hacia la izquierda. Antes de la revolución, Etiopía, el tercer país más grande en África, era dominado por una aristocracia feudal basada en la tenencia de la tierra, en otras palabras, esclavitud terrestre. Estos dueños feudales eran servidores incondicionales del imperialismo; Etiopía bajo el emperador Haile Selassie era el principal recipiente de la ayuda militar norteamericana en África.

Analfabetismo era mayor del 90 por ciento, uno de los mayores porcentajes en el mundo, y el promedio de vida era solo 38.5 años. La pobreza era absoluta, y la inmensa mayoría de los campesinos vivían un poco más alto del nivel de inanición en los mejores tiempos.

Son estos exsiervos (esclavos de la tierra) los que forman el espinazo de la revolución. Ellos han derrocado y matado o expulsado a sus antiguos dueños, muchos de los cuales se han organizado luego bajo el nombre de Unión Democrática de Etiopía (UDE); una fuerza absolutista reaccionaria que ha estado lanzado ataques bélicos desde Sudán y de algunas provincias del norte de Etiopía.

Bajo el ímpetu de la lucha de las masas, el Provisional Consejo Administrativo Militar (PCAM), o Derg, el cual echó abajo a Selassie, ha instituido un programa vasto de reforma agraria, en el cual posesiones mayores de 25 acres han sido expropiadas sin compensación. Esto ha significado una profunda revolución social en la tierra

y la sociedad, como un todo, ya que rompió la espalda de la clase dominante feudal absolutista y abrió el camino a la reorganización de Etiopía sobre nuevas líneas de clase.

Organizaciones masivas campesinas han sido formadas y han asumido las tareas de división de la tierra, construcción de presas y canales de irrigación, distribución de fertilizantes y de mejores semillas y formación de cooperativas. Están erigiendo las bases para organizar el trabajo agrícola en formas más y más colectivas.

Así mismo ellos han tomado la tarea de defensa del campesinado y la de la revolución en contra de la reacción feudal y el imperialismo. Alrededor de 300,000 están organizados en milicias campesinas, y por lo menos 100,000 de ellos han recibido entrenamiento militar más alto y se han incorporado en lo que se conoce como el Ejército Campesino.

Comités de la Revolución y de Desarrollo están reemplazando la vieja privilegiada burocracia estatal;



En la capital de Etiopía, Addis Ababa, más de 100,000 trabajadores y campesinos demuestran su apoyo a la revolución etíope.

asociaciones femeninas están sacando a la mujer fuera del aislamiento y la opresión del encierro hogareño; los bancos y la industria básica han sido nacionalizados.

El Derg ha facilitado y apoyado esta transformación revolucionaria, habiendo atravesado en sí mismo por una intensa lucha interna. En febrero de este año, esta lucha llegó a un climax. En un mitin del PCAM, siete oponentes del grupo revolucionario (el más importante de los cuales era el jefe de Estado General de Brigadier Teferi Benti) fueron matados en una contienda. Fue poco después de esto, que el gobierno etíope expulsó a todos los consejeros militares norteamericanos y a muchos otros representantes de los poderes imperialistas.

OFENSIVA IMPERIALISTA CONTRA ETIOPIA

Desde entonces, el imperialismo norteamericano ha hecho más y más abiertamente claro el hecho de que está luchando febrilmente para derrocar el gobierno revolucionario de Etiopía, el cual ellos denuncian como

marxista y que está trabajando para establecer "una clase extrema de socialismo." (New York Times, julio 27). Se concentra en este momento en tratar de dividir y desmembrar a Etiopía mediante el apoyo a la sucesión de Eritrea y la promoción de una guerra con Somalia. En días pasados se acaba de materializar esta guerra como un conflicto grave. El ejército somalí ha invadido la sección de Etiopía conocida como el Ogaden donde la mayor parte de los habitantes son de origen étnico somalí.

Los imperialistas están usando a los regímenes árabes reaccionarios, particularmente Sudán, Egipto, y Arabia Saudita para cercar y desmembrar a Etiopía, del mismo modo como usaron a sus clientes del Medio Este para tratar de asesinar a los palestinos. En un esfuerzo para atraer a Somalia, el cual es un país pobre que ha estado recibiendo ayuda soviética y llevando a cabo reformas progresistas, a su órbita la administración de Carter ofreció recientemente equipo militar norteamericano al gobierno somalí.

otros artículos de la prensa capitalista ya han dicho.

El mencionado diario dice "Una fuerte coalición árabe respaldada por el occidente está coordinando la presente guerrilla somalí y la ofensiva eritrea en contra de Etiopía. Su meta es volcar el Mar Rojo entero en un lago anticomunista árabe en tres meses, el bien informado Servicio Árabe de Prensa (SAP) reporta..."

"La coalición de respaldo árabe lleva a cabo un movimiento de pinzas desde Ogaden en el sur de Etiopía y en el norte en Eritrea, SAP reporta en su boletín de agosto 15 desde Nicosia, Chipre... El propósito es cortar a Etiopía completamente de el Mar Rojo..."

"En Ogaden, guerrilleros del Frente de Liberación de Somalia Occidental (FLSO) son respaldados por la movilización de fuerzas regulares somalíes a lo largo de la frontera etíope hasta Djibouti. La milicia de FLSO disfrazados como paisanos están cruzando la frontera entre Djibouti y la costa del Mar Rojo en el confín sur de Eritrea, dice SAP."

"El reborde norteno de las pinzas, añade SAP, está compuesto de sudaneses, somalíes y etíopes voluntarios disidentes. Estos se han unido al recientemente unificado Comando Revolucionario Eritreo-Arabe, formando cuatro grupos guerrilleros eritreos respaldados por los árabes."

"El papel de Egipto en la coalición árabe que respalda a Somalia es el de proveer ayuda logística a la pinza nortena y patrullas navales así como transporte de armamento en el Mar Rojo..."

"Etiopía se tiene que defender también en un tercer frente. En la frontera sudanesa, realistas etíopes respaldados por el gobierno del presidente sudanés Jafaar Alnimeiry se están infiltrando en Etiopía dice SAP. Los realistas están respaldados potentemente por 10,000 tropas regulares sudanesas."

La única cosa en que el artículo fracasa es al omitir que todos estos regímenes reaccionarios árabes son clientes del imperialismo, las grandes compañías petroleras, y el complejo militar industrial de los EEUU.

El mismo día en que este reporte apareció, el Washington Post y el New York Times reportaron desde Etiopía que aviones somalíes habían sido derribados en el Ogaden. El gobierno etíope había traído reporteros a la región para ver el naufragio que verificaban sus declaraciones de que Somalia había lanzado una invasión a gran escala.

LA CUESTION NACIONAL

Los atentados del imperialismo para desmembrar a Etiopía y cortarla de sus únicas rutas al mar son facilitados por el hecho de que la gente que viven en esas áreas pertenecen a naciones oprimidas que han estado luchando por su auto-determinación por muchos años. Las luchas de los pueblos de Eritrea y Ogaden, en particular, empezaron cuando el imperio reaccionario feudal de Haile Selassie los mantuvo en sujeción para así poder oprimir y explotar a la gente.

La lucha en aquel tiempo era por la liberación de la opresión nacional y la reacción feudal. Etiopía era un títere del imperialismo, mientras que los países árabes que apoyaban a la lucha en Eritrea eran en ese tiempo

(vea página 9)

Eurocomunismo transición al anti-comunismo

Orientación chauvinista antisoviética

Por SAM MARCY

La abierta división entre los Partidos Comunistas (PCs) de España, Francia e Italia por un lado y el PC de la Unión Soviética por otro, marca el fin de una época en la historia del proletariado revolucionario de Europa Occidental. Esta gran época, que fue introducida por la Revolución Socialista de Octubre, fue marcada por sucesivos y heroicos esfuerzos del proletariado, durante un período que abarcó varias décadas, tomando por asalto la poderosa ciudadela burguesa.

Debido a una extraordinaria confluencia de circunstancias históricas de carácter objetivo y subjetivo, el proletariado de Europa Occidental iba a ser arrollado por el poder del capital financiero internacional.

TAREAS ENFRENTADO AL ESTADO SOVIETICO

Al nuevo recién-nacido estado obrero, la Unión de Repúblicas Socialistas Soviéticas (URSS), se le impuso tres tareas Hercúleas sin precedente alguno en la historia de la lucha de clases.

Tuvo el deber y la obligación de reorganizar la ala izquierda del movimiento socialdemócrata en base revolucionaria y comunista, y erigir la fundación para una nueva y

raíces históricas para la posterior evolución de los PCs de Europa Occidental y de otros partidos en una dirección regressiva.

El período en el que el proletariado peleó sus batallas ofensivas terminó con la victoria del fascismo en Alemania y la derrota del proletariado alemán.

LA DERROTA DEL PROLETARIADO ALEMÁN

Debe notarse, que todas las luchas de la clase trabajadora europea hasta la victoria del fascismo en Alemania, fueron peleadas en el nombre y con el espíritu de la lucha de clase proletaria. Dejando a un lado errores tácticos y estratégicos, la lucha de la clase trabajadora fue organizada y conducida en el espíritu de llevar adelante la guerra de clase contra la burguesía, con el objetivo final de una revolución proletaria, la toma del poder y el establecimiento de la dictadura del proletariado con el propósito de destruir el poder del capital y poner fin al explotador sistema social burgués.

Este fue el legado de Lenin. Estas fueron las lecciones que salieron del carácter de la Revolución de Octubre. Y el espíritu de lucha revolucionaria que fue estimulado, fue impartido no solamente al proletariado europeo pero a toda la clase trabajadora en general y a los movimientos de liberación de

trabajadora, de acuerdo con la política de los PCs, fue dirigida contra la contrarrevolución fascista, *no con miras a alcanzar una victoriosa revolución proletaria*, pero únicamente para ganar un sistema democrático burgués; por lo cual todo comunista entendía ese término como queriendo decir, preservar el estado capitalista en la forma de una democracia burguesa.

Ahora bien, hay dos diferentes modos de llevar la lucha de clase en contra de la reacción burguesa y el totalitarismo fascista. La lucha se puede dar con el espíritu de la guerra de clase con miras a alcanzar los fines de la clase trabajadora o con el espíritu de disculpas burguesas encaminada para la preservación de la propiedad privada capitalista.

En respecto a los PCs, la derrota de la clase trabajadora en Alemania por los fascistas hitlerianos, relegó la perspectiva de una revolución proletaria al distante y oscuro futuro. Así tenemos, que en la lucha contra el Franco-fascismo, el asunto fue regidamente delineado a base de democracia contra fascismo.

LA DERROTA EN ESPAÑA

La catastrófica derrota del proletariado español puede ser en gran

plotación capitalista.

Los partidarios en Italia y Francia estaban armados y en la posición de ejercer la clase de asalto revolucionario que bajo las circunstancias que existían al final de la segunda guerra mundial eran las más favorables para la captura revolucionaria del poder. Pero, dichos partidos no estaban orientados en ninguna manera en esa dirección. La colaboración entre clases que reinaba en Francia y España en los años finales de la década del 1930 a través del Frente Popular, ha continuado hasta las décadas del 1960 y 1970.

COLABORACION ENTRE CLASES EXISTIO ANTES DEL EUROCOMUNISMO

Es necesario tener esto en mente para evitar confusiones sobre lo que es nuevo en el fenómeno del Eurocomunismo. No es el elemento de colaboración entre clases. No es el elemento del reformismo y de la conciliación de clase. Esos estuvieron presentes sobre un extenso y tortuoso período que empezó con la destrucción del PC alemán y el triunfo del hitlerismo.

No es que se trate de determinar culpa, se trata de atender de ver la evolución de la política de la clase trabajadora en una verdadera perspectiva histórica. Eurocomunismo es la culminación lógica de un proceso histórico que después de cierto período se hizo inevitable.

Debemos comprender que Eurocomunismo no es un término usado para dar a entender que existe una federación regional o una agrupación de partidos de Europa Occidental. Ninguno de los dirigentes de los PCs que han abrazado al Eurocomunismo — Carrillo de España, Berlinguer de Italia o Marchais de Francia — ha expresado tal opinión.

Tampoco existe validez alguna en la propaganda burguesa, de que la lucha de los PCs de Europa Occidental es en realidad una lucha por autonomía e independencia de la dominación y hegemonía de los dirigentes soviéticos. La historia hace mucho tiempo dispensó esto.

Hubo un tiempo en que la separación revolucionaria de la dirección dominante y del servil apoyo a la política exterior soviética pudo haber sido un acto progresista y completamente revolucionario y en los más profundos intereses no solamente de los trabajadores europeos pero del movimiento revolucionario en general. Pero es pura fabricación y una decepción de las masas alegar que la autonomía e independencia es el asunto ahora.

Palmiro Togliatti, el temprano dirigente del PC Italiano introdujo el concepto del policentrismo (la idea de muchos diferentes centros de dirección comunista) casi inmediatamente después de la denuncia de Stalin por Khrushchev en 1956. Los PCs de Italia y Francia, así como otros también, hace mucho que han estado "libres", es decir, libres de conducir los asuntos del partido con el espíritu del reformismo, de la conciliación de clase y de apoyar únicamente en forma tangencial las posiciones de la Unión Soviética, por ejemplo el "detente", lo cual es también apoyado por las burguesías de Francia e Italia.

Alfredo Rejichlin, el editor en jefe de L'Unita, declaró en el editorial del diario comunista italiano del 10 de julio de 1977 que, el Eurocomunismo es "el desarrollo original del pensamiento y



En la foto trabajadores de Roma demandan un contrato laboral nuevo.

revolucionaria Internacional. Así Lenin y los Bolcheviques fueron obligados desde el principio no solamente a dar dirección revolucionaria en la URSS pero en su modo a ser el estado mayor general de la revolución mundial que parecía visible en el horizonte, especialmente en Europa Occidental y más tarde en el este en China.

La segunda tarea, no menos urgente y conectada íntimamente con la primera, fue la de defender el nuevo estado obrero contra los bárbaros asaltos del frente unido imperialista desde Vladivostok a Murmansk.

En tercer lugar, tuvo que empezar a erigir las bases para la organización de una economía socialista y a elevar el nivel de vida de los trabajadores y campesinos que acababan de pasar por un horrible período de guerra civil, destrucción y hambre.

Historicamente mirando hacia atrás, parece casi inevitable que la Unión Soviética haya tenido que ceder en alguna parte, y la línea de menos resistencia después de la muerte de Lenin fue el abandono del internacionalismo revolucionario y el abuso sobre la gran nueva Internacional que fue fundada por él y sus colaboradores.

A un vace una de las más profundas

todo el mundo.

Con la derrota del proletariado alemán y la consolidación del agarre de Stalin sobre los PCs del mundo, el proletariado europeo fue desde entonces obligado, por factores objetivos y subjetivos, a conducir la lucha con una estrategia defensiva. Con esto queremos decir que el proletariado europeo ya no estaba en la posición de luchar por una revolución proletaria, pero únicamente a defenderse contra el feroz asalto de la contrarrevolución burguesa en la forma del totalitarismo fascista.

El gran tema político en la arena europea ya no era la revolución proletaria contra la burguesía como tal. El asunto vino a ser puesto como democracia burguesa o esclavitud fascista. En el contexto de la política de los PCs de ese tiempo, esto significaba que el proletariado tenía que confinarse a defender su posición relativa: económica, social y política dentro del sistema de la democracia capitalista. Además significó el no atacar las bases de las relaciones de propiedad burguesa, no usar propaganda "subversiva" y no desarrollar ninguna actividad que tuviera como fin la destrucción del sistema burgués de explotación capitalista.

La lucha básica de la clase

medida explicado por el estreñimiento impuesto sobre el proletariado. Estaba prohibido ir fuera de los límites de las relaciones de propiedad burguesa y esto debilitó la pujanza revolucionaria de los trabajadores y también como los campesinos, para quienes la posesión de las tierras y las fábricas era la única clase de democracia que tenía algún significado real.

Donde las tierras y las fábricas fueron tomados por los trabajadores, por ejemplo como en China, Vietnam y Cuba, esto últimamente aseguró el triunfo de la revolución socialista.

Es necesario entender estos desarrollos anteriores para poder analizar correctamente el fenómeno del llamado Eurocomunismo.

La perspectiva de una estrategia defensiva impuesta sobre el proletariado por el liderato de Stalin prevaleció no solamente durante los años que inmediatamente precedieron a la segunda guerra mundial pero también durante toda la época de la guerra y en ninguna forma fue esencialmente modificada al final de la guerra cuando ambos, los PCs de Italia y Francia, estaban en una posición de utilizar su lucha armada contra el fascismo para al mismo tiempo ponerle fin al sistema burgués de ex-

acción de los partidos comunistas de Europa Occidental”.

Pero, no hay nada original acerca del rechazo de la guerra de clase revolucionaria, el renunciamiento de la dictadura del proletariado, la colaboración y el proteger la burguesía. No hay absolutamente nada nuevo y original en esto, nada que los socialdemócratas de una más temprana era no promovieron y practicaron. Tampoco es fenómeno específicamente europeo. Este fenómeno está bien establecido en lugares tan distantes como Japón, por ejemplo, donde también proclaman originalidad y sostienen substancialmente las mismas posiciones que los PCs de Francia, Italia y España.

¿Qué hay entonces de nuevo acerca del fenómeno del Eurocomunismo? Hay desde luego un aspecto del Eurocomunismo que es nuevo y que plantea una de las amenazas más serias a los trabajadores de los países de Europa Occidental. Esto es: la transformación de los PCs de partidos socio-reformistas en partidos socio-chauvinistas con una orientación antisoviética. Esto es lo que es nuevo, esto es lo que es verdaderamente alarmante.

SOCIO-CHAUVINISMO Y ANTI-SOVIETISMO

La lucha del triunvirato de Carrillo-Berlinguer-Marchais ya no es una lucha en contra de la hegemonía o dominación soviética sobre los PCs occidentales, tampoco es una lucha contra la dirección o la burocracia soviética sobre asuntos políticos específicos de carácter proletario. Al contrario, la lucha es ahora contra la URSS como un todo, contra la Unión Soviética como un estado socialista. Estos partidos están siendo presionados por fuerzas hostiles burguesas a que hagan una declaración que la Unión Soviética ya no es un estado socialista.

Esto, realmente, hace una fundamental y cualitativa diferencia en la orientación de los dirigentes de los PCs occidentales.

(Debemos cuidadosamente, tener en mente, que nosotros en ninguna manera igualamos el proletariado consciente de clase de Europa Occidental con su dirección contemporánea, en la misma forma que marxistas revolucionarios supieron distinguir entre los Kautskys, los Hilferdings, los Noskes por un lado y los trabajadores socialdemócratas de base por el otro. Los trabajadores todavía no han sido probados en ese respecto. Ellos no están completamente conscientes de lo que sus líderes traicioneros han venido poco a poco cultivando durante los últimos años.)

No debe ser una sorpresa, que la transición del reformismo social burgués al antisovietismo, halla tomado lugar en las altas esferas de la dirección de los PCs. Una vez empeñados en la conciliación de clases en la forma de tan ideas “nuevas” como el “compromiso histórico” de Italia y “la unión del pueblo francés” en Francia, no es difícil ver, como bajo el ímpetu del asalto político general del imperialismo norteamericano en acuerdo con la burguesía europea, la dirección de los PCs pudo caer en el campo de la lucha antisoviética.

La burguesía, dirigida por los EEUU, ha tratado por muchos años de crear una variante del rompimiento sino-soviético en el continente europeo. El Eurocomunismo está totalmente en línea con la perspectiva del imperialismo norteamericano en su lucha contra la URSS.

Tan reciente como la primavera pasada en la revista “Foreign Affairs” (Asuntos Extranjeros), el órgano del “Council on Foreign Relations” (Consejo de Relaciones Extranjeras) que es dominado por la dinastía Rockefeller, un artículo importante



La burguesía teme que los Eurocomunistas no serán capaces de controlar a la clase trabajadora como pasó en la revuelta de los trabajadores franceses en mayo del 1968. En la foto más de un millón de parisienses que participaron en una huelga general de 12 millones de trabajadores franceses.

titulado “La Europeización del Comunismo” desarrolló la perspectiva de “la exportación de lo que se ha venido a conocer como ‘Eurocomunismo’ del Oeste al Este, significando un cambio histórico en la dirección de influencia e iniciativa dentro del movimiento comunista mundial.” (El énfasis es de “Foreign Affairs”). Con esto quieren decir la exportación, por los imperialistas y sus dispuestos colaboradores de teorías e influencias contrarrevolucionarias hacia Europa Oriental y la Unión Soviética.

PARTIDOS COMUNISTAS HAN EMPUJADO A LA DERECHA

¿Como se explica este desvío de la dirección de los PCs europeos? Nosotros hemos indicado anteriormente las profundas y básicas causas que han durado por espacio de varias décadas y que han culminado lógica e inevitablemente en el desarrollo de este fenómeno que va en contra de los intereses de la clase trabajadora. También existen causas inmediatas que deben estar frescas en las mentes de los que han seguido los eventos recién pasados. Berlinguer no se inventó su “compromiso histórico” del aire.

En primer lugar, es el resultado de la catástrofe sufrida por la clase trabajadora y los campesinos chilenos. Berlinguer absorbió de esta experiencia trágica de la clase trabajadora chilena precisamente la lección que el pentágono y la CIA querían dar, no únicamente a los PCs de Europa Occidental, sino que a todos aquellos que buscan a rebelarse contra la dominación del imperialismo de Wall Street. El golpe contrarrevolucionario en Chile infundió el terror en los corazones de la dirección de los PCs.

Otro factor, fue la experiencia de la Revolución Portuguesa. Ahí también los EEUU sobornó, infiltró, lisonjó y entonces alistó a los partidos socialdemócratas de toda Europa Occidental en apoyo de la lucha contrarrevolucionaria de la derecha y del Partido Socialista Portugués en contra de la revolución. Entonces ocurrió desde luego, la crisis económica capitalista mundial que severamente afectó a Italia, el sur de Europa y aún Francia. Temiendo el desarrollo de una lucha militante por parte de los trabajadores, la dirección actuó, bajo el ímpetu de la crisis capitalista, precisamente en la misma manera que los socialdemócratas actuaron en los años tempranos del 1930—hacia la derecha—y ofrecieron sus servicios a la clase capitalista para ayudarles a

resolver su crisis y salvar su sistema a costa de la clase trabajadora. Esto es precisamente lo que los dirigentes del PC de Italia están haciendo con toda su alma.

Finalmente, tenemos el factor que empuja todas las demás consideraciones, este es: la furiosa y empujada presión del imperialismo norteamericano con la total colaboración de la clase dominante europea para reclutar todos los sectores de la población en una cruzada anticomunista contra la Unión Soviética. Esto es lo más importante, la llave y el hecho central de la lucha contemporánea en el mundo. Se tiene que entender que esta orientación objetiva del imperialismo ha estado presente desde el nacimiento de la Unión Soviética.

El carácter irreconcilable del imperialismo rapaz y su odio mortal contra la Unión Soviética y todos los demás países socialistas es uno de los más permanentes elementos en la lucha entre los dos sistemas sociales del mundo. Ya sea Lenin o Stalin, Khrushchev o Brezhnev, la orientación objetiva de toda política imperialista es hacia la lucha contra, sino la destrucción de la URSS y de los otros países socialistas como el obstáculo fundamental contra la penetración imperialista.

LA BURGUESÍA TIENE DUDAS

Eurocomunismo, no es únicamente un producto europeo. Ha sido cultivado por muchos años y promovido por la política y la agresión imperialista. Sin embargo, el Eurocomunismo al mismo tiempo que trae enormes problemas para la clase trabajadora en la lucha contra la burguesía, no es el arma formidable o la realización del sueño que la ala liberal del establecimiento imperialista en los EEUU piensa que es.

Los elementos más sobrios de la clase dominante no están todos seguros, de la efectividad del Eurocomunismo en la lucha contra los trabajadores en el continente europeo o del exporte de la ideología contrarrevolucionaria a los países socialistas.

Más que nada las clases dominantes temen que, los Eurocomunistas una vez que le entreguen la autoridad de manejar el estado de parte de la clase dominante, que esto inevitablemente y inexorablemente alentará a las masas a tomar asuntos en sus propias manos. En realidad, ellos temen que los Eurocomunistas no serán capaces de controlar a las masas y que acontecimientos espontáneos de las masas como la revuelta de los trabajadores franceses en mayo del 1968 puedan

pasar rápidamente en exceso de los líderes.

Finalmente el Eurocomunismo a diferencia del reformismo de la socialdemocracia, carece una base material estable para tener una existencia duradera. El reformismo de la era de Bernstein y Kautsky fue basado en una próspera expansión capitalista. Fue el colmo de la piratería imperialista y de su expansión con impunidad relativa.

Esta era ha terminado. Las migajas que la burguesía dejó después de su orgía de superganancias imperialistas y que fueron entregadas a los dirigentes de la burocracia sindicalista están rápidamente desapareciendo, situación que la burguesía ya hace mucho tiempo conoce. Austeridad capitalista es la orden del día.

La estrategia del Eurocomunismo es la retirada de la clase trabajadora. El reformismo de la anterior época de Bernstein y Kautsky, estaba sostenido por sólidas ganancias políticas, económicas y sociales, que los reformistas podían aclamar como resultado directo de su política. (En realidad estas ganancias fueron un subproducto de la lucha de clases. Desde luego los socialdemócratas pasaron por alto que la lucha de clases estaba llegando a un periodo de madurez; ellos rehusaron comprender que el lento, gradual y pacífico proceso de desarrollo del imperialismo iba a llegar a un cambio cualitativo—un verdadero holocausto mundial.)

Pero los proveedores de la ideología de Eurocomunismo no pueden atribuir ninguna base material para justificar sus teorías fraudulentas. Aún la estabilidad y ganancias obtenidas durante las décadas del 1950 y del 1960 están rápidamente disminuyendo bajo la influencia de un galopante proceso inflacionista y un obstinado desempleo.

El Eurocomunismo como ideología política y como un instrumento de la lucha antisoviética puede solamente prosperar en el continente de Europa, si coincide con un ciclo de prosperidad capitalista durante un extenso periodo. Pero esto no es posible cuando se considera la evolución objetiva del capitalismo monopolista en la presente época.

Si los EEUU en su loco empujo militarista contra la Unión Soviética confía en los Eurocomunistas como un arma político-social, en una lucha total, encontrará que terminará en un desastre que hará la guerra en Vietnam aparecer como un episodio histórico menor.

Desde la época que introdujo las revoluciones de 1848, la burguesía en una escala mundial raramente ha

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Parte III

Dos líneas sobre la liberación de la mujer

Este es el tercer artículo del pampheto "Feminismo y Marxismo" pero siendo que el ensayo es sumamente extenso no pudimos publicarlo completamente. La siguiente parte será publicada en la próxima edición del Mundo Obrero.

Por DOROTHY BALLAN

Uno de los aspectos más significantes en el Movimiento de Liberación Femenina es el creciente número de estudiantes quienes están seriamente buscando por las raíces históricas y sociales de la opresión de la mujer. La literatura de afrenta, protesta y escándalo se está gradualmente complementando con una literatura mucho más pensativa y profunda que va más allá de manifestaciones superficiales y procura hallar causas fundamentales en la esclavitud de la mujer.

No obstante, la corriente principal teórica en el Movimiento de Liberación Femenina es todavía la que arguye que la contradicción fundamental en la sociedad radica entre el hombre y la mujer, y que todas las demás contradicciones sociales provienen de esta relación primaria o que en todo caso están subordinadas a ésta.

Conforme a esta tesis la arremetida del Movimiento de Liberación Femenina descansa en la lucha no simplemente contra las instituciones sociales que oprimen a la mujer sino contra los hombres en general quienes al fin y al cabo son los que operan y controlan estas instituciones.

En ningún sitio se hace más evidente esta escuela de pensamiento que en el libro de Kate Millett (*Sexual Politics*,* Doubleday and Co., 1970).

Su libro ha recibido gran publicidad. Ha sido aclamado como clásico por algunos y por otra parte ha sido objeto de crítica espuria. Sin embargo en ningún sitio se le ha dado la atención que amerita la cuestión en su teoría general, lo cual es el tema de su libro.

Claro, para quienes la cuestión de la Liberación Femenina es nueva, o para quienes no le han dado atención a ella, el libro tiene mucho que ofrecer. Este expone sistemáticamente una multitud de medios y modos bajo los cuales la dominación del hombre se ha perpetuado por innumerables siglos.

Millett usa como medio de crítica literaria para analizar a novelistas contemporáneos como Norman Mailer, Henry Miller y D. H. Lawrence. Esto lo logra luminosamente. Muy cuidadosamente ella expone todos los hondos prejuicios masculinos en forma tal que su libro resulta muy leible y educacional. Al mismo tiempo constituye una mordaz denuncia de la completa estructura social la cual continuamente engendra y fortifica los más inculcados y arraigados prejuicios masculinos. A manera de contraste, ella aplaude a Jean Genet quien expone la dominación masculina y la opresión sexual desde el ángulo de la homosexualidad.

Millett nos da lo mejor, cuando expone las maneras sociales de la dominación masculina en todas sus desviadas e intrincadas formas.

REVELACION DE SUPREMACIA DESFIGURADA POR FALSA TEORIA

El Movimiento de Liberación Femenina ha crecido y ha pasado por remarcables desarrollos aún en los últimos dos años. Las mujeres en este Movimiento están muy al tanto del carácter de la supremacía masculina y la están combatiendo en la lucha diaria. Sea ya en manifestaciones de toda clase, en el hogar, en la escuela, en la fábrica—cualquier sitio y dondequiera.

Si Millett se hubiera confinando a



Tres mil mujeres marchan en Nueva York, en demanda de sus derechos.

una lúcida exposición del papel de la supremacía masculina y la opresión de la mujer hubiera servido un propósito muy útil.

Pero al proyectar una teoría amplia, la cual ella llama "teoría de la política sexual," considerablemente echa a un lado si es que totalmente no daña esos aspectos de su libro, los cuales de otra forma serían excelentes y beneficiosos para el Movimiento.

Su teoría es concisamente presentada en la primera oración en la cubierta del libro. "La relación entre los sexos es y siempre ha sido una relación política—una continua lucha por el poder en la cual las mujeres son algunas veces idolatradas, en otras veces patrocinadas, siempre explotadas."

La relación entre los sexos no ha sido siempre una continua lucha por el poder ni tampoco siempre ha sido basada en la explotación de la mujer. De hecho, como sabe cualquier estudiante serio de historia, las relaciones humanas, por lo tanto, las relaciones entre hombre y mujer son mucho más antiguas que la política y la explotación. Hubo un período muy largo en la historia humana en el cual no se conocía ninguna explotación ni del hombre a la mujer ni del hombre al hombre, conocido como el matriarcado.

La supremacía de un sexo contra otro comenzó con el patriarcado. Por consiguiente "matriarcado" no es análogo al "patriarcado" particularmente como es usado por Lewis H. Morgan y Engels. No quiere decir supremacía femenina. El período referido como matriarcado es caracterizado por la ausencia de supremacía masculina, y una línea de descendencia establecida a través de la mujer, no del hombre.

Este período es conocido como comunismo primitivo o la fase matriarcal del desarrollo social. La pregunta acerca de los orígenes de la sociedad, la pregunta sobre si el orden matriarcal precedió al orden patriarcal, es una pregunta crucial. Es de particular interés para las mujeres, especialmente en momentos en que más y más mujeres están demostrando un interés incisivo en redescubrir nuestro propio pasado. Este más largo capítulo en la historia de la sociedad humana, el cual está caracterizado por la ausencia de supremacía masculina, debe ser de especial interés, si por ninguna otra razón que para demostrar que nuestra opresión no ha sido eterna. Millett no descuida el hecho de que ha existido una gran

lucha entre antropólogos precisamente sobre la prioridad en el orden social del matriarcado y el patriarcado. De hecho, le da considerable atención a la discusión de esta materia. Desafortunadamente el resultado es una confusa presentación cuando una clara exposición debió haber sido el caso.

TEORIA DEL MATRIARCADO CONTRA LA DEL PATRIARCADO

Acerca de la pregunta, sobre cuál orden de la sociedad se desarrolló primero, matriarcado o patriarcado, Millett dice que esta pregunta "parece por el momento no tener contestación." Y ella añade "es probablemente también irrelevante al patriarcado contemporáneo."

Mas aún, ella dice que "conjeturar sobre el origen es siempre frustrante," y ella le echa la culpa a la falta de "... cierta evidencia. Especulación acerca de la pre-historia, que por necesidad tiene que ser así, queda en pie como especulación nada más."

En otra parte ella refiere "la información de la pre-historia la cual puede transar esto, está inaccesible." El problema, ella concluye, "parece incapaz de solución."

Por el contrario, la información y evidencia de la pre-historia son cada día más abundantes y fácilmente accesibles. El hecho del caso es que Millett está deliberadamente eludiendo esta cuestión tan crucial y en realidad está asumiendo una posición centrista.

Antropología no es de ninguna forma una ciencia física como la química, la física o aún la arqueología. Es una ciencia social, y como tal, el punto de vista político (por lo tanto el punto de vista de clase) es de suprema importancia. Mas aún, la cuestión de la antropología envuelve no solamente un prejuicio de clase, pero como ella bien sabe, prejuicio contra la mujer.

El hecho de que ha existido una lucha por un siglo acerca de los orígenes sociales del matriarcado y el patriarcado se debe solamente en un pequeño grado a la supuesta falta de evidencia histórica. La amargura y acrimonia con que la lucha es conducida debe ser suficiente para alcarar que mucho más que mera evidencia histórica está envuelto en la controversia.

MATERIALISMO HISTORICO CONTRA TEORIA BURGUESA

Lo que este tema envuelve es el aceptar o no las enseñanzas revolucionarias del materialismo histórico como fueron expuestas por Engels (y en parte basado en los estudios hechos por Lewis H. Morgan)

o aceptar la posición burguesa antievolucionista, la cual ha dominado la antropología en este país por muchas décadas. Esto último es dirigido como objetivo mayor para desacreditar, descalificar y destruir las monumentales contribuciones de Morgan y Engels.

El intento de Millett de adoptar la posición de árbitro entre estos dos puntos de vista en realidad le presta apoyo a la teoría patriarcal de los orígenes sociales. Esto ciertamente la hace elegible para un espaldarazo del sistema burgués.

Más que nada, la clase dominante detesta una visión consistente e irreconciliable de la evolución social. La razón para esto descansa precisamente en el hecho de que la evolución social enseña que el capitalismo, es también, meramente una etapa transitoria de desarrollo social, meramente otro eslabón en la cadena de la evolución de la humanidad de etapas más bajas a etapas más altas—lo cual incidentalmente incluye la condena de su muy querido sistema de libre (capitalista) empresa.

EL SURGIMIENTO DE LA PROPIEDAD PRIVADA

¿Por qué Millett mutila tanto la visión histórica del matriarcado? Ciertamente no porque tenga ningún prejuicio contra las mujeres. La contestación descansa en el hecho de que su teoría sexual está en desnuda contradicción con la evolución histórica de la propiedad privada.

El surgimiento de la propiedad privada es un viraje de significancia histórica mundial porque marca la transición de la anterior relación cooperativa del hombre y la mujer, basado en la posesión comunal de propiedad, a una de sujeción de la mujer al hombre, basado en la posesión privada de propiedad.

Aquí es que reposa la motivación para la falsa teoría, asidua e incansablemente propagada por los apologistas de la propiedad privada, que el origen de la opresión de la mujer descansa en el hombre mismo. Pero el desarrollo histórico prueba que fue el surgimiento de la propiedad privada la que trajo la sujeción de la mujer por el hombre e introdujo la explotación del hombre por el hombre también.

COMO MILLETT PERVIERTE A ENGELS

Según Millett, "Engels creyó haber encontrado los orígenes de propiedad en la sujeción y la pertenencia de las mujeres en los cuales el patriarcado fue fundado."

Ella también escribe, "la afirmación de Engels de que las mujeres constituyeron la primera propiedad es probablemente cierto."

Engels nunca hizo ninguna de estas afirmaciones las cuales ella ha atribuido a él. De hecho, esto es exactamente el reverso de las enseñanzas de Engels. El jamás dijo que el origen de la propiedad descansaba en la pertenencia de las mujeres. Por el contrario, enseñó que fue el desarrollo de propiedad privada dentro de los medios de producción lo que finalmente resultó en la sujeción de la mujer por el hombre, lo cual fue la primera opresión de clase en la historia humana.

Engels nunca habló de la mujer como la primera posesión del hombre. Las primeras propiedades (privadas) de los hombres (y las mujeres) fueron cosas tales como herramientas y

utensilios y much más tarde, el ganado.

Millett evade una clara exposición de que no solamente fue en orden matriarcal una etapa temprana en la historia humana sino que fue caracterizada por la ausencia total de explotación del hombre por el hombre o de la mujer por el hombre, y por la ausencia de instituciones de propiedad privada; que toda propiedad fue poseída comunalmente; y que esta época tiene importancia por que enseña que hombres y mujeres pueden vivir sin la dominación de uno por el otro, precisamente debido al ausentismo de propiedad privada.

CLASE DOMINANTE SE OPONE A UNA VISION CONSISTENTE DE EVOLUCION SOCIAL

La falla de presentar esta significativa época en una verdadera perspectiva histórica en el desarrollo de la humanidad se debe a los hondos prejuicios inculcados por los centros de adoctrinación del aprendizaje imperialista, esas grandes universidades norteamericanas que son grandes solamente en el sentido de las grandes sumas de dinero que le lega la clase dominante.

El presentar una consistente y no comprometida visión de la evolución social de la humanidad de etapas más bajas a más altas es perjudicial al capitalismo.

Esto no es sorprendente. Tal visión infringe sobre la propiedad privada. Es por esa razón que sus opositores tan diligentemente cultivan, mantienen e inculcan sistemáticamente la teoría patriarcal (de propiedad privada) de los orígenes sociales de desarrollo.

Un ineludible corolario de ésta teoría es que el patriarcado, la propiedad privada y la consecuente subyugación de la mujer son fenómenos contemporáneos—todos originados simultáneamente en el pasado distante—y habiendo sobrevivido todos éstos milenios, son categorías eternas y perpetuas. Una teoría más ingeniosa, para la clase dominante, sirviendo a ellos mismos, se haría difícil inventar.

Uno puede estar tentado a decir que la posición centrista y evasiva de Millett sobre la teoría del matriarcado contra el patriarcado es solamente una diferencia de opinión acerca de una remota época en el desarrollo humano, y no es central a la principal metodología histórica que ella usa cuando investigando el desarrollo de la opresión de la mujer. Por el contrario su vulgar y anti-evolucionista posición en cuanto a la teoría del matriarcado contra el patriarcado corre en todo su libro como un hilo rojo, y como he dicho anteriormente esto representa las tendencias presentes en el movimiento femenino de hoy, algunas de las cuales

son meramente diferentes versiones de la misma teoría.

SOBRE "LA CONCIENCIA HUMANA" Y "LAS INSTITUCIONES HUMANAS"

Millett en su libro afirma que: "Debe de estar claramente entendido que la arena de la revolución sexual es aún más predominante en la conciencia humana que en las instituciones humanas. Tan encajado está el patriarcado, que la estructura del carácter que crea en ambos sexos es quizás más aún un hábito de la mente, y un modo de vida que un sistema político."

Y como para enfatizar su visión burguesa en contra de la visión del materialismo histórico, Millett dice: "... las principales distinciones sociales y políticas no son aún esas basadas en riqueza o en rango sino las basadas en sexo. Porque la más pertinente y fundamental consideración que se le puede conferir a nuestra cultura es reconocer su base en el patriarcado."

Lo que hace Millett aquí es recurrir a un ardid por mucho tiempo usado de confundir la causa fundamental con el efecto. La más elemental proposición del marxismo es que la conciencia dimana del ser. Las condiciones materiales de vida determinan la conciencia humana. Como el lector puede ver, la teoría de Millett invierte este principio.

Marx enseñó que la existencia determina la conciencia y que la existencia social por lo tanto determina la conciencia social. Esta es la línea divisoria fundamental entre el marxismo y todas las variedades de

ideologías burguesas como la de Millett la cual es solamente una variedad de idealismo burgués.

No puede haber más discrepancias entre estas dos corrientes teóricas que la que existe entre los que buscan el desarrollo de las instituciones humanas en la mente en vez de que la mente refleje el desarrollo de instituciones sociales y políticas.

Uno es atonado con su prescripción para traer una "revolución sexual" la cual ella proclama y defiende.

El cambio tendrá efecto, dice Millett, y será "realizado por el crecimiento humano y una verdadera re-educación en vez de por medio de escenarios de la lucha armada—aunque la última sea inevitable."

Más luego ella dice, "Cuando uno hace un estudio de los movimientos espontáneos de masas que se están llevando a cabo alrededor del mundo, uno llega a la esperanza que el entendimiento humano en si mismo ha madurado al punto de cambio."

Más de 250 rebeliones en este país, por parte del pueblo negro, en los últimos años no parecen haber cambiado el "entendimiento y crecimiento humano" de la clase imperialista dominante en esta cuestión.

SOBRE LA OMISION ACCIDENTAL DE LA REVOLUCION SOCIAL

En ninguna otra parte de su libro, su prejuicio de clase y la quiebra de su forma metodológica de bregar con la opresión de los mujeres se nota más claro que en su tratamiento de las mujeres en países socialistas. Por una

omisión tan clara para considerarse accidental, el status de la mujer en países socialistas como Cuba, Vietnam y Corea del Norte no es ni siquiera mencionado. China, con sus 750 millones de habitantes, que por lo menos asumimos que la mitad son mujeres, se menciona en una sola nota ligera de que China es el único país donde no existe la prostitución.

Cuando consideramos que Millett alega que su libro es un "estudio comprensivo del sistema patriarcal completo" comenzando con los tiempos pre-históricos hasta e incluyendo la sociedad contemporánea, uno se maravilla de cómo es posible que tan inmensa porción de nuestro sexo lo suficiente para cubrir un continente entero se le de tratamiento tan ruin.

La contestación, claro, no es que Millett es ignorante de esto. Es su inhabilidad de admitir clara e inequívocamente que fueron las revoluciones socialistas—y grandiosas que fueron—las que profundamente alteraron la posición de la mujer aunque se reconoce que estas revoluciones no son consideradas completas, hombres y mujeres siguen trabajando en ello, sin beneficio de la disertación doctoral de Millett.

La expropiación de los dueños de tierras, capitalistas, explotadores en general y la transformación de la posición de la mujer fueron parte integral, bien significativa e indispensable de estas revoluciones.

Estos hechos de la vida son de suma significación en contra de la teoría de que la contradicción fundamental en la sociedad radica entre el hombre y la mujer, y que las contradicciones de clase entre las principales clases económicas en la sociedad están subordinadas y son meramente un efecto de las relaciones entre los sexos, por lo tanto, del patriarcado.

De acuerdo a Millett, como recordaremos, "las principales distinciones sociales y políticas no son aún esas basadas en riqueza o en rango, sino esas basadas en sexo." Si Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro o Ho Chi Minh hubieran tenido esa como su premisa principal, ambos, hombres y mujeres en esas partes del mundo todavía estuvieran sufriendo la más abyecta esclavitud por parte de los terratenientes y el imperialismo.

Nuevamente tenemos que recordar cual es el corolario de su teoría fundamental, y tenemos que repetir, que en una forma u otra esa es la tesis central de varios grupos en el movimiento femenino hoy en día.

* Kate Millett y su libro recibieron gran publicidad dentro y fuera del Movimiento de Liberación Femenino en Los Estados Unidos. Su teoría llamada la política sexual es explicada en este capítulo.



Mujeres palestinas con rifles en mano luchan por la liberación de su país, de su clase, y de su sexo.

Europeo con el fin de desafiar la burguesía, grandes ganancias fueron alcanzadas y secciones del proletariado fueron templadas y preparadas para luchas futuras como elementos de vanguardia.

En el curso de desarrollo adicional, la burguesía moderó en gran medida estos vastos instrumentos de organización de la clase trabajadora, pero de nuevo esto no benefició a la burguesía. En los talones de la gran guerra imperialista vino la gloriosa Revolución Bolchevique y una serie de insurrecciones proletarias en Europa. La Gran Depresión y otra guerra mundial imperialista extendió el ejemplo de la revolución proletaria a todos los rincones del mundo.

Si la burguesía piensa, así como una gran parte de ella ya lo hace, que la utilización de los Eurocomunistas va a resolver la crisis general del capitalismo, solamente tienen que mirar al último medio siglo para ver que bien han hecho. La tercera parte de la superficie de la tierra está ahora en las manos de los trabajadores.

—Etiopía

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relativamente progresistas; la lucha en Eritrea tenía así un carácter anti-imperialista también.

La lucha de un pueblo oprimido, por la liberación de la dominación imperialista, sin importar de donde obtiene ayuda, es ampliamente progresista y merece apoyo incondicional.

Pero la cuestión nacional en el contexto de la lucha actual en el Cuerno de África es ahora mucho más complicada. Ambos Eritrea y Etiopía son oprimidos en relación al imperialismo, y además un vuelco revolucionario del régimen feudal en Etiopía ha acontecido. Etiopía ya no es más un cliente del imperialismo sino su principal blanco para la subversión y el desmembramiento.

Así, el apoyo de la lucha en Eritrea por auto-determinación tiene que ser condicional en su renuncia a tomar

parte en los planes imperialistas que tratan de usar su lucha nacional en contra de la revolución etíope; en otras palabras, está condicionada en su apoyo a la Revolución Etíope y el rechazo de los regímenes reaccionarios árabes los cuales están actuando a favor de intereses imperialistas.

Solo entonces los intereses de todos los pueblos oprimidos en esta área pueden ser logrados. Cada progresista, todos opuestos a la sujeción imperialista tienen que tener esperanza que el gobierno revolucionario de Etiopía junto con Eritrea y el Ogaden encuentren una solución a la cuestión nacional en la cual las aspiraciones nacionales de todos los pueblos puedan ser respetadas dentro del marco del anti-imperialismo y los intereses sociales de todos los pueblos del Cuerno de África.

En el análisis final, es solo la victoria de la revolución etíope la que puede decisivamente acabar con los atentados del imperialismo en dividir y conquistar a los pueblos del Cuerno de África.

Eurocomunismo

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perdido de vista la posibilidad objetiva del proletariado tomando el poder. En el curso de la larga evolución del desarrollo político capitalista, la burguesía ha arrojado capas de la sociedad, principalmente de su misma clase, quienes aparentemente están en oposición pero realmente llevan adelante la tarea del desarrollo capitalista para la burguesía entera.

Durante el periodo de expansión capitalista, la burguesía liberal jugó el papel de iniciadores de legislación de contenido social y como "campeones del pueblo." Sin embargo, su trabajo real era el de prevenir y obstaculizar el desarrollo de la organización independiente de la clase trabajadora en pos de sus propias tareas de clase. En esto la burguesía liberal ha fallado. Organizaciones obreras de masa y marxistas crecieron en el continente