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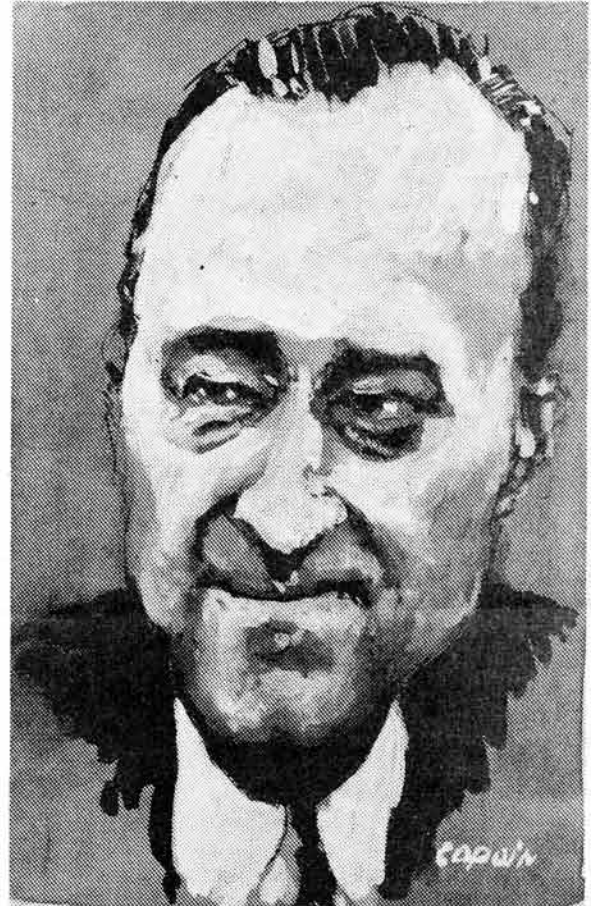
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January 13, 1975

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## CIA: Only Tip of Iceberg



HELMS: New revelations put former spy chief on spot.

Kissinger's War Threats Frighten Allies

Camejo, Reid--SWP Candidates for 1976

Healy Purges 200 From WRP

Argentine Workers Begin to Fight Back

## White House Gave OK

# Reveal 1958 Plan to A-Bomb China

Top U. S. military commanders were so eager to test their "tactical" atomic bombs against living targets, columnist Jack Anderson revealed in the December 27 *Washington Post*, that they invented a false technical pretext for using them against China during the 1958 crisis over the Nationalist-held offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

"The generals deliberately deceived the White House, which was misled, therefore, into tentatively approving the use of nuclear weapons to defend the islands," Anderson charged.

These facts came to light when the Justice Department tried to take advantage of a robbery of Daniel Ellsberg's home to get hold of a copy of a secret Rand Corporation report on the case. The document was among the stolen property recovered by the police. However, the former Rand researcher turned antiwar protester was able to have the report turned over to a post-Watergate Congress. It described an effort by the Pentagon to convince Eisenhower that it could not defend the islands against bombardment from Chinese coastal installations without using nuclear weapons.

The generals claimed that U. S. warplanes were not equipped with racks that could hold conventional bombs large enough to knock out the Chinese emplacements and therefore they had no choice but to use nuclear weapons to do the job. A general, likewise eager to "nuke the Chinks" but unwilling to go along with the phony story, was ordered by the Pentagon not to tell the White House that the military's planes had racks big enough to carry all conventional bombs.

According to Anderson, only good luck prevented an atomic strike against China, then still allied to the Soviet Union. Peking scaled down the confrontation before the Pentagon got the chance to test its new "hardware."

"While the Pentagon maneuvered the nation to the brink of nuclear war, the American people were kept in blissful ignorance of the danger," Anderson wrote. "One of the most compelling comments on this secrecy was made by Christian Herter, who played a subordinate role in the 1958 crisis before succeeding Dulles as Secretary of State the following year.

"Those who lived through the Quemoy-Matsu developments, he once recounted, were acutely aware that they were in the midst of America's first nuclear crisis since the decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Yet to this day, the American people haven't been told how close they came to nuclear war." □

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Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Judy White.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

COPY EDITOR: Mary Roche.

TECHNICAL STAFF: Bill Burton, Art Gursch, James M. Morgan.

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PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guemenee, 75004, Paris, France.

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# The CIA Revelations—Only the Tip of the Iceberg

By Michael Baumann

The Central Intelligence Agency, it has now been revealed, has for years maintained a huge domestic spy network targeted against the Black liberation movement, the antiwar movement, supporters of the Cuban revolution, and other "dissident" individuals and groups.

In sensational new disclosures, the December 22 *New York Times* reported that "according to well-placed Government sources," the CIA "conducted a massive, illegal domestic intelligence operation during the Nixon Administration against the antiwar movement and other dissident groups in the United States. . . ."

Subsequent reports disclosed that the targets of such illegal surveillance included an array of individuals ranging from members of the Black Panther party, to a former leader of Students for a Democratic Society, to Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

Seymour Hersh reported December 22 that "an extensive investigation by The New York Times has established that intelligence files on at least 10,000 American citizens were maintained by a special unit of the C. I. A. that was reporting directly to Richard Helms, then the Director of Central Intelligence and now the Ambassador to Iran."

The *Times's* sources also disclosed that "a check of the C. I. A.'s domestic files ordered last year by Mr. Helms's successor, James R. Schlesinger, produced evidence of dozens of other illegal activities by members of the C. I. A. inside the United States, beginning in the nineteen-fifties, including break-ins, wiretapping and the surreptitious inspection of mail."

Such activities, apart from violating the civil liberties of those spied upon, give the lie to the fiction that the CIA charter and the various congressional oversight committees offer protection from domestic CIA "dirty tricks." Under the 1947 legislation setting up the CIA, the agency was forbidden to have "police, subpoena, law enforce-

ment powers or internal security functions" within the United States.

According to the sources cited by the *Times*, however, "the C. I. A. authorized agents to follow and photograph participants in antiwar and other demonstrations. The C. I. A. also set up a network of informants who were ordered to penetrate antiwar groups, the sources said.

"At least one avowedly antiwar member of Congress was among those placed under surveillance by the C. I. A., the sources said. Other members of Congress were said to be included in the C. I. A.'s dossier on dissident Americans."

## The Huston Plan

One government official cited by the *Times* "said that the requirement to maintain files on American citizens emanated, in part, from the so-called Huston plan. That plan, named for its author, Tom Charles Huston, a Presidential aide, was a White House project in 1970 calling for the use of such illegal activities as burglaries and wiretapping to combat antiwar activities and student turmoil. . . ."

Nixon, former Attorney General Mitchell, and other government officials have repeatedly claimed that the Huston plan was never implemented. The falsity of this claim may be assessed from the fact that the plan called for precisely the actions the CIA is now publicly known to have carried out.

One source quoted in the *Times* described a typical spying operation directed against the antiwar movement:

"Maybe they began with a check on [actress and antiwar activist Jane] Fonda,' the source said, speaking hypothetically. 'But then they began to check on her friends. They'd see her at an antiwar rally and take photographs. I think this was going on even before the Huston plan.

"This wasn't a series of isolated events. It was highly coordinated. People were targeted, information was collected on them, and it was all put

on (computer) tape, just like the agency does with information about K. G. B. (Soviet) agents.

"Every one of these acts was blatantly illegal."

Another official "with access to details of C. I. A. operations" said that CIA activities "uncovered" in the Schlesinger investigation included break-ins and buggings that had taken place in the 1950s and 1960s.

"During the fifties, this was routine stuff," he said. "The agency did things that would amaze both of us, but some of this also went on in the late sixties, when the country and atmosphere had changed."

According to the *Times's* sources, most of the domestic spying was done by one of the most secret CIA units, the "special operations branch of counterintelligence." This department, one source said, "simply began using the same techniques for foreigners against new targets here." James Angleton, the department director, resigned December 23, the day after the initial *New York Times* article appeared. Three of his top aides resigned that same week.

A former CIA agent who spent more than four years in the late 1960s and early 1970s spying on radical groups in New York said: ". . . my belief was that we were doing the same function inside the United States as the C. I. A. does outside it."

## New York a Major Target

The agent, who said he had been recruited into the CIA after graduating from college in 1965, revealed that New York became a major target for CIA spying in the late 1960s because it was considered a "big training ground" for radical activities in the United States. At the height of the antiwar movement, he said, more than twenty-five CIA agents were assigned to the city.

They are reported to have worked under the "Domestic Operations Division," described in the December 29



*New York Times* as a "little-known domestic unit set up in 1964 by the C. I. A. in more than a dozen cities across the nation. . . ." Its ostensible function was to work with U. S. corporations providing "cover" for CIA agents abroad.

According to the *Times* account, "the former agent . . . said that his involvement began with the advent of the Black Panther movement in 1967 and the increase of antiwar dissent during the last months of the Johnson Administration. 'And then it started to snowball from there,' the former agent said."

He said that "he and other C. I. A. agents had also participated in telephone wiretaps and break-ins in their efforts to closely monitor the activities of radicals in New York. He added that the C. I. A. had supplied him with 'more than 40' psychological assessments of radical leaders during his spy career." (Helms has previously testified before Congress that only two such psychological assessments of U. S. citizens had ever been prepared by the CIA.)

"When I first came to the D. O. D.," the former agent said, "it was a low-key operation. Mostly we did liaison with other intelligence agencies."

"And then someone started noticing those kids," the former agent said, referring to the antiwar activities. "At first they were just a pain in the neck. The local police and F. B. I. couldn't handle it. We had the manpower and the money."

"In the beginning, he said, only files on student dissenters were kept, apparently as an addition to the already existing dossiers on the various foreign students living in the New York area."

The first physical surveillance "came when people like Mark Rudd started moving around," he said. "Rudd, a leader of Students for a Democratic Society, was an active participant in the 1968 student strike at Columbia University."

"We'd go out, take some photographs, and follow them," he said. "We had different I. D.'s for paper I. D.'s, or flash a badge and say we were a reporter for a magazine—it made things a lot easier."

One of the first goals of the Domestic Operations Division, the former agent said, was to infiltrate its agents into a radical organization targeted for CIA spying. A second major goal

was to "turn somebody around"—that is, to persuade a member of the group to become an informer.

When asked by the *Times* how the CIA selected targets for spying, the former agent "said that it 'depended on the individual' under suspicion."

"If we felt that a person was working for an agency not to our liking," he said, "he became a suspect to be placed under surveillance."

### Hunt Spills the Beans

According to still unpublished testimony, convicted Watergate burglar E. Howard Hunt stated before the Senate Watergate committee December 18, 1973, that he served as the first chief of covert action for the CIA's Domestic Operations Division.

The December 31 *New York Times* reported that Hunt "told the Watergate committee that the domestic operations division had 'established field stations in Boston and Chicago and San Francisco, to name a few cities. These were parallel to the extant overt C. I. A. establishment (already set up in those cities) and a large variety of domestic based operations were conducted by this division.'"

In addition to running a CIA "media operation" in Washington known as Continental Press, Hunt testified, "We funded much of the activities of the Frederick D. Praeger Publishing Corporation in New York City. We funded, to a large extent, the activities of Fodor's Travel Guides, distributed by the David McKay Corporation."

In return, Praeger published CIA propaganda in the guise of scholarly research and the Fodor guides provided "cover" for CIA agents seeking to visit foreign countries as "travel writers."

The domestic spying unit, Hunt stated, had been set up shortly after the CIA's military invasion of Cuba in 1961. Many CIA agents associated with the assault took assignments in the new unit, he said.

### The Cuban Connection

Around the same time, a number of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles were either added to the CIA payroll or maintained on it in appreciation for the services they had rendered.

"In Miami and elsewhere in the United States," reported the January 4 *New York Times*, "a large group of exiles

paid by the C. I. A. were said to have watched over and compiled secret files on other Cubans and on Americans who associated with persons under surveillance.

"Other refugees, while being paid by C. I. A. agents, picketed foreign consulates in New York and Miami, and waged a boycott of products manufactured by countries that traded with the government of Premier Fidel Castro, the Cuban informants said. The activities reportedly took place roughly from 1960 to 1970."

The Cuban sources said that the CIA not only told them what to do when picketing but even told them what to write on their signs. In 1964 alone, their activities included picketing the British consulate in Miami to protest the sale of British buses to Cuba; starting a boycott of Shell gasoline and Scotch whiskey; picketing the French consulate in Miami to protest the sale of French locomotives to Havana; picketing the Mexican consulate in New York; and attempting to prevent a Japanese ship from being unloaded in Miami.

In contrast to the difficulties frequently encountered by pro-Castro demonstrations in that period, the CIA demonstrators never had any problems with the police. "We were detained once or twice," one of the Cuban informants said, "but each time someone would call the Miami police and we would be immediately released with no charges."

The *Times's* sources estimated that by the mid-1960s, the CIA's anti-Castro operation had a budget of about \$2 million a year, "not counting logistics support, which included private aircraft in which top members of the group were traveling in the United States and between south Florida and several American countries."

"It was like a small secret army. . . ." one former Cuban agent said.

The CIA-provided aircraft were also apparently of some use for other purposes, including trafficking in narcotics. When one of the CIA planes accidentally crashed in southern California, the *Times* said, "police reportedly found several kilograms of cocaine and heroin."

And as a sideline, the information gathered about the personal lives of prominent Cubans and kept in the Florida counterintelligence offices was apparently put to lucrative use. Ac-



cording to the *Times*, "several informants assert that a copy of the files was made and is still in this area and that it is being used for blackmail purposes."

A CIA report on Black singer Eartha Kitt, parts of which were published in the January 3 *New York Times*, gives another indication of the scope of CIA domestic spying, as well as of the slander that can be presumed to routinely fill such files.

The CIA report, supplied to President Johnson a week after Kitt expressed her opposition to the Vietnam war at a 1968 White House luncheon, showed that the agency had been spying on her at least since 1956. The report included the assertions that at the age of twenty she had danced briefly in a group whose main figure was said to have "served as a sponsor or endorser of a number of Communist-front activities"; that she had signed a 1960 advertisement supporting Martin Luther King's civil-rights drive in the South, and that other signers had included "a number of persons identified in the past with the Communist party"; and that in 1956 "her loose morals were said to be the talk of Paris."

### Real Face of CIA

So far as actions abroad are concerned, the real purpose of the CIA has been known for many years.

Through the CIA, U. S. imperialism engineered the coup against Mossadegh in Iran in 1953, the overthrow of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954, the attempted invasion of Cuba in 1961, the "counterterror" Phoenix program in Vietnam in the late 1960s, the coup in Chile in 1973.

Although the activities of the CIA within the United States are as yet less well known, it should come as little surprise that when the White House sought to mount a clandestine attack on domestic "enemies"—the Black and antiwar movements to name just two examples—it would turn to the same group of "experts," the secret-police agents of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The basic facts in the first *New York Times* disclosure have been confirmed by Senator William Proxmire and, according to the December 31 *Los Angeles Times*, by CIA director William Colby himself in the domestic-spying report he prepared for Ford after the

news broke in the press.

There is every reason to believe, however, that these initial disclosures represent only the tip of the iceberg of clandestine CIA activities in the

United States. The composition of the "citizen's commission" appointed by Ford January 5—headed by "citizen" Rockefeller—only confirms that Washington has a great deal to hide. □

## Memory of Vietnam Still Fresh

## Kissinger's War Threats Frighten Allies

By Ernest Harsch



Warmonger Kissinger

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's threat that Washington might intervene militarily against the oil-producing countries has aroused the anxiety of some of Washington's European allies.

In an interview published in the January 13 issue of *Business Week* magazine, Kissinger admitted that a U.S. attack on the oil-producing countries would be a "very dangerous course," but added, "I am not saying that there's no circumstance where we would not use force. . . ."

"I want to make clear, however, that the use of force would be considered only in the gravest emergency."

In a dispatch from Bonn, West Germany, the January 6 *New York Times* said, "When reported here, the re-

marks provoked angry and worried editorials, news articles, and comments by Government officials. West Germans, even those at the highest levels, are worried about being drawn into an American military adventure in the Middle East and remarks like Mr. Kissinger's make their fears seem real."

If Washington did launch a military attack to break the power of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), Bonn would become directly involved, since more than 200,000 U.S. troops are stationed in West Germany. The launching of war could also result in a retaliatory oil embargo by the producers, hitting countries like West Germany, which imports 70 percent of its oil from the Arab-Persian Gulf, particularly hard.

Dr. Armin Grünwald, a spokesman for Bonn, said in a television interview January 4: "We are not interested in any kind of confrontation with the oil countries, but rather in cooperation, and we would probably be overestimating our powers and betraying our political aims if we resorted to force, even if we just thought of it. We do not have the use of force in mind, and do not share such thoughts."

In a clear reference to Kissinger's call for a bloc of the imperialist powers against OPEC and his implied suggestion that Bonn should help to bail out Britain and Italy financially if their economies deteriorate much further, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said in an interview with *Der Spiegel* magazine, "I see a certain danger in the fact that, at present, some Americans are inclined to overestimate the role and the capabilities of the Federal Republic [of Germany]. That we could be drawn into con-

flicts against our will is something new in German political history."

Kissinger's warmongering also aroused apprehension in France. A survey published January 5 in the weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* reported that 28 percent of those polled believed that the "oil-consuming countries" might resort to military intervention this year to force down oil prices.

A front-page editorial in the January 4 *Le Monde* noted that Kissinger's public reference to using military force, the first time he had done so, gave his words "special weight." The editors also observed that "the United States is not the country most vulnerable to an interruption in 'crude-oil' deliveries from the [Arab-Persian] Gulf."

The fear aroused in ruling circles in France and Germany over Kissinger's remarks was not caused by any opposition to the concept of military aggression against OPEC, but by the risky nature of starting a war in the Arab-Persian Gulf.

Kissinger himself noted: "If you bring about an overthrow of the existing system in Saudi Arabia and a Khadafi takes over, or if you break Iran's image of being capable of resisting outside pressures, you're going to open up political trends that could defeat your economic objectives."

The European imperialists, who have few domestic sources of oil, would be affected almost immediately if a U.S. military adventure backfired as it did in Vietnam.

Moreover, Bonn and Paris realize that Washington's overall strategy is also aimed at advancing the interests of U.S. imperialism at the expense of both the oil-producing countries and Washington's European allies.

In the *Business Week* interview, Kissinger explained what Washington meant by "consumer solidarity"—the imperialist bloc against the oil-producing countries that Kissinger has proposed. Such a bloc, Kissinger said, would have to make a "systematic effort at energy conservation of sufficient magnitude to impose difficult choices on the producing countries."

What Kissinger has in mind is joint action by the imperialists to limit the market for OPEC oil, thus pressuring OPEC into acceding to Washington's demands. Such a reduction in imports of oil from the Arab-Persian Gulf would be a much simpler matter for

the United States, which is still the world's largest oil producer, than for the European powers. A significant push toward "energy conservation" in Western Europe could intensify the economic crisis now affecting the European economies, particularly those of Britain and Italy.

Kissinger also called for "institutions of financial solidarity" among the imperialist powers to prevent the economic collapse of the weakest ones. He made it clear that he thought the West German government was in a position to provide such financial aid. But with the specter of recession facing all the European capitalist economies, each national bourgeoisie will inevitably look out for its own interests first and follow "beggar-thy-

neighbor" policies, as Kissinger calls them.

Kissinger's last, "and most important" suggestion on how to break OPEC was to "bring in alternative sources of energy as rapidly as possible so that the combination of new discoveries of oil, new oil-producing countries, and new sources of energy create a supply situation in which it will be increasingly difficult for the cartel [OPEC] to operate." Such an increase in the use of alternative energy sources, however, would be under the control of the U.S. oil monopolies, further tightening Washington's stranglehold over world energy supplies and strengthening its position against that of the European powers. □

## New Blows to Imperialist Blockade

### Caracas, Bogotá Renew Ties With Havana

By Judy White

The Venezuelan and Colombian governments reestablished relations with Havana at the end of December, striking two more blows against Washington's economic and diplomatic encirclement of Cuba.

On December 23, the López Michelsen regime in Colombia became the tenth in Latin America to resume ties with Cuba. Bogotá announced the initiation of limited trade with Havana and said it would decide in January whether to extend full commercial and diplomatic recognition.

After two weeks of negotiations between the Cuban and Venezuelan United Nations' delegates, Caracas announced December 29 the signing of an agreement to reopen diplomatic relations with Havana. Trade will also be resumed as part of the accord.

Fidel Castro, at a January 3 news conference in Havana, denied rumors that he had discussed securing oil from Caracas as part of the agreement. However, the January 4 *Washington Post* reported that a high Mexican official had said a few days earlier that discussions were under way to reduce Cuba's almost total dependence on Soviet oil. He was quoted as saying, "Plans are that in the future, Cuba will be able to buy its oil in the

Western Hemisphere, turning to the Soviet Union only in case of emergency." If the plan works, it could produce substantial savings for the Castro government by reducing transportation costs.

The Betancourt government in Venezuela served as Washington's direct agent in promoting the economic and diplomatic sanctions against Cuba voted by the Organization of American States in 1962 and 1964. At the time, Castro was accused of "exporting" revolution throughout Latin America, and specifically of supporting guerrilla efforts to topple the Venezuelan government.

The moves by Colombia and Venezuela came in the wake of the split vote at the November 12 meeting of the OAS on whether to lift the blockade of Cuba.

Only three governments voted in favor of maintaining the sanctions—Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Twelve voted to end them: Venezuela, Colombia, and Costa Rica—sponsors of the motion—along with Honduras, Argentina, El Salvador, Ecuador, Trinidad-Tobago, Mexico, Peru, Panama, and the Dominican Republic.

However, because a two-thirds majority was required, the abstentions



of six governments narrowly defeated the motion. They were cast by the United States, Bolivia, Brazil, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Haiti. □

## Announced at YSA Convention

# Camejo, Reid--SWP Candidates for 1976



Flax Hermes/Militant

SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid at December 14 Boston demonstration to halt racist attacks on busing.

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers party announced in St. Louis December 27 that it had nominated Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid as the SWP candidates for president and vice-president of the United States in the 1976 elections. The announcement came one day before the opening of the fourteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Camejo is a leader of the SWP and ran as its candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts against Edward Kennedy in 1970. Willie Mae Reid has been active in the civil-rights and women's liberation movements. She is currently running as the SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago against Mayor Richard Daley in the April 1975 elections.

In a press statement released December 27, Camejo cited the growing crisis in the United States—mass unemployment, inflation, pollution, the racist offensive in Boston, threats of war, and FBI and CIA surveillance of political activists. The working class needs protection from this crisis, he said, but the Republicans and Democrats offer no solutions.

"Our party," Camejo said, "proposes

a Bill of Rights for Working People to provide this protection. We propose expanding the Bill of Rights in the Constitution to include protection from the new problems created by the present day industrial computerized capitalist society. . . .

"Workers must have a right to a job and an adequate income; a right to free medical care; a right to secure retirement; a right to know the truth; and a right to decide policies that affect our lives."

He announced that he would launch a national tour February 3 to publicize the SWP proposal and that campaign supporters would distribute hundreds of thousands of copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

Reid, in her statement, stressed the importance of the civil-rights struggle in Boston. She said, "We will continue to help focus national attention on the serious situation there and call for a massive nationwide mobilization to protest this racist offensive. We demand that federal troops be sent to Boston to enforce the federal court order and keep the buses rolling.

"A victory for the racist mobs in Boston would be a blow to Blacks, and working people as a whole,

throughout the country."

Reid also lashed out at the CIA surveillance of political activists: "The recently revealed evidence of the CIA's operation against antiwar activists in the U.S. clearly shows how the government operates behind the backs of the American people.

"Our party is suing the government to end their unconstitutional attacks on our democratic rights.

"We demand that all FBI and CIA political files be opened to the public."

SWP National Campaign Manager Douglas Jenness told a news conference in St. Louis December 27, "Our national campaign committee is carrying out a study of the election requirements in the 50 states. We are confident that the SWP will have ballot status in more states than it did in 1972, when its presidential ticket appeared on the ballot in 23 states." He also said that the SWP was considering possible legal challenges to restrictive campaign laws in a number of states. □

## Pittsburgh Steel Mills Fight Ban on Dumping Cyanide in City River

Three major steel companies in Pittsburgh filed an appeal in the fourth week of December against federal regulations that would force them to begin to cut back the amount of poisonous chemicals they have been pumping into the city's water supply. By legal technicalities, they can delay implementation of the regulations for three years.

The federal Environmental Protection Agency had called on the companies to reduce the amount of cyanide dumped into the Monongahela River from the present 2,503 pounds daily to 15.1 pounds by 1977. It also asked for a decrease in the 869 pounds of Phenol, a caustic acid by-product, that is dumped into the river every day. The latter chemical is being blamed for an epidemic of intestinal disorders among the population of the South Hills district of the city. Hundreds of persons fell ill after their drinking water became foul-tasting and smelly.

"Pittsburgh exemplifies the type of place where there is no barrier between what industry dumps in a river and what people drink in their morning cup of coffee," Dr. Robert Harris, a scientist with the Environmental Defense Fund, a private group, commented, after studying the local water supply.

A December 23 Associated Press dispatch said that the Environmental Protection Agency was "disappointed" by the resistance of the steel companies.

"We were very surprised by their action," a representative of the agency said. "We thought they had agreed to the proposal."



# YSA Plans National Mobilization Against Racist Drive in Boston

By Peter Green

Assembled in St. Louis for the fourteenth national Young Socialist Alliance convention December 28-January 1 were some 1,000 YSA members, friends, activists in social struggles across the United States, reporters, international guests, and . . . agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, their presence sanctioned by court order. (See article elsewhere in this issue.)

Concluding her organization report to the convention, National Executive Committee member Ginny Hildebrand captured the feeling of the convention: "Get this straight on your tape recorders, FBI, because this convention is serving notice to you that this team is going to win!"

Every session of the convention exuded the enthusiasm of an organization geared for a major campaign. The focus of the YSA's work for the coming year was set by the convention—building and leading a national mobilization to roll back the racist offensive in Boston.

"This convention marks a turning point for the YSA," said National Executive Committee member Malik Miah in concluding his political report to the convention. "We are entering a new struggle of national scope. We should do so in the best traditions of the YSA—like we actively involved ourselves in defense of the Cuban revolution, in defense of the Vietnamese revolution, and in the first civil-rights movement. We will build on these traditions in the coming year around Boston, and through our active involvement in all the struggles of the oppressed."

Miah said that "the struggle for equal education through the use of buses in Boston is the most significant development in the Black liberation movement this past year. . . ."

"The key to an effective strategy to beat back the racist mobs is mass counter-mobilizations of supporters of Black rights," he said. In the context of this mass-action perspective, to implement the busing order and defend

Black students, "We say all the force necessary must be used by the government to implement their court order, including the use of federal troops. . . ."

"Our job is to throw ourselves into this movement and participate in it as fully as we can," he continued. "The YSA plans to be the best fighters against racism and the best builders of this campaign."

YSA National Executive Committee member Maceo Dixon described the development of the struggle in Boston and the events leading up to the successful December 14 demonstration.

"What is the next stage for us?" he asked. "When we leave this convention the YSA should be turned loose across the country to build the February 14 national student conference. The most important thing is to make sure that this conference is as big and as authoritative as possible as the very first step. This is our No. 1 priority for the next six weeks."

Dixon mapped out plans for building the campaign. Delegates added ideas based on experiences in their own areas, and a special workshop session was held on organizing for the Boston campaign.

A second major focus for the YSA in the year ahead will be mobilizing support for the 1976 election campaign of the Socialist Workers party. At the convention, the party officially launched its campaign and presented its candidates—Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president.

YSA National Secretary Rich Finkel gave a report to the convention mapping out plans for campaign support activities. Finkel said American capitalism was entering its deepest economic crisis in decades. He pointed to the growing militancy among working people, as the effects of the economic crisis drive down their standard of living.

Finkel said that the YSA will use the SWP campaign "as the central ve-

hicle for reaching out to young people . . . and winning hundreds of new members to the Young Socialist Alliance."

In presenting the international report to the convention, YSA National Chairman Andrew Pulley said the current world situation was characterized by "the worst economic, social, and political crises imperialism has faced since the second world war." But in the face of mounting struggles and the increasing danger of war, the bureaucratic rulers of the Kremlin and Peking "are misleading the masses into thinking we have now entered an era of peace." The problem with détente, he said, "is that its fundamental purpose is to block the only way to achieve peace, which is through the completion of the world socialist revolution. The goal of détente is to maintain the status quo."

Emphasizing the international nature of the socialist struggle, and the collaboration of the YSA with its co-thinkers around the world, guests were present from many different countries. Greetings were brought from the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in Canada; from the newly formed group in Puerto Rico, the Liga de Juventud Comunista (Young Communist League); from the Juventud Socialista (Young Socialists) in Argentina; from the Socialist Youth Alliance and Socialist Workers League in Australia; from the Revolutionary Marxist Group in Canada; and from the Japan Revolutionary Communist League. Greetings from the Socialist Workers party were also presented to the convention by Barry Sheppard, the party's national organization secretary. Written greetings were read from Greece, China, Israel, New Zealand, Sri Lanka, Belgium, Austria, Iran, and Spain.

A special panel was held on international defense campaigns. Panelists described the work of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, and the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. The highlight of this session was the address by Portuguese feminist Isabel Maria Barreno, one of the defendants in the famed "Three Marias" case.

The convention also heard a report from Mary Watkins, the mother of J.B. Johnson, a Black youth from

St. Louis sentenced to life imprisonment for a crime he didn't commit.

YSA National Committee member Olga Rodriguez presented the Chicano report. She analyzed the government's stepped-up attacks on undocumented Raza workers, recent developments in the United Farm Workers union, the present status of the Raza Unida parties, and the Chicano student movement. "Militant Chicanos are looking for the kind of answers we have to offer," she said. "Let's make sure that we reach them with those answers."

A special presentation by National Executive Committee member José G. Pérez described the development of the struggle of Puerto Ricans in the United States and outlined tasks for the YSA in this struggle.

There was also a panel dealing with the different women's liberation struggles taking place around the country—the fight for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, the development of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the struggle to defend the right to abortion.

In the past year, the YSA had participated in the widest range of political activities in its history, Ginny Hildebrand pointed out in the organization report. The YSA had also strengthened itself considerably, successfully completing a \$35,000 fund drive, and increasing the sales of the socialist press. In the four months from September to December, 384 people had been recruited to the YSA.

Among the projections for the coming year, Hildebrand said, were a fund drive to raise \$38,000 and a plan to put fifteen teams of Young Socialists on the road for eight weeks, traveling across the country spreading socialist ideas, recruiting to the YSA, and building the campaign to fight the racist terror in Boston.

One evening of the convention, chaired by YSA National Organization Secretary Delfine Welch, was given over to a presentation on the expansion of the socialist movement. Progress reports were given on what the expansion fund had helped accomplish and what it will finance in the future. The new book by Evelyn Reed, *Woman's Evolution*, was released at the convention. This was made possible by the expansion fund.

Also given was a report, with slides, on the progress being made in build-

ing a new branch of the SWP in Milwaukee. Welch said that the fund had set a goal of \$100,000 to be raised by the time of the SWP convention in August, and was able to announce by the end of the convention that \$31,000 had already been pledged toward that goal.

All the reports presented to the convention were approved unanimously by the full delegates. After the singing of "The Internationale," the delegates elected a new National Committee and national officers—Malik Miah as national chairman, Rich Finkel as national secretary, and Ginny Hildebrand as national organization secretary.

The convention received extensive press coverage. In fact, according to the credentials report delivered to the convention, more than seventy persons attended the convention after hearing about it in the news, including two persons from West Virginia who heard the regular reports on the convention carried by their local radio station, telephoned St. Louis for more

details, and drove to the convention. By the end of the convention they had asked to join the YSA, together with twenty-seven other persons.

Perhaps the high point of the whole convention was the rally launching the SWP 1976 campaign. In addition to Camejo and Reid, speakers included Linda Jenness, the party's 1972 presidential candidate; Robert Harper from the Boston Student Committee Against Racism; Ed Heisler, cochairman of the SWP 1976 Campaign Committee; and Nan Bailey, who will be directing YSA support work for the campaign. Participants at the rally contributed more than \$21,000 toward the campaign.

After the candidates were introduced, chanting broke out: "Peter Camejo, Willie Mae Reid—Socialism is what we need!"

The rally was punctuated throughout by rhythmic clapping. The whole atmosphere reflected the confidence and enthusiasm of an organization fully prepared for the campaigns of the coming year. □

## Political Police Gain a Round

# YSA to Continue Fight Against FBI Spying

By Peter Green

Preparations for the fourteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance included an important legal battle to protect the civil rights of participants at the gathering.

On December 13, fifteen days before the convention was due to open, New York District Judge Thomas Griesa granted a motion of the YSA for an injunction against Federal Bureau of Investigation plans to spy on the gathering. The injunction prohibited FBI agents or confidential informers from "attending, surveilling, listening to, watching, or otherwise monitoring" the convention.

Although the ruling was overturned by a three-judge court of appeals on December 24, right up to the eve of the convention and throughout the convention itself, the YSA's attorneys, Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan, were seeking a ruling from a Supreme Court justice to set aside the appeal ruling. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall heard the case on De-

ember 27. He ruled that the FBI should be allowed to infiltrate and spy on the convention.

In opening the convention, the national chairman of the YSA, Andrew Pulley, warned:

"I just want to say one thing to all you undercover neanderthals from the FBI who are monitoring this convention—we are not going to rest until we get a decision banning you from this convention and future conventions. And when we do we will find out who you are and send you to jail!"

The request for the injunction to halt FBI spying was part of a broader suit by the YSA and Socialist Workers party against all forms of government surveillance and harassment. The suit asks \$27 million in damages.

The YSA found out about the FBI's spying plans accidentally. An employee at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis, where the convention was to be held, told YSA leaders that an

FBI agent had inquired at the hotel about what rooms the YSA would be using.

In its request for an injunction, the YSA said that the FBI's presence would inhibit young people from attending the convention as well as inhibit discussion at the gathering itself, thus violating the First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly of convention participants.

Judge Griesa, who originally heard the case, noted that although the FBI justified its harassment and surveillance of the YSA on the grounds that the organization allegedly had illegal aims, including overthrow of the government "by force and violence," attorneys defending the FBI had been unable to produce a scrap of evidence of any illegal activity.

"You have been looking at this organization for thirty-five years or so," the judge told the government attorney, "and you haven't been able to tell me of one single, solitary crime or illegal activity committed by anybody in this organization."

In a last-minute attempt to get the ruling changed, the government attorney appealed to Griesa just as the decision was about to be released. He said that if the FBI's undercover informers were not allowed to attend the convention, "their absence would be conspicuous," since they would include persons who are "actively involved in SWP or YSA activities."

Griesa refused the government's request for a change in the injunction. He stated: "If they are informants of the FBI, they are playing a role which is just the role which I said they should not be able to play at this conference, and I don't think they should be there."

Leonard Boudin, one of the YSA's attorneys, was quoted by the December 17 *New York Times* as saying that the order marked "the first time in American history that a Federal court has prohibited F. B. I. surveillance of any political organization."

In an interview published in the December 27 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*, Boudin also stressed the implications of the decision for the eventual success of the broader suit by the SWP and the YSA.

"All of the arguments the government is making in the case itself," he said, "they made in relation to this motion for preliminary injunction.

And the court upheld us. Therefore the decision might well foreshadow the result in this case, because so much of the substance was involved here."

Even though in the end it was not possible to prevent FBI agents from attending the convention, the ruling by Marshall was not a complete setback. His arguments denying the YSA's request for a stay of the order of the court of appeals and for reinstatement of Judge Griesa's original injunction did not rule out an ultimate victory in the case. He argued that since there was a suit for a permanent injunction pending, it would not be correct to grant a preliminary injunction, since the permanent damage to the cover of the FBI agents outweighed the harm to the YSA at this late stage if they attended.

Moreover, as the December 28 *Washington Post* pointed out, "he rejected the Justice Department's argu-

ment that the party's fears of injury to their First Amendment rights were not serious enough to warrant court attention to the merits of the dispute."

The court of appeals had ruled that although the FBI agents could attend the convention, they could not disclose the names of members and guests attending the convention to the Civil Service Commission and thus threaten their jobs or employment prospects. Marshall added to this that the government could not transmit any information obtained at the convention to any nongovernmental entities such as schools or employers. Nor could the government carry out any disruptive activity at the convention.

As Andrew Pulley pointed out in his opening address: "We know this isn't going to stop those swine from doing it, but when we catch them this will expose the government even more as the undemocratic antiquity it is." □

## Crush Protests Against Inflation, Unemployment

### Malaysian Regime Imprisons 2,000 Students

By Jamie Doughney

[The following article appeared in the December 13, 1974, issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney, Australia.

[Although little news of the student upsurge it describes has been carried in the press outside of Malaysia, the struggle there is continuing. According to a report in the December 27 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the student boycott of the December and January examinations appears to have met initial success—in Ipoh, only sixty of the 650 students turned up for the first-year papers at Ungku Omar Polytechnic.

[Undergraduate examinations are scheduled for January 13, and the government has threatened to fail all those who do not take them. Several university lecturers have suggested that the present third term be nullified and a new one held during the long vacation as "a face-saving measure" for the government.

[A further focus for the student struggle will be provided by the upcoming trials of squatters and students arrested during the upsurge in

September after the government forcibly removed squatters from a settlement in Johore Bahru and razed their homes. Forty-eight squatters are scheduled to go on trial January 12-14, and five student leaders are to go on trial February 25-26, among them Hishamuddin Rais, the general secretary of the University of Malaya Students Union.]

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After a week of concerted protest over the worsening economic situation faced by the masses of people in Malaysia, police have occupied two universities in Kuala Lumpur, and reports indicate that over 2,000 students have been arrested and are currently under detention. The target of the students' actions has been Malaysia's skyrocketing inflation, growing unemployment, and falling rubber prices, which have led to increased poverty and starvation throughout the country. They were also protesting corruption in the Government.

The demonstrations began on De-



ember 3, when 5,000 students took to the streets in Kuala Lumpur. The Singapore daily *The Straits Times* reported on December 4: "More than 1,000 student demonstrators were arrested yesterday following a day-long running battle in which university undergraduates and police fought it out in the streets, at the National Mosque, the General Post Office and various parts of the city."

"The major demonstration of the day was sparked off after about 500 students gathered at the Selangor Club Padang [a park-like area in Kuala Lumpur in which Malaysia's independence was declared and where official celebrations are conducted] in front of the Secretariat building at 9.15 a.m., protesting against inflation and the falling rubber price."

The demonstration was broken up when the Federal Reserve Units, Malaysia's paramilitary riot police who are renowned for their vicious attacks against demonstrators, were sent in, firing tear gas at the students. By that night the number of arrested stood at 1,167.

Other demonstrations took place in Penang and Ipoh, foreshadowing the widespread antigovernment actions which were to continue throughout the week. In these encounters with the FRUs many more students were arrested.

The repression with which the Malaysian Government responded to the protests reflects its complete unwillingness to tolerate any form of opposition. It saw the issues around which the students were demonstrating as particularly threatening. In the previous months actions by rubber workers and peasants over the erosion of their living conditions were becoming more widespread and sharply directed against the Government.

Using the repressive powers at its disposal the Government moved to isolate the student leaders. *The Australian* of December 10 reported that 22 student leaders had been detained under the Internal Security Act. This Act provides for those arrested to be detained without trial.

Apart from "civil offences" which can be brought against the students who were arrested, they can also face prosecution under the notorious University and University Colleges Act, which provides the Government with the means of rigidly controlling the activities of the student population. One rel-

evant section of the Act stipulates:

"15 (1) No students' council, faculty students' organisation or any body or group of students of a university shall have any affiliation with, or shall do anything which can be construed as expressing support, sympathy or opposition to any political party or trade union as established and regulated under law or . . . to any unlawful group or body of individuals."

Conviction for these "offences"—offences which clearly prohibit any political activity, including criticism of the Government—would make a student liable for six months jail as well as a fine.

One of the key features of the Government's attack on the students has been the charge that they were inspired by students and student organisations in Australia, New Zealand, and Britain, including radical Malaysians studying in these countries. The Australian Union of Students has come in for particular attack. Michael Richardson, staff correspondent in Singapore, wrote in the December 10 *Sydney Morning Herald*:

"Australian students were attacked by two Malaysian ministers yesterday for allegedly meddling in Malaysian affairs. The influential Home Affairs Minister, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie and the recently appointed Education Minister, Dr Mahithir Mohamed, also lashed out at New Zealand and British students. . . .

"Both Ministers charged overseas foreign students with indirectly encouraging some Malaysians 'to create a lot of problems in this country.'"

These statements follow earlier attacks by Mahithir on radical Malaysian students studying in Australia and New Zealand, describing them as "neocolonialists out to undermine the nation." The recent cases of Khoo Ee Liam, a Malaysian student who studied in Australia and New Zealand, and Wong Siong Seng, who studied in New Zealand, who were both arrested upon return to Malaysia for having associations with left-wing organisations while overseas, are an example of the Government's intention to intimidate Malaysian students studying in other countries as well as at home.

The economic situation which sparked the student upsurge has become extremely serious for the vast majority of Malaysians. Over the last

two years the prices of basic daily necessities have jumped by 50 to 200 percent. Hard hit have been the prices of beef, milk, sugar, flour, and bread. According to the Kuala Lumpur daily *The New Straits Times* of October 29, the cost of living in Kuala Lumpur is 4 percent higher than in London.

This must also be considered in terms of the buying power of Malaysian workers, whose wages are as low as \$1 [A\$1 equals about US\$1.33] a day. In addition there is a high level of unemployment, around 20 percent, and strikes are forbidden by law. Forty percent of the residents of Kuala Lumpur are squatters and 350,000 peasant families have no land or inadequate land, and this figure increases at a rate of about 10,000 a year.

Along with this, working people and the rural poor have been hit by the decline in rubber prices on the international market, as the imperialist countries aim at driving down the prices of raw materials. In Baling, an area in northern Malaya, the population, most of whom are rubber tappers, have been suffering greatly from the drop in prices as the rainy season has come. To date a minimum of five people have died of starvation, and the figure is most likely higher but obscured by government censorship of reports from the area. Malnutrition is high amongst the whole population of the region.

Reacting to this situation a demonstration of 1,000 people from Kg Weng and Borgor, in Baling, was held on November 19. It was "dispersed" by the FRUs, who attacked it with tear gas. The next day a similar demonstration was held in another part of the region. The following day, November 21, 13,000 people from all over Baling came to demonstrate against worsening hunger but were again attacked by the riot police.

Finally on December 1, when 25,000 again gathered in Baling, some concessions were won from the authorities. Despite the news blackout by the authorities, it is clear that the starvation and semistarvation in Baling is not exceptional but reflective of the situation in all of Malaysia. Also clear is that these demonstrations were one of the major reasons for government sensitivity to the militant protests of the students. □

# Why You Can't Find a Decent Low-Priced Home

By Jim McIlroy

[The following article appeared in the November 29 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

\* \* \*

The building industry has been especially hard hit by recession in the past months. This has had severe effects on a large section of the working population, since construction and related industries are a major source of employment.

More than 4,000 building workers lost their jobs during September alone, according to Federal Government figures, compared to 1,600 the previous month. Since then the rate of sackings in the building industry has increased still further.

The downturn in the industry is the worst since the 1961 "credit squeeze" under Menzies. It has even been compared to the depression of the 1930s. One big building employer described the situation in the industry as: "... a national calamity—a crisis caused by loss of confidence." But while business confidence is going through a severe slump at present, there is a more long-term process at work.

Australian working people are beginning to question the ability of capitalist industry to produce the goods, in housing as well as in all other fields. Many myths about affluence under capitalism are being challenged, including those about the "great Australian housing industry."

## Effects of Recession

The housing industry has always been a barometer of the overall state of the economy. And in 1974 the crash of such giant developers as Mainline, Home Units Australia, and Landall, and the fall of Cambridge Credit in the housing finance field have shown just how shaky many large companies really are in the face of a sudden economic downturn.

The recent fall in activity throughout the building industry as a whole

has been dramatic. More than 150 major development projects with a total value of well over \$300 million have been postponed or dropped since July. High-rise development in the big cities has virtually come to a standstill.

The failure of the giant firms is only the most obvious part of the crisis. New South Wales Premier Askin warned that up to fifty home-building companies could go out of business, and that 35,000 employees could be retrenched in the next few months unless strong action were taken to boost the housing industry.

One of the biggest developers, L. J. Hooker Corporation, has revealed that, since August, it has been forced to prop up small builders and subcontractors to the tune of \$1 million a month in materials and services to prevent them going bankrupt. But the company has said that it cannot afford to continue this beyond December. Giant development companies, such as Hooker Corporation, and the major financial institutions, in any case, prefer to invest in the more profitable area of high-rise commercial offices in the city centres, rather than in housing, which Hooker admits is the least profitable area of building.

The effects of the downturn on the availability of new housing has been very sharp. Building work began on 60 percent fewer homes in Sydney in the three months to the end of September than in the previous quarter. Nationally, home-building is down at least 60 percent on the same period last year—a new seven year low.

A representative of the newly formed building and real estate industry employer advisory "task force," M. Kalaf, estimated that: "... more than 240,000 people will not have the accommodation that should have been built for them this year."

A national survey of construction activity carried out by the ANZ banking group reported that 73 percent of new, completed home units and flats remained unsold in the three months

to September, compared to 29 percent in the first quarter of 1974. Similarly, 26 percent of completed houses remained unsold compared to 9 percent, for the same periods respectively.

What all these figures reveal is that the capitalist housing industry is totally unable to cater for the needs for accommodation of the Australian working people.

## Long-Term Trends

An important part of the "Australian dream" has always been the right of every family to own their own home. For a long time, especially in the period of postwar boom, the rate of home-ownership in this country has been relatively high. But for a number of reasons there has been a strong trend away from ownership towards rental in the last few years. The only available figures show that the proportion of Australian dwellings which are owner-occupied fell between 1966 and 1971—from 71.38 percent to 68.78 percent.

The 1974 credit squeeze has drastically reduced loan capital for housing and made building loans more expensive. In order to qualify for a loan of \$20,000 from a permanent building society a person must earn \$205 a week. Families earning less than \$117 a week can get a government financed loan of up to \$17,500 from a terminating building society.

This means that those getting between \$117 and \$205 will not be able to get a loan anything like what they require. As reported in the *Australian* of November 7, the average loan now needed to buy a home is \$25,000. Therefore, only people or couples with total incomes of more than \$260 a week now will be able to get a loan big enough for the cost of an average house. The national average wage is at present only \$129.

According to the October 14 *National Times*, over 70 percent of the population have now been priced out of the housing market. Many more



will be in a very precarious position, faced with payments over twenty-five years at 12 percent interest.

The price of land alone has risen enormously in the last few years. For instance, the average price of a block of land in Sydney has increased by more than 80 percent, to around \$18,500, in the last three years. This is clearly beyond the reach of most workers. And this figure is increasing all the time. The credit squeeze has accelerated a process which has been going on for some time.

What this means is that the dream of house-ownership for all has become a myth. A growing proportion of the working population will never own their own home, whatever the conditions in the housing industry at any particular time.

## Role of the Government

In this situation rack-renting landlords are taking advantage of the increasing demand for accommodation. In the last half of this year alone, rents are estimated to have increased by between 10 and 20 percent in the Sydney area, according to the *Sydney Morning Herald* of October 21.

Increasingly, for a large section of the working population, not just the lower income brackets, the question of inflated rents and the tyranny of landlords will be the main problem in housing. So far, the only aid to tenants by governments is a \$4 rent subsidy available only to pensioners and subject to a savage means test.

Government housing accounts for less than 10 percent of total housing in this country, although with Labor in office in Canberra this proportion is increasing slightly. The state housing commissions, which handle the bulk of government housing, have been the centres of numerous controversies in recent years. The high-rise, high-density housing they have attempted has always been done on the cheap, and the conditions imposed on low-income families have been described by the Victorian Housing Commission Tenants Union as "stifling."

Moreover, most state housing authorities prefer to sell houses to individuals, in line with bolstering the "home-ownership" myth, rather than concentrate on providing cheap, high-quality rented housing for the major-

ity. The need is obvious from the fact that in NSW, for instance, more than 35,000 families are on the waiting lists for housing commission homes after a 25 percent increase in applications in the last four months.

According to a Federal Labor MP, housing commission homes have been bought by companies at less than market prices and then sold at more than 50 percent profit, and on impossible terms, to low-income families. This is only one example of the way in which private enterprise is featherbedded by governments.

Controls on swindlers and speculators are quite insufficient. Scandals such as the recent infamous case of land fraud in Glebe (an inner suburb of Sydney), are only the most blatant examples. Shoddy and even dangerous building work is part of the game. Meanwhile, housing for many blacks and for thousands of low income people in the cities and country towns is at destitution level.

The Federal Labor Government is committed to a policy of ensuring that "every family can secure accommodation of its own choosing appropriate to its own needs." Yet it was Labor's credit squeeze and raising of interest rates that aggravated the present housing crisis.

Labor did increase the amount of funds in the Budget available for government housing, but this will go nowhere near answering the need. The Government's main response to the slump in the building industry has been to release \$150 million for savings-bank housing loans in early November. This will build no more than 7,500 homes, which is only 80 percent of one month's housing approvals.

Even so, the rapid injection of new funds into private housing will lead at best only to another "go" in the cycle of "stop-go" boom and bust in the building industry that has been the normal situation for decades. A new shortage of raw materials and skilled labor would be the only result, pushing prices even further into the stratosphere. In addition, the likelihood is for a further land price boom, which the new state land commissions will not be able to halt.

Labor is proposing to attempt to apply some form of financial regulation to the activities of development companies, but the aim of this is merely to prevent the sort of over-extension which causes crashes, like that of

Mainline. In general, the Government, and business, accept that the housing industry will depend on government support increasingly in the future, with government contracts being a key element of stability. This will merely amount to a further subsidy for still profitable giants, like A. V. Jennings Ltd.

Labor's housing policies seek to strengthen capitalist industry rather than replace it. A much more radical solution is necessary and urgent.

The serious problems of the housing industry are an aspect of the problems of the economy as a whole. Already building workers are beginning to take action to defend their jobs against large-scale retrenchment. In Queensland, for instance, employees of the state's largest construction company, Keith Morris Ltd., have refused to accept layoffs threatened as a result of the financial problems of the company. The demand for jobs for all can be related to the public need in the housing field.

## Program for Housing

A program for effective action on housing would include the following demands:

1. A *massive* government program of high quality, low-cost housing, available to all the working people. This program would give jobs to large numbers of the unemployed. It would go much further than the Labor Government's present plans for housing schemes in Woolloomooloo and Glebe in inner Sydney and Emerald Hill in Melbourne, which can serve only a small number of low income earners.

2. Rents to be no more than 10 percent of actual income. This is a demand relevant to an ever-growing proportion of the working population, as we have seen.

3. Nationalisation of all land owned by speculators, so-called "developers," and renters.

4. Nationalisation of all development corporations, private building societies, and businesses of housing speculators, who prey on the home-seeking public.

5. A comprehensive, integrated system of planning of urban development, with standards of housing, styles, and community needs to be determined by representatives of working people, students, and pensioners—in other words, the vast bulk of residents. □



# What Road for the Underdeveloped Countries?

By Ernest Harsch

[Fourth of a series.]

The heaviest blows of the current food crisis are falling on the poorest countries of the underdeveloped world. The artificial food shortages and high prices threaten massive famines that may take tens of millions of lives and throw entire countries into bankruptcy. The ever tighter grip of the imperialists on the world food market will lead to the further impoverishment and dependence of the "neocolonial" countries—as long as they remain within the framework of the capitalist system.

While the American agricultural monopolies exported 73.5 million metric tons of grain in 1973, the countries of the underdeveloped world imported more food than at any other time in their histories. Lester Brown of the Overseas Development Council estimated that the countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia had to import up to 51 million metric tons of grain in 1973. But since the costs of the imports had reached prohibitive levels, restricting the amounts these regimes could afford, the actual need was undoubtedly far greater, with tens of millions of persons surviving on the barest minimum and countless others succumbing to starvation.

The magnitude of this dependence, however, is only of recent origin. According to figures compiled by Brown from United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and U. S. Department of Agriculture statistics (see chart),<sup>17</sup> the gap between farm products exported by the imperialist powers—led by the United States, Canada, and Australia—and those imported by the underdeveloped world, first emerged after the second

17. The plus signs denote net exports; the minus signs, net imports. Although the overall trends depicted in Brown's chart are accurate, the broadness of his categories obscures a few points: (a) Part of the reason for the net export figure for Africa and Asia before World War II may have been because of the direct imperialist plundering of the colonies. The French colonial administration in Indo-

Region	1934-38	1948-52	1960	1966	1973
	(millions metric tons)				
North America	+ 5	+23	+39	+59	+91
Latin America	+ 9	+ 1	0	+ 5	- 3
Western Europe	- 24	- 22	- 25	- 27	- 19
Eastern Europe and Soviet Union	+ 5	—	0	- 4	- 27
Africa	+ 1	0	- 2	- 7	- 5
Asia	+ 2	- 6	- 17	- 34	- 43
Australia and New Zealand	+ 3	+ 3	+ 6	+ 8	+ 6

world war. Since 1960 in particular, this gap has been widening more each year.

Based on present population growth and food-production trends, agricultural experts predict that the dependence of the poor countries on foreign food will reach even more staggering proportions in the near future. Writing in the October 24 *New York Times*, Anthony Lewis reported that, according to some experts, the underdeveloped countries would need up to 85 million tons of grain imports by 1985. In a year of bad harvests, the figure could jump to more than 100 million tons. At current prices, such an amount would cost about \$20 billion.

Although food production on a world scale increased much faster than population, in the neocolonial countries it has stagnated, barely keeping pace with population growth. Roger Revelle wrote in the September 1974 *Scientific American* that between 1953 and 1971 food production in the underdeveloped world grew by 2.9% a year while population increased 2.6% a year. By region, this broke down

china, for instance, exported rice to France despite local shortages. (b) The increase in grain imports to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was partly caused by the efforts of those states to increase production of beef. (c) The "Asia" category would have been more accurate if China and Japan had been treated separately, giving a clearer picture of the imports of the semicolonial countries.

to an annual per capita gain of .9% for Latin America and .2% for the non-Communist countries of Asia. In Africa it actually declined by 1.1% over the entire period.

In the industrialized countries, on the other hand, per capita agricultural production has increased an average of 1.5% a year.

## Landlords and Creditors

The stagnation of agriculture in these neocolonial countries is most clearly reflected in productivity. According to René Dumont and Bernard Rosier in *The Hungry Future*, the average grain yield per hectare (2.47 acres) in the underdeveloped countries varies between two and twelve quintals (220.5 pounds), while in the Netherlands the average yield is more than thirty quintals. India's rice yields per hectare are only 40 to 50% the size of China's and 20% of Japan's. This difference in productivity also extends into animal husbandry. The average Indian cow produces 220 liters of milk a year; its Dutch counterpart can deliver 4,150 liters annually.

The obstacles to greater agricultural productivity are not technical. Although fertilizer, pesticides, irrigation, and farm equipment are all necessary to raise crop yields, their availability is determined by social and economic development and organization. Without sufficient capital, a thriving domestic market, or vast tracts of land unfettered by feudal property ties,

farmers would never have been able to revolutionize agricultural production in the United States.

One of the main roadblocks to the expansion of agriculture along capitalist lines in the neocolonial world is the widespread existence of semifeudal forms of land tenure, particularly in Latin America and Asia. Although some of the radical-sounding populist regimes that have taken power since the second world war have launched a few token land-reform programs, the bourgeoisies in those countries were generally too closely tied to the landowning classes to carry them through, even though their failure to do so meant holding back capitalist development as a whole.

In India, for instance, a large portion of the peasantry owns either no land or not enough to survive on it. According to Charles Bettelheim in *India Independent* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1968), a full 38 percent of the peasantry are agricultural workers (*mazdoors*). An additional 45 percent, the *kisans*, may own some land indirectly or work a property owner's land as tenants or sharecroppers. The *maliks*, who rent their land out or who hire agricultural laborers to work it, comprise only 17 percent of all peasant families, but own more than half the cultivated land.

With such a stratification of the rural population, those who work the land generally have no interest in improving it or increasing productivity, since the only ones to benefit would be the landowners.

A similar situation exists in Latin America, where large estates, or *latifundia*, are often run by absentee landowners who hire cheap agricultural labor or rent land to sharecroppers. As Dumont and Rosier note, "Large *latifundia* are a major cause of underproduction in agriculture. . . ."

Despite the growing numbers of propertyless peasants in the neocolonial world, much of the land held by large landowners is kept idle. The April 20, 1974, *London Economist* reported that a full 55 percent of the arable land in the underdeveloped countries is not cultivated.

The continued existence of professional moneylenders in the countryside also contributes to the stagnation of agriculture. Having a local credit monopoly, they charge extortionate interest rates—usually higher

than in the industrial sector—further impoverishing the lower and middle peasantry and making a large number of potential agricultural investments unprofitable. In addition, rural capital is often drawn toward usury instead of production.

### You Can't Eat Cotton

Since the underdevelopment, or lopsided development, of the neocolonial economies—the result of imperialist domination—causes a stagnant domestic market, the capitalist agricultural interests are forced to look toward the world market for their outlets. The pressure of this international market on both urban and rural capital formation is perhaps the most negative factor in the way of greater food production in these countries.

Several have attempted to develop their food exports: Thailand and Burma in rice, Argentina in beef and grain, and Peru in fish, being among the most prominent. The fierce competition of the imperialist food exporters, however, is threatening to drive them under.

In 1954, for example, a large shipment of U. S. wheat to Japan left both Burma and Thailand with huge surpluses of rice they could not sell. In 1973, after several years of poor harvests, Thailand banned its exports of rice in order to supply domestic needs. The July 2, 1973, *Far Eastern Economic Review* wrote, "If the Thai export ban continues too long, Bangkok is in danger of losing its markets in China and elsewhere, assuming that alternative sources of supply generally improve."

Peru's fishmeal exports dropped over the past few years because of a shifting of the Humboldt Current that brings nutrients to the fish off the Peruvian coast. Since soybeans are the biggest competitor to fishmeal—and the United States supplies 90 percent of the soybean on the world market—Peru's markets have also become threatened.

The competitiveness of the U. S. food monopolies has compelled the agricultural interests in the semicolonial countries to concentrate on special export crops. "In Latin America, for example," H.J. Maidenberg wrote in the October 20, 1974, *New York Times*, "the flow of American surpluses was often such that farmers were forced to grow coffee, sugar, cotton,

cocoa and other exportable cash crops, rather than food." In the Philippines, rice lands were converted to sugar production, since sugar was much more profitable. Consequently, the Philippines has had to import rice for several years.

Between 1940 and 1962, the production of Mexico's three principal export crops—cotton, coffee, and tomatoes—grew 10.9%, 9.2%, and 8.8% respectively. By contrast, the production of Mexico's basic food items, beans, rice, and corn, gained less than 4% during the same period. In India, the production of sugar, cotton, and jute increased much faster than that of food grains.

World Bank loans also tend to flow toward export crops. In 1972, loans to Tanzania went toward cotton and coffee crops, tobacco redrying plants, coffee pulperies, and tea factories.

Sometimes the imperialists intervene directly to encourage the cultivation of cash crops over food crops. According to Robin Dennis in *The Economics of Hunger* (Madison Project on the World Food Situation), almost all of Zaïre's export crops are grown on plantations largely owned by foreign investors.

United Nations statistics show that from 1956 to 1964, the growth in underdeveloped countries of agricultural products intended solely for export was 2.2 times greater than the rate of growth for total agricultural production. Generally, it is in the production of cash crops that capitalist agriculture in the neocolonial countries develops the furthest.

However, the value of these exports in relation to the industrial goods imported by the semicolonial countries has been falling steadily for years. Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez pointed this tendency out when he replied to President Ford's September 18 speech before the United Nations General Assembly attacking the oil-producing countries.

"Before the energy crisis and before petroleum prices reached the levels at which they stand today," he said in an open letter to Ford, "the raw materials produced by our countries were purchased year after year at prices which were never in proportion to or in equilibrium with the prices of the manufactured goods which our countries require for their development. . . ."

"The coffee-producing countries of

Latin America and Africa will lose roughly 30 per cent of their foreign-exchange earnings, while manufactured goods from the developed nations have doubled or tripled in price."

### The 'Green Revolution' Fizzles

In the late 1960s, bourgeois agronomists throughout the world trumpeted the "successes" of the so-called green revolution, hailing it as the remedy to hunger in the underdeveloped countries. They pointed to the increased crop yields resulting from hybrid strains of wheat and rice, heavier fertilization, better irrigation, and the introduction of farm machinery. This intensification of farming in India, for example, raised the country's wheat yield from 12.3 million tons in 1964-65 to 20 million tons in 1970.

Since reliance on such technology requires large amounts of capital, the "green revolution" was limited to the largest and most prosperous farms. Reporter Boyce Rensberger estimated in the July 26, 1974, *New York Times* that the farming methods associated with the "green revolution" had not been applied to half the arable land in any of the underdeveloped countries, and that in most they were used on less than one-tenth of the farmland. A recent study conducted by the International Rice Research Institute in Los Baños, Philippines, indicates that the new high-yielding varieties of rice are only grown on 20 percent of the rice land in Asia (not counting China).

Even this limited use of modern farming techniques in the semicolonial world has now been undermined by the high costs of fertilizer and petroleum products. *Washington Post* correspondent Lewis Simons interviewed a number of farmers in Punjab state—the "breadbasket" of India and one of the showcases of the "green revolution." He reported in the May 5, 1974, *Post* that because of their lack of diesel fuel (which powers irrigation pumps and machinery) and fertilizer, production was expected to drop 15 to 30 percent.

The most revealing aspect of the "green revolution's" limitations has been its inability to improve the lot of the small farmers or to overcome the economic and social restrictions that plague semicolonial agriculture. The main beneficiaries of the "green revolution" have been the upper lay-

ers of the peasantry.

"Rapid technological change and high rates of investment in agriculture," the April 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review* wrote, "especially if effected by private initiative, do not guarantee improvement for the majority of peasants. Indeed, it is more likely that these changes, occurring within the context of the present structure of rural society, cause more distress by benefiting only a small section of the rural population."

In countries like India, where a large portion of the peasantry do not own their own land, but instead rent or sharecrop, even those peasants who can afford to increase their productivity don't do so for fear of higher rents or taxes.

Those rich farmers who do engage in capitalist agriculture for the market always look toward the profit level first. In some local areas, the increased production actually "glutted" the market and drove prices down. The "green revolution" in Asia has thus created the same paradox that appeared in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s: instances of "overproduction" in the midst of massive hunger.

"From India, Pakistan and the Philippines," the December 12, 1968, *Far Eastern Economic Review* wrote, "came reports in 1968 that districts using the improved cereals were suffering from overproduction which embarrassed official price control policies and created serious storage and transport problems." By May 1969, Manila had come out in favor of restricting world rice production to prevent a collapse of prices on the world market.

Dumont and Rosier quoted a large landowner from southern India who exemplified the opposition of the landlord class toward improved agricultural production. "If the total area of cultivated land were increased," he said, "land rent would fall and as a landowner I should lose money. With more ricefields, employment would rise, then wages might rise as well and I would lose more money. If more grain were produced as a result of the changes, prices would fall; the whole project is against my interests and I oppose it."

The dismal failure of the "green revolution" proves that the partial and haphazard application of technology to neocolonial agriculture is not the

answer. The national bourgeoisies are totally incapable of carrying out the desperately needed land reforms that could free the countryside of the parasitic landowners. Nor are they capable of overthrowing the imperialist domination that shackles their economies to the world capitalist market and prevents the full industrialization of the underdeveloped world.

Without an industrial revolution in the *urban* centers of the semicolonial countries, any significant progress in the agricultural sector is impossible. The absence of an expanding domestic market to absorb the greater farm production possible through mechanization (or its concomitant, the lack of a growing industrialization necessary to employ the millions of slum dwellers and rural poor) places an insurmountable obstacle on the full development of capitalist agriculture in the neocolonial countries today.

Karl Marx pointed out this important condition for the growth of capitalist agricultural relations. After the introduction of money rent and the appearance of agricultural wage laborers, the well-to-do peasants, he wrote, "gradually acquire the possibility of accumulating a certain amount of wealth and themselves becoming transformed into future capitalists. The old self-employed possessors of land themselves thus give rise to a nursery school for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned by the general development of capitalist production beyond the bounds of the country-side."<sup>18</sup>

Today, however, such a development of capitalist production in both the urban and rural areas of the neocolonial world is blocked by imperialist domination.

Ernest Mandel pointed out in his essay "Agricultural Revolution and Industrial Revolution" (see the February 1973 *International Socialist Review*) that the productivity of agricultural labor in countries like Chile, Brazil, Venezuela, Madagascar, and Iraq is today higher than in France in 1810, when the industrial revolution had already begun in that country.

The increase in agricultural productivity in Europe and the United States drove millions of farmers off the land into the cities, where they became wage

18. *Capital*, Volume III, Chapter 47 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966), p. 799.



workers, making possible the industrial revolution. But in the neocolonial world today, such improved productivity only leads to greater unemployment without a thriving industrial sector.

Jonathan Power, in the October 18, 1974, London *Times*, described the results of this rural exodus in the semicolonial countries: "A frighteningly high proportion of these immigrants end up in the towns without a job, and often without a roof. The number of unemployed in townships with a population of 20,000 or more has grown dramatically. In 1950 it was 8,000,000; in 1960, 13,000,000; in 1970, 24,000,000. Unemployment in the urban areas of Africa averages 27 per cent; in the Philippines 13 per cent; in Bogotá, Colombia 11 per cent."

The United Nations, in a report released October 19, 1974, noted the rapid growth of the shantytowns that exist in nearly every city in the neocolonial world. The report said that "slums and squatter settlements at present constitute the living environment for at least one third of the urban population in all developing countries, and they are growing at a rate of 15 per cent a year, which will cause them to double within six years."

### Dampening the Tinderboxes

Such a concentration of poor in the urban centers transforms the cities into political powderkegs. The famine in Africa has already contributed to the overthrow of the regimes in Ethiopia, Upper Volta, and Niger. In India, the Gujarat state government was toppled in February by a mass upsurge sparked by high food prices and scarcities. The prospect of more explosions is very much on the minds of government officials throughout the capitalist world.

The *Wall Street Journal* has also noticed this possibility. Staff reporter Mary Bralove wrote in the October 3, 1974, issue: "These people are angry that they must eat scraps of cereals and grains left over after the affluent nations of the world feed their cattle and poultry. They're angry at rich countries that gladly give away food when granaries are overflowing, but in times of shrinking supplies are tightfisted."

"Such anger fuels revolutions and

forges new political alliances."

Besides seeking to divert attention from the role of American imperialism in the food crisis, it was for the purpose of getting other capitalist states to help pour water on such a danger that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger proposed in September 1973 that the United Nations sponsor a World Food Conference.

At the conference, which opened in Rome November 5, 1974, and drew representatives from more than 100 countries, the U. S. delegation offered no specific pledges of greater U. S. food aid. Instead, a request by members of the U. S. delegation to Washington that the "humanitarian" aid portion of the "Food for Peace" program be increased from one million to two million tons of grain for 1974-75 was turned down by President Ford. But even if such an increase had been approved, it would have meant very little. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization has estimated that the food deficits in the worst hit countries—India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Pakistan, and twenty others—could reach eleven million tons this year.

"By that standard of need," Tom Wicker commented in the November 12, 1974, *New York Times*, "and against the amounts of food assistance being devoted to political purposes, the American humanitarian assistance proposal in Rome seems puny—particularly since there is no guarantee that it will be carried out."

Kissinger, however, placed the blame for the lack of international food aid on other states. In a November 5 speech to the conference he said that the oil-exporting countries had "a special responsibility" to provide more food for emergency relief. Other speakers said that Canada, Australia, Argentina, and the Common Market countries would have to contribute more food aid.

However much actual food is eventually donated by the conference participants and reaches the famine areas, it will fall far short of the real need. The meager aid that is generated in the next few months will undoubtedly be channeled into the most politically explosive regions and cities. New Delhi has already begun to ration its food distribution on such a basis. An October 22, 1974, *New York Times* dispatch from Bankura, West Bengal, reported, "Officials and relief workers

are now saying privately that a tacit decision has been made to deal with the crisis by feeding the tense cities at the expense of the rural districts."

Nor will the problem of world hunger be solved by any of the other proposals raised at the World Food Conference or by various UN bodies over the years—such as more agricultural research, better coordinated emergency relief measures, the formation of committees to "study" the world food situation, or the establishment of token grain reserves. As long as the capitalist market dominates food production and distribution, hunger and famine will continue to flourish.

### The Potential

The experience of such formerly impoverished countries as the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba shows that only by overthrowing the national bourgeoisie and ending imperialist domination through a socialist revolution can an underdeveloped country begin to mobilize its resources to end hunger. Only then can far-reaching land reform be carried out, agricultural production be removed from market pressures, and urban and rural industrialization begin to develop.

As famine continues to take millions of lives in India, the example of China, which less than thirty years ago was no more economically advanced, becomes particularly evident. "Once, China was the world's hungriest nation," the October 14, 1974, *Newsweek* admitted. "Floods and droughts ravaged the countryside, and as late as the 1930s 2 million Chinese died of famine in Shansi Province alone. But those days of privation are apparently now just an unhappy memory. In recent years, as food shortages have become a grim daily reality in other parts of Asia, China has begun to solve the problem of feeding its multiplying population."

Even some agronomists in the United States have begun to acknowledge China's successes. Dr. Norman Borlaug, the well-known developer of high-yield wheat strains, said after touring China with a group of other agronomists, "China's achievements in agriculture simply hit you in the eye. The people everywhere, both in cities and the countryside, look well-fed. You don't see the abject poor and hun-

gry that you see in other parts of the world."

The potential leap in food production for the entire world is no less, once that potential is converted into a reality through socialist planning on an international scale. Edgar Owens of the Agency for International Development pointed out in the Oc-

tober 13, 1974, *Washington Post* that if the world's arable land was all cultivated as efficiently as on Dutch farms, the planet could feed 67 billion persons, seventeen times the present population. □

[Next week: *The Prospects for Unlimited Abundance Under Scientific Planning of Socialism.*]

## Setback to Repression in Santa Rosa

# Argentine Workers Begin to Fight Back

[The following two articles were published in the December 12, 1974, issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, an Argentine sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

### An Encouraging Victory Over 'State of Siege' Law

The Santa Rosa strike, which we describe in another article [see below], has done a great service in dealing the first blow to the antilabor Ley de Seguridad del Estado [state security law], in particular to Article 5 of this law, which restricts the right to strike. As is well known, this article provides for the imprisonment of workers who engage in strikes declared "illegal" by the Ministry of Labor.

In Santa Rosa the government took the first step in this direction, declaring "illegal" a strike called in support of demands for observance of the Ley de Contrato de Trabajo [work contract law]. The mobilization by the compañeros in Santa Rosa prevented, after twenty-six days, heavy prison sentences from being applied in this "illegal" strike that hit other compañeros, such as those at La Hidrófila.

When the Ley de Seguridad was passed—with the votes of the Peronists and the concurrence of the UCR [Unión Cívica Radical—Radical Civic Union, the bourgeois liberal party], which expressed opposition but helped the Peronists get the necessary quorum—our party pointed out that this measure was a weapon for repressing the

workers movement and for restricting democratic rights. We stressed that although it was presented under the pretext of dealing with the guerrillas and the terrorists, its real objectives were quite different.

The simple fact that they were carrying out a "miniwar" with the guerrillas, marked every day by a list of persons killed and imprisoned, indicated to us that the new law was aimed in another direction. In Article 1, by means of vague wording, it established a category of crimes of opinion. In Article 6 it set penalties for speculators. And in Article 5, whose wording and objective were quite precise, it restricted the right to strike, granting the minister of labor the right to declare strikes illegal.

Now that this law has been in effect two and a half months, we can point to the confirmation of our warnings. It has not been used to prosecute one guerrilla, and still less any rightist terrorist. But the government has made much use of two of its articles, Article 1 and 5. Article 6, the one against speculators, has been hardly invoked. Far from being penalized, the capitalists have gotten the "bonus" of price decontrol.

Article 1, which makes holding certain opinions crimes, has been used several times, especially against papers that do not follow the government line. In the general witch-hunt, some papers representing currents within the capitalist class have come under attack, perhaps for the "crime" of opposing the government. At this writing, a newspaper report, which we have been unable to confirm, indicates that in San Nicolás a member of our party named Levatto has been arrested under this article for the "crime" of being a socialist.

But the most important of these repressive articles, Article 5, which penalizes the "crime" of engaging in strikes that are not to the liking of the bosses or the government, has begun to be used not only against the workers movement but also against the bus owners, whose strike was declared "illegal."

The workers strikes to which the Ministry of Labor responded with a threatening "no" include the ones at Hidrófila and Santa Rosa. Other less extensive struggles were quickly called off in the face of government decree. In La Hidrófila, the government had to resort to strong police intervention, which broke the strike and led to the imprisonment of many compañeros.

In Santa Rosa, although there was also intervention by the police, the firmness with which the workers rallied around the strike and the Comité de Lucha [Struggle Committee] elected in the course of it, prevented the government from carrying out the second stage.

We call on all currents in the workers movement and especially the leaderships of the trade unions and the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] to follow the example of the Santa Rosa compañeros in order to win back in our country the right to strike, which was won long ago.

The restriction and loss of this right would threaten the very existence of the workers organizations, as is shown by the dangerous situation in which the San Justo UOM [Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union] finds itself now, even though it opposed the Santa Rosa strike, because it allowed the strikers to meet several times in its union hall.

We call on them not to follow in the footsteps of the leadership of this district, which evicted the workers from their own headquarters, but to take on the real enemy, Article 5, and in general the entire Ley de Seguridad, and fight for its repeal.

### How They Did It in Santa Rosa

On December 5, after twenty-six days on strike, the Santa Rosa compañeros went back into the factory victorious. The bosses recognized the Comité de Lucha and made a pledge to begin rapidly to implement the Ley de Contrato de Trabajo, that is, to meet

the demand the strike was called to win.

The shouts of joy that marked the final assembly did not bring any relaxation of the fighting spirit of a work force that fought not only against the bosses but also against the new weapon of repression represented by the Ley de Seguridad del Estado.

This struggle passed through various stages. It began by demanding nothing more than justice and abiding by the law. For this purpose, the Comisión Interna [CI— Plant Committee] and the Cuerpo de Delegados [CD— Shop Stewards Committee], supported by the UOM, started an involved process of negotiations that ran up short against the stubborn opposition of the bosses.

Defying the executive council of the UOM, the activists and the ranks went over the heads of the shop stewards and started an escalating strike beginning first in the Trafilería shop and then in the Acería.

We talked to several of the 2,500 workers, who gave us a good picture of the situation at that time.

"The Interna and the union were caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. In the factory it became the custom to decide things in assemblies. Almost every day there were three or four." Very quickly the lines were drawn.

On November 20, the police cleared the workers out of the factory, and from that time on, the strike continued outside. Shortly afterward, the UOM evicted the workers assemblies from the union hall, and, to top it off, the ministry declared the strike "illegal." In all, the bosses, the UOM leadership, and the government had decided to break the strike.

To replace the CD and the CI, a Comité de Lucha was elected democratically and began to operate out of the UCR offices in San Justo. The Comité de Lucha started up various workers committees that distributed leaflets, collected funds, and appealed for the support of workers in other factories. Plants such as Indiel, Cegelec, and MAN sent help, and parties such as the PST became involved.

At the end of twenty days, the strike reached its crucial point. A decision was imminent, because the bosses and the government had reached the end of their rope, but there were also signs of weariness among the ranks of the

workers. The decision came when the police evicted the compañeros from the UCR offices.

At the same time, the Partido Justicialista [Social Justice party, the Peronist political organization] offered the workers the use of its headquarters, "where the State of Siege does not apply."<sup>\*</sup>

The compañeros accepted the Justicialistas' offer but at the same time they rejected their demand for the election of a new "soundly Peronist" Comité. The assembly confirmed the Comité (made up of compañeros from various parties).

In view of this demonstration of firmness, the bosses, the government, and the trade-union leadership changed their attitude. They reopened negotiations, and recognized the Comité de Lucha. Lorenzo Miguel [the head of the UOM] came to talk with the strikers. The labor minister, Otero, sent a personal representative and promised to "settle the matter immediately." With these commitments, which involved a partial victory, the workers went back on Thursday [December 5].

This workers mobilization showed that it is possible to win even against the state of siege and Article 5. On the other hand, the vacillations of the

<sup>\*</sup>Formally, the state of siege rules allow the government only to ban outdoor rallies, but they have been used to restrict the right of assembly in general and prevent the functioning of political parties. Apparently, the Santa Rosa Peronists assumed they would not be subjected to the same problems as the other parties. — IP

trade-union bureaucrats throughout the conflict revealed the awkward position in which the union leadership finds itself.

Furthermore, the difficulty of this conflict shows why democratic procedure, organizing the activists and workers committees, is essential to resist the pressures that will be brought to bear.

Finally, there is one experience we want to highlight: The compañeros who insisted that this was a purely trade-union conflict found themselves surrounded by political parties, from the UCR and the Peronists to the PST. The fact is that every struggle involves politics, if only because it runs up against laws like the Ley de Seguridad and the state of siege and because the parties, at least the capitalist parties, have the same kind of mentality as that shown by Minister Otero's envoy when he came to throw in the towel on the last day and told the compañeros: "If we don't settle this, the Peronists will lose 15,000 votes in 1977."

As a workers party, the PST believes that just as in this case the compañeros were able to exploit such electoral calculations for the benefit of the strike, in all cases they should maintain a politically independent attitude and, in fact, have a political line and a party of their own that they can use to defend their interests.

We will talk about this. But in the meantime, we extend our fraternal greetings to the compañeros who won the first victory over the Ley de Seguridad and marked out a road for the entire workers movement. □

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# AROUND THE WORLD



## **Wijeweera Sentenced to Life**

Rohana Wijeweera, the leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front), was sentenced to life imprisonment December 20. The Sri Lanka Criminal Justice Commission (Insurgency) sentenced twenty-eight other defendants to prison terms ranging from two to twelve years, and three received suspended sentences. According to the December 26 *Ceylon News*, the defendants arrived in court singing "The Internationale."

The verdicts were the outcome of a trial that began June 12, 1972, in which the Sri Lanka regime charged Wijeweera and other alleged JVP leaders with attempting to overthrow the regime by violence. The prisoners had originally been arrested in March and April 1971, when the Bandaranaike regime ordered a wave of brutal repression against the JVP and other young rebels, killing thousands. In addition to the defendants in the main trial, hundreds of other alleged JVP members have been tried and convicted.

## **Watergate Crooks Found Guilty**

The jury that has been hearing the sensational Watergate cover-up trial in Washington brought in its verdict January 1.

Former Attorney General John N. Mitchell was found guilty of conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and three counts of perjury.

Former White House Chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman was found guilty of conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and three counts of perjury.

Former White House Domestic Affairs Adviser John D. Ehrlichman was found guilty of conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and two counts of perjury.

Former Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian was found guilty of conspiracy.

The fifth defendant, Kenneth W. Parkinson, was found not guilty.

The four convicted were freed on personal bond until they are sentenced by Federal Judge John Sirica. Their crimes could carry sentences up to twenty-five years in prison. Gambling circles are wagering that the sentences will be much less.

A spokesman for the "big enchilada" Nixon, said that his boss, acting on legal advice, could not make a statement on the verdict. He made it known, however, that

the former White House crook on whose orders the four were acting, felt "deeply anguished."

## **Extensive Nationalizations in Ethiopia**

The Ethiopian military government announced on January 1 the nationalization of all banks, mortgage corporations, and insurance companies. "Appropriate compensation" to all shareholders was promised, but no details on amounts or timing of payments was released.

The nationalizations followed a December 20 pledge by the government "to turn Ethiopia into a socialist country with a one-party system, collective farms and direct Government control over all property useful for economic progress," according to Reuters.

Foreign investments would be welcome, the agency quoted Addis Ababa as saying, "as long as they help the country's economic activities," but "imported customs" that might be dangerous to Ethiopian society would be banned.

Agriculture, which accounts for approximately 70 percent of the country's gross national product, would be organized through collective and private farms. The latter would receive "Government directives," according to Reuters.

Industry, which accounts for about 2 percent of the gross national product, could remain under private ownership if the firms "were run properly."

The military also announced that it was closing all universities and the last two grades of high school to send 60,000 students to the countryside to proselytize for the program.

## **Indian Railway Minister Assassinated**

India's railway minister, Lalit Narayan Mishra, died on January 3 from injuries suffered in a bombing the day before. The explosion took place at a public rally where he was dedicating the opening of a new railway line in his home state of Bihar.

The assassination immediately brought charges from both the governing Congress party of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and from opposition parties that the other side was responsible. Gandhi declared:

"The forces of disruption which have come to the fore lately have spread hatred and indirectly encouraged violence. It is this atmosphere which is responsible for

this dastardly crime." She has previously referred to the followers of Jayaprakash Narayan, the leader of the mass anticorruption drive in Bihar, as "forces of disruption."

## **Thai Students Protest Return of 'Number One Criminal'**

A two-day protest headed by Thai students forced former military dictator Thanom Kittikachorn into exile for the second time December 29. Thanom had returned to Thailand allegedly to visit his ailing father.

As a result of his role in the killing of seventy-two civilians during a student-led revolt in October 1973, Thanom is considered the "Number One Criminal" of the country. The revolt led to the overthrow of his government and his first exile.

When it was learned that Thanom had reappeared in Bangkok on December 27, students demanded that he be tried for the murders and sentenced to death. However, the Sanya regime cited "political considerations" as their reason for deporting Thanom instead of bringing him to trial.

## **Comoro Islands Vote for Independence**

Three of the four Comoro Islands, strategically located on the oil tanker route from the Arab-Persian Gulf, voted December 22 to become independent of France. The fourth of the major islands, Mayotte, voted for incorporation into France as an overseas department.

Since the 287,000 inhabitants of the islands are predominantly Muslim, their independence is expected to mean another pro-Arab vote in the United Nations.

France has pledged to respect the vote, but nearby Tanzania is asking France to withdraw its troops from Mayotte and grant immediate independence to the territory. Dar es Salaam fears that a separatist movement may serve as the pretext for continued French intervention there.

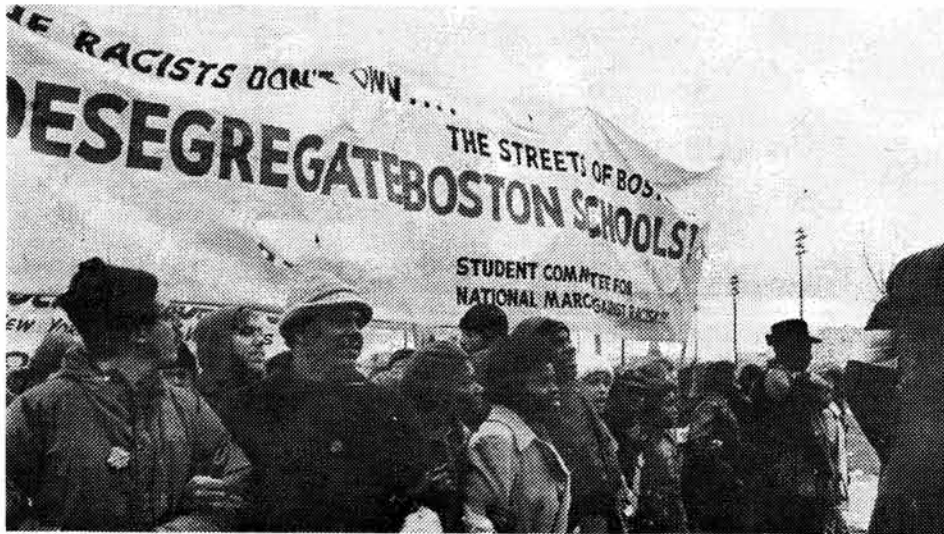
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## Boston: Marcha Contra el Racismo

Por Cindy Jaquith



Boston, el 14 de diciembre

Flores Hermes/Militant

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Thousands Demonstrate to 'Keep Buses Rolling!'", publicado en *The Militant* el 27 de diciembre de 1974.]

\* \* \*

### Boston

"¡Que los autobuses sigan andando!", resonaba en las calles el 14 de diciembre, mientras miles de personas se volcaban a la ciudad para la primera respuesta nacional masiva a los ataques racistas contra la integración escolar en Boston.

Decididos a proseguir la campaña contra el racismo, 250 estudiantes blancos y negros, se reunieron después de la manifestación para llamar a una conferencia nacional estudiantil, a llevarse a cabo el 14 de febrero en Boston, para planificar acciones futuras.

La reunión fue convocada por el Comité Estudiantil pro Marcha Nacional Contra el Racismo del 14 de Diciembre, que también organizó una conferencia el 13 de diciembre que reunió a 1,100 estudiantes.

La conferencia y la marcha del 13-14 de diciembre marcaron un punto culminante, después de meses de arrojar botellas, de epítetos racistas,

y violencia lanzada contra los estudiantes negros que eran transportados a las escuelas blancas de Boston.

Tres días antes de la marcha, una histérica turba de linchamiento de 600 blancos atrapó a más de 100 estudiantes negros dentro de la South Boston High School, gritando: "¡Los vamos a matar!"

La marcha de la libertad del 14 de diciembre, les dió a los racistas la respuesta largamente demorada. Como proclamaba el gigantesco cartel al frente del contingente estudiantil: "¡Los racistas no son dueños de las calles de Boston!"

Los manifestantes del contingente estudiantil casi bailaban de alegría, mientras saltaban para ver la longitud de la marcha. "¡No se puede ver donde termina!", exclamaba un estudiante negro.

La acción organizada con sólo un mes de aviso, marcó la primera vez en que los partidarios del transporte escolar han desmovilizado a los fanáticos "antitransporte" en las calles.

Los cronistas de *The Militant* estimaron en 12,000 la concurrencia a la marcha del 14 de diciembre. La prensa capitalista da cifras que van desde 15,000 a 20,000, y la policía calcula 20,000. Más de un tercio de

los manifestantes eran negros.

En comparación, sólo 5,000 personas fueron al día siguiente a una marcha "antitransporte" organizada por los racistas de South Boston. Fue un gran retroceso para las fuerzas segregacionistas.

Los cronistas de la prensa capitalista han tratado de pintar la marcha antirracista del 14 de diciembre como "violenta." Para lograr esto, la prensa ha exagerado un pequeño incidente durante el día, cuando el senador electo del estado de Massachusetts William Owens, un iniciador de la marcha, y miembros de la Youth Against War and Fascism (Juventud Contra la Guerra y el Fascismo) trataron de guiar a los manifestantes hacia una ruta no permitida. Varios fueron arrestados y heridos cuando los policías atacaron a algunos de los manifestantes.

Excepto por este incidente menor, la marcha fue pacífica y animada. El verdadero mensaje del día fue un resonante "¡No!" a la campaña de violencia utilizada por los fanáticos contra el transporte. Esto se manifestó en los cantos tales como: "¡Los autobuses deben andar, la segregación debe desaparecer!"; "¡Abran las escuelas, que los racistas retrocedan!" y "¡Ea, Ea, qué les parece, le vamos a dar al KKK (Ku Klux Klan)!"

La jovialidad y el espíritu de la multitud, recordaban a las marchas de masas contra la guerra de Vietnam. Mucha gente también la comparaba con las primeras protestas por los derechos civiles. Un veterano del movimiento por los derechos civiles, se volvió hacia su amigo que marchaba con él y señaló, "Esto es como las viejas épocas."

Había también un sentimiento de formar parte de un nuevo movimiento, un movimiento que está recién comenzando a mostrar su poder potencial con esta acción. Como señaló un estudiante negro: "Los ataques racistas no van a parar con una marcha; por eso necesitamos que se nos una más gente. Queremos que los racistas sepan que no pueden seguir. No vamos a permitir que esto ocurra."

El frío que penetraba hasta los huesos y la lluvia no parecían apagar los ánimos. Un grupo de estudiantes negros, en edad de concurrir a la enseñanza media, de Saint Louis, marchaban cantando hacia el lugar de la asamblea. Formaban parte del



Young Eternal Souls (Almas Eternamente Jóvenes), un coro religioso.

"Creo que es ridículo que no se pueda salir e ir a la escuela sin que te pongan una bomba o te arrojen algo", dijo alguien.

"Vine porque creo en la causa," explicó Sharon Campbell, una estudiante negra del Hunter College de New York. Campbell viajó en autobús a Boston el día anterior para participar en la Conferencia Nacional Contra el Racismo.

"En la conferencia los discursos fueron magníficos", dijo. "Yo creo que esto se debería continuar a nivel nacional, y debería participar más gente de todo el mundo."

Muchos estudiantes universitarios de Boston concurren.

También concurren a la marcha estudiantes de la enseñanza media y preparatoria. Un grupo de estudiantes negros salió de una escuela de música, cuando la manifestación pasaba enfrente. Corrieron para alcanzar la cabeza de la marcha, llevando con ellos sus instrumentos.

Otros residentes de Boston aplaudieron mientras pasaba la marcha. Algunos se colgaban de las ventanas para aclamar a los manifestantes.

En ningún momento de la marcha se animaron a aparecer los racistas con sus símbolos o cualquier otra contraprotesta organizada.

Un significativo número de negros que habían sido activistas del movimiento por los derechos civiles, se unieron a la manifestación. Uno de ellos fue Eunetta Pierce de Chicago, quien comenzó a manifestar por la libertad de los negros en 1954. Pierce vino con un contingente de sindicalistas de la Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local p-500 (Sindicato de Industrias Frigoríficas).

"He marchado en todas las marchas de las que participaron el Doctor King, el Doctor Ralph Abernathy, y la Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Conferencia de los Líderes Cristianos del Sur)", dijo. "Yo creo en el principio de que hay que unirse para ser oído. Es la única forma de hacerlo. Se necesitan más marchas en las calles, como se hicieron en Selma, Ala., como se hicieron en el pasado."

Otro manifestante del Local p-500 fue Joseph Barton, quien dijo que Boston se había transformado en un problema nacional. "Si esto puede suce-

der aquí, puede suceder en Chicago," explicó.

Varios autobuses llenos de sindicalistas, muchos de ellos mujeres negras, llegaron de Nueva York. Fueron enviadas delegaciones de la AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District Council 37—Federación Americana de Empleados del Estado, los Condados y los Municipios, Consejo del distrito 37); District 65 of the Distributive Workers (Distrito 65 de los Trabajadores de la Distribución); y el United Store Workers (Trabajadores del Comercio Unidos).

También hubo un grupo que marchaba bajo un emblema que decía, "Miembros de United Federation of Teachers (Federación Unida de Maestros) en contra del racismo." Albert Shanker dirigente principal de la UFT, notorio por su política anti-negra, se había opuesto a la manifestación.

Carteles y emblemas identificaban a docenas de grupos, entre otros el Socialist Workers Party (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores), la Young Socialist Alliance (Alianza de Jóvenes Socialistas), la Coalition of Labor Union Women (Coalición de Mujeres Sindicalistas), United Farm Workers (Trabajadores Agrícolas Unidos), Indochina Peace Campaign (Campaña por la Paz en Indochina), Black Economic Survival (Supervivencia Económica Negra), Puerto Rican Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño), y el "Contingente de Fred Hampton", que fue organizado por varios grupos maoistas.

Grupos de inquilinos de Boston también llevaban sus carteles.

Hubo contingentes de muchas ciudades, incluyendo a Atlanta, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, y Washington, D. C.

Algunos manifestantes agitaban carteles hechos a mano con consignas que variaban desde "Defendamos a los niños" y "Boicot a la lechuga, no a las escuelas" hasta "East Boston dice: No hay calidad sin igualdad", refiriéndose a los racistas que dicen que sólo luchan por que haya "calidad" en la educación.

Cuando el acto comenzó en el Boston Common, mucha gente que estaba de compras, se amontonó para oír a los oradores. El Reverendo Ralph Abernathy, dirigente de la Southern

Christian Leadership Conference (Conferencia de Líderes Cristianos del Sur), dijo a la multitud que tenían que volver "una y otra vez" para derrotar a los segregacionistas.

William Lucey, presidente de la Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (Coalición de Sindicalistas Negros), y secretario tesorero nacional de AFSCME, explicó la necesidad de unificar al movimiento obrero, los grupos negros, los blancos, las organizaciones eclesiásticas, y otros para responder a los ataques en contra de los estudiantes negros.

Hablaron Marguerite Skinner, estudiante negra que asiste a South Boston High, y Linda Lawrence, estudiante blanca de Hyde Park High.

Hablaron también el senador estatal electo William Owens; el comediante Dick Gregory; Ellen Moves Camp, del American Indian Movement (Movimiento de Indios Americanos); John Boone, antiguo comisario del sistema de prisiones de Massachusetts; Jesús López del Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño; Imamu Amiri Baraka, del Congress of African People (Congreso de Gente Africana); y el Profesor George Wald de la Universidad de Harvard.

Mientras los autobuses iniciaban su regreso a Nueva York, Chicago y otras ciudades, había un sentimiento entre los manifestantes de que participaron en la construcción de la historia, de que se habían tomado los primeros pasos para lanzar un poderoso movimiento nacional en defensa del derecho de los negros a una educación equitativa.

"Con marchas como éstas fue la única manera de obtener los derechos civiles en la década del sesenta," dijo Eunetta Pierce. "Y si eso es lo que se necesita en la década del setenta, lo volveremos a hacer." □

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## On the OCI's Proposal to Discuss Differences

[The following statement was released by the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers Party on January 2, 1975.]

\* \* \*

On October 15, 1974, a meeting was held between representatives of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and representatives of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. Observers of the Socialist Workers Party were present. The purpose of the meeting was to hear proposals made by the OCI to engage in a discussion of their differences with the United Secretariat.

The initiative in this move was taken by the leaders of the OCI. In May 1973 they wrote to the United Secretariat proposing that they be permitted to participate in the discussion then going on in the Fourth International. Because of the hostile way in which it was presented, the proposal appeared to be merely a factional maneuver and it was rejected.

The OCI leaders repeated their advance in a much more comradely way in October 1973. The United Secretariat decided to respond in kind, informing the OCI that while their proposal could not be accepted at the moment it could be reconsidered at a later time. Unfortunately, in the pressure of preparations for a world congress, the letter was not sent.

In September 1974 the OCI again took the initiative. This time, however, the OCI leaders did not go first to the United Secretariat but to the Socialist Workers Party. One of their representatives engaged in literary work in the United States became involved in private discussions with various members of the SWP. They pressed him on some of the issues that have kept the OCI separated from the Trotskyist movement as a whole.

Later the OCI representative asked for a meeting with the leadership of the SWP. This was granted, and two leaders of the SWP met with him. He said that the OCI was still interested in opening a discussion with the

United Secretariat, but if this proved to be impossible, the OCI would like to invite the SWP to hold such a discussion.

The SWP representatives said that it would be incorrect for the SWP to act unilaterally in such a matter. They did agree, however, to pass the OCI's request on to the United Secretariat.

The United Secretariat, after considering the question, decided to hear the proposals of the OCI and to explore the possibility of ameliorating relations. A first step in this direction could be the exchange of internal bulletins.

Practical arrangements were made and the meeting was held. The OCI representatives outlined their proposals and explained their motivation. Some preliminary statements were made concerning the differences. A possible framework for probing the differences and trying to ameliorate relations was discussed. No agreement was reached beyond such minimal steps as exchanging internal bulletins. The participants then reported back.

A copy of the internal report made by the OCI representatives to the top leadership of their organization happened to fall into the hands of one of the ultraleft sects in the United States, which immediately published it along with a provocative attack accusing the OCI of "capitulation" to the United Secretariat.\*

Some of the things said in the internal report were interpreted by others as indicating bad faith on the part of the OCI leaders in their approach to the United Secretariat.

Certain formulations in the internal report lend themselves to misinterpretation, it appears to us. They could be taken as indicating a hope of making immediate gains by maneuvering in the internal discussion that has been going on in the Fourth International for the past five years. However, one is led to an opposite conclusion if the internal report is considered as a whole and viewed in the

\* The text of the OCI internal report is published elsewhere in this issue. — IP

more general context of the development of all the organizations claiming adherence to Trotskyism.

From this angle, the internal report tends to confirm the sincerity of the OCI leaders. As we see it, they are neither capitulating nor trying to carry out a raid. The OCI leaders, we think, have reached the conclusion that the Fourth International is discussing questions of prime importance to the revolutionary-socialist movement. In a debate of that depth they feel that their views as serious revolutionists ought to be taken into consideration.

While they hold firm positions, which they intend to defend vigorously, they are prepared to modify them in the face of compelling arguments and draw the requisite practical conclusions. They expect that the organizations adhering to the United Secretariat, or in sympathy with its general aims, will display similar good faith.

The willingness of the OCI leaders to engage in the give-and-take of a free discussion is a favorable development, in our opinion. It promises to open the way to a fruitful dialogue.

Nevertheless, an obstacle still stands in the way. Some of the public characterizations used by the OCI in the past with regard to members of the United Secretariat, particularly leaders of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire in France, were excessive, in our view. If they were to be echoed now, it would be hard to avoid concluding that the OCI is engaging in a short-term maneuver rather than moving toward a basic discussion with an open mind.

An example is to be found in *Informations Ouvrières* No. 679 (November 14-20, 1974). One of the leaders of the United Secretariat is called a "sycophant" and is accused of having written "perfidiously" eighteen years ago with regard to the proletarian uprising in Hungary. (The record of the comrade in question is absolutely clear on the decisive question — complete support of the incipient political revolution and opposi-

tion to Moscow's repressive intervention.)

We think that such characterizations are out of order. We consider them to be hangovers from past factional positions that demand reexamination if a serious discussion is to be undertaken. Particularly important is the question of accuracy and objectivity in considering the positions held by different individuals and tendencies at the time.

The issues in those factional battles and who turned out to be correct historically can be debated without the use of epithets. To let disparaging labels stand in the way of a comradely discussion of current differences (however much the current differences may

be related in the final analysis to past positions) would be a political mistake, in our opinion.

It would be excellent if the OCI would again take the initiative and clarify this question in an unmistakable way.

We hope that the OCI will do its part to eliminate such obstacles and thereby help clear the way for a comradely discussion of current and past differences. Without such a discussion, it is hardly possible in this instance to reach a point where a principled basis can be found for closer fraternal relations and the kind of comradely collaboration that would give the Fourth International a new impulse forward. □

of the intolerable pitch the differences have reached inside the US.

It is what might be called the "objective" development of this crisis that today has led the organizations affiliated to the US to agree to a meeting (whose limitations should be clearly understood) where their basic disagreements were expressed.

3. As you will see, one of the features of the meeting was that, with the agreement of our interlocutors, it proceeded within the framework laid out by the proposals made in our letters.

We were the only ones to speak in the name of an international mandate: We spoke within the framework of the mandate given by the decisions of the International Bureau in favor of international discussion. Facing us were delegations from different organizations who had no common mandate except to hear us out.

4. Hansen's remarks about the need for maintaining an area of political exchanges and common activities, regardless of decisions arrived at concerning a substantive debate, reflect the following:

In the first place, by raising the possibility of "common actions," in particular with the FCR in France, without regard to the political differences and prior to discussion of these differences, the SWP, as he explained, proposes to maintain its tie with the US.

Secondly, by insisting on an organization-to-organization exchange of internal bulletins on activities such as those relating to Eastern Europe and the USSR, the SWP reserved the right, regardless of whatever decisions the majority of the US may make, to pursue discussions.

5. There can be no question of indulging in risky speculations on the consequences of this meeting. What is sure is that while the process of dislocation in the US may be slowed it cannot be stopped. What is sure is that there will be more and more maneuvers on all sides to prevent a discussion of principles.

For example, in Argentina, where it seems that Moreno is being obliged to take up this discussion, he is trying to short-circuit it by offering *Politica Obrera* unification without discussion in the style of the 1963 operation.<sup>3</sup> But in the conditions that exist today, for us, for the comrades of PO, such a maneuver is a springboard from which to push even more strongly to force a discussion of principles on the national and international levels.

Thus, this event redoubles the importance of our own political work: The European Conference and preparations for a Latin American Conference assume still more significance.

## OCI Internal Report

[The following is an English translation of the text of an internal report circulated among the leaders of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste. It is referred to in a statement issued by the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers Party published elsewhere in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Paris, October 20, 1974

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed we are sending you the minutes of the meeting that took place October 15 in Paris between a delegation from the United Secretariat headed up by the SWP and also including two representatives from the FCR<sup>1</sup> of France, and a delegation from the OCI.

First the circumstances and composition of this meeting:

It was held at the request of the SWP leadership, of which some representatives were in Europe for a meeting of the United Secretariat or the [International] Executive Committee. The SWP leadership presented the meeting as a response to the fact that on several occasions (in particular during Comrade P. Broue's trips) the OCI made it known that it was agreeable to an exchange of views between the leaderships of the two organizations. Explicitly, they defined it as a reply to our International Bureau's letters of May and July 1973, as the minutes note. During a preliminary meeting, the SWP representatives indicated to us that the United Secretariat had agreed to a first infor-

mational discussion on the condition that this would not be strictly bilateral but that the US [United Secretariat] would be represented as such, specifically by representatives of its French section, the FCR.

Hence a delegation which was in fact a delegation of the "International Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" under the "supervision" of two leading members of the FCR. This group included Hansen, Barnes, M.A. Waters (SWP); Riddell (LSA-Canada);<sup>2</sup> Pierre Rousset and Olivier (FCR). The OCI was represented by Comrades Lambert, Just, Raoul, Francois, and Vespa. Rousset's presence was significant, as he belongs to the most extreme tendency in the US majority and the SWP has conducted a sharp polemic with him over Vietnam.

Only the initials are used in the minutes, which are distributed more widely than this letter addressed only to the leaderships of the organizations affiliated with the Organizing Committee.

The course of the meeting is quite clear from reading the minutes, and thus there is no need to add any superfluous comment.

Here we merely want to offer *some conclusions* and make *a proposal*.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this meeting are the following:

1. The very fact that it was held confirms the correctness of the tactical steps taken by the International Bureau to intervene in the crisis of the US. More basically it was a confirmation of the correctness of the "Open Conference" method.

2. The meeting was a new expression

1. Front Communiste Revolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist Front, the French section of the Fourth International. — IP

2. League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Canadian section of the Fourth International. — IP

3. This refers to the OCI's characterization of the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963. — IP

*It is within this framework that we make the following proposal:*

The International Bureau in its own name must now invite our interlocutor at this meeting, the SWP (and through it the organizations of the US and the US itself, if it wishes), to attend our *European Conference*—not, of course, the meeting of the International Bureau—as *observers*.

Such an initiative will make it doubly clear that our desire—without any organizational preconditions and in whatever form may be chosen—to carry out a discussion that touches on the questions of principle that lie at the root of the crisis of the Fourth International does not rep-

resent a maneuver but rather a specific orientation for reconstructing the Fourth International.

The US refused to involve us in its discussions preparatory to the Tenth World Congress; for our part we are not afraid to involve it in our discussions.

We request that you decide on this proposal so that we can extend an invitation before long and make this an element of the political struggle.

Since the French post office is at present on strike, do not hesitate to send us a brief communication by telephone.

Fraternal greetings,  
Francois

treatment received by Tony Richardson in his interview at the Centre on Tuesday October 1st.' When the Control Commission was set up, the terms of reference were changed to read "investigate the circumstances surrounding the absence from Party work of Comrade Richardson and Comrade Lister." This, as you well understand, is a very different brief.

My reason for requesting a Control Commission investigation, as I explained to the Central Committee, was because investigations involving the leadership are one of the main functions of the Control Commission, which can meet *in camera* and make a report under conditions where both the leadership and the membership are protected. I cannot agree with the statement of Comrade Smith to the Central Committee that the Control Commission "is not unbiased—we are here to support the leadership". Trotsky makes it clear that it is not the job of a Control Commission to support either a majority or a minority, the leadership or any party member or tendency, but to investigate objectively and report to the Central Committee and to Conference.

In a letter to James P. Cannon in the middle of a deep going factional fight in the SWP (involving people who were saying that the USSR was not a workers

## Healy Purges 200 Dissidents From WRP

[The following document, consisting of an explanatory statement by Alan Thornett and two letters addressed to Gerry Healy, the general secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party, a British ultra-left sect, was distributed by members of a group recently expelled from the WRP. The first letter was signed by Thornett as a member of the Central Committee of the WRP. The second letter was signed by twelve representatives of various branches, some of whose names we could not decipher.

[The distributors of the mimeographed document sought to hand them to the delegates at a WRP conference held in London in December. The document carried two headlines: "Nearly 200 Expelled to Date" and "Politics Suppressed."

[As yet, *Workers Press*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the WRP, has not answered any of the grave charges concerning violations of working-class democracy under Healy's stewardship. In fact, the *Workers Press* has up to now remained completely silent about the purge.]

\* \* \*

By decision of the Central Committee, I was to be given the opportunity to speak on my political position at this conference. This decision has never been rescinded. Ten days ago I was expelled from the party. In addition nearly 200 other members have been expelled for refusing to denounce my political position or agree with my expulsion. All seven branches in Oxford, two in Reading and two in Swindon have been disbanded by the Political Committee. The *Workers Press* has been cut off from Oxford, Reading and Swindon, and members and readers deprived of the paper they have fought for and helped to create.

It is clear that a campaign of vilification against myself and others has been

launched by the leadership in order to obscure my political position and to stop it being looked at objectively. Furthermore, I understand that London meetings have been told that I have spread rumours, and that I am a 'police agent'. These are deliberate lies. The true position on violence, and the sources of any rumours are set out in the attached letter to Comrade Healy.

Because the leadership has no answer to the political position I put forward, I am being branded as a hostile anti-party force. This is also a lie. Many of us here today have put our lives into this party, and have nothing outside the party: but this could not stop me raising the wrong positions of the leadership, because I am convinced that these wrong positions are liquidating our party and will destroy it, if these positions are not challenged and changed.

Alan Thornett. 14/12/74.

6, Ferry Hinksey Road,  
Oxford.

G. Healy, General Secretary,  
Workers Revolutionary Party,  
186a, Clapham High St,  
London SW4 7UG.

Friday November 29th, 1974.

Dear Comrade Healy,

By decision of the Central Committee there was to be a full and open discussion on my document. I therefore wish to protest about the following practices being employed by yourself and the rest of the leadership of our Party, in the course of the discussion.

I asked, at the Central Committee, for the Control Commission to investigate 'the

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state), Trotsky makes the following points:

A) "Two things are clear to me from your letter of October 24: that a very serious ideological fight has become inevitable and politically necessary:

B) that it would be extremely prejudicial if not fatal to connect this ideological fight with the perspective of a split, of a purge, or expulsions, and so on and so forth.

I heard for example that Comrade Gould proclaimed in a membership meeting: "You wish to expel us". But I don't know what reaction came from the other side to this. I for my part would immediately protest with the greatest vehemence such suspicions. I would propose the creation of a special control commission in order to check such affirmations and rumours. If it happens that someone of the majority launches such threats, I for my part would vote for a censure or severe warning."

It is clear from this that a Control Commission does not automatically support the leadership, in fact if a leadership is in the wrong then it should be found guilty by the Control Commission.

In this case the Control Commission not only defined its function as one of supporting the leadership but has produced a highly factional report written as the centre piece of the leadership's bureaucratic moves to silence me, my document, and anyone who supports my views.

When the Control Commission interim report was placed before the Central Committee, myself and Comrade Richardson voted against it because of its factional nature, its inaccuracies and omissions. Comrade Richardson, as you know, stated to the C. C. that he had given a complete report of the violence and intimidation he received at your hands on October 1st. All of this is left out of the Commission's report.

I understood that the interim report was to remain within the C. C. until the Conference, indeed it is the property of Conference under the Constitution. I now learn that you are revealing this report to non C. C. members under conditions where they are required either to sign a statement accepting it or be expelled from the party by the Political Committee. This seems to me to be not only an abuse of the Control Commission and therefore of the Constitution of our party, but the use of dictatorial, bureaucratic and intimidatory methods to avoid political discussion and suppress a political opposition.

The Control Commission report speaks of rumours of violence and drinking circulating in Oxford. Such rumours were mainly spread by yourself in individual discussions with members, most of whom

had never heard a word of it until you told them. There were, as you know, clearly definable sources of such rumours. One was the incident on the factory gates on September 17th involving Cde O'Regan, the other being your statement to the Assembly Plant Branch on Friday, September 20th that "we are a hard party and we visit people", together with your drinking prior to that meeting. In spite of these incidents only a handful of comrades had heard of them until you began discussing them in the area. I had consistently acted to stop such rumours.

As you know Comrade Richardson and myself signed a statement at the last C. C. meeting which was specifically designed to put an end to such rumours and to create the conditions for a political discussion on the differences. The statement was proposed by Cde Richardson, and in my view completely consistent with Bolshevik practice. To quote again from Trotsky's letter to James P. Cannon:

"'A conciliation and compromise at the top' on the questions which form the matter of divergences would of course be a crime. But I for my part would propose to the minority at the top an agreement, if you wish, a compromise on the methods of discussion and parallelly on the political collaboration. For example (a) both sides eliminate from the discussion any threats, personal denigration, and so on; (b) both sides take the obligation of loyal collaboration during the discussion; (c) every false move (threats, or rumours of threats, or a rumour of alleged threats, resignations, and so on) should be investigated by the National Committee or a special commission as a particular fact and not thrown into the discussion and so on.

If the minority accepts such an agreement you will have the possibility of disciplining the discussion and also the advantage of having taken a good initiative. If they reject it you can at every party membership meeting present your written proposition to the minority as the best refutation of their complaints and as a good example of 'our regime'".

It was also placed, as you know, on the C. C. minutes that this statement—designed as it was to create the conditions for political discussion—would not prejudice any statement made by Cde Richardson or myself to the Control Commission, previously or in the future. I object to this statement, which we signed in the interests of the party and in the interests of a full political discussion, now being used by you out of context and presented as some kind of "confession". This statement, designed to facilitate discussion is now being used to prevent it.

I also object to the following additional practices which are also designed to impede political discussion in the party:

1) Allowing Cde Harding to lay charges against me for what I said to the Control Commission, and this after I had specifically requested a Control Commission in order that I could make such a statement in the proper way, to the proper body, and under conditions where the party was protected.

2) Suspending from membership Cde Kate Blakeney as soon as she began to speak against the Control Commission report at the C. C. The charge itself must be the most incredible in the history of our movement—that she confirmed to Cde Frank Willis on October 10th that I had differences with the party leadership, when in fact at least 70 people in the area had already been officially informed of precisely that information.

3) That Cde John Lister was placed on charges minutes after he spoke in support of my political position at the Oxford Sub-District Aggregate. (He was incidentally the first non C.C. member to speak in my support.)

4) That Cde Bob Knight and Cde Pat Lally were placed under investigation after supporting my position at the following meeting.

5) That you as National Secretary, Cde Mike Banda, and Cde John Spencer have continually visited branches and individuals in the area without either allowing me to put my position or informing me as area secretary that you were making such visits.

6) I have not spoken at a single party meeting outside the Western Area since the start of the discussion. This is in violation of the C.C. decision that I would address aggregate meetings in every area.

7) You have refused my constitutional request at the last C.C. to form a faction under section 8 of the Constitution, by stating that "I will not have any factions in this party before or after the Conference. I'll expel anyone who forms a faction in this party."

This is the opposite to Trotsky's position who says on p131 of his 1938-9 Writings:

"The entire history of Bolshevism was one of the free struggle of tendencies and factions. In different periods, Bolshevism passed through the struggle of pro- and anti-boycottists, "otzovists", ultimacists, conciliationists, partisans of "proletarian culture" partisans and opponents of the armed insurrection in October, partisans and opponents of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, left communists, partisans and opponents of the official military policy, etc, etc. The Bolshevik Central Committee never dreamed of demanding that an opponent "abandoned factional methods", if the opponent held that the policy of the Central Committee was false. Patience and loyalty towards the opposition were among the most

important traits of Lenin's leadership. (. . .)

In complete contradiction with reality, Pivert depicts the regime of the Fourth International as a regime of monolithism and blind submission. It would be hard to invent a caricature more fantastic and less scrupulous. The Fourth International has never prohibited factions and has no intention of doing so. Factions have existed and do exist among us. Controversy occurs always over the content of the ideas of each faction, but never over its right to existence. From the standpoint of Bolshevik ideas on party democracy I would consider it an outright scandal to accuse an opponent, who happened to be in the minority, of employing "factional" methods, instead of engaging in discussion with him over the gist of the question. If the differences are serious ones, then factional methods are justified. If the differences are not serious, then the adversary will find himself discredited. The factional struggle can result only in a more profound principled fusion, or a split. No one yet has invented another alternative, if we leave aside the totalitarian regimes."

Such practices as these are to my knowledge unprecedented in our movement—although there are precedents outside. You are well aware that since raising my differences I have made every possible attempt to accommodate to your position on how we proceed. I agreed initially not to form a faction at your request (the CC having voted me faction rights without a faction). I agreed to additional CC meetings in order to do everything to facilitate discussion and clarification. At each stage, however, you have turned these concessions against me.

In order to continue this campaign against me you have carried out practices highly damaging to our party and its work in the labour movement. You have:

1) Stopped the Area Committee from functioning, when you know that it is absolutely central to the work of the area.

2) You have confined me to Oxford by instruction—thus causing me to cease to function as area secretary.

3) You have cancelled the Area school, which was necessary for the area, presumably to ensure that I would not have a platform or the opportunity to discuss with other comrades.

4) You have cancelled branch meetings crucial to the work.

5) You have directed the resources of the party for this whole period away from the struggle in the working class, towards the bureaucratic suppression of discussion because you so clearly have no political answer to the questions I raise.

These actions in my view threaten to seriously disrupt the work in the area and in particular threaten to liquidate

the proletarian base of our party. I want to make clear that *you* shoulder the responsibility for this, not me. I proceeded in a correct manner to raise legitimate political differences in the party first on the CC, and then, through the CC in document form to the party as a whole.

Having made these objections, I intend to proceed with the discussion to the extent to which I am allowed. I intend to submit a further document on the lines you suggested and agreed to at the W. Area Aggregate in Oxford; ie on the historical, philosophical and class roots of the degeneration of the leadership of our party, the start of an analysis of the international perspectives of the International Committee, including a further reply to your wrong position on workers' control.

I write this letter in the hope that even now you will return to a proper political discussion in our movement.

Yours fraternally,  
s/A. Thornett,  
WRP Central Committee member.

#### OXFORD SUB-DISTRICT COMMITTEE

G. Healy,  
General Secretary,  
Workers Revolutionary Party.

Sunday December 1st, 1974.

Dear Comrade Healy,

The following is a resolution carried unanimously at a meeting of the Oxford Sub District Committee following our visit to the centre tonight. The only comrade not in attendance was Cde T. White.

"We were instructed as members of the Oxford Sub District Committee to attend the Centre on Sunday, December 1st 1974—a vehicle to pick us up at 6:00pm from Oxford Rail Station.

The Reading Sub District Committee had been given similar instructions and were in attendance in the afternoon of the same day. It is clear that the Reading comrades were not treated with political respect or even treated as a Committee. They were split up, abused, (one leading member called 'a potential fascist'), forbidden to speak to each other, and exposed to various forms of organised intimidation. They were asked to sign a statement of disassociation from all of Alan Thornett's views, or be expelled. All of the comrades involved refused to submit to such intimidation, and were subsequently expelled. During this time Comrade Alan Thornett was described by the General Secretary as 'a police agent'.

When we arrived at the Centre, we were confronted with guards on the print shop gates, and guards approached our vehicles. The guards were directed by Cde

R. Battersby. Our names were taken by Cde Jennings and we were instructed not to get out of our vehicles. We were then told that we were to be split up for the purposes of the interviews. This we refused to agree to. We made it clear that we were at all times prepared to meet the Political Committee, but initially as a Committee. Our reasons for this were A) We were not prepared to be subjected to the same treatment as the Reading Comrades, treatment which we consider to be a disgrace in a Communist movement. B) Before we could agree to individual interviews we require, as a Committee, a written retraction of the charge of 'police agent' levelled by the General Secretary at Comrade Alan Thornett, and a written assurance that the measures used today are not repeated.

Equally, we, as a Committee, object to the following actions carried out by the leadership of our party:

1. The unjustifiable expulsion of the four Comrades from Swindon.

2. The unjustifiable expulsion of the seven Comrades from Reading.

3. The unjustifiable suspension of Comrade K. Blakeney.

4. The unjustifiable suspension of Comrade J. Lister.

5. The attempt to disband the Oxford Branches and Sub District Committee and reregister the membership without any discussion in the area.

We consider these actions of the leadership to be aimed at the suppression of the political positions being put forward by Comrade Alan Thornett. We are also of the opinion that you carry out these bureaucratic measures because you have no political answers to the points raised by him.

We remain, as a Committee, ready at all times to meet the Political Committee, under the conditions outlined in this resolution. At the same time we demand that these measures and practices be withdrawn." □

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# Coral's Statement at the Multisectorial

[The following statement plus an editorial introduction was published in the October 15, 1974, issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, an Argentine sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The Secretaría de Prensa y Difusión de la Presidencia de la Nación [Presidential Press Office] was responsible for the official version of the speeches given at the October 9\* multisectorial meeting.

It was through this office that the official versions were sent out to all the media.

However, all the speeches, except those of the president [María Estela de Perón] and Doctor Ricardo Balbín [the head of the main bourgeois opposition party] suffered omissions that in many cases changed their meaning or made them incomprehensible.

This is what happened, for example, to Doctor Alende's speech. In the October 11 *La Opinión*, the leader of the Partido Intransigente maintains that "the version given to the press by the Secretaría de Prensa y Difusión was mutilated," since his positions on the Constituent Assembly were left out.

Similar things happened to the speeches of Professor Américo Ghioldi of the PSD [Partido Socialista Democrático—Democratic Socialist party] and Doctor Haydée Birgin, who stood in for Doctor Sandler [the leader of the Revolutionary Christian party].

In the replies by the president to Ghioldi and by Lastiri [head of the Peronist parliamentary bloc] to Doctor Birgin, it is a mystery what they are referring to. The official stenogram omitted precisely the sections that motivated these answers, sections that contained criticisms of, and demands on, the government.

The same thing that happened in these cases happened with the speech by Compañero Juan Carlos Coral. We had intended to publish the official version. But when we got it, we

\*This is apparently a typographical error. The date of the multisectorial meeting was October 8.—IP

realized that it suffered from the same omissions that in the radio and television reports had altered the meaning of what he said.

For this reason, and in order to inform our compañeros and readers better, we are publishing here a reconstructed text of what Coral said.

\* \* \*

Fully assuming the responsibility that falls to us in the present political process, with the sincerity with which we have always expressed our points of view before the government and the sincerity the president asked of us in her opening speech, we have come here this morning to declare our categorical repudiation of all forms of terrorism, all manifestations of individual or group violence carried out in disregard of the wishes or the needs of the masses, and of this other form of violence—a more extensive one that has become almost an institution in our country—the coup d'état. We believe, however, that the analysis of terrorism as an abstract category is one-sided and insufficient. For decades, criminologists have ceased considering individual modes of behavior in isolation from the social environment that produces them. With still greater reason, then, such a complex social phenomenon as terrorism should be considered within the broader framework of the economic and political conditions in which it takes place.

Terrorism and guerrilla activity are, thus, much more than a simple political matter; they are much more than a simple relationship of forces between the "security bodies" and the armed groups. These phenomena are a critical manifestation, an acute symptom, of the conditions currently existing in Argentina, which we should take up in all their fundamental aspects.

For all these reasons, we want to use as a reference point in making our analysis the meeting we had with General Perón early in April. On this occasion, we socialists summed up in five points what we called the main factors in the instability and crisis. And we pointed out the indispensable solutions that were urgently demanded. Along with other political parties, we asked for a meeting to

warn the government about the dangers of a wave of violence that was being allowed to spread with impunity. And our warning was so well founded that today it is the government that has called the parties here to consider the problem of terrorism. From that date to this, it has not adopted any of the measures proposed; and what then were only the seeds of violence have developed in the short period of six months into a dizzying escalation of terrorism that threatens democratic rights and is circumscribing the rights of the working class.

In early April, the first signs of terrorism appeared in trade-union circles—veiled forms of fascist violence, introducing terror into assemblies and intimidating trade-union activists every time they raised elementary demands for higher wages or disavowed conciliationist or sellout leaderships. The police and the armed forces, which are waging a merciless battle against the guerrillas, have not arrested a single person responsible for this rightist terrorism, they have not collected or exhibited a single piece of evidence against these rightist terrorists. This form of violence has never been punished; and what began with threats by goons in plant bathrooms has ended in the publication in the newspapers of long lists of persons "condemned to death," who are being "executed" with efficient regularity. We can repeat this morning our firm condemnation of the death of the latest victim of terror, who happens to be an officer of the armed forces. But, on the other hand, when our turn came in this orgy of killing, when four ordinary workers, four young activists in our party were murdered in Pacheco, we did not hear any condemnation from the government, nor did we see the government use the power of the state to punish those responsible.

The only formal response from the government to these developments were the amendments to the Penal Code, which were first used to repress the strike of the Matarazzo workers; and the recent "State Security Law" that has made certain kinds of strikes and opinions crimes. While internationally ideological barriers are being broken down—for the sake of profitable business deals—within our country itself the violence is being used as a pretext to draw lines of ideo-



logical exclusionism in order to repress the protests of the workers movement and the spread of socialist ideas.

But not all the subversion can be ascribed to the terrorists and the guerrillas. The terrorists and the guerrillas have no monopoly on subversion. There are also subversive wages, subversive hunger, subversive working conditions, subversive slums. A wage of 130,000 old pesos [about US\$132.60] a month is a subversive wage, Señora. And we will not let anybody justify this as the legacy left by bad previous governments, because in that case you couldn't explain the salaries of military officers, judges, and government functionaries, who get more than two million pesos a month—that is, some of them get more in a month than a worker does in a year, although no one has yet proved that military officers and functionaries have stomachs twelve times larger than those of workers.

If we are faced with a grave national emergency, if the country is paying the price for fifteen years of oligarchic and proimperialist governments, all inhabitants of the country should bear the consequences equally, as they do the results of any catastrophe. And I propose that the advocates of the Social Pact, those who have imposed the Social Pact on us, be the first to restrict themselves to an income of 130,000 old pesos a month, the wage to which they have condemned the workers who are supposed to build up Argentina into a great power by the year 2000.

I understand that this is not an occasion for polemics. But with all due respect, Señora, I must express our fundamental disagreement with the idea you put forward in your speech opening this meeting. You said: "The government has achieved harmony between workers and management, except in those sectors where the forces of disorder are active." We disagree absolutely with this. Outside agitators or not, it is impossible for harmony to exist between superexploited workers who earn 130,000 old pesos a month and bosses who continue levels of profit secured for them by the military dictatorships. There can be no harmony between workers whose wages have been rigidly frozen, and bosses who are allowed to raise their prices in the name of the sacred capitalist principle of "profitability." The sole harmony that does unfortu-

nately exist is between the bosses and the trade-union bureaucrats, who are united by the Social Pact, which was not discussed by the workers in their workplaces or in their unions.

Another factor of instability and violence that we pointed to in April is that of prices, especially the prices of necessities. We called for opening the account books, for letting the workers study prices, and for supervision of price ceilings by popular bodies. None of these measures were adopted. To the contrary, the government went from a policy of frozen prices to "administrated" prices, giving the Secretaría de Comercio [Commerce Bureau] the authority to grant price increases, which has brought about a steady decline in the real wages of workers. And, as we anticipated, the companies that have gone to cry on the doorstep of the Secretaría de Comercio, appealing for increases to eliminate their deficits, are the same ones that every two or three years turn out to have billions of dollars of undeclared income. This periodic amnesty for tax evaders and swindlers of workers is what they call a "write-off for capital." Through this policy, the government itself becomes the main instigator of hoarding, black-marketeering, and scarcity, which in turn are used to create a threat of scarcities to pressure it and to promote inflationary expectations.

The price ceilings exist only in official statistics, while speculators and hoarders are invariably rewarded by being granted new increases. This was also done for the ranchers who hold the winter pastures, the most privileged and anachronistic caste not only in the countryside but in the entire national economy.

Another factor in the violence that we pointed out is the exaggeration of some government measures. You cannot substitute propaganda for reality, and when the outlook is painted rosier than it is, disillusion and collective frustrations necessarily follow. You cannot, for example, proclaim that the distribution of petroleum products has been nationalized, while the foreign companies retain their hold intact on their refineries and their rights to sell outside the gas stations. Barely 15 percent of the foreign companies' local market, the part represented by their sales through gas stations, has been affected. But even within this very modest percentage,

we do not know exactly what interests belong to international capital, nor do we yet know if YPF [Yacimientos Petrolíferas Fiscales—State Oil Fields, the national oil trust] will have even the financial liquidity that can be provided by the gasoline tax income. All this, Señora, is very far from constituting nationalization of petroleum distribution.

It is also an obvious exaggeration when you call the Ley de Contratos de Trabajo [Work Contracts Law] revolutionary. We hailed many of its provisions without reservation. But it is not a revolutionary law, nor is it the most advanced in the world. It extended some rights of the sort the workers in Argentina have been winning since 1905. The drafters incorporated in the law many provisions that were already being applied by judges. But in 1974, the workers throughout the world are fighting not only for the regulation of wage labor, but for control and ownership of the instruments with which they produce.

Moreover, to cite another example of the government's advertising excesses, I would point to the Agrarian Law, which is far from being an effective instrument for transforming the latifundist structure and which marks an obvious retreat even from the homesteading projects of the Second Five-Year Plan. This draft, which is being touted as a great step toward agrarian reform, guarantees the property of the present owners for ten years, and after this generous concession of time, in the event that the landlords fail to put their land into production, it sets the laughable "penalty" of forcing them to take tenants.

All these factors that I have rapidly summed up, from violence and terrorism to disillusion and poverty, go to make up a climate favorable to a coup. The coup d'etat is a full-fledged institution in the semicolonial countries of our continent. It is not inscribed in the constitutions because the liberals prevented this. But the ruling classes resort to it every time a mass upsurge, a sharpening in the class struggle, endangers the bourgeois power structure. The coup d'etat functions, in all, as a safety measure for the system.

For this reason, the working class is the only sector of society that consistently opposes coups d'etat.

Military officers, obviously, have

participated in coups d'etat. They are the indispensable protagonists. Armies, in fact, with a tradition of professionalism and abstention from politics like those in Chile and Uruguay have staged the most repressive and bloody coups in memory in Latin America.

Businessmen participate in coups d'etat when they think a despotic government can better guarantee their investments and profits. Politicians participate when they lose hope of getting mass support. And some trade-union leaders also participate when they think they can hold on to their bureaucratic positions more easily in association with a military dictatorship. I have here in my briefcase advertisements in support of the proimperialist dictatorship of Onganía signed by some leaders who at this moment are heading major trade-union organizations.

The only sector of society that has never been involved in a coup d'etat is the working class. The working class has always been the main victim of coups d'etat, which have invariably been carried out in order to increase the exploitation of the workers and the looting of the country by imperialism.

For these reasons, the *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores* declares its categorical opposition to a coup d'etat and to the violence in the form of terrorism and guerrilla activity, which although with different motivations, are equal in provoking coups and thus stand in opposition to the democratic demands of the masses. But we believe that a coup d'etat cannot be prevented by lyrical appeals to "national unity." Such unity is impracticable in a society historically divided into antagonistic classes. There is no reason, however, to carry the discussion onto the theoretical level, since it is enough to point out that it is clearly absurd to call for unity of the entire nation, when unity cannot even be achieved in any one of the [bourgeois] political parties, which are suffering an infinite number of cleavages that reflect the contradictions in which capitalist society is caught.

I will end, Señora, by saying that our party considers this kind of dialogue, which is unprecedented in our country, to be useful. We have no illusions that we can change the policy of the government by speeches, but,

surely, you Señora Presidente and your ministers have taken note of some of our observations.

We know that the government's bourgeois limitations will prevent it from adopting the minimum measures we call for. It cannot carry out an agrarian reform, nor can it expropriate the monopolies, nor can it substantially change the relationship of prices and wages, nor can it decisively punish the outrages of fascist violence.

## Against a Coup and Against the Government

[The following editorial appeared in the October 15, 1974, issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, under the title "Luchar contra el golpe sin apoyar al gobierno" (Struggle against a coup without supporting the government). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

As a result of the distorted reports on the multisectorial conference on television and in the papers, we have received letters and telephone calls asking if we have changed our position and are now supporting the government.

We think this has been clarified sufficiently by the publication on this page of a resumé of our statements in the multisectorial meeting.<sup>1</sup> The maneuver tried by the Secretaría de Prensa regarding our statements as well as those of the other parties was so clumsy that it can be exploded just by publishing what we said.

But besides this we want to take advantage of what has happened to reiterate some of our positions toward this government and the threat of a coup. This will give us an opportunity to explain at the same time why the government attempted such a maneuver.

We went to this meeting and put forward all of our positions, the same ones that we have expressed every week in the pages of this paper and that we apply in our daily work, be-

1. See "Coral's Statement at the Multisectorial Meeting" published elsewhere in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

We socialist workers will continue to struggle against all these factors that are creating the climate for a coup, and will fight to keep this government's term of office from being cut short illegitimately, since it was elected by the majority of the Argentine workers and since it permits the exercise of some democratic freedoms, which, in turn, are the fruits of the mobilizations by the workers and the poor sectors of the population that shook the country beginning with the Córdoba insurrection. □

cause we are completely and firmly opposed to a coup d'etat. Opposing a coup—that is, opposing the return of a military dictatorship—does not mean supporting the government. What is more, we oppose a coup for the same reasons we do not support this government or its policy (i.e., the Social Pact; allowing the local and foreign monopolies to maintain their hold over our economy; the Security Law; giving free rein to the fascist gangs; arbitrary rule by the bureaucracy in the workers movement; handing the universities over to primitive reactionaries; and other such things). The fact is that the main objective of a coup would not be so much to oust Isabel and end her right-wing policy as to crush the workers movement. The coup would come to finish the job that the present government cannot be relied on entirely to carry out and to follow through to the end.

Among some compañeros on the left, you can hear it said that the problem of a coup is less and less important because, in the last analysis, this government (with the Security Law, its take-over of unions, and so on) more and more resembles the Onganía regime, that there is less and less difference.

It seems to us that this is a completely wrong way of posing the question. It is true that the entire policy being carried out by the Peronist government is aimed at cutting back the margins of democratic freedom that the workers and student movements won in the struggle against the dictatorship. But this does not mean that it does not matter to the working class whether we have the one kind of regime or the other. A military coup



would no longer be a question of more or less democratic margins within a bourgeois-democratic government but would represent a *change of regime*. It would no longer be a question of partial defeats (such as the one in SMATA,<sup>2</sup> the typographical workers union, etc.), defeats that can easily be recouped as the workers overcome the confusion created by their confidence in the government, the provocations of the guerrillas, and the errors of the leaderships in the recent conflicts. A coup, on the other hand, would represent a general political defeat for the working class.

The compañeros who equate this regime with a military dictatorship also overlook one "detail": This government was elected by the votes of the working masses and not by the

2. Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades.

three "commanders in chief," and although its luster has waned, it still enjoys the confidence of a large part of the working class.

For all these reasons, we also oppose the guerrillas, who by their actions are promoting a coup as well as the anti-working-class repressive measures of the government.

The proof that we have only one point in common with the government (i.e., that we do not want a coup) was given by this government itself after the multisectorial, in the first place by its censorship of the statement we made there. If this had been reported as it was given, no one could have made a mistake and thought that we supported the government. In the second place, an even more "forceful" demonstration of this fact was given by the police raid on our headquarters in Córdoba. Along with this, our headquarters in Mendoza was blown up and comrades were kidnapped, as we report in other pages.

What happened in Córdoba was especially revealing. The government, or at least a wing of it, acted within the spirit of the recently passed Security Law, whose intent was to repress, using the convenient pretext that the entire workers and left movement is giving aid and comfort to the guerrillas. The government knows that we are completely opposed to its policy and that is why it both distorted what we said in the multisectorial and did what it did in Córdoba.

The task of the entire movement of the workers and toiling masses is to fight against a coup without supporting this government. Only a mobilization of the working masses can guarantee that we will not be subjected to a Pinochet. This struggle is inseparably bound up with the struggle against this government's reactionary measures such as the Security Law. For this reason we call for a massive repudiation of this law and for its repeal. □

## Portuguese Unions Denounce Argentine Repression

[The following article was published in the December 19, 1974, issue of a new Portuguese biweekly, *Combate Socialista*. (Copies of the paper can be obtained from Rua do Bom Jardim, no. 229; 3 Andar-Traseiras, Porto, Portugal.) The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In the face of escalating murderous attacks against working-class and socialist activists in Argentina by fascist groups, attacks in which the complicity of the Peronist government is clear, a number of trade-union and political organizations in our country have denounced the repression in this Latin American country.

We reprint below the message sent to the Argentine comrades who have been hit by the reactionary offensive, and in so doing add our support. This support is reinforced, moreover, by the fact that the state of siege is now being used against the left, as is indicated by several reports as well as by more murders, by the banning of a national rally planned by the Communist party, and by raids on a number of headquarters of the PST (a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), as well as by the recent arrest of Juan Carlos Co-

ral, a leader of this party.\* Coral was also the only candidate who opposed the Peronists in the September 1973 elections who did not capitulate to the populist demagoguery that is now more clearly revealing its procapitalist and anti-working-class objectives:

"Portuguese workers, trade-union, revolutionary, and antifascist activists have learned with indignation about the crimes perpetrated in recent months against the Argentine workers.

"The recent murders by rightists of an Argentine Communist party activist (Tita Hidalgo, who died as a result of a beating she received at the hands of the police) and of three activists of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (César Robles, Rubén Bouzas, and Juan Nievas, killed by gangs of armed fascists) call for strong condemnation.

"We reaffirm our conviction that the Argentine workers movement will defeat the reaction. And we demand that the state of siege that has now been proclaimed by Señora Isabel Perón not be used as a weapon for persecuting and attacking the workers organizations.

"We who fought against fascism, and

\*Coral was released after being held a short time. — IP

who continue to struggle to defeat reaction in Portugal, consider that the Argentine fascists and reactionaries are also our enemies. Therefore, we extend our solidarity to the Argentine workers in their struggle and emphatically condemn the crimes that have been committed against them.

"Lisbon, November 26, 1974."

Signed: Sindicato Nacional dos Ferroviários do centro de Portugal [Central Portugal District of the National Union of Railway Workers], Sindicato Nacional dos Operários da construção civil do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the National Union of Civil Construction Workers], Sindicato dos profissionais de escritório do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the Clerks Union], Sindicato dos Motoristas do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the Bus Drivers Union], Sindicato Nacional dos Empregados Bancários do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the National Union of Bank Workers], Sindicato Nacional dos Técnicos e Operários Metalúrgicos Metal-Mecânicos do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the National Union of Metallurgical Technicians, Metalworkers, and Mechanics], Sindicato dos Trabalhadores dos Têxteis de Lisboa Lanifícios e Vestuários do

Sul [Lisbon District of Textile Workers and the Southern District of Wool and Clothing Workers], Sindicato Nacional dos Profissionais das Artes Gráficas do distrito de Lisboa [Lisbon District of the National Union of Graphic Arts Workers], Federação Nacional dos Sindicatos do Pessoal das Indústrias Químicas [National Fed-

eration of Chemical Workers], Sindicato dos Trabalhadores Electricistas do Sul [Southern District of Electrical Workers], Aliança Socialista da Juventude [Young Socialist Alliance], Grupo Marxista Revolucionário [Revolutionary Marxist Group], Partido Socialista Português [Portuguese Socialist party]. □

## Arafat at the United Nations

[The following editorial appeared in issue No. 4 (mid-November) of *Mal'amal*, fortnightly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Group, the Lebanese Trotskyist organization. The translation is taken from the December 12 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

The newspapers and other news media are unanimous in considering the speech given at the UN by Yasir Arafat as the baptism of the Palestinian Resistance within the "international community" and the consecration of its legitimacy as the representative of the Palestinian people.

It is true that the delivery of the speech by all evidence marks the end of the epoch in which the Palestinian cause was nothing but a problem of refugees who moved the United Nations to pity. There is no doubt that in itself the affirmation of the existence of a Palestinian Arab people, a people who lived on the land of Palestine before being expelled, constitutes an encouragement to the struggle against the Zionist colonial entity. From this point of view, Arafat's speech represented a step forward. In addition, the text of the speech contained a real democratic position in regard to the Jewish inhabitants of the state of Israel, saying: "We include in our considerations all the Jews who live in Palestine today and agree to live with us in peace and without discrimination in the land of Palestine." It also contained a democratic, nonracist position in regard to the Jews in general; Arafat stated: "We condemn all crimes committed against the Jews and all the kinds of open or camouflaged discrimination that the adherents of Judaism have suffered." These words also represent a step forward, especially if they are compared to the statements of the un-

fortunately famous Ahmed Shukhairy about "throwing the Jews into the sea" or the Qaddafi theses on the expulsion from Palestine of all those Jews who came there after 1948. Two steps forward, then. Two steps that we appreciate.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to inquire about the conditions under which these two steps were taken. Were they the result of victories for the Resistance? Weren't they rather the result of a series of retreats? That is the nub of the problem!

When the Palestinian Resistance, Fateh at its head, stood at the height of its rise, in 1969 and the beginning of 1970, it never entered anyone's mind to invite Arafat to speak from the UN podium. Why, then, invite him today, after the Resistance has been crushed in Jordan and after the number of operations conducted by the Resistance inside Israel has been significantly reduced? Some will say that Arafat's speech, while it was not the fruit of victories of the Resistance, is nevertheless the fruit of the general "Arab victory" after October 1973. But this "Arab victory" is itself an illusion. What sort of victory is it that is expressed by direct negotiations in Geneva with the Zionist regime?

In truth, most of the states that have modified their position on the Palestinian problem have not done so for reasons of objectivity or by virtue of such principles as justice, humanity, and so on, but rather have done so in the hope of attracting Arab loans and investments to their countries; they have done so by virtue of their economic interests and nothing else. Thus, the principal instrument of Arafat's entry into the UN was not the rifles of the fighters—this truth is obvious, even if bitter—but rather, above all, oil capital.

The question then becomes: Why

have the Arab regimes—headed by Saudi Arabia, the most reactionary one—expended all these efforts to get the PLO into the UN after having worked openly to get the PLO confirmed as the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people?

Here also, the answer is obvious: The regimes in question are seeking to liquidate the Palestinian cause as a source of permanent political tension and to guarantee the stability of the Arab region. They are seeking to apply the "peaceful solution" under conditions that, obviously, are not so difficult as to get out of "control." These regimes see the creation of a Palestinian state side by side with the Zionist state as the only reasonable road to the peaceful solution; they likewise see that this solution will not acquire its full value unless the PLO is in the leadership of this state as the representative of the Palestinian Resistance.

The leadership of the PLO has agreed to go along with these efforts; it has accepted the project of the Palestinian state, which Arafat did not neglect to mention, even if only in a single sentence at the end of his speech. This does not change the fact that this sentence was the most important one of the speech, for it constituted the direct request addressed by Arafat to the UN: "I address you so that you may permit our people to establish its independent national regime and to build its national entity on its land." That was the principal aim of Arafat's trip to New York! Moreover, after the speech, the Arab delegations immediately began preparing a draft resolution on the "peaceful solution" and the "Palestinian entity" for submission to the General Assembly.

Arafat ended his speech by declaring: "I have come today . . . bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand." Three times he repeated: "Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand."

The "international community" certainly grasped the meaning of this call: Arafat is prepared to let the freedom fighter's gun fall!

But the Arab masses, and especially the Palestinian masses, will in no way let it drop so long as the Zionist entity exists on Palestinian land!

No to the peaceful solution!  
Revolution until liberation! □