

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."
Mao Tsetung

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SENATE RESERVATIONS UNDERMINE CANAL TREATY

The US Senate recently ratified two Panama Canal treaties that are aimed at transferring jurisdiction and sovereignty over the Canal Zone from the US to Panama. The first treaty passed the Senate on March 16, guaranteeing the Canal's neutrality. The second treaty, approved on April 18, transfers control of the Canal to Panama in the year 2,000.

The original treaty negotiated between President Carter and Panama's Chief of Government, Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera, was the result of over 70 years of heroic struggle by the Panamanian people against US colonialism. Never in its history did the Panamanian people passively accept US control of the Canal Zone. Overall the new treaty reflects a step forward in Panama's struggle for independence and national sovereignty. It strengthens Panama's ability to continue to struggle until complete victory is won. And the treaty serves as an example to the peoples and countries of Latin America, as well as Asia and Africa, as they struggle against superpower hegemonism.

But against the spirit of independence and national sovereignty that characterized the original treaty, the US unilaterally tacked on "reservations" during the Senate ratification process. The so-called "De

Concini reservation" was added to the first treaty. It purports to give the US the perpetual right to send troops to Panama, without the consent of the Panamanian government, anytime that Canal operations are threatened from either inside or outside Panama after the year 2,000. In essence this reservation tries to legally maintain the US right to interfere in Panama's affairs if the Canal is threatened by strikes, political demonstrations, etc.

This reservation, like the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, is an example of how the US attempts to legitimize intervention in the affairs of a foreign country. American intervention in Vietnam became legitimized when, at the request of President Lyndon Johnson, the Senate passed the resolution giving him the legal right to interfere in the affairs of Indo-China to "protect" the interests of US imperialism in that region. The same is true for the De Concini reservation. Under its terms, the US maintains the right to send troops to Panama to protect its interests in the Canal Zone from any internal disruptions. This is a flagrant violation of Panama's right to independence and national sovereignty.

PANAMANIANS RESIST THE RESERVATION

The Panamanian people righteously denounced these last ditch

efforts by US imperialism to undermine the essence of the treaty. After the first treaty passed the Senate, thousands of Panamanians demonstrated against the De Concini reservation. As one ambassador said, "Our presidents expressed their 'profound satisfaction' with the treaties in a Declaration in Washington. Now the treaties are turning out to be interventionist." Leaders throughout Central and Latin America have voiced similar sentiments over the chauvinist and heavy handed "diplomacy" of US imperialism. One Panamanian patriot expressed it clearly when he said, "...This amendment changes the whole meaning of what we voted to accept. It legalizes and codifies the Americans' right to send in the Marines if there is a strike on the canal - that's what your Senators say it means. Not even when Teddy Roosevelt intervened all over Latin America did he try to pretend it was legal."

In response to this widespread protest in Panama and throughout Latin America over the reservation in the first treaty, the US was forced to add an amendment to the second treaty stating that it would not interfere in Panama's internal affairs or violate its sovereignty.

So what does this mean? On the one hand the US can send Marines to "protect" the Canal during domestic demonstrations like a

strike, and on the other hand say this is not intervention in the internal affairs of Panama!

The intent of the original reservation remains clear. The US seeks to maintain its right to control the Canal whenever its interests as a superpower are threatened. It attempts to use its overall strength as a superpower to bully smaller countries into accepting its terms. And, in this case it is even more blatant since these reservations were tacked on after the two heads of state had already reached an agreement.

STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY WILL CONTINUE

The US was forced to negotiate the treaty because of the growing strength of the third world in combatting superpower hegemony. It was hardly US good will or sense of fair play that had anything to do with initiating the treaty. Thus while the US is forced to agree to turn over the control of the Canal to Panama, at the same time it seeks to undermine the very foundation of Panama's national sovereignty by insisting on the unilateral "right" to step in and "protect" the Canal whenever necessary.

Nonetheless, the treaty is an advance for the Panamanian

CONTINUED ON P. 4

PLO ON ZIONIST INVASION OF LEBANON

Interview with Mustapha Hicham, member of the Paris Bureau of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Printed in L'Humanite Rouge no.28, April 13-27, 1978.

Q: What are the reasons for the Israeli aggression? To begin with the Zionists spoke of a reprisal operation for the operation of the guerillas at Tel-Aviv on the 11th of March. What of this?

R: Israel, by its nature, has always been driven by a racist and militarist spirit. The slogan which is written on the Knesset is to establish an Israel stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates. Many people doubt this expansionism and take it lightly, but you can see that over time Israel is accomplishing its idea by successive aggressions which rely on the imperialist forces, in particular, American imperialism. Recall that it is 50 years now since the first populated colonies were installed in Palestine. Now we see Israel extend its tentacles into Lebanese territory. To be more precise, in Lebanon, the Israeli plan is to occupy South Lebanon in order to have access to the sources of the Litani and the Hasbani rivers. For some time already the Zionists have prevented construction work on dams inside Lebanon. We have seen the same thing in Transjordan, and Gaza and on the Golan Heights: they take the land, exploit it, and place settlers in these territories.

It is this expansionism which is the source of the aggression in South Lebanon. It was not motivated at all by the Tel-Aviv

CONTINUED ON P. 4

ANTI-BAKKE MARCH RALLIES 15,000

On April 15th over 15,000 people came to Washington DC for the Anti-Bakke demonstration organized by the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD). This spirited march was an important advance and reflected the strong support of the broad masses for the equal rights struggle.

The demonstration was nationwide in character with participants from all over the US. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans, and other national minorities made up over half the march. New York construction workers, three union locals from Washington DC and hospital workers from Baltimore also participated in the march. And, the strong student presence reflected the good work that had been done on the campuses by the anti-Bakke decision forces.

In most respects the march was well organized. There was adequate sound, a good monitoring system, maps of the route, good publicity and a large turnout.

THE REFORMIST LEADERSHIP

But, politically the demonstration was controlled by reformists. This characteristic of the leadership was reflected in all the speeches. Almost everyone connected the struggle against the Bakke decision to the struggle against racism. But not a single speech addressed the source of racism! Implicit in this shortcoming is that racism can be overcome through reforms. On the other hand a revolutionary presentation links racism to national oppression and its elimination to the struggle for socialism.

In addition, the Bakke decision is an undisguised attack on the equal rights of women. Yet, hardly a speaker attempted to connect the Bakke decision to the oppression of women. Speakers who pointed to the inequality of women still failed to address the source of this inequality. A revolutionary presentation links household bondage

and domestic slavery inherent under capitalism to the treatment of women in the rest of society.

Also the Bakke decision was not linked by any speaker to the general crisis of imperialism from which there is no lasting recovery. Current superpower contention and war preparation, a consequence of the crisis, has accelerated the all-round attack on democratic rights.

But the most revealing example of the consistently reformist handling of the Anti-Bakke struggle by the NCOBD leaders was the failure of any speaker to point to the leading role of the working class in the struggle for equality. The working class is the only force in society that will not compromise this struggle. Lenin pointed out in 1897:

"The proletariat alone can be the vanguard fighter for political liberty and for democratic institutions. Firstly, this is because tyranny bears most heavily upon the proletariat whose position gives it no opportunity to secure a modification of that tyranny-- it has no access to higher authorities, not even to the officials, and it has no influence on public opinion. Secondly, the proletariat alone is capable of bringing about the complete democratization of the political and social system, since this would place the system in the hands of the workers." (The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats" - ICW V.2)

At the demonstration speaker after speaker reminisced over the 60's. But, never did anyone address any of the limitations of that mass movement. Most importantly, they did not address the absence of the proletarian leadership needed to carry the struggle for equal rights through to the end.

THE STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT REFORMISM

The reformism that characterized

the demonstration undermines the struggle for equal rights and revolutionaries must struggle to defeat its influence. There are many in the anti-Bakke decision movement who see that the struggle for equal rights requires revolutionary leadership. But some refuse to take the lead in building the broadest possible coalition and therefore fail to take up the struggle necessary to defeat reformism. Instead of raising their activity and consciousness to serve the needs of the movement their narrow activity serves to reduce the anti-Bakke decision movement to their own size and capabilities.

There are forces in the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC) who were reluctant to be a part of the April 15th march because of differences with the reformist leadership of the march. This only served to abandon the many honest people who attended to the narrow politics of the demonstration.

Marxist-Leninists must take the lead in promoting the broadest possible common action in our anti-Bakke decision coalition work. Those who belittle the significance of uniting all who can be united and building the broadest possible coalition through common action hold back the necessary revolutionary training of vanguard elements. As we stated in *The Communist*, V. III, no. 11 ("A Party Building Retreat"):

"Unless we undertake simultaneously with the principle task of winning the vanguard to communism, the task of giving leadership to the masses and strive to enter and lead spontaneous manifestations of class struggle, we do not win the vanguard to communism in a practical way. We fail to train the vanguard in the most important characteristic of the proletarian party -- its capacity for political

CONTINUED ON P. 4

PLO INTERVIEW

CONTINUED FROM p. 1

operation of the 11th of March. In fact, we have been carrying out operations inside Palestine from the beginning, and in particular since 1965, the date we began the Palestinian revolution. Israel speaks of peace in order to deceive international public opinion, but their idea of peace is to occupy more and more Arab lands and to get more and more war materials. The USA furnishes them everything they need and the most sophisticated weapons.

Q: Could you explain in more detail the Tel-Aviv operation?

R: Our struggle is just because our fundamental rights have been trampled upon and our land usurped. It is acknowledged by all Arab countries and in the Charter of the United Nations that a national liberation movement may have recourse to all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. Many lies have been spread about the Tel-Aviv operation. The Zionists especially have attempted to pretend that our action was directed against children. What the guerillas attacked were three police blockades. As far as I know, police blockades are not composed of children. The civilians who were killed in the bus were killed through the fault of Israel. The Zionists have admitted as much themselves in creating a commission of inquiry to find out who gave the order to fire on the bus. We will continue our legitimate struggle. It is the Zionists who are responsible for the sufferings in the region. For us, it is important to strike inside occupied Palestine. We will continue to do this even if the conditions of struggle in the interior are difficult.

Q: From the military point of view, what is the relationship of force in South Lebanon?

R: The Israelis pretended at first to respond to the (Tel-Aviv-ed.) operation, then they spoke of

a mopping up operation, and finally they spoke of border rectification. Together with patriotic Lebanese forces, we were from the beginning opposed to the aggression, the goal of which was to exterminate the population. It was to realize this goal that the Israelis used F15 airplanes, carried out massive bombardments with heavy artillery, etc. Dozens of Lebanese villages have been erased from the map. They provoked the exodus of 250,000 persons. The second goal of the aggression was to strike our military forces and at the same time to unfold a political campaign against the PLO in order to stifle its political expression. In spite of their weak capabilities, our combatants inflicted heavy losses on the enemy: more than 150 tanks and military material (were destroyed-ed.) and 600 soldiers were killed or wounded. On the eastern front, they were not able to penetrate deeply. As for our military losses, they were very weak; not even one third of those that the Zionists hoped for. The ones who suffered were the civilians; collective massacres were organized. The lesson that we can draw from these recent events is to see one more time the true face of Israel. We must not direct our guns inside the Arab camp, but on the contrary must organize the Arab camp against the Zionist enemy.

Q: What is the position of the PLO on the presence of United Nations troops?

R: The Security Council has taken a very clear position on this subject in three points:

- 1) Immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from South Lebanon.
- 2) The United Nations intervention force installed there must supervise the departure of these forces.
- 3) The member countries of the United Nations must participate in the United Nations forces.

Israel has attempted to sidestep these decisions by saying

that it requires a security zone. The Palestinian resistance and the progressive Lebanese forces have taken the following position: yes to the withdrawal of Israeli forces; no to the security zone. This point must be made clear, for Israel and the mass media confuse everything. The role of the UNIFIL is to get the Israelis out, period. No security zone is mentioned by the United Nations decision and we reject it. Since no one knows to what point Israel will extend itself, this is not a danger for us only.

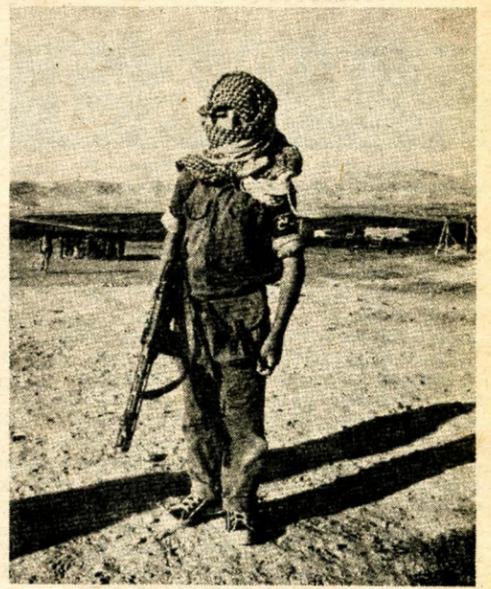
It is in the name of such security that Israel drove a people from its land, killed, massacred and pillaged the wealth of neighboring countries by occupying lands in Sinai, the Golan Heights, etc.

There is another point to emphasize: The United Nations forces must leave Lebanon once their task is terminated.

Q: What will be the politics of the PLO now?

R: Our politics will always be the same. We will continue our struggle inside occupied Palestine; we will support the actions of the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories. No one spoke of it, but during the battle in South Lebanon, there were enormous demonstrations at Naplouse, where there were 4 deaths, at Jerusalem, in Gaza, where there were some wounded, etc.

What must be said is that we are going to intensify our struggle. With the Zionists, you



must always have the gun in hand; this is the only guarantee for recovering our land and our rights. Neither by negotiations or by press communiques will the Israelis yield. The imperialists and their agents fall back, but they never yield willingly. We will succeed only by the relationship of force. We believe that one day the Palestinian flag will fly over Jerusalem; that we will build a society based on justice and not on discrimination, on equality and social justice. This is our hope and I believe it is the hope of every person who holds to liberty and justice.

—translated from French by the WC(M-L)

ANTI-BAKKE MARCH

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

leadership -- unless we take up simultaneously the tasks of political agitation and propaganda."

Communists are not compromised by unwaveringly upholding the necessity to unite all who can be united. In all united front work we maintain principle by refusing to compromise our independence and the right to disseminate agitational and propaganda material that reflect a communist point of view.

TAKE BAKKE TO THE WORKPLACE

The 15,000 people who attended the April 15th march represent an important step in the development of a powerful anti-Bakke decision movement. But this success will be limited unless the anti-Bakke decision struggle is taken to the workplace. It is the job of communists to mobilize those involved in the anti-Bakke movement to take the case to every significant workplace of the US.

In the first place, as stated in the last issue of The Communist (V. IV, no. 10):

"The anti-Bakke movement is definitely growing in amplitude as the significance of the Bakke offensive become more and more clear in every

workplace and community across the nation."

The Weber Case in Louisiana presents a good example of the ramifications of the Bakke decision in the workplace. In this instance a federal district court ruled that an affirmative action program at Kaiser Aluminum constituted reverse discrimination. This ruling is a direct attack on the equal rights of oppressed nationalities and women at the workplace.

As resistance to this offensive grows in the working class, we will be left behind if we do not match this resistance with an energy and scope equal to it. By organizing around attacks like the Weber Case, we raise the possibilities of drawing broad masses of working people into the struggle for equal rights.

More importantly, however, we must take the anti-Bakke decision movement to the workplace because of the vanguard role of the proletariat in the struggle for democracy. Our aims are not the limited goals of the reformists. The call to take the Bakke decision to the workplace must therefore be viewed as a call for a sustained and non-compromising struggle that carries the campaign for equal rights through to the end.

PANAMA CANAL TREATY

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

people. It serves to strengthen Panama's ability to defend its territorial integrity and at the same time it serves to weaken US imperialism's ability to blatantly intervene in the internal affairs of Panama. The US, one of the world's two superpowers, was forced to publicly concede that the Canal belongs to Panama. All military forces will eventually be removed and US army bases will be reduced from 14 to 4 by the year 2,000. Panamanian law will replace US law. Panama will benefit directly in terms of revenue from the Canal. And eventually the workforce in the Canal will be completely Panamanian. Overall this strengthens Panama's strategic position in defending the Canal from any interference.

At the same time, the US will seek a hundred different ways to undermine these gains, such as those "legalized" in the De Concini reservation, in an attempt to maintain control of the Canal.

But the Panamanian people have resisted, and will continue to resist, any implementation of the

De Concini reservation. They have a militant and proud history of struggle against similar intrigues and interference by US imperialism. They will not waiver in their struggle until complete victory is won. They have learned through their own bitter experiences that it is only the fiercest and most determined struggle against superpower hegemonism that will win their complete independence and national sovereignty.

It is the particular duty of communists and all class conscious workers living in the heartland of US imperialism to wage a relentless struggle against any attempt to implement this reservation under any circumstances. We must raise the consciousness of the masses by exposing the inconsistency of the reservation with the spirit of the original treaty. We must staunchly support the struggle of the Panamanian people against US imperialism. And we must support any steps that the Panamanians take to guarantee their complete independence and national sovereignty.



The plan of the Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is to fight for a newspaper modeled on Lenin's ISKRA as the main link in the fight to prepare the conditions for a new Communist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, our columns are open to all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers for topical exposures, polemics and reports on their work.

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LUDLOW STRIKE

CONTINUED FROM P. 2

drive at Ludlow. However, toward the end of the strike, in an effort to rebuild his public image as "Sunday school teacher and philanthropist", he also utilized other tactics. Hypocritically, he claimed to uphold a belief in the "harmony of interests" between workers and corporations. And, a plan was presented for ending the strike that called for forming a company union.

This paternalistic plan called for two "miner's representatives" at each mine to look out for the miners' interests, and to meet once a year with the same number of company representatives, and a grievance procedure that could go "all the way to the company president" if necessary, hardly the ultimate assurance of fair arbitration they tried to make it out to be. But, the striking miners would not accept it, and Rockefeller was only able to institute it several months after the strike had already been broken.

LESSONS FOR OUR STRUGGLE

The Ludlow strike has come down through history as the "massacre". But this only reflects a one-sided

and fatalistic view of the struggle. In the end the essence of this page from history was not the temporary victory of the bourgeoisie but the tremendous courage the staunch determination and class solidarity with which the miners at Ludlow fought their class enemy.

May Day is a time for reflecting and renewing our commitment to the class struggle. We should study this history of Ludlow and draw strength from the militant example and capacity for sacrifice.

At the same time Ludlow must serve as a historic warning against the inevitable tendency under bourgeois democracy to belittle the role of the state as final arbiter of class struggle. Imperialism is the negation of democracy. As the general crisis of the system deepens the ability of capitalism to rely on its "democracy" to resolve class conflict will lessen and this ultimate role of the state will come more and more into practice. If the ideological and organizational style and character of our work does not reflect this our ability to lead the class struggle will be fatally undermined.