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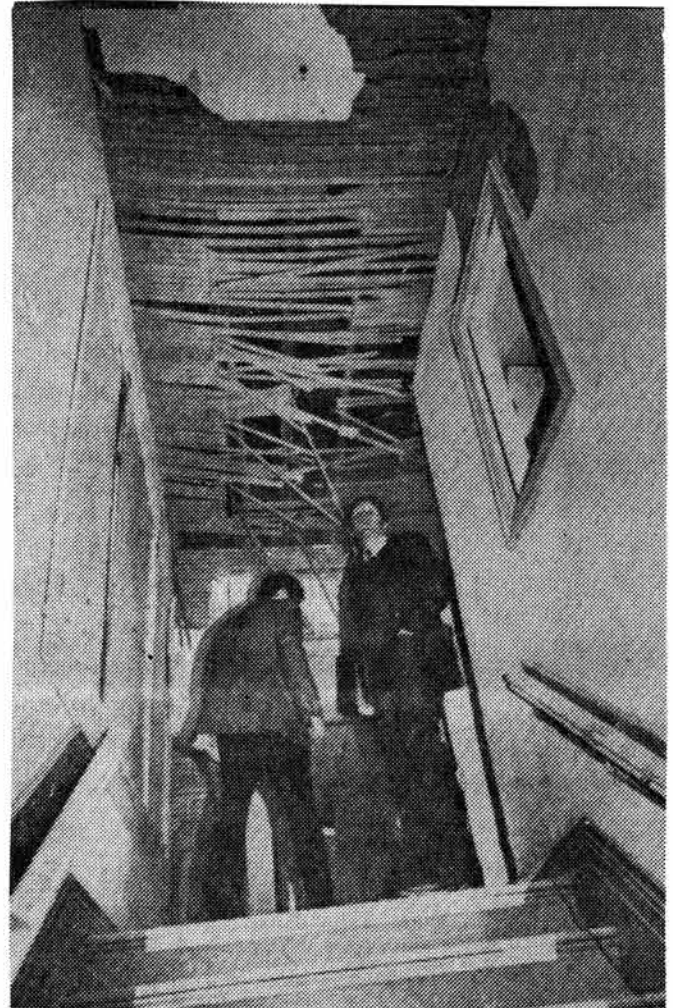
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February 17, 1975

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In Los Angeles

Fascists Bomb Socialist Workers Offices



John Malmin/Los Angeles Times

Police examine damage from powerful explosive device.

Popular Outburst Shakes Peru's Military Regime

Fourth International's Analysis

The Capitalist World Economic Crisis

The Abortion Referendum in Italy

Argentine Repression Denounced by Jurists

About 2,000 persons in Argentina are under detention for alleged political offenses, and the lives of many of them are in danger, according to Daniel Jacobi, a Paris lawyer. Most were arrested under the November 6, 1974, decree declaring a state of siege, Jacobi told a February 3 news conference in Paris called by the International Federation of the Rights of Man, the International Association of Catholic Jurists, and several French committees of solidarity with Argentina.

Political prisoners are deprived of effective legal defense, the news conference was told. Their defense lawyers have become prime targets for extreme right-wing groups like the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (AAA). Six lawyers have been assassinated in recent months; nearly all have received death threats; and many have been forced into exile. The government itself has contributed to their harassment; at least thirty defense lawyers have themselves have been arrested.

The use of torture is spreading. Jacobi cited cases in which drugs like pentothal ("truth serum") had been administered to political prisoners. Prisoners have received threatening letters from the AAA transmitted by their guards. Some have been kidnapped by the terrorist organization upon their release from prison and assassinated. Moreover, judges are pressured by government officials, and those whom the right-wing forces deem to be too "soft" on political prisoners are threatened with assassination.

Louis Joinet, former president of the Magistrates Association in Paris, called attention to the gradual increase of judicial repression in Argentina. In particular, he cited:

- The law on workers associations, adopted at the end of 1973, which allows the state to intervene in the internal affairs of trade unions.

- The law amending the Penal Code, which increased penalties and created new categories of crimes.

- The national security law, adopted in September 1973, aimed at restricting freedom of the press.

- The state security law, which makes it a crime to participate in a work stoppage declared "illegal" by the authorities.

- The suspension of the right of habeas corpus.

The organizers of the Paris news conference said that in view of the vulnerable situation of the political prisoners, the Argentine government must be held responsible for their lives. □

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Intercontinental Press

Los Angeles SWP Headquarters Bombed

By Harry Ring

[City News Service, a Los Angeles-based news agency, informed the Socialist Workers party February 6 that it had received a call from the "National Socialist Liberation Front" claiming credit for the February 4 bombing of the SWP offices.

[The "Front" is a fascist organization. One of its representatives who had earlier appeared in a televised debate with SWP member Omari Musa said that the group had originated in a split from the National Socialist White People's party and that it favored armed struggle.

[According to police, the "Front" has also claimed responsibility for the tear-gas attack on a February 2 rally in Los Angeles demanding reopening of the Rosenberg¹ case. The "Front" is also thought to have been the organization responsible for a racist attack on the December 14, 1974, demonstration in Pasadena, California, in support of the right of Black children to be bused to better schools.

[The following articles appeared in the February 14 issue of *The Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist news-weekly published in New York.]

* * *

Los Angeles

Right-wing terrorists exploded a lethal pipe bomb at the Central-East Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance at about 8:30 p.m. February 4.

The intent of the attack, carried out with a high-explosive bomb at a time when the building was filled with people, was obviously to kill.

Damage was extensive, but by a fortunate circumstance there were no injuries or deaths.

1. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were convicted during the witch-hunt atmosphere of the McCarthy era in the United States for alleged conspiracy to pass "atomic secrets" to the Soviet Union. They were executed despite worldwide protests in 1953.

About the same time, a bomb exploded at an East Los Angeles bookstore initiated by the October League, a Maoist-oriented radical organization.

The murderous attacks came two days after an audience was routed by tear gas at a Santa Monica rally demanding a reopening of the Rosenberg case.

The Militant Forum, which is housed at the SWP hall at 710 S. Westlake Ave., had scheduled a Feb. 7 meeting on the Rosenberg case, with a representative of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case as the principal speaker. A leaflet announcing that meeting was posted on the street entrance door.

At the time of the attack, there were 25 people in the hall attending various meetings and engaged in Socialist Workers campaign activities.

Lew Jones, SWP city organizer, was about to leave the headquarters. As he came out on the second-floor landing, he saw a person halfway up the stairs lighting a fuse. He shouted at the person and began running down the stairs toward him. The man hurled the pipe bomb at Jones, and it went past him, falling on the top landing.

Jones pursued the man out of the building, but he escaped.

Meanwhile, Jones's shout was heard by Tim Mallory, Socialist Workers candidate for the Pasadena, Calif., school board. Mallory rushed to the landing and saw the bomb with its burning fuse. He slammed the door shut and quickly warned those inside to leave by the rear exit. Within less than two minutes, as they were halfway down the rear stairs, the bomb exploded with tremendous force.

The entrance door was completely demolished, and part of the down-stairs street door was ripped off by the blast.

A half-dozen windows were blown out, and fragments of the bomb penetrated a wall 30 feet down the corridor.

Residents of a neighboring apartment building reported some 30 brok-

Nazis Post New Threat

Los Angeles

A terrorist threat from a fascist group was found Feb. 5 on the door of the West Side L. A. Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Santa Monica.

Inscribed with a drawing of a gun and a swastika, the note read: "The future belongs to the few of us still willing to get our hands dirty. POLITICAL TERROR. It's the only thing they understand. Build the national socialist revolution through armed struggle. Venice provo, National Socialist Liberation Front." (Venice is adjacent to Santa Monica.)

Called to the scene, Santa Monica police pooh-pooed the incident. A cop said there were probably a hundred such leaflets tacked up around the city, and that they could not provide protection to everyone who felt they needed it.

"Even people involved in divorce actions think they need protection," he observed.

en windows. The explosion was heard several blocks away, and debris from the blast was found a block away.

At a news conference held the next morning at the bombed hall, the demand was made that Mayor Thomas Bradley immediately take special measures to assure the apprehension of those responsible for the attack.

In addition to representatives of the SWP and YSA, participants included Linda Hunt, public relations director for the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); Reverend Amos Barstow Murphy, chairperson of the Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg case; and Michael Zinzun, a leading Pasadena Black activist.

The October League also held a news conference Feb. 5 to protest the bombing of the Unidos Bookstore, apparently by the same type of explosive that hit the SWP hall. Extensive damage was done to the building, but fortunately no one was in the store at the time.

Mike Klonsky of the October League demanded official action to apprehend the bombers. He noted that the police have agents planted in the right-wing

groups and, further, that the police have been provided with a description of the person who threw the bomb at the SWP offices. Linda Hunt of the ACLU and Reverend Murphy of the Rosenberg committee also participated in the October League news conference.

The demand that Mayor Bradley take quick action stems from mounting concern regarding laxity by Los Angeles and federal officials in dealing with previous similar attacks on the SWP and other groups in Los Angeles.

The SWP alone was the victim of six bombing and shooting attacks in a two-year period from 1968 to 1970. The most dangerous assault occurred May 27, 1970, when a gang of armed Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles entered the SWP hall and at gunpoint forced four campaign workers to lie on the floor. They spread gasoline and ignited it. The four narrowly escaped.

During the same period the Haymarket, a radical center, was burned to the ground. A similar arson attack was made on the Ash Grove, a radical coffeehouse. The Long March, a movement center, was bombed several times.

The *Los Angeles Free Press* [a radical newspaper] has also been the target of several bomb attacks.

During the recent United Nations appearance by Yasir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization, a bookstore operated by a group supporting the UN was bombed. The Jewish Defense League² took credit for that one.

In the May 1970 attack on the SWP, three Cuban exiles were later arrested on other charges. Police officials indicated they were persuaded the three had ties with the CIA.

The present attack on the SWP hall was no amateurish business. The weapon was a pipe bomb some 15 inches in length and of high explosive power. All evidence indicates it was no homemade affair.

The need for demanding meaningful official action is underlined by the entire police record here. Both the local police and various federal agencies have openly acknowledged, even boasted, that they have informants

2. An ultrarightist Zionist group.

Demand Arrest of Ultraright Terrorists

New York

In a statement released Feb. 5, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Peter Camejo demanded that Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley take swift and decisive action to arrest those responsible for the bombings.

"Last night's nearly fatal bombing of the SWP headquarters in Los Angeles," Camejo said, "was clearly aimed at stopping socialists from carrying on political activity in Los Angeles. The would-be murderers who planned and carried out this assault also hope to frighten people away from participating in struggles in which socialists are active, such as the effort to desegregate the Pasadena schools and to mobilize support for the Black community of Boston against the racist offensive there."

Camejo charged that the government bears responsibility for creating the political climate that encourages terrorist attacks against the SWP and other radical groups. He pointed out that just the previous

week secret documents were released proving that the FBI had carried out a systematic campaign to get a socialist professor, Dr. Morris Starsky, fired from his job at Arizona State University.

"The SWP, along with the Young Socialist Alliance," Camejo said, "launched a lawsuit in 1973 against the government, demanding that the FBI and CIA be stopped from carrying out a vast illegal operation to intimidate and disrupt the SWP and the YSA.

"When the government can carry out 'disruption programs' against Starsky and other dissidents—and get away with it—it encourages right-wing terrorists to believe they also can engage in illegal attacks with impunity.

"But we will not be intimidated. We are appealing to all supporters of civil liberties to join us in demanding that Mayor Bradley take action to see that the criminals who placed the bombs last night are apprehended and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

planted in various organizations of the left and the right.

There is a strong likelihood that they have had advance knowledge of such attacks, or at least the means of obtaining information after the fact. Yet they have proven singularly inept at preventing the continuing attacks on left-wing groups, or apprehending those responsible.

At the time of a March 30, 1970, gun attack on the SWP hall, Peter Seidman, then party organizer here, spoke with a "community relations" officer of the Los Angeles police department.

Seidman asked the official why the police could not find out who was responsible for the shooting, since they must have informants within these groupings.

"Well, frankly, we do have agents," the official replied, "but it is not worth blowing their cover over a little incident like this."

A small incident the night of the bombing further illuminates the police attitude toward such matters.

While the police and federal agents were leaving the SWP hall, a party representative asked that a police officer be stationed at the door for the rest of the night while party members and supporters were securing the entrances.

A cop said this could not be done and that a private security guard could be hired.

Later that same policeman returned, explaining that the entrance to a downstairs jewelry store had been broken open during the night's events. He stayed until early morning to ensure the safety of the merchandise.

Meanwhile, within hours after the attack, work was under way to restore the hall to functioning condition, and political activities were continuing virtually uninterrupted. A meeting was scheduled for Feb. 7 to protest the attack and demand official action. A representative of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case and others were scheduled to speak. □

Popular Outburst Shakes Peru's Military Regime

By Gerry Foley

Peruvian troops supported by tanks stormed one of the main police headquarters in Lima February 5 to crush a strike by the "defenders of order."

"An unknown number of soldiers and policemen were casualties when tanks, recently acquired from the Soviet Union, smashed into police barracks," a dispatch from Lima reported in the February 6 *Washington Post*.

The military assault on the striking police touched off a mass explosion which the army tried to suppress with indiscriminate shooting.

"As news of the army assault spread, thousands of youths massed in the streets downtown," *New York Times* correspondent Jonathan Kandell cabled from the Peruvian capital. "After overturning buses, cars and trucks, they sacked and set fire to the army officers' club in the central plaza."

The fighting between the two sectors of the repressive forces of the state gave the masses of desperately poor people concentrated in the city a chance to take what they wanted from stores as well as to attack the symbols of hated privilege. ". . . the rioters vandalized stores that were less well protected," Kandell continued, "stoned hotels and set fire to the offices of newspapers controlled by the Government. Smoke billowed above the downtown area.

"Demonstrators also stoned the United States Embassy, breaking more than 40 windows. Further damage was prevented when T-55 tanks, recently acquired from the Soviet Union, moved in.

"Tanks sent to the central plaza in the afternoon dispersed the rioters there by firing their machine guns, mostly in the air. Ambulances picked up several people apparently wounded by gunfire."

In a dispatch February 6, Kandell said that city morgue attendants had told reporters that about fifty bodies with bullet wounds had been brought in since the start of the clashes.

The junta declared a curfew from 10:00 p.m. February 5 to 5:00 a.m. February 6. An 8:00 to 5:00 cur-

few remained in effect in the following days.

The political police seized the offices of the Reuters news agency and shut it down. It was accused by the government of "rumor-mongering."

On February 8, the government confiscated 50,000 copies of a special issue of *Caretas*, virtually the only independent publication left in the country. The issue was devoted to the clashes.

The government-controlled papers, which blacked out the buildup of the crisis and servilely defended the regime, were singled out as special targets by the angry crowds.

"An executive with *Correo and Ojo* [two major newspapers] said that three soldiers had sought to protect the building from hundreds of demonstrators by firing into the air," Kandell reported in his February 6 dispatch.

"When the soldiers used up their bullets," the executive Augusto Razuri said, "the crowd spread gasoline through the offices and then others threw lighted rags. By 2:30 in the afternoon, when the firemen arrived, the place was in ruins."

The crowd was not deterred even by murderous gunfire from the troops, according to Kandell.

"Armored personnel carriers and tanks periodically swept through the downtown area and past Plaza San Martin. After the soldiers fired automatic rifles and tear-gas grenades, ambulances following close behind picked up the dead or wounded.

"But the youths would regroup as soon as the soldiers moved on."

Some reports claimed that the police rallied to the support of the regime as the clashes spread.

"By late afternoon, the conflict with the 20,000-member paramilitary Guardia Civil national police force appeared to have been resolved," a February 5 dispatch in the *Washington Post* said. "Platoons of riot police with their officers reappeared on the streets of Lima to help military patrols suppress reported wide-

spread clashes, a fact that showed that there was a solution."

On the other hand, there were rumors of a split in the army.

"The relatively small number of troops downtown today—despite the continued looting of stores—gave credence to rumors of possible dissension among ranking military leaders," Jonathan Kandell wrote February 6. He also noted:

"President Juan Velasco Alvarado, facing his greatest crisis since leading the armed forces to power in a bloodless coup in 1968, has not addressed the nation on television or radio since the disorders began."

After the first clashes, the government suspended constitutional guarantees. It ordered all workplaces and businesses shut. The suspension was later extended for thirty days. On February 8, United Press International reported that military courts had begun trying 1,300 persons arrested in the clashes and that even more arrests were expected.

"Heavily armed police and soldiers burst into scores of homes and apartments to search for the loot taken by rampaging mobs.

"The number in custody was expected to rise with the arrests of men in homes where the machine gun-carrying soldiers found stolen goods."

It seemed clear that the "progressive junta" faced a very extensive popular explosion that put its survival in question. And the fact that it reacted to the popular outbreak like any bourgeois government, ruthlessly defending "sacred" private property, could only weaken its political position further.

"Lima is a powderkeg," Marcel Niedergang wrote in the February 7 issue of *Le Monde*. "Half of the population lives in *barriadas*, shantytowns of canvas and cardboard. Unemployment, underdevelopment, a 'lumpenproletariat' in the Peruvian capital quick to go on rampages of rioting and looting. This is a factor that has to be taken into account in assessing the February 5 events. But the objec-

tives chosen by the looters are no less instructive—the offices of the newspapers that were 'socialized' last year, the officers club, the big hotels in the downtown area, and above all, the offices of Sinamos, the government body in charge of 'mobilizing energies' in support of the regime."

Sinamos was designed roughly to function like the party and trade-union apparatuses in Stalinized countries, that is, to serve as a transmission belt to enable the government to extend its direct control deeply into the masses. But the Peruvian government's "mass organization" does not have the political consistency or social roots of the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatuses. It is the ramshackle creation of a bourgeois Bonapartist junta, not only clumsy and bureaucratic, but impotent and torn by contradictions. "Sinamos," Niedergang wrote, "is a ponderous bureaucratic apparatus, criticized by the backers of the government themselves, which has never succeeded in creating the conditions for broad popular support."

In the final analysis, Sinamos seems to have succeeded only in getting close enough to the masses to make a handy target for the first full-scale outburst of popular frustration and rage at the demagogic regime.

The Peruvian junta's attempt at reform from the top down and at balancing between the poor masses, the native capitalists, and imperialism seemed on the verge of ending in disaster. That was the conclusion *Le Monde's* Latin American expert drew from the early February clashes in the Peruvian capital.

Because of the contradictions of the "progressive" military regime, it is difficult to determine precisely whether the initial impulse for these outbursts came from the poor masses themselves or from proimperialist forces. What seems certain is that the armed clashes between the striking police and the army opened up the way for an explosion from below.

The crowds that clashed with the army February 5 were not treated with the kid gloves the junta has used for dealing with rightists, nor with the toleration the Allende government in Chile showed toward the rightist demonstrations that prepared the way for its overthrow.

Reuters correspondent Eduardo Ascaranz was in the middle of the shooting. Perhaps it was his reports that

prompted the junta to close down his agency. He wrote: "A young man holding a new pair of pants in his right hand lay stretched out on the Plaza San Martin, while the tanks sprayed the square with machine-gun fire. Near him lay two other youths hit by the soldiers' fire. I was crouching in a telephone booth, and saw three other persons struck by machine-gun fire. The ambulances pulled up. Several minutes later, the looters came out of a shop on the square. They were mowed down by bullets. Two other persons fell under a rain of lead. A young man collapsed a few yards from me, near the booth. Blood spurting from his throat and his right arm, and continued to flow profusely for several minutes until an ambulance arrived."

But even this slaughter could not drive off the masses of poor who saw a chance finally to get things that had been hopelessly beyond their reach.

"Despite the withering fire from the army's tanks, the looters continued their thefts. A young man ran out of a dry-goods store with a box full of shirts under his arm, another seized a pile of suits. A little further on, a family came out of a store with a television set. 'It's a clearance sale, buddy,' a man shouted to me as he ran off with a pile of pants."

The police strike had come in the midst of rising discontent.

"Behind the Government's current troubles is an inflation rate that reached 20 per cent last year, an unusually high figure for Peru," Kandell wrote February 5. "With prices continuing to rise, factory workers, miners and public employes have staged strikes in recent weeks."

There had also been indications for some time that the junta was beginning to yield to the pressure of world imperialism. Joseph Novitski summed up a number of examples in the January 26 issue of the *Washington Post*.

"The revolutions of our time have had to learn the hard way that nothing is free in today's world,' the government newspaper said when the huge foreign loans for Peru's largest mining project came through recently after a five-year delay.

"These loans make a case study of how the nationalist military leaders of the Peruvian revolution learned the limits of their nationalism and came

to terms, against their will, with the way the non-Communist financial world operates.

"Although no one here will admit it publicly, evidence indicates that to get financing totaling \$620 million needed for the Cuajone copper mine, the government had to yield at least part of its earliest and most nationalistic decision."

For five years, the junta had refused to pay compensation to Exxon for the nationalization of its Peruvian subsidiary, which was seized shortly after the coup that established the present government. For those five years the junta could not get the foreign loans it applied for. On December 19, 1974, the United States allocated part of a \$76 million fund for compensation for other nationalized property to Exxon. The Peruvian regime did nothing. On January 7, the new loans were announced, and it became known that one of the institutions putting up the money was the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

"There have been other instances of the Peruvian military nationalists coming to terms with the outside world," Novitski also pointed out. "The oil-exploration contracts signed with 18 foreign companies drilling in Peru's Amazon jungles since 1971 have been criticized by exiled opponents of the government as more favorable to the companies than is necessary in today's oil-starved world."

Despite the feebleness of the junta's nationalism, however, there is little doubt that the imperialists thought that many of the regime's measures set a "bad example" that, at some point, would have to be "discouraged." In particular since the 1973 U.S.-backed army coup in Chile, the junta has been under steadily increasing pressure from proimperialist forces. Moreover, the decayed nationalist regime in Lima would be a logical first target for a recession-prompted U.S. counteroffensive against the raw-material-producing countries.

"The Peruvian leaders cannot expect an understanding attitude from Washington," Niedergang wrote in the February 7 *Le Monde*. "Quite the contrary. Everything, starting with the appointment of a 'troubleshooting' ambassador to Lima, indicates that the U.S. will do nothing to prevent the fall of one of the last left nationalist regimes in Latin America."

After more than five years of rule, and perhaps the most extensive reforms made in the recent period by any bourgeois government in Latin America (except for Chile where the Allende government, operating within a framework of parliamentary democracy, was forced by mass pressure to go much further than its intentions), the Peruvian junta now seems to have been virtually abandoned by the masses.

"Observers have noted the political vacuum that prevails in the country," *Le Monde* pointed out in its February 8 issue. "No sector of the civilian population has demonstrated in favor of the regime of President Velasco Alvarado except the General Confederation of Labor controlled by the Communist party."

In order to be able to play its game of balancing between the masses and imperialism, the junta had to suppress all independent political activity and demobilize the workers. Otherwise, it would have run the risk of its reforms setting in motion a process that it could not control, a process that would have led to a decisive confrontation of the fundamental forces in society as it did in Chile. Many of the government's highly touted experiments in "industrial democracy" were in fact designed to tie the workers hand and foot to the regime's plans for developing a modern bourgeois economy.

"Established labor-union leaders distrust the industrial-community idea because they fear it undercuts their strength," Everett G. Martin wrote in the February 4 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*. "In fact, though the officers don't say so publicly, there are clear indications that this is exactly what the government has in mind. 'Privately,' a diplomat observes, 'government officials say that unions now have no reason for being. Their real intention is to replace them, because if they are Marxist unions, they represent class warfare, and if they are more traditional, they represent the capitalistic bargaining process.'"

At the end of his article in the main U.S. business paper, Martin quoted "an American executive" operating in Peru to this effect: "It's a new business experience for me, and you know, I find it's an interesting challenge."

During the past five years, strikes by both teachers and industrial workers have been ruthlessly suppressed.

Leaders who tried to defend the interests of the masses against the government, like the revolutionary peasant union leader Hugo Blanco, have been arbitrarily expelled from their own country.

Now it appears that the support of all the opportunist left, from the Communist party to former guerrilla leaders, cannot save the regime if the imperialists decide the moment has come to bring it down. In the eyes of the poor masses it has become a repressive government, a defender of privilege. And the impoverished masses of Peru are apparently unwilling to wait any longer for the promised improvements in their standard of living. The left demagoguery and bureaucratic "mass organization," largely copied from the Stalinists, no longer seems to have any effect in rallying support

for what has become international Stalinism's main model of a "progressive, democratic revolution."

Only genuinely revolutionary forces that have remained loyal to the working class and the poor masses of Peru are likely to be able to convince the people to mobilize against a rightist coup.

If the government and the left really want to block imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of Peru, they ought to at once rescind the expulsion of Hugo Blanco. He is the one leader the most oppressed and exploited masses of the Peruvian people still trust, the one who personifies their hopes for a "new Peru," and who is able to mobilize them, independently of the government, against the forces of reaction. □

Report From Salonika

How Greek CP Helped Defuse the Student Mobilizations

[The following article on the end of the student mobilization in Salonika in late January is from the February 1 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, a weekly paper published in Athens that reflects the views of the Greek Trotskyists. The article also refers to some other student mobilizations in northern Greece. For a description of the first phase of the Salonika actions, see "Students Demand Ouster of Officials Tied to Junta," in *Intercontinental Press*, February 10, p. 180. The following article was translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Salonika

While it experienced a dynamic upsurge lasting more than two weeks, the student movement in Salonika has ebbed. Without gaining anything substantial, without being beaten by the government, the students retreated because they were defeated from within, by the various "vanguard" groupings.

The bankruptcy of reformism was demonstrated at various levels. First of all, there was the joint statement

by the Opposition¹ in parliament welcoming the government solution (which *Rizospastis*² called a "great victory for the students").

Then there was the student "trade-union" line of the groupings that embraced the positions of the Opposition—PASP,³ the Panspoudastike, and Regas Feraios.⁴ From the begin-

1. The Opposition side in parliament includes the Enosis tou Kentrou (EK—Center Union, the old bourgeois liberal party); the two factions of the KKE (Kommounistiko Komma tes Ellados—Communist party of Greece), the "exterior," or Moscow-backed faction, and the "interior" faction supported by the Italian CP; plus the PASOK (Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema—Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement) of Andreas Papandreou.

2. The daily paper of the "exterior" KKE.

3. Panellenia Agonistike Spoudastike Parataxe—Pan-Hellenic Militant Students Alliance.

4. The youth organization related to the "interior" faction.

ning, these organizations opposed mobilizations. When the student movement was broadening they did everything they could to choke off the development, and they succeeded.

The Regas was torn by internal contradictions. For quite a while it held a principled position toward the movement and helped to advance it. The organization came out against the statement of the Opposition (breaking openly for the first time with the KKE "interior"). But finally it lost its nerve and fell back on the tactic of doing nothing. Essentially, it covered up for the Panspoudastike and the PASP. The decisive factor in bringing about this turn by Regas was the weight of the right-wing elements in the organization and the parliamentary cretinism of the KKE "interior" that gave these elements the strength to impose their control.

Two weeks of mobilization gave the students more experience than they could have gained in months of reading and discussion. The associations (PASP, and Panspoudastike) came close to blowing up, and would have if the mobilization had lasted longer. The "left" notables were shouted down and jeered by the students. The two KKEs and PASOK lost all of their hold over the students and were unmasked as parties representing collaboration with and subordination to the government.

The student movement found itself alone and forced to struggle in spite of and against the bourgeois elements and the reformists. Degeneration set in quickly. This was owing in the first place to the lack of a revolutionary workers party, which would have broadened the student struggle and mobilized the working people, and to the absence of a mass student organization that could have unified the students and provided leadership. Once again we have seen how the crisis of Greek society leads back to a crisis of revolutionary leadership.

From this standpoint, forming the Socialistike Spoudastike Pale [SSP—Socialist Student Struggle] in precisely this phase is an attempt to fill this void, a vacuum for which the students have paid dearly and will continue to pay dearly. In order to advance the interests of the working people and the youth, it is essential for revolutionists to close ranks in the KDKE [Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados—Internationalist

Communist party of Greece, the Greek section of the Fourth International] and the SSP and to build a mass revolutionary party and a mass student organization.

The classical formula for covering up your errors, your weaknesses, and your responsibility is to blame everything on the objective conditions. Thus, the sellout of the student movement in Salonika is going to be represented as an ebb in the movement. They are saying that the kids were tired, and so on.

The figures on the votes in the various schools show the falseness of these claims. In the School of Physics and Mathematics, the resolution for continuing the strike supported by the SSP and the AASPE⁵ got 516 votes. The resolution for ending the strike—which was backed by Caramanlis's Nea Demokratia [New Democracy], the EK, PASOK, the Panspoudastike, Regas, and the PPSP⁶—got 580 votes.

It was a brilliant success for the popular front (from Caramanlis supporters to Stalinists) against the student movement and our positions. In the auditorium where the vote was taken all these groups joined to shout down our proposals, laughing together about how Trotskyist the proposals were.

Never before in such a critical vote have two small groups like the SSP and the AASPE been able to do battle with the front of the "progressive forces" on more or less equal terms.

The Socialistike Spoudastike Pale fought to extend the mobilization to other schools. It fought also for continuing the occupation of the School of Medicine, opposing all the other organizations (except the AASPE, which supported the mobilizations but without any program other than elementary agitational slogans).

Once again the student movement has fought a largely profitless battle. But the response to the positions of the SSP and the number of students who rallied around it are indications that we can prevent such wasted effort in the future.

The vote on the various resolutions

5. Antifasistike, Anti-imperialistike Spoudastike Parataxe tes Ellados—Antifascist, Anti-Imperialist Student Alliance of Greece.

6. Proodeutike Panspoudastike Syndikalistike Parataxe—Progressive United Student Union Alliance.

in the general assembly of the School of Medicine was as follows: The EK, PASP, Regas, and the Panspoudastike put forward a resolution calling for "suspending" the occupation while maintaining the demands. It got 350 votes.

Nea Demokratia put forward a resolution calling for ending the occupation outright. It got 69 votes.

The SSP motion called for continuing the occupation for the following objectives: (1) to force the ouster of [the profunta professor] Christophoridis; (2) to get the authorities to open all the records of the university and the Ministry of Education; (3) to gain assurance of credit for the current year regardless of interruptions of classes. The resolution got 40 votes.

The AASPE proposed continuing the strike and setting up student courts to try the fascists and their supporters. The resolution got 19 votes.

The PPSP motion calling for an end to the occupation got 33 votes.

Only the Engineering School students remain on strike. They are demanding assurance that they will get their diplomas as well as democratization of the school.

There is a general strike at the University of Ioannina [in north Epirus, across the Greek peninsula from Salonika], and the Teachers Academy has been occupied. In Xanthe [in Western Thrace, about 100 miles northeast of Salonika], the Polytechnic Institute was occupied for twenty-four hours. □

Ethiopia Nationalizes 101 Companies

The Ethiopian regime announced February 3 the nationalization of 101 local and foreign companies. Seventy-two of the companies were completely nationalized and the regime took over a controlling interest in the other twenty-nine.

Among the companies nationalized were those in the textile, processing, leather, chemical, iron and steel, and oil industries. Addis Ababa took a controlling interest in the Mobil, Royal Dutch/Shell, Total, and Agip oil companies. In addition to Mobil, other companies under U.S. control that were either totally or partially nationalized included Ethiopian Cattle Raising Co., Ethiopian Spice Extraction Co., and the local bottlers for Coca-Cola and Pepsi. The regime said that all firms would be compensated but gave no details. It said a committee had been set up to determine the value of the companies taken over.

Growing Support for Right to Abortion in Italy

By Gerry Foley

After being charged by the state prosecutor for "offending religion" when the cover of its January 19 issue carried a picture of a nude pregnant woman being crucified (implicitly by the Catholic church, which defends the ban on abortion) the Italian newsweekly *L'Espresso* launched a campaign in its February 2 issue for a referendum on the right to abortion.

"Together with the Lega del 13 Maggio,¹ *L'Espresso* has decided to demand a referendum for the abolition of the articles in the Italian Penal Code banning 'crimes against the soundness and health of race,'" the magazine explained.

"The demand will be presented to the Corte di Cassazione [the constitutional court] in the next few days and will be signed by our representatives and those of other democratic movements. The starting date and the conditions for collecting signatures from all citizens who want a referendum will be announced by us as soon as the necessary procedures have been completed. Why are we demanding repeal of these provisions? For the following reasons above all:

"a. Because these articles are unconstitutional. They were conceived and enacted by Mussolini's legislators by way of supporting a state based on racism.

"b. Because we want to help establish a society where births will really be happy occasions, and where children are really wanted, and women fully responsible for their choices.

"c. Because we know that abortion is a tragic choice, but precisely for this reason, precisely because it is tragic, it must be a free one.

"d. Because we believe that it is right that Italian women determine according to their conscience and without duress their own destiny and that of their own children.

"e. Because only by eliminating the

1. May 13 is the date of the 1974 referendum on divorce, in which the pro-clericalist forces were severely defeated.



Der Spiegel

Adele Faccio, after being arrested at podium of Rome abortion conference.

old punitive law and replacing it with a more human and liberating one can the spreading plague of back-alley abortions be eliminated.

"For these reasons, we will conduct a massive campaign to collect signatures for a referendum on repeal. We will try to conduct it with consideration and good sense, in accordance with our personal convictions and respect for the convictions of others, in order to rally the most extensive and broadest possible range of democratic support behind our proposal."

The magazine was able to announce its campaign in a dramatic context. Adele Faccio, one of the most prominent supporters of the Florence Center for Information on Sterilization and Abortion, was arrested January 26 on the stage at a national conference on abortion in Rome just after giving a speech that was applauded enthusiastically by a crowd of several thousand persons.

"Adele Faccio's speech was probably one of the longest," the February 2 *L'Espresso* reported. "In the square in front of the theater where the meeting was being held, the police had gotten out of their jeep, put on their helmets, and adjusted their plexiglass

shields. '... They have staged the farce of making this a Holy Year; we will make it the Year of Women and Abortion,' Faccio said calmly into the microphone, setting off another prolonged wave of applause. It was almost 1:00 p.m.; at the entrance, Improta, the head of the police political division, looked at his watch, and called over the riot police colonel Vitali. It was time. '... We want children with a heritage of freedom and happiness... abortion is not the ultimate evil,' Adele Faccio continued and turned in the midst of a frenzy of applause to sit down at the speakers table between Sister Marisa Galli and Deputy Loris Fortuna.

"At this point, the lawyer Franco de Cataldo was called to the wings. In civilian clothes, wearing a black hat and carrying an umbrella, Improta greeted him. 'Counselor, we are here, we have come to make our arrest with the least fuss possible. Tell the accused to give herself up, ask her when she wants to surrender. . . .' De Cataldo consulted his watch. 'The demonstration isn't over yet. You'll have to wait another half . . . but I would prefer something else. Give her another twenty-four hours, and tomorrow my client will give herself up in front of parliament.'

"Vitali, who had stood by silently listening, broke in gruffly: 'Counselor, this is no game of hide and seek, I have a warrant for her arrest, and I have to serve it.' 'All right, but I'm not negotiating handing over any hostages either. You'd better ask my client what she intends to do. . . .' Vitali scowled. 'No funny business, counselor.'

"De Cataldo went back to the stage a few seconds later. He consulted briefly with Faccio and Pannella, and Pannella had a brilliant idea, a stroke of genius. 'If you want to arrest Faccio, you should do it on the stage,' de Cataldo explained to the two policemen: 'On the stage? You're out of your mind,' one of the cops said. De Cataldo shrugged. The Radical

party activists opened a passage from the wings to the stage. If the cops had tried anything, incidents would have broken out immediately. There were several thousand militants in the theater, fired up by five hours of speeches. The choice was up to the police.

"Pannella broke the ice. He took the microphone, turned to the wings, and invited Improta and Vitali to serve their warrant. 'I have had the way cleared. So come on.' The two took a few steps. They had almost reached the stage, and suddenly they stopped. They had seen the knot of photographers, with their cameras at the ready. Pannella realized this, and turned to the audience: 'They don't want to arrest her. They don't want to come out on the stage. This is a dereliction of duty.' Improta and Vitali made up their minds. Trembling, all upset, almost running to overcome their embarrassment, they rushed to the speakers table. There was an explosion of flashbulbs. Improta, infuriated, grabbed Pannella's arm clumsily, like an actor at his first rehearsal. Faccio had already gotten to her feet.

"Stiffly, jerkily, Vitali took out the warrant and gave it to her. It seemed as if he was waiting for a response from the public. The crowd followed the scene in a solemn silence. Faccio read the warrant aloud. Crowding in front of the stage, the feminists gave the sign of the women's liberation movement. Mobbed by photographers, Improta and Vitali escorted Faccio to the exit. The arrest had been made.

"The extraparliamentary left in the audience began to chant: 'Let all the women who had abortions out of jail; put Fanfani and all his [Christian Democratic] party in.' Mauro Mellini took the microphone, and together with other Radical party members began to sing an old anarchist song — 'Bourgeois republic, one day you will be ashamed of it.'"

The conference in Rome had also been marked by a turn of some forces on the Italian left toward participating in the abortion campaign, *L'Espresso* reported. "A leader of Avanguardia Operaia spoke ('Thousands of us will go to Florence to the trial of Gianfranco Spadaccia² and Adele Faccio.

But we will put the judges on trial. We do not live in Chilean cities.'). He got a lot of applause, because his speech meant that the activist left groups had aligned themselves for the first time with the abortion struggle."

Adele Faccio was taken to the Sant'Agnolo women's prison in Florence to be held for trial with the other defendants arrested in the early January raid on a Florence abortion clinic.

The organizers of the campaign for a referendum on abortion will have ninety days, according to Italian law, to collect the 500,000 signatures necessary to force a vote. They apparently hope to follow up on the success of the divorce referendum last spring. In that referendum, the Catholic church and through it, the Christian Democracy (the main party of the Italian bourgeoisie, which is organized on the basis of religion), suffered a crushing defeat. This rout of the clericalists not only dealt the Catholic church hierarchy a stunning blow in its historic center but sharply deepened the political crisis of the bourgeoisie in the most unstable of the major European countries.

After their defeat in May 1974, the church and the Christian Democrats have been showing some signs of wanting to head off a confrontation on a more fundamental question of traditional Catholic morality.

L'Espresso took note in its February 2 issue of a document released by the "Holy See" on November 26, 1974, approximately the same time as the passage of the abortion reform in France. The document said: "Civil law cannot include the entire range of morals or punish every fault. Often it must tolerate a minor evil to prevent a greater one." The implication was that the church could accept decriminalization of abortion, an "offense" that is now subject to a penalty of five years in prison.

L'Espresso speculated that the Communist party had played a key role in convincing the church to accept a compromise. In the period before the divorce referendum also, the CP did everything possible to head off a confrontation.

"One element of speculation," *Es-*

ciated with the Centro Informazioni Sterilizzazione e Aborto (Center for Information on Sterilization and Abortion), the sponsor of the Florence clinic.

presso pointed out, "is provided by the secret circulation of a seven-page memorandum drawn up by the Commission on the Family of the Udi (Unione donne italiani [Italian Women's Union], which is very close to the CP). This document was sent to several Vatican offices, including the secretary of state. . . . In essence it was designed to show that the Udi's positions regarding abortion (decriminalization on three conditions—consent of the woman, use of the public health services, and restriction to the earliest stage of pregnancy) were not incompatible with the most recent orientations of the church."

To make such a turn, however, the church and the Christian Democrats are likely to have to wage a hard fight against their traditionalists, a fight that could seriously undermine their political and ideological foundations. On the other hand, the belated concessions offered by some elements in the dominant bourgeois institutions in Italy may in fact only impel the struggle against traditional morality still further.

Both the bourgeois forces and the reformists have already been so quickly bypassed by the fight on these issues that even bourgeois journalists have taken notice of it. For example, Claire Sterling wrote in the January 24 *Washington Post*:

"It would be hard to convey the magnitude of such an about-face for the Christian Democrats, who would have considered any proposition of the sort [compromise on abortion] unthinkable just a few years ago. It is also quite a change of heart for the Communists who, in their present whirlwind courtship of the ruling Catholic Party, have been almost comically reluctant to offend its sensibilities of late. The fact that both have been forced to make sudden and painful adjustments suggests how far they have fallen behind their own people in moving toward an enlightened modern society." □

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Venezuelan Press Features SWP Presidential Campaign

By Judy White

"Son of Venezuelan to Be Third U. S. Presidential Candidate in 1976."

"My Grandson Will Form a Government for the Poor If He Wins the U. S. Elections."

These were two of the banner headlines with which major Venezuelan daily newspapers reported the announcement of the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket headed by Peter Camejo. Camejo is of Venezuelan descent.

The headlines were accompanied by feature stories, cartoons, and even a poem entitled "Viva Pedro Camejo," identifying the candidate with Negro Primero, a Venezuelan hero of the struggle for independence from Spain. The launching of the SWP campaign was reported extensively in three major dailies.

All reports described Camejo's background of political activism:

El Nacional, January 13: "The presidential candidate of the socialists in the United States . . . has been the most outstanding leader of the mass movement against the Vietnam war and the staunchest defender of the Cuban revolution."

El Nacional, January 17: "He is known as an admirer of Fidel Castro and has even been to Cuba several times. He is considered to be a young man of the revolutionary conviction that there should be equality in all countries.

"Once he was arrested and threatened with expulsion from the state of California for his activity on behalf of the Blacks. Peter was exonerated of the charges that had been made against him."

Antorcha, January 13: "In 1970 he confronted Edward Kennedy, brother of ex-President Kennedy, as candidate for Senate from the state of Massachusetts and received greatest support among young voters and students."

El Informador conducted a telephone interview with Camejo January 17, which they published the following day. Referring to the effects of the economic crisis on working people in the United States, Camejo was



El Nacional
"I am a victim of Venezuelan imperialism: Now they want to force a president on me!"

quoted as saying, "All those reasons have caused growth in the only party trying to break the traditions and make fundamental changes in the social and economic structures of this country.

"We propose paying wages to unemployed workers and instituting a sliding scale of wages, determined by the cost of living.

"The workers shouldn't have to pay for the failures of the capitalist economic system. The capitalists should always pay for them. . . ."

"I will defend the peoples of Latin America, and in the specific case of Venezuela, I support the defense of its oil resources, because we oppose imperialist penetration anywhere in the world.

"We are opposed to President Ford's war threats against the oil-producing countries."

The press also conducted interviews with members of the candidate's family about the campaign:

El Nacional, January 17, with Camejo's grandmother, Carmen de Camejo: "I know Pedro very well. I know how he feels. I know about his struggles for social justice. If he wins the election, I am sure he won't cheat me. Peter, as they call him up north, won't rule for the rich. If he aspired to the presidency to be able to live in luxury and buy valuable jewels like Onassis does to give to Jacqueline, and to protect the powerful, I would prefer to see my favorite grandson . . . decline the candidacy and return to Venezuela to dedicate himself—for example—to planting potatoes in Rio Claro."

El Informador, January 16, with one of Camejo's uncles, Amador Camejo Octavio: ". . . Peter has the support of university youth, the Chicanos—that is, North Americans of Mexican origin who number in the millions in the western United States—the Puerto Ricans, and a sizable number of persons who want to change the society's structures. . . ."

"It's a new experience in the United States, since the party presenting it [the third candidacy] is getting legal status in all the states. In this case, we are talking about a party composed of students and workers, most of them under forty years old—the sector that will vote most heavily for Peter in the elections. And it is hoped that big sectors that don't agree with the Democrats and Republicans perhaps will also support his candidacy. . . ."

Giant Oil Companies Report '74 Profits Hit \$12 Billion

The Seven Sisters—the huge international oil cartel composed of Exxon, Royal Dutch/Shell, Texaco, Mobil, Standard Oil of California, Gulf, and British Petroleum—reported profits of \$12.27 billion in 1974. Their total revenues were \$177.20 billion, more than twice the combined revenues of the thirteen states in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Exxon alone accounted for \$45.84 billion in revenues.

British Workers Defend Right to Picket

By Robin Hunter



WARREN and TOMLINSON: Jailed under 1875 antipicketing law.

London

Two years after their alleged crime, and more than a year after their conviction, the largest demonstration yet held in defense of two Shrewsbury building workers jailed for "conspiracy" during the 1972 national building strike took place here January 14.

Des Warren and Eric Tomlinson—known as the Shrewsbury Two—received sentences of three and two years respectively for picketing a building site. They were found guilty under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, which both Tory and Labour governments have kept on the books as a weapon against the type of militant flying pickets used so successfully by striking building workers and miners in 1972.

Between ten and twelve thousand workers turned out to march from Tower Hill to the Houses of Parliament, where the Trades Union Congress sponsored a lobby of MPs. Another three thousand marchers went directly to Parliament from Euston station, the main terminal for trains from the north of England and Scotland.

The lobby had been endorsed nationally by Britain's three largest unions, the Transport and General Workers Union, the Amalgamated

Union of Engineering Workers, and the General and Municipal Workers Union, as well as the National Union of Railwaymen. Seamen on a number of ships in the ports of London and Liverpool struck to join the action, and Sheffield shop stewards in engineering and shipbuilding called for a one-day strike in solidarity.

The greatest number of stoppages were, of course, in the building industry, taking place in Sheffield, South Yorkshire, and on about twenty large sites in London. A number of building sites passed by the march were closed for the day; at others the marchers demanded, "Shut it down."

The march from Tower Hill and a prior rally were organized by the two main building workers unions, the Transport and General Workers Union and the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT), along with the Greater London Association of Trades Councils. Jack Dunn, general secretary for the Kent area of the National Union of Miners, called on the TUC General Council to lead a national campaign to free the Shrewsbury Two, including, if necessary, a one-day general strike.

Alan Tattam, London regional organiser of UCATT, Arthur Scargill,

secretary of the Yorkshire miners, and other trade-union leaders made similar appeals for the one-day action. They were joined by Sydney Bidwell, chairman of the Tribune group, a collection of "left wing" Labour party MPs. Also speaking from the Tribune group was Audrey Wise.

Hundreds of banners from regional and local unions and from trades councils from every part of the country were to be seen at the action. A large contingent under the Welsh flag were a reminder that most of the original twenty-four defendants that the government had tried to victimize in the Shrewsbury case live across the border in Wales.

In general, the participants tended to be delegates from the national, regional, and local bodies, rather than the product of an attempt at all-out mobilization of the rank and file, particularly in the case of those from outside London.

Supporting the trade unionists were contingents and banners from many political groups. The spirited and aggressive march was a clear indication of the potential for building a powerful movement for the release of the Shrewsbury Two and the repeal of the antipicketing laws.

The government has already tried to extend the Shrewsbury precedent to political groups. In November 1974 a High Court judge ruled that any non-trade-union picket could be ruled illegal, and a week later police violently broke up a picket against land speculation.

As for Warren and Tomlinson, they were jailed in October 1974 after an extended appeal process. The two have been denied visitors and confined to their cells in retaliation for their refusal to work or wear prison clothes. □

Washington Sells Missiles to Oman

The first known direct arms sale by Washington to the sultan of Oman—a shipment of Tow antitank missiles—recently arrived in Oman, along with two U. S. military instructors. The arms shipment follows a visit to Washington by Omani Sultan Qabus bin Said, and reported Omani approval of a U. S. request to allow military aircraft to use the island of Masirah in the Arabian Sea.

The Omani regime is currently receiving Iranian and British aid against guerrilla insurgents in Dhofar.

Brazilian Judge Denounces Political Repression

By Judy White

"Much more serious than the dishonesty and ineptitude of certain mayors are the crimes committed at a greater cost than a few thousand cruzeiros or a few government trucks for transporting cattle to farms. There are crimes that strike at other, much more important rights.

"They are the illegal arrests, torture, suppression of freedom of thought, and disappearances. If someone disappears, you never find a trace, not even the ashes from a corpse."

This public denunciation of government repression was made January 29 by Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Aliomar Baldeiro. In a departure from the practice normally followed by Brazil's tightly censored press, the statement received major publicity, appearing the following day in most of the country's dailies.

The same day that Baldeiro spoke, Monsignor Ivo Lorscheiter, general secretary of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, announced that church officials were considering requesting a general amnesty for political prisoners.

Lorscheiter charged that the Geisel regime had failed to comply with a request made last August for information on the whereabouts of some twenty political prisoners who had disappeared while under police custody. The list had been drawn up by church representatives, working with the Brazilian Bar Association.

The regime's failure to provide information on countless political prisoners who have "disappeared" was also challenged by Lyanesas Maciel, a member of parliament from the Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (MDB—Brazilian Democratic Movement, the main opposition party). According to a report in the February 3 weekly international edition of the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Nación*, Maciel called for the formation of a congressional committee to investigate these violations of human rights.

The regime replied to the growing criticism January 30, issuing a pub-

lic warning to those who attempt to "poison the minds of the uninitiated, disturb the peace, and interrupt our progress."

These were the words of Minister of Justice Armando Falção in a nationally broadcast speech reporting the arrest of fourteen alleged members of the banned Communist party and the discovery of two printing plants where CP literature was being produced.

Falção reported that in searching a Rio de Janeiro print shop police found copies of *Voz Operária* (the bulletin of the CP Central Committee), and a quantity of leaflets, small posters, and stickers intended "for agitation and propaganda." He added that this discovery had enabled security forces to verify that CP participation in the November 1974 elections had included "an intense campaign . . . in support of certain candidates." This was apparently a reference to the CP's support to the MDB, which won one-third of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies after campaigning for the extension of democratic rights.

According to a report of the broadcast in the February 1 *Le Monde*, Falção added that the arrests of the CP members had been carried out "in accordance with the law."

"This contradicts information we have received," *Le Monde* said, notably from São Paulo. In fact, a number of activists in that city have been tortured." The Paris daily cited several cases:

● Graciano and Bruna Fernandes, trade-union activists harshly treated for one week in the headquarters of the Second Army security forces.

● José David Dib, a printer arrested December 3 by the military and currently imprisoned in the headquarters of the São Paulo political police.

● Jurandi Guimarães, owner of a bookstore that imports Soviet books, held incommunicado and tortured for one month.

● The wife of Iran de Lima Pe-

reira—a former Pernambuco government functionary—arrested by the Second Army and tortured by electric shock for two days.

● Marco Antônio Coelho, well-known former CP deputy, arrested in Rio de Janeiro January 17, present whereabouts unknown.

● Raimundo Alves de Souza and Elson Costa, CP activists who were abducted and disappeared sometime between January 12 and 15.

The government issued a brief announcement February 6 denying any knowledge of the present whereabouts of the prisoners on the list that had been submitted in August.

In the announcement, Falção said that Paulo Stuart Wright, a former Brazilian legislator and son of American missionaries who has been missing since his September 4, 1973, arrest, had "fled from justice."

Joaquim Pires Cerveira, a former army major, was said to have been released in exchange for the German ambassador kidnapped in 1970 and to have gone to Algeria.

João Batista Rita Pereda, a student reportedly seized with Cerveira, was said to have been one of four guerrillas reported killed in combat in Bolivia in 1973.

Relatives of the missing prisoners said they were "shocked" by Falção's statement. "We know that they were arrested and we know they haven't been freed or escaped, and so we want to know what's happened to them," the daughter of one was quoted as saying.

A dispatch in the February 7 *New York Times* commented that the statement added to the confusion by naming several persons not on the list submitted. Among them were Paulo Singer, an economist briefly detained last September, and Maria Nilde Mascellani, an educator held for several weeks last spring.

The MDB announced that it will demand an accounting of the missing prisoners when the Congress reconvenes March 1. □

Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch



Strategically located on the southern tip of the Malay peninsula and overlooking the eastern end of the Malacca Straits, the small island of Singapore plays an important role as a financial, industrial, and trading complex. It is the largest oil refining and distribution center in Asia and its port is the fourth busiest in the world. Of all Asian countries, Singapore's overall level of prosperity is second only to that of Japan.

The regime of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew often boasts of these economic achievements as a justification for its tyrannical rule. *Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore*, by T. J. S. George, a former regional editor of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, gives a glimpse of the dictatorial methods employed behind this facade of economic prosperity. Although the book focuses primarily on Lee and his policies, it does give a detailed account of the repression of political opponents and some facts on the actual social and economic conditions of the Singapore masses.

During World War II, and in the immediate postwar period, anticolonial struggles swept much of Asia, including Malaya. In 1946, the British imperialists took the precaution of separating militarily and economically strategic Singapore from the rest of Malaya, where the anticolonial upsurge was particularly strong.

Lee Kuan Yew emerged in the early 1950s as a prominent figure in the independence movement in Singapore, winning the initial support of the Socialist Club at the Singapore division of the University of Malaya and functioning as a legal counsel for some of the trade unions. Having carefully cultivated an anticolonial image, Lee formed the People's Action party in 1954. The PAP called for an end to the emergency regulations that had been imposed by the British after the Malayan Communist party launched its guerrilla campaigns in 1948. It called for universal adult franchise, the Malayization of the civil service (with official recognition of the Chinese and Tamil languages), and independence for a unified Malaya-Singapore.

Although the PAP initially won a substantial mass following through its left-wing trade-union leaders, much of the

party's militancy remained primarily verbal. Behind the scenes, Lee sought to convince the British imperialists that the PAP, under his control, would ensure a stable rule over an "independent" Singapore. "Evidence suggests," George writes, "that the Lee group, while publicly working hand in glove with the pro-communists in the PAP, was in fact persuading the co-

Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore, by T. J. S. George. London: Andre Deutsch Limited, 1973. 222 pp. £1.75.

lonial authorities to clamp down on them."

The colonial administration initiated a series of "communist purges" and many of the active trade unionists within the PAP were arrested. After a party conference in 1957 at which the left wing of the PAP won half of the twelve seats on the central executive, placing Lee's control over the party in jeopardy, five of the six left-wingers were conveniently arrested.

After the PAP won the 1959 elections (the British still retained control of defense and foreign affairs), and with the party firmly under leash, Lee instituted a policy of "industrial peace." Civil servants' salaries were cut, workers were threatened with imprisonment, students were warned against "insubordination," and newspapers were charged with "subversion" if they wrote anything contrary to Lee's policy of promoting a Malaya-Singapore merger.

Although the book barely touches on the motivations for the merger, the imperialists backed the federation of Malaya (which had become independent in 1957), Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah (North Borneo) into a single state as a regional counterforce to the Sukarno regime in Indonesia and as a way of putting the turbulent area under more centralized control. In this effort, they found in Lee an eager ally.

Just before the formation of Malaysia in 1963 (through which the British granted Singapore its formal independence), Lee moved to completely break the Singapore opposition. On February 2, he launched "Operation Cold Store," arresting more than 100 political leaders. Those

jailed included Lim Chin Siong, the secretary-general of the Barisan Sosialis (Socialist Vanguard), a party formed by the former left wing of the PAP. Despite the imprisonment of the Barisan's entire leadership, the opposition party won a third of the popular vote in the September 1963 elections.

Singapore's merger with Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah lasted only two years, partly because of the communal tensions between the Chinese in Singapore and the dominant Malays in Malaya. In addition, Lee aimed at becoming ruler of all Malaysia, aggravating frictions with the ruling Alliance party in Kuala Lumpur.

Despite Singapore's separation from Malaysia in August 1965, the island was in a position to play a unique economic role in the area: that of a clearinghouse and regional headquarters for imperialist interests. With virtually no natural resources, the Singapore regime exploited the country's strategic geographical position to the fullest. Singapore became a major trading center, particularly in oil, which accounted for 75 percent of all cargo that passed through its port. Crude oil was imported from the Arab-Persian Gulf, refined, and then distributed to the vast market stretching from Indochina to Japan and Australia.

Lee offered lavish incentives to foreign investors, even bestowing citizenship on those who invested more than a certain amount in industrial projects. By the end of the 1960s, nearly two dozen foreign banks had branches in Singapore. The country's real gross national product more than doubled between 1959 and 1969. George wrote that Lee "ran Singapore like a tightly managed private corporation, paying what he considered good dividends to the shareholders."

Having an essentially entrepot economy, Singapore served as an important springboard for the imperialist penetration of Southeast Asia, particularly by Washington, and to a lesser extent by Tokyo. George wrote, "The shift of America's strategic-economic interest southwards towards Indonesia [after the overthrow of Sukarno] made Singapore crucial to the flow of American capital and, by the closing years of the 1960s, the re-

public became an explicit part of the West's economic thrust into Southeast Asia."

The statistics on Singapore's national and per capita incomes hide the real extent of poverty in the country, George noted. While a small percentage of the population has a high income, a full 60 percent earn less than one-third of the national average.

To maintain this economic setup, Lee instituted a far-reaching repressive apparatus. Although elections are held, they are so rigged that it is virtually impossible for an opposition party or candidate to win, let alone make a respectable showing. In the 1968 elections, the PAP "won" close to 100 percent of the vote. As Lee said in 1962, "At a time when you want harder work with less return and more capital investment, one man one vote produces just the opposite."

The Internal Security Act, which was inherited from the British and which Lee made even stronger, gives the regime almost unlimited powers. "Any citizen," George wrote, "could be arrested arbitrarily on unspecified charges and held without trial initially for a period of two years. Then his case could be reviewed by an Advisory Board whose three members were nominees of the government. . . . The revision completed, one could be detained indefinitely." Even persons brought to trial and acquitted could still be held, since, as Lee stated, "to let them out would be to run the very grave risk of undermining the whole social fabric." He admitted, "We have over a hundred political detainees, men against whom we are unable to place even an iota of evidence."

The Internal Security Act also gives the jailers power to "discipline" political prisoners, through solitary confinement, torture, and the use of drugs. The October 25, 1974, *Far Eastern Economic Review* quoted Lee's own frank description, before a meeting of the Commonwealth Press Union September 30, of the methods of torture used in Singapore.

"Well," Lee said, "in addition to all the conventional pressures we learned from the West, we also have special inquisitional instruments, ancient modes of torture, specially graduated to inflict pain more excruciatingly than that the journalists inflict on the politician, plus, of course, interest added for grave injury done to the public good. We have also modernised these ancient forms with the addition of electrical and electronic gadgetry, stereophonic sounds to amplify the terror, and low sound waves to give sensations of an earthquake. In this way, we can transform a bold and fearless critic into a willing and compliant sycophant."

If political prisoners are broken in this way, they are then forced to make public recantations. Even after release, they can be confined to their residences, restricted to certain jobs, prohibited from

traveling abroad, and kept under close surveillance. Sometimes the regime withdraws citizenship from former political prisoners, making it impossible for them to keep permanent jobs.

The regime's dictatorial control over



DICTATOR LEE: Runs Singapore "like a tightly managed private corporation."

the rest of the population is no less strict. It crushed the old trade unions and replaced them with subservient, progovernment organizations. The Industrial Relations Ordinance and the Employment Act, which were put into effect in 1968, made arbitration compulsory, curtailed the right to strike, gave management the sole jurisdiction in hiring and firing, increased working hours, and reduced overtime pay, retirement benefits, maternity leave, and sick leave. Throughout the 1960s, real wages dropped.

Lee also moved to tame the campuses. Radical students were arrested and organizations, like the Socialist Club, were banned. No student can enter a university in Singapore without written political clearance from the regime.

The PAP regime brought the major newspapers under control. Singapore journalists were jailed and foreign jour-

nalists barred or deported if they wrote unfavorable articles. Some papers, like the *Straits Times*, were transformed into government mouthpieces. Others, like the *Singapore Herald*, were totally destroyed.

To maintain order among the population as a whole, there is one police officer for every 200 inhabitants. The elite Special Branch has spies in every part of the country, every trade union and student group, every clan and religious organization. A 15,000-member paramilitary force, the Vigilante Corps, was formed, beginning in the early 1960s. In 1972, military and police allocations accounted for 38 percent of the national budget.

The drive toward political security even determined how new housing was constructed. The regime launched a program of building mass public housing, into which it eventually planned to settle two-thirds of the population. To do this it destroyed slums and fishing villages against the wishes of their inhabitants. According to George, the massive resettlement "provided another constraining security fence around leftist political forces; the slums had been breeding-grounds of political dissatisfaction and Lee not only removed them but ensured that the resettlement systematically dispersed ethnic and political groupings." One British businessman described the Toa Payoh housing complex as a "1984 in concrete and steel."

Within the past two years, however, some cracks have begun to appear in Lee's police state. In 1973, young women workers at a Gulf Oil factory staged a series of strikes and protests that culminated in a demonstration of students and workers in front of the U.S. Embassy in May. Students at the University of Singapore held an "antirepression week" teach-in in July 1974. And after several foreign students had been deported or arrested at the Bukit Timah campus of the University of Singapore in December 1974, about 200 students attended a protest rally.

Since the country's economy is dependent on international trade, the growing world recession will directly affect Singapore's economic growth and standard of living. Inflation has already begun to cut into the real wages of the workers, and unemployment, particularly in the electronics and textile industries, had risen to 4.5 percent by November 1974. These hardships can only heighten the dissatisfaction with the regime that lies below the surface. □

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AROUND THE WORLD



Protest Torture of Genoveva Forest

A demonstration was held at the United Nations January 24, protesting the torture of Genoveva Forest, Alfonso Sastre, and other Spanish political prisoners. Speakers included U. S. Representative Bella Abzug; feminist editor Gloria Steinem; and Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union.

That same day ninety-six members of the Modern Languages Association released a statement protesting the Franco regime's harsh treatment of Forest and other Spanish intellectuals.

According to a February 5 news release from the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, eleven members of the New York University Department of Spanish and Portuguese have signed a statement protesting the torture of Forest and Sastre.

Forest, a psychiatrist and one of Spain's best-known feminists, is married to Sastre, a prominent Spanish playwright. The two are charged with complicity in the December 1973 assassination of Spanish Premier Carrero Blanco. According to police they served as a "link" between the Spanish Communist party and ETA (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom).

An account of the case by Barbara Probst Solomon in the November 25, 1974, *New York Times* pointed out the absurdity of the charges. Those familiar with the political differences between the Communist party and the ETA "consider linkage between the two groups lacking in credibility," Solomon wrote. "Clearly it is an attempt by extremists in the police to discredit the opposition."

Kennedy Calls Cuba Blockade 'Mistake'

Characterizing the U. S. blockade of Cuba as a "mistake" and "ineffective," U. S. Senator Edward Kennedy came out February 9 in favor of resuming relations with the Castro government. It was under the presidential administration of his brother, John F. Kennedy, that the blockade was first established thirteen years ago.

In an interview filmed for Mexican television Kennedy said:

"I believe the idea of isolating Cuba was a mistake. . . . Whatever the reasons and justifications may have been at the

time, now they are invalid. I believe the United States, in association with the inter-American community, should respect the experiment that has taken place in Cuba and normalize relations with it."

The new chairman of the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, John J. Sparkman, had expressed the same view a few days earlier. In a statement in the *Congressional Record*, he said:

"Our policy of isolating Cuba has been a failure, and it is time to re-examine that policy with a view toward ending the futile economic boycott and restoring normal relations."

'Weather Underground' Claims Credit for Bombing of State Department

The so-called Weather Underground has taken credit for a bomb that exploded in the State Department January 29, and for one that failed to explode in the federal office building in Oakland, California, the previous night. According to prior telephone calls to the news media, both bombs were planted in retaliation for the continued U. S. intervention in Southeast Asia. The bombs caused no injuries, but damage from the explosion at the State Department in Washington was estimated at \$350,000. These were the first actions the Weather Underground has taken credit for since May 1972.

Package Bomb Sent to Jiri Pelikan

Czechoslovak dissident Jiri Pelikan narrowly escaped death or serious injury February 4 when a bomb mailed to him in a package exploded. Pelikan, head of the state television network during the Dubcek period, has been living in exile in Rome since the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He noticed smoke coming out of the package and threw it into an adjacent room just before it burst into flames.

Nixon Sought Allende Overthrow, Former CIA Director Testifies

Former CIA director Richard Helms told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee January 22 that there was "no doubt" in 1970 that the Nixon administration wanted Chilean President Salvador Allende overthrown. In testimony made public February 9, he said Allende's over-

throw "became a thing that they were interested in having done."

Helms testified that after the September 1970 elections, and before the Unidad Popular government was ratified in October, the Nixon administration sought ways to topple the regime. "As best I recall," Helms said, "a very secret probe was made to find out whether there was anything in Chile that looked like a force that would overthrow Allende.

"The Allende Government was not even in at the time the probe was made just to see if there were any forces there to oppose Allende's advent as president." Helms then claimed, "It was very quickly established there were not, and therefore, no further effort was made along those lines, to the best of my knowledge, at least I know of none."

The last part of Helms's statement directly contradicts testimony given April 22, 1974, by William E. Colby, the present CIA director. Colby told Congress that the White House had authorized more than \$8 million for the CIA's "destabilization" activities in Chile between 1970 and 1973. It is unlikely that Helms, who headed the CIA until early 1973, would have been unaware of such efforts.

Edward M. Korry, the U. S. ambassador to Chile from 1967 to 1971, confirmed Helms's testimony on the 1970 "probe" in a telephone interview with the *New York Times* of February 10. He said that the CIA was asked in late September 1970 "to find out if there was any real resistance to Allende."

Five Killed in Angolan Clash

Five persons were killed in Angola when troops and a crowd of Africans clashed in the Sao Paulo district of Luanda February 3. The confrontation, in which two Portuguese officers, a civilian, and two Black troops were killed, came only four days after the coalition regime of the Portuguese and the three liberation movements took office.

Lisbon Workers March Against NATO

Several thousand Portuguese workers marched through the streets of Lisbon February 7, defying the government's six-day ban on demonstrations imposed during the visit of a NATO fleet.

The demonstration, originally called by several unions to protest unemployment (the number of unemployed in Portugal is now estimated at 200,000, about 7 percent of the work force), turned into an anti-NATO demonstration. Slogans such as "No to unemployment" mingled with others directed against the U. S.-dominated military alliance: "Out with NATO, national independence." Leaflets distributed along the route demanded: "Portugal, get out of NATO; NATO, get out of Portugal."

The demonstrating workers were reported to have come from more than a score of factories in the Lisbon area. They were angered by the presence in the capital's harbor of nineteen warships and 11,000 sailors from the United States, France, Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, and West Germany, as well as Portugal. The NATO fleet had just completed "Operation Locked Gate 75," a combined air and sea war game hosted by the Portuguese government.

The government made no effort to enforce its ban, and no soldiers or special police were in sight, except for troops guarding the U.S. Embassy.

Only hours earlier, the government had reaffirmed its support for NATO in a statement issued at the end of a twenty-four-hour visit by the British foreign secretary, James Callaghan.

Two Officials of Greek Junta Charged With High Treason

Two more top members of the former Greek military junta were charged with high treason and insurrection February 4 in connection with the army seizure of power in April 1967. Constantine Papadopoulos and Michael Balopoulos both denied the charges, stating that they acted as officers to save the country. Seven other junta leaders are currently in jail on similar charges.

10,000 Jobless Auto Workers Demonstrate in Washington

Nearly 10,000 unemployed automobile workers rallied in Washington February 5 to demand action against unemployment. It was reported to be one of the largest labor rallies ever held in the U. S. capital.

"We want jobs" was the most popular slogan. Others included "Bread and butter, not bullets and bombs," and "Action today can prevent depression tomorrow."

About 300,000 members of the 1.4-million-member United Automobile Workers union, which sponsored the demonstration, are currently out of work or will be very soon, union officials report.

The rally was described by the *New York Times* as "a shouting, placard-waving, foot-stamping crowd of black and

white unemployed workers." But union leaders kept the protest within the bounds of pressuring the Republican Ford administration with pro-Democratic-party politicking. Most of the speakers were Democratic party politicians.

Probably the strongest language from the official speakers was UAW President Leonard Woodcock's statement that "if by spring we're not getting action in the nation's capital we should be down here all together in the range of 250,000 to march in the streets of Washington to tell them something." Woodcock did not indicate what the "something" would be. But his statement brought loud applause from the auto workers.

U. S. Plans to Grant Syria \$25 Million

The Ford administration has informed Congress that the White House intends to make a \$25 million aid grant to Syria. The money, according to a January 24 State Department letter, is meant "to encourage further development of United States-Syrian bilateral relations." The grant is to be issued within thirty days unless it is canceled by a vote of both houses of Congress.

Except for occasional food assistance, Syria has received no U. S. aid since 1965. Diplomatic relations between Damascus and Washington were broken off during the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

The proposed \$25 million grant to Damascus would come from a \$100 million fund informally earmarked for Syria at the time of Nixon's trip to the Arab East in June 1974. However, some members of Congress, with their eyes on the 1976 elections, have objected to releasing the money on the grounds of the mistreatment of Syrian Jews.

Junta Official Says Chile Needs Ten More Years of Dictatorship

Brigadier General Hernan Bejares, general secretary of the Chilean military regime, told the press February 1 that at least ten more years of military rule were needed in Chile.

In a warning directed at "those politicians who are thinking of disrupting the economic and social development of Chile in order to open the way for the taking of power," Bejares said: "This government is not going to give up in its objective until it leaves the country completely consolidated economically and socially. . . ." This, he estimated, would take more than ten years.

U. S. Unemployment Highest in 33 Years

The official unemployment rate in the United States soared to 8.2 percent in January—the highest level in thirty-three years. At least 7.5 million persons are now out of work. But even that figure



grossly understates the real level of unemployment. According to government statistics, the number of unemployed increased in January by 930,000—on a "seasonally adjusted" basis. When the "seasonal adjustment" is discounted, 2.2 million is the actual number of workers who joined the unemployment rolls in January.

Franco Regime Cracks Down on Valladolid University

The Franco regime on February 9 ordered several schools in the University of Valladolid closed until October. The closure, which will affect 9,000 students, is believed to be the harshest measure taken against a university since the civil war in 1939.

The move followed a wave of protests that began at the university last November, centering on demands for amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles, and expressing support for striking industrial workers.

In January, when student leader Jose Luis Cancho Beltran came to trial, the Valladolid student body called a seventy-two-hour general strike, beginning January 20.

The days leading up to the strike were marked by stepped-up government repression. On January 15 the Valladolid police chief announced the arrest of eleven persons accused of distributing leaflets for the strike. The following day a number of students were wounded when armed police broke up a meeting on campus. On January 17, the rector of the University of Valladolid announced that all university and affiliated schools would be closed indefinitely.

Yugoslav Professors Reply to Charges

By Dick Fidler

The eight dissident Marxist professors* fired from the philosophy faculty of the University of Belgrade have sent a letter to the parliament of the Federated Republic of Serbia denouncing the "growing influence of dogmatic Stalinists" in the Yugoslav government and ruling party.

The professors were dismissed January 28 by the Serbian legislature, on charges that they had engaged in "activity contrary to the objectives of Yugoslav socialist society, the principles of the constitution, the development of self-management, and the policy of the League of Communists," in the words of Vladimir Stankovitch, Serbian minister of education. The minister added that the professors had "abused their function as educators by preparing and orienting youth toward political confrontation and revolt. . . . They are in opposition to the policy of this country, its laws, and the statutes of the major schools."

The eight professors, who have been special targets of the regime since 1968, when they supported an anti-bureaucratic protest movement among the students, reject the charges. Their open letter, which was quoted extensively in the January 31 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, describes their dismissal as an "arbitrary" action contrary "to all the principles of self-management." Under Yugoslav law, the university faculties, like factories and other institutions, are formally run by "self-management" committees elected by the employees. In order to remove the professors, the Tito regime had to change the law to return control over the University of Belgrade to the Serbian legislature.

The professors' letter details the regime's long campaign against them, including the withdrawal of their passports, attempts to compromise their intellectual and moral integrity, and even "the sentencing to forced labor

of students who dared to defend us." They recall that in response to previous attacks, the faculty formed a commission composed of more than thirty professors who, following a thorough inquiry, declared that the accused professors possessed the moral and political qualifications required by the new legislation. They protest that "we are being attacked for acts we have not committed" and against which "we cannot respond publicly."

The professors had earlier been accused in the pages of *Kommunist*, the central party organ, of establishing links with West European "Trotskyists." The professors' open letter acknowledges that they do have "relations abroad"—not "with financial magnates, businessmen, generals, intelligence services, kings, or emperors, but with philosophers, thinkers, well-known intellectuals, that is, with men who are not, as the official propaganda claims, enemies of socialism and our country, but quite the contrary, their tested friends."

The charge of unpatriotic activities, the professors note, has always been invoked by "police with a Stalinist mentality" as a cover for stifling opinions they don't agree with.

The charge of corrupting the youth is as old as philosophy itself, they state. How can there be a workers movement in which criticism is avoided and discussion and free speech are proscribed? The charges against them are designed to "create a witch-hunt atmosphere in order to suppress what remains of the freedom and scientific thinking proclaimed by the constitution and the program of the league of communists."

The letter strongly protests "vulgar apologetics for what exists," and charges that the government apparatus in reality acts "in place of the working class." It denounces the campaign against dissidents in the universities as evidence of the "growing influence of dogmatic Stalinists" in the ruling party.

"Characteristic of such a dogmatic conception of Marxism is the tacit recognition of the infallibility of the

leadership of the party. Any disagreement with it is considered as sufficient proof of guilt. Yet hasn't the policy of the leadership of the League of Communists gone through oscillations and contradictions in the course of the last ten years that at times have threatened the existence of the party, and even the existence of Yugoslavia?" they ask.

The professors insist that they have always supported self-management socialism and opposed "Stalinist and petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies," *Le Monde* correspondent Paul Yankovitch reported from Belgrade.

It would appear that the purge of dissident professors is not limited to the philosophy faculty of the University of Belgrade. On January 26, the Yugoslav press carried a brief announcement that four professors in the faculty of law at Split had been expelled from the League of Communists. Two were charged with having failed to break with the policy of the leaders of the Croatian section of the party, who were removed from their positions in 1971. The others were charged with not having shown sufficient "vigilance" toward the deviations of the first two.

The persecution of the eight professors at the University of Belgrade has been denounced by some professors in the United States. Dr. Robert S. Cohen, professor of physics and philosophy at Boston University, said that "these eight professors are internationally known not only as scholars but as genuine and incorruptible socialists with no political aims against their own state."

Philosopher Corliss Lamont cabled Yugoslav President Tito urging him to "bring about the reinstatement of these professors in the name of academic freedom and fundamental human rights."

"The action of the Serbian parliament," Lamont said, "is an affront to teachers throughout the world and badly tarnishes the reputation of socialism in Yugoslavia." □

Million West Germans Unemployed

The West German Labor Office reported February 7 that unemployment reached 1,154,300 persons in January, the highest figure in sixteen years. The last time unemployment exceeded one million was in February 1959, when 1.2 million persons were jobless.

*The professors are Mihailo Markovic, Ljubomir Tadic, Svetozar Stojanovic, Zaga Pesic, Miladin Zivotic, Dragoljub Micunovic, Nebojsa Popov, and Triva Indjic.

Bomba en el Local del SWP de Los Angeles

Por Harry Ring

[City News Service, una agencia informativa de Los Angeles, comunicó al Socialist Workers Party el 6 de febrero, que había recibido un llamado del "Frente de Liberación Nacional Socialista" atribuyéndose la colocación de la bomba en el local del SWP.

[El "Frente" es una organización fascista. Uno de sus representantes, que había aparecido anteriormente en un debate televisado con el miembro del SWP Omari Musa, dijo que el grupo se había originado en una división del Partido de la Gente Blanca Nacional Socialista y que estaban a favor de la lucha armada.

[De acuerdo a la policía, el "Frente" se ha hecho también responsable por el ataque con gas lacrimógeno contra la conferencia del 2 de febrero en Los Angeles, que exigía la reapertura del Caso Rosenberg.¹ También se cree que el "Frente" ha sido la organización responsable de un ataque racista a la manifestación en Pasadena, California, el 14 de diciembre de 1974 en apoyo del derecho de los niños negros a ser transportados a mejores escuelas.

[Los siguientes artículos fueron publicados el 14 de febrero en *The Militant*, un semanario socialista revolucionario de New York].

Terroristas de derecha detonaron una mortal bomba colocada en un tubo, en el local Central-Este de Los Angeles, del Socialist Workers Party (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores de los Estados Unidos) y la Young Socialist Alliance (Alianza Juvenil Socialista), cerca de las veinte y treinta del día 4 de febrero.

El propósito del ataque, llevado a cabo con una bomba de alto poder explosivo, a una hora en que el edificio estaba lleno de gente, era ob-

1. Caso Rosenberg: se refiere al matrimonio de ese apellido, miembros del Partido Comunista, que durante la era del "maccartismo" fueron acusados de realizar espionaje en favor de Rusia. A pesar de que esos cargos no se probaron, fueron ejecutados el 19 de junio de 1953.

Nazis Lanzan Amenaza

Una amenaza terrorista proveniente de un grupo fascista, fue encontrada esta tarde en la puerta del local Oeste de Los Angeles del SWP, en Santa Monica.

Conteniendo el dibujo de un revólver y de una esvástica, la nota decía:

"El futuro pertenece a los pocos de nosotros que aún estamos dispuestos a ensuciarnos las manos. TERROR POLITICO. Es la única cosa que entienden. Construir la revolución nacional socialista a través de la lucha armada. Provo de Venice, Frente de Liberación Nacional Socialista." (Venice es una ciudad adyacente a Santa Mónica).

viamente el de matar.

El daño fue considerable, pero por una afortunada circunstancia, no hubo muertos o heridos.

Casi al mismo tiempo, explotó también una bomba en la librería de Los Angeles Este de la Liga de Octubre, una organización de izquierda de orientación maoista.

El ataque asesino fue dos días después de que los concurrentes a una conferencia en Santa Mónica, que exigían la reapertura del caso Rosenberg, fueron dispersados con gas lacrimógeno.

El Foro de *The Militant*, que funciona en el Hall del SWP en Avenida Westlake 710, había programado una reunión sobre el caso Rosenberg para el 7 de febrero, con un representante del Comité de Reapertura del Caso Rosenberg, como orador principal. Sobre la puerta que da a la calle se puso un volante que anunciaba la reunión.

A la hora del atentado había veinticinco personas en el hall asistiendo a varias reuniones y participando en las actividades de campaña del SWP.

Lew Jones, organizador del SWP en esa ciudad, se disponía a abandonar el local. Cuando llegó al rellano de la escalera del segundo piso, vio a una persona en la mitad de la misma encendiendo una mecha. Le gri-

tó y bajó corriendo, para alcanzarlo. El hombre le arrojó la bomba a Jones; ésta pasó delante de él, y fue a caer en el rellano de arriba.

Jones lo persiguió hasta afuera del edificio, pero logró escapar.

Mientras tanto, los gritos de Jones habían sido oídos por Tim Mallory, candidato del SWP a la Junta Escolar por Pasadena, California. Mallory se precipitó hacia el rellano y vio la bomba con la mecha encendida. Cerró la puerta y rápidamente advirtió a los demás que abandonar el lugar por la salida posterior. En menos de dos minutos, mientras estaban a mitad de camino de la escalera posterior, la bomba explotó con tremenda fuerza.

La puerta de entrada fue completamente destruida, y parte de la puerta que da a la calle fue arrancada por la explosión.

Una media docena de ventanas fueron destruidas, y los fragmentos de la bomba se incrustaron en una pared a treinta pies de distancia del pasillo.

Habitantes de un edificio de departamentos vecino, informaron que había unas treinta ventanas rotas. La explosión fue escuchada a varias cuerdas de distancia, y se encontraron restos de la explosión a una cuadra.

En una conferencia de prensa llevada a cabo esta mañana en el hall en el que fue colocada la bomba, se exigió que el alcalde Thomas Bradley tome inmediatamente medidas especiales, para asegurar la captura de los responsables del atentado.

Además de los representantes del SWP y la YSA, los participantes incluían a Linda Hunt, director de Relaciones Públicas de la Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (Unión de las Libertades Civiles Norteamericanas de California del Sur); el Reverendo Amos Barstow Murphy, director del Comité de Los Angeles de Reapertura del Caso Rosenberg; y Michael Zinzun, activista negro de Pasadena.

La Liga de Octubre también llevó a cabo una conferencia de prensa el 5 de febrero, para protestar por el atentado que sufriera su librería, apa-

rentemente con el mismo tipo de explosivo con que fue atacado el hall del SWP.

Mike Klonsky, de la Liga de Octubre exigió acción oficial para atrapar a los terroristas. Hizo notar que la policía tiene agentes en los grupos de derecha y además que la policía poseía una descripción de la persona que arrojó la bomba en las oficinas del SWP. Linda Hunt y el Reverendo Murphy, también participaron de la conferencia de prensa de la Liga de Octubre.

La exigencia de que el alcalde Bradley actúe rápidamente surge de la creciente inquietud causada por la despreocupación de los funcionarios federales y de Los Angeles, en relación a los ataques previos similares contra el SWP y otros grupos en Los Angeles.

Sóloamente el SWP ha sido víctima de seis atentados con bombas y balas en un período de dos años entre 1968 y 1970. El ataque más peligroso ocurrió el 27 de mayo de 1970, cuando una banda armada de exiliados cubanos contrarrevolucionarios entró al hall del SWP y, a punta de pistola, obligó a cuatro colaboradores de la campaña a tenderse al suelo. Desparramaron gasolina y le prendieron fuego. Los cuatro escaparon apenas.

Durante el mismo período el Haymarket, un centro izquierdista, fue incendiado en la planta baja. Un ataque incendiario similar fue llevado a cabo contra el Ash Grove, un café frecuentado por la izquierda. El Long March, un centro del movimiento de izquierda, fue atacado con bombas varias veces.

Durante la reciente aparición de Yasir Arafat, de la Organización de Liberación Palestina, en las Naciones Unidas, una librería sostenida por un grupo que apoya a las Naciones Unidas, fue atacado por una bomba. La Jewish Defense League,² se atribuyó el hecho.

En el ataque contra el SWP de mayo de 1970, tres exiliados cubanos fueron arrestados más tarde bajo otros cargos. Los funcionarios de policía indicaron que ellos creían que los tres tenían relaciones con la CIA.

El actual ataque contra el SWP no es un trabajo de aficionados. La bom-

ba consistía en un tubo de 37 centímetros de largo, de alto poder explosivo. Todo indica que no fue un asunto casero.

La necesidad de exigir significativa acción oficial está determinada por el "record" de la policía en esa ciudad. La policía local y varios agentes federales han reconocido públicamente, y hasta se han jactado, de que tienen informantes en varias organizaciones de la izquierda y de la derecha.

Hay una fuerte probabilidad de que ellos tuvieran un conocimiento anticipado de tales ataques, o al menos los medios de obtener información después del hecho. Han demostrado una singular ineptitud para prevenir los continuos ataques contra los grupos de izquierda y apresarse a los responsables.

En la misma época del ataque armado contra el hall del SWP, que fue el 30 de mayo de 1970, Peter Seidman, en ese momento organizador del partido allí, habló con un funcionario de "relaciones comunales" del departamento de policía de Los Angeles.

Seidman le preguntó al funcionario por qué la policía no podía descubrir a los responsables del ataque, dado que ellos deben tener informantes en esos grupos.

"Bien, francamente, tenemos agentes", contestó el funcionario, "pero no vale la pena descubrirlos por un pequeño incidente como éste."

Una vez más, un pequeño incidente ilustra aún la actitud de la policía hacia estos asuntos.

Mientras que la policía y los agentes federales dejaban el hall del SWP, un representante del partido pidió que un policía quedara estacionado en la puerta por el resto de la noche, mientras miembros del partido y simpatizantes cuidaban las entradas.

Un policía dijo que no era posible y que se debería contratar un agente privado de seguridad.

Más tarde volvió el mismo policía, explicando que la puerta de una joyería, en la planta baja, había sido destruida durante los sucesos de la noche. Se quedó allí hasta la mañana para preservar la seguridad de la mercadería.

Mientras tanto, horas después del ataque, se estaba realizando el trabajo para reparar el Hall a fin de que estuviera en condiciones de funcionar y las actividades políticas continuaron prácticamente sin interrupción. El 7 de febrero se va a realizar

una reunión para protestar por el ataque y exigir actuación oficial. Está programada la participación del Comité de Reapertura del Caso Rosenberg. □

En una declaración emitida el 5 de febrero, el candidato presidencial del Socialist Workers Party, Peter Camejo, exigió que el alcalde de Los Angeles Thomas Bradley, lleve a cabo una rápida y decisiva acción, para arrestar a los responsables del atentado.

"Ayer a la noche, un casi fatal atentado contra el local del SWP de Los Angeles", dijo Camejo, "tenía el claro propósito de detener a los socialistas en la actividad política que está llevando a cabo en Los Angeles. Los, podríamos decir asesinos, que planearon y ejecutaron este ataque, esperaban también atemorizar a la gente para que deje de participar en las luchas en las que los socialistas son activos, tales como los esfuerzos para integrar las escuelas de Pasadena y movilizar en apoyo a la comunidad negra de Boston contra la ofensiva racista allí."

Camejo acusó de que el gobierno tiene responsabilidad por crear el clima político favorable para los ataques terroristas contra el SWP y otros grupos radicales. Señaló que justamente la semana anterior, se dieron a conocer documentos que prueban que el FBI ha desarrollado una campaña sistemática para lograr que el profesor socialista Doctor Morris Starsky, fuera despedido de su trabajo en la Universidad del Estado de Arizona.

"El SWP, junto con la Young Socialist Alliance", dijo Camejo, "lanzaron un pliego de acusaciones, en 1973, contra el gobierno, exigiendo que el FBI y la CIA paren su vasto operativo ilegal destinado a intimidar y desbaratar al SWP y la YSA.

"Cuando el Gobierno puede llevar a cabo 'programas para desbaratar' contra Starsky y otros disidentes, y lo logra, da coraje a los terroristas de derecha para creer que ellos también se pueden involucrar impunemente en ataques ilegales.

"Pero nosotros no seremos intimidados. Apelamos a todos los sostenedores de las libertades democráticas para que se nos unan con el fin de exigir que el alcalde Bradley lleve a cabo una acción para que los criminales que pusieron la bomba la noche anterior, sea apresados y juzgados con el mayor rigor de la ley." □

2. Jewish Defense League (Liga de Defensa Judía): organización sionista de ultraderecha.

Congreso Maoista Adopta Nueva Constitución

Por Dave Frankel

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Maoist Congress Adopts New Constitution", publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 10 de febrero].

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Un día después de que fuera clausurada la Asamblea Popular Nacional—oficialmente el máximo órgano de gobierno en el país—el pueblo chino fue informado de que este se había llevado a cabo del 13 al 17 de enero en Pekín. El congreso, primero en diez años, empezó con dos informes. El primero, sobre la revisión de la constitución del país, fue dado por el Vice Primer Ministro Chang Chun-chiao; el segundo, sobre las tareas del gobierno, fue dado por el Primer Ministro Chou En-lai.

Según el comunicado oficial publicado en *Peking Review* el 24 de enero, "el Congreso se llevó a cabo cuando la revolución y la construcción socialista de nuestro país han registrado triunfos brillantes, cuando la Gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria ha obtenido grandes victorias y el movimiento de crítica contra Lin Piao y Confucio ha tenido gran éxito y cuando la situación tanto interna como exterior es excelente. Del principio al fin el Congreso estuvo impregnado de una atmósfera de júbilo, unidad, fuerza y militancia. Fue un congreso de unidad, un congreso de victoria."

El comunicado informó que después de haber aprobado los informes de Chou y Chang, "Los comisarios celebraron los logros de esta participación gloriosa e histórica con un aplauso prolongado."

A pesar de la retórica autocongratulatoria, el congreso de hecho reflejó una profunda inseguridad de la burocracia china. Esta se mostró en la revisión de la constitución de la República Popular China.

No Hubo Pretensión de Discusión

Cuando se adoptó la "constitución de Stalin" en la Unión Soviética en 1936, Leon Trotsky la sometió a una

crítica devastadora. Señaló que el proyecto de esta constitución había sido puesto a "consideración" del pueblo soviético. "Sin embargo, sería en vano," escribió, "buscar en toda esta sexta parte del mundo un comunista que se atreva a criticar la creación de un Comité Central, o a un ciudadano que no esté en el partido que rechace una proposición del partido gobernante. La discusión se redujo a enviar resoluciones de gratitud a Stalin por la 'vida feliz.'"

Pero en el caso de la constitución china, no hubo ni tan siquiera la pretensión de una discusión pública. Cuando el pueblo chino se enteró, ya había sido adoptada. Inclusive los 2,864 delegados a la Asamblea Popular Nacional empezaron a discutir el documento el 5 de enero—a sólo ocho días de la apertura del congreso.

Por supuesto, una constitución es sólo un esquema escrito; las garantías pueden ser respetadas o no. Las promesas de respetar los derechos democráticos en la constitución de Stalin tenían el propósito de impresionar a la opinión pública liberal en las democracias imperialistas. Para los millones de víctimas de las purgas estos derechos fue como si no existieran. Pero la nueva constitución maoísta hace aparecer a la constitución presentada por Stalin como un proyecto para la construcción del paraíso. Sobre pasa a Stalin en la codificación formal de la substitución del estado por el partido, el partido por la dirección del partido, y la dirección colectiva por un dictador individual.

El artículo 3 de la nueva constitución declara, de la misma manera que la constitución de 1954 que le precedió, "Todo el poder en la República Popular China pertenece al pueblo. Los órganos con los que el pueblo ejerce su poder, son las asambleas del pueblo en todos sus niveles. . . ."

Por el artículo 2 declara: "El Partido Comunista de China es el centro de la dirección de todo el pueblo chino. La clase obrera dirige al estado por medio de su vanguardia, el Par-

tido Comunista de China."

De esta manera, el poder pertenece al pueblo pero es ejercido por la "vanguardia." Y para aquellos que no entienden el significado del artículo 2, el punto se repite varias veces.

El artículo 16, por ejemplo, empieza definiendo la estructura del estado explicando, "La Asamblea Popular Nacional es la autoridad más grande del poder estatal *bajo la dirección del Partido Comunista de China.*" (Subrayados nuestros.)

La parte en cursivas no aparece en la constitución de 1954. Su empleo fue señalado en un comunicado del 17 de enero de Hsinhua, agencia noticiosa china, que anunciaba que el Comité Central del PC chino "decidió presentar un anteproyecto revisado de la constitución de la República Popular China para ser discutido por la Asamblea Popular Nacional, 'el informe sobre la revisión de la constitución', 'el informe sobre las tareas de gobierno', como así también se entregaron listas de candidatos para el Comité Permanente de la Asamblea Popular Nacional y el Consejo de Estado."

Aquí vemos "al órgano más alto de poder estatal." Su agenda y los informes que considera convenientes son primero aprobados en el PC chino, de la misma manera son nominados los candidatos que escoge para los puestos gubernamentales. Obviamente, el gobierno es la dirección del partido, y la pretensión de que el aparato de gobierno es independiente, es una farsa.

Centralización

Aunque el partido ha sido la fuerza decisiva en China desde que se tomó el poder, la *formalización* de su poder total sobre el estado es un paso importante. Una de las tareas que llevó a cabo la Asamblea Popular Nacional fue la eliminación oficial del cargo de jefe de estado, porque anteriormente el que estaba en ese puesto—Liu Shao-chi—entró en conflicto con el jefe del partido.

Al aprobar el artículo 15 de la constitución se eliminó—al menos formalmente—otro foco potencial de conflictos. Este estipula que "el Ejército Popular de Liberación Chino y la milicia del pueblo son las fuerzas armadas de los obreros y de los campesinos dirigidos por el partido Comunista de China. . . .

"El Presidente del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de China comanda las fuerzas armadas."

Las fuerzas armadas están bajo el mando del presidente del partido, no bajo el mando del gobierno. Tal como dijo Chang Chun-chiao en su informe sobre la constitución, "Todo esto nos ayudará a fortalecer la dirección centralizada del partido sobre la estructura del estado y a satisfacer el deseo del pueblo en todo el país."

Al no haber ninguna discusión democrática, decir que esto es "el deseo del pueblo en todo el país" es cuestionable, sin embargo, el punto de Chang sobre la centralización es indisputable.

Mano de Hierro

La mano de hierro se deja ver aún en los sectores de la constitución donde demagógicamente se apoyan los derechos democráticos. El artículo 13, por ejemplo, dice, "Hablar con libertad, ventilar los puntos de vista completamente, sostener grandes debates y escribir periódicos murales son las nuevas formas de llevar adelante la revolución socialista creadas por las masas del pueblo."

Luego explican el propósito de tales actividades. "El estado garantizará a las masas el derecho de usar estas formas para crear una situación política en que existan tanto el centralismo como la democracia, tanto la disciplina como la libertad, tanto la unidad de la voluntad como la paz espiritual y la vivacidad, *para así ayudar a consolidar la dirección del Partido Comunista de China sobre el estado y consolidar la dictadura del proletariado.*" (Subrayados nuestros.)

Lo que entiende el régimen maoísta por "hablar con libertad, ventilar los puntos de vista completamente, [y] sostener grandes debates", se aclaró en un dato en Hsinhua con fecha del 7 de julio de 1974, que decía:

"Cuando el movimiento de crítica se estaba forjando esta primavera, un grupo de maestros y estudiantes en la universidad de Pekín y otras

instituciones dejaron las escuelas para explicar a las *directivos* del Comité Central del Partido la crítica a Lin Piao y Confucio y otros temas importantes a una audiencia de varios cientos de miles de obreros, campesinos, soldados y cuadros del gobierno." (Subrayados nuestros.)

Cualquiera lo suficientemente osado para ocuparse de una actividad de crítica más allá de las perspectivas de los directivos del partido, pronto se dará cuenta que la "campana de crítica" tiene un nuevo blanco.

Aquellos lo suficientemente ingenuos para pensar que el ciudadano chino común y corriente puede opinar en la política son austeramente amonestados en el artículo 26 de la constitución. "Los derechos fundamentales y obligaciones de los ciudadanos," dice, "son apoyar la dirección del Partido Comunista de China, apoyar el sistema socialista y obedecer la Constitución y las leyes de la República Popular China."

Estar en desacuerdo con la dirección maoísta es violar las leyes básicas del país.

El Papel de Mao

La prensa burguesa en los Estados Unidos, casi sin excepción, ha especulado sobre la ausencia de Mao en el congreso. Lo han interpretado como una muestra de que está en desacuerdo con algunas de sus decisiones. Pero el hecho de que el presidente del partido Comunista—que aún es Mao—haya sido nombrado comandante de las fuerzas armadas cuestiona la idea de que Mao perdiera un conflicto contra sus lugartenientes.

Aún más, el culto a Mao fue inscrito en el preámbulo de la constitución, que dice, "nuestra gran patria siempre avanzará sobre el camino señalado por el marxismo-leninismo pensamiento Mao Tsetung."

Una explicación más factible fue dada por Leo Goodstadt en el *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "Los pleitos familiares fueron remendados en la Cuarta Asamblea Popular Nacional en Pekín," escribe Goodstadt. "Tan confiado estaba el viejo que, mientras éste se llevaba a cabo, se fue a un retiro invernal a 1,000 millas de la capital.

". . . su decisión de no hacer un vuelo a Pekín fue un aviso a la nación de que su líder no se hace ilusiones de que es inmortal. . . ."

Cualquiera que sea la verdad al respecto del papel que jugó Mao en este congreso en particular, no hay duda de que sus esfuerzos por reforzar el control de la dirección del aparato del partido sobre todos los aspectos de la vida en China fueron motivados por el miedo de lo que pasará cuando muera.

Antes de pasar a otros aspectos del congreso, debemos señalar algunas características más sobre la constitución.

Aún la constitución de Stalin reconoce por principio el derecho de las nacionalidades constituyentes de la Unión Soviética a separarse del estado. Esta era una de las partes fundamentales del programa bolchevique sobre las derechos de las nacionalidades históricamente oprimidas, los últimos esfuerzos de Lenin fueron dedicados a defender estos derechos y a ampliarlos. Los stalinistas chinos, para su vergüenza, han repudiado aún el reconocimiento formal de este derecho para nacionalidades tan distintas como son los tibetanos de los habitantes de la Mongolia Interior. El artículo 4 de la constitución estipula:

"La República Popular China es un estado multinacional unitario. Las áreas donde se ejerce la autonomía nacional son partes inalienables de la República Popular China."

El preámbulo de la nueva constitución glorifica las teorías stalinistas de la construcción del socialismo en un sólo país y la coexistencia pacífica con el imperialismo, junto con el repulsivo culto al pensamiento Mao Tsetung. Ni siquiera hay alguna referencia en el documento aunque fuera formal sobre el triunfo final de la revolución mundial y la construcción de una sólo sociedad humana.

El preámbulo maoísta concluye, "El pueblo chino tiene absoluta confianza que bajo la dirección del Partido Comunista de China, derrotarán a los enemigos internos y externos y superarán todas las dificultades que implica hacer de China un estado socialista pacífico bajo la dictadura del proletariado para de esta manera hacer una contribución más grande a la humanidad.

"Pueblos de todas las nacionalidades en nuestro país, ¡uníos para obtener aún mayores victorias!"

Comparando esto con la "Declaración de la Unión" que encabezaba la constitución soviética adoptada en 1923, bajo Lenin y Trotsky, decía,

"Por último, la estructura misma del poder soviético, que su carácter de clase hace internacionalista, llama a las masas trabajadores de las Repúblicas Soviéticas a la unidad de una familia socialista."

Y terminaba diciendo que la Unión Soviética "será la asociación voluntaria de estas naciones soberanas bajo la base de la igualdad, cada república se reserva el derecho de separación voluntaria de la Unión, la admisión a esta Unión está abierta a todas las Repúblicas Soviéticas Socialistas tales como las que ahora existen y tales como las que existirán en el futuro . . . que esta se mantendrá como un bastión en contra del mundo capitalista y constituye un paso decisivo hacia la unión de los trabajadores de todos los países en una República Soviética Socialista Mundial."

Este lenguaje es ajeno a los burócratas maoístas, cuyo único interés es consolidar su propia base de poder, y su ideal más alto es su propio progreso.

El artículo 27 de la nueva constitución afirma "El estado protege el matrimonio, la familia y a la madre y al hijo." Son precisamente, la familia y el matrimonio, las formas históricas con las cuales la mujer ha sido esclavizada, un gobierno genuinamente revolucionario, no pretende abolir estas instituciones por medio de un decreto, pero tampoco les da su bendición.

¿Estabilización Exitosa?

Aunque tanto la constitución de 1954 como la recientemente adoptada llaman a la Asamblea Popular a reunirse anualmente, ésta puede ser adelantada o pospuesta "cuando sea necesario", este congreso fue el cuarto desde que el PC chino tomó el poder. El congreso anterior se llevó a cabo en 1964.

Los últimos diez años del congreso a la fecha, fue un período tumultuoso en China. Tanto Chou como Chang afirmaron, al principio de sus informes al congreso, que la situación había sido estabilizada exitosamente.

"Desde la Tercera Asamblea Popular Nacional," dijo Chou, "el evento más importante en la vida política de los pueblos de todas las nacionalidades en nuestro país ha sido la Gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria iniciada personalmente y dirigida por nuestro

gran dirigente, el Presidente Mao. . . . La victoria de la Gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria ha consolidado a la dictadura del proletariado en nuestro país, ha promovido la construcción socialista y ha asegurado que nuestro país esté del lado de los pueblos oprimidos y las naciones oprimidas del mundo."

En su informe sobre la constitución Chang dijo: "Por medio de la confrontación de fuerzas con enemigos tanto internos como externos, y especialmente por medio de la Gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria de los últimos ocho años, que destruyó el cuartel general burgués de Lin Piao, los pueblos de todas las nacionalidades en nuestro país están más unidos y la dictadura del proletariado está más consolidada que nunca."

Ciertamente que es verdad que la dirección maoísta parece estar más unida que nunca en los últimos años. Pero la historia del PC chino está llena de luchas fraccionales de las diferentes camarillas burocráticas. Mao, de 81 años, no tiene mucho de vida, y los burócratas más importantes están tratando de montar un régimen partidario que garantice una sucesión estable. Saben que el reavivamiento de una lucha entre las camarillas le daría la oportunidad a las masas de participar con sus propias demandas.

De esta manera, la afirmación de que el país está "más unido", y el régimen "más consolidado que nunca," tiene mucho que ver con las esperanzas y temores de los burócratas y la situación actual. Esto explica porqué el tema más consistente que aparece en los informes del congreso del principio al fin, como también en la revisión de la constitución, es la necesidad de fortalecer el aparato represivo y el control centralizado de la burocracia del partido.

'Arma Mágica'

La dictadura del proletariado dijo Chang, "es una arma mágica con la que el pueblo de nuestro país derrota al enemigo y se protege. Debemos atesorarla y fortalecerla constantemente."

Su opinión sobre los apartados al respecto de la centralización, ya han sido citados. De la misma manera, Chou dijo, "Debemos confiar en que las grandes masas asesten golpes constantes, precios y fuertes a un pu-

ñado de enemigos de clase, y poner énfasis en la precisión de los golpes.

Sólo un "puñado de enemigos de clase," y sin embargo, Chou explica, "*Nuestra tarea principal es continuar ampliando, profundizando y preservando el movimiento de crítica contra Lin Piao y Confucio. La lucha entre las dos clases, el proletariado y la burguesía, entre los dos caminos, el socialista y el capitalista, y entre las dos líneas, la marxista y la revisionista, es larga y está llena de obstáculos y a veces se vuelve muy aguda.*" (Subrayados nuestros.)

Los dos informes y el preámbulo de la constitución incluyen la teoría stalinista de "agudizar la lucha de clases" después del derrocamiento del capitalismo. En *El Estado y la Revolución* de Lenin, este reafirma la teoría de Marx y Engels, explicando que el estado capitalista era un instrumento de represión usado por una minoría en contra de la mayoría de la sociedad. Explicó que un estado obrero, representante de la mayoría de la sociedad, cada vez tendrá menos necesidad de recurrir a las formas de represión necesarias bajo el capitalismo una vez que la resistencia armada de los explotadores ha sido destruida.

La burocracia stalinista, sin embargo, necesitaba tal aparato represivo para poder proteger sus privilegios en contra de las masas de trabajadores y campesinas. En vez de desaparecer, el aparato de estado se fortaleció, y el régimen interno se convirtió en una dictadura policiaca.

Al igual que sus mentores soviéticos, los burócratas maoístas sostienen que aunque el capitalismo ha sido derrocado en China, la industria nacionalizada y los ejércitos proimperialistas destruidos, es necesario continuar reforzando el aparato represivo en contra del peligro de la restauración capitalista. De hecho, no es al capitalismo al que temen, sino al pueblo chino.

El temor de que las masas actúen independientemente era lo que estaba atrás de las exhortaciones de Chou a los delegados del congreso, cuando dijo, "Debemos apoyar firmemente la dirección centralizada del Partido. . . . *es el Partido el que ejerce toda la dirección.* Debemos poner todos los campos de trabajo bajo la dirección unificada de los comités del Partido a varios niveles.

"Debemos llevar adelante la tradi-

ción gloriosa de mantener la disciplina, practicar concientemente el centralismo democrático, y, bajo la base de la línea revolucionaria del Presidente Mao, lograr unidad en pensamiento, política, planes, comando y acción." (Subrayados nuestros.)

'Mensaje del Rey del Infierno'

El significado para el pueblo chino de la decisiones de la llamada Asamblea del Pueblo, está por lo general escondido bajo la retórica de esquemas, con los que los maoístas substituyen la discusión política y el análisis. La constitución informa al lector, por ejemplo, que "debemos construir socialismo independientemente y con la iniciativa de nuestras propias manos, por medio de la confianza en nosotros mismos, una fuerte lucha, diligencia y ahorro y saliendo todos a buscar objetivos grandes para obtener aún resultados más grandes, resultados económicos más rápidos y mejores; y debemos estar preparados para la guerra y los desastres naturales y hacer todo por el pueblo."

Un párrafo en el informe de Chou, sin embargo, nos da una pequeña indicación de como el "arma mágica" de la represión se usa actualmente en China. "Casi diez millones de graduados escolares han ido a las montañas y otras áreas rurales," dijo Chou a su audiencia.

Este es el método del régimen para extirpar y aislar a los diez millones de jóvenes trabajadores que movilizó Mao en contra de sus oponentes fraccionales en los primeros días de la Revolución Cultural. Habiendo prometido demagógicamente democracia proletaria para movilizar a las Guardias Rojas—promesas que notablemente no están incluidas en la actual constitución—el régimen ahora teme que muchos de estos jóvenes desilusionados se hayan convertido en agentes de ideas opositoristas.

Las deportaciones al campo de jóvenes que participaron en el movimiento de las Guardias Rojas empezó en 1967. En diciembre de 1973, Hsinhua proporcionó el número, ocho millones, de los que habían sido exilados al campo. En su informe, Chou dijo que el número ha aumentado alrededor de dos millones.

Un ex Guardia Rojo citado en un artículo del *Saturday Review-World* del 30 de noviembre de 1974, ofrece

una descripción vívida de la forma en que las víctimas ven este destierro a "las áreas rurales y las montañas." Explica:

"Hubo una gran reunión al cual asistieron todos los maestros y alumnos. Y se puso un gran cartel rojo con un letrero especial en dorado, como si fuera el anuncio de una boda. Y bajo él estaban los nombres de todos los que iban a ser enviados al campo. La forma en que lo presentaron—uno podía pensar que era un gran honor. Cuando todas las muchachas vieron sus nombres, empezaron a llorar. Pero nosotros, los muchachos, sólo nos reíamos. ¿Qué importa? Si me apuntan diez pistolas, aún así me reiría.

"Luego una notificación individual fue enviada a cada casa—con todo una ceremonia, gongs, y cohetes, superior a la de año nuevo. . . .

"Los estudiantes le llamamos a esta notificación individual un mensaje del rey del infierno, diciéndonos que fuéramos a él."

Desde este punto de vista, un cambio de la constitución de 1954 es particularmente interesante. El apartado que estipula, "Los ciudadanos de la Republica Popular China gozan de la libertad de residencia, y la libertad de cambiar su residencia" ha sido quitado. De esta manera, han formalizado el actual sistema de pasaportes internos y de permisos obligatorios de residencia.

Aunque el congreso trató principalmente la situación interna de China, una declaración de Chou sobre asuntos exteriores llamó la atención de la prensa mundial. Dijo en su informe, "Las dos superpotencias, los Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética, actualmente son los más grandes opresores, y son la fuente de una guerra mundial nueva. Su pugna feroz los llevará a la guerra algún día. Los pueblos de todos los países deben prepararse. La distensión y la paz son temas de conversación en todo el mundo; precisamente esto muestra que no hay distensión, ya no digamos paz duradera, en este mundo."

Es totalmente cierto que la distensión no puede garantizar la paz. La dinámica guerrera del imperialismo no se puede alterar si no es por medio de su derrocamiento. Pero el propósito de la declaración de Chou no era el de prevenir en contra de hacer tratos con el imperialismo a costa de la revolución mundial. Todo lo

contrario, estaba previniendo a los imperialistas que Moscú es un aliado en el cual no se puede confiar, y que Pekín sería un substituto en el cual se puede confiar.

"El social-imperialismo soviético" dijo Chou, "amaga hacia el este mientras ataca al oeste."

Aunque Chou en realidad no espera una guerra entre los Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética, como fue indicado por el enfoque del congreso mismo, usa este ardid para dejar en claro que los maoístas estarían dispuestos a unirse con el imperialismo en contra de la Unión Soviética en caso de una guerra.

La política maoísta en este aspecto fue mejor expresada, en todo su estrecha miopía nacionalista, en un comunicado de Hsinhua del 6 de julio de 1974. El comunicado decía:

"Llevando adelante sus ambiciones expansionistas, el social-imperialismo soviético está tratando a Japón con guante de seda y con puño de hierro al aplicar la política de ser duro y luego suave en su intento de poner a Japón dentro de su órbita hegemónica. . . .

"Al vincular sus bases militares con las cuatro islas japonesas del norte con las de Vladivostok y otros lugares en el Lejano Oriente, la flota soviética del Pacífico y su aviación pueden controlar los pasos de Soya y Tsugaru y el Mar de Japón y transitar en el norte y en el oeste del Pacífico. *Esto va dirigido principalmente contra la Séptima Flota de los Estados Unidos* y al mismo tiempo amenaza la seguridad de Japón." (Subrayados nuestros.)

Esta misma política ha llevado al régimen maoísta a darle apoyo al sanguinario reino del sha de Irán sobre la base de la hostilidad del sha hacia la URSS.

Contrarrevolución en el exterior y el endurecimiento de la dictadura internamente—fue la promesa de la Cuarta Asamblea Popular Nacional al pueblo chino y a la clase obrera mundial. La necesidad de una revolución política hecha por las masas de trabajadores y campesinos chinos para echar a la podrida burocracia maoísta, nunca ha sido más clara. □

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DOCUMENTS

The Capitalist World Economic Crisis

[The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International at its meeting in January.]

* * *

Despite the years of propaganda that it would never again occur, the capitalist world has plunged into its first generalized recession since the 1930s. While it would be hazardous to forecast that world unemployment levels will rise as high as in the Great Depression, the threat has not been eliminated. A heightened offensive of capital against labor's living standards is under way everywhere. No long-term respite from inflation is possible in any of the major powers.

1. The current recession of the international capitalist economy was predicted by revolutionary socialists long in advance. Between 1948 and 1973 capitalist world production increased three and a half times at an average rate of 5 percent a year. There was no growth in 1974. By the last quarter of 1974, industrial output of all major imperialist countries was declining. The United States is in its deepest postwar economic downturn, with the Gross National Product (GNP) down 2.2 percent from 1973. It is falling fast. The GNP fell 3 percent in Japan, after 25 years of expansion.

Only some of the minor capitalist countries have as yet escaped the immediate effects of the decline (Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Austria), either because of exceptional circumstances (the discovery of North Sea oil for Norway), or because of their particular relationship to the world market.

The physical volume of world trade has not yet declined, although the rate of growth has dropped sharply. The major powers are seeking to step up foreign sales, if possible, to counteract the recession at home. Whether the volume of world trade will decline depends on the length of the downturn in the major countries (above all the United States, West Germany, and Japan), and on the extent of protectionist measures undertaken by the competing powers.

While the actual downturn in industrial output is still small (except in the United States) the rise in unemployment is pronounced. Indeed, official figures in the imperialist countries for the winter of 1974-75 may show that unemployment has risen above 15 million. This will certainly prove to be the case if in addition to those listed as unemployed account is taken of those who work only part-time because full-time jobs are not available to them. Unemployment is probably around 8 to 10 million in the United States; 1.5 million in Italy; 1 million each in West Germany, France, and Britain; 1 million in the minor imperialist countries of Western Europe (Benelux countries, Spain, Denmark, etc.); 1 million in Japan; and 1 million in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand taken together.

The reasons for this disproportionate increase in unemployment are twofold:

(a) The present worldwide economic crisis follows a long period of rapid technological progress (automation) in which productivity rose steeply, especially in Western Europe and Japan (this occurred earlier in the United States). The technological advance was accompanied as always by a slow erosion of the rate of profit, which capital attempted to offset through speedups, "rationalization," and other methods of reducing labor costs. But when the rate of increase of productivity is high, only a substantial increase in output can avoid massive unemployment. If there is an actual decline or even mere stagnation in output, unemployment will soar.

(b) In the imperialist countries since World War II, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of women seeking employment. There are two main reasons for this development. One is that average wages for males (whether industrial or "white collar") are no longer adequate to satisfy the basic needs of a working-class family. The other is that women are displaying greater economic and social independence, a reflection internationally of the women's liberation movement.

This growing trend, together with that of mounting seasonal appearances of students on the labor market, has increased the potential supply of labor power in the job market independently of the cyclical fluctuations of the economy. Among the workers seeking employment in the imperialist countries are growing layers that are sexually, racially, and nationally oppressed (in the United States, Blacks, Chicanos, and members of other oppressed nationalities; in Western Europe, immigrant workers), a fact that has facilitated the formation of a large actual or potential industrial reserve army of labor, even during periods of high employment levels.

2. The current international capitalist recession constitutes a turning point in postwar developments of immense significance.

(a) *It is the first generalized recession since the thirties.* There have been many recessions since World War II: Indeed, today as in the past, capital cannot avoid cyclical fluctuations of its economy. But the staggered character of these recessions (for example, the absence of a recession in West Germany, Japan, Italy, and France during the severe 1957-58 U.S. downturn) limited their breadth and depth. A country with shrinking internal markets could export surplus goods and capital.

But with all the major imperialist countries caught simultaneously, the export markets are pinched off. The possibility of finding a solution by increasing exports to the bureaucratized workers states and the oil-exporting countries of the Middle East is likewise excluded. These potential markets are minimal compared to what is required to absorb the mounting surplus of capital and commodities.

Because it occurs simultaneously in many countries, the recession can build up as a whole with extraordinary

force, the recession in each country aggravating the recessions in the others, and all of them combining to make the crisis much graver than any recession since the thirties. The danger is particularly great if the recession in the United States lasts through 1975. The United States produces almost as much as all the other 23 member nations of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a group comprising all the major capitalist countries. Because of its massiveness, the U.S. economy tends to draw the others into its orbit.

(b) *The present international recession clearly confirms previous observations that the long postwar capitalist boom had come to an end.*

The long period of accelerated economic growth following World War II included cyclical downturns; but they were shorter and less intense than those of the twenties and thirties; and the economic and social consequences for the masses were much less dramatic. In addition to the impulse given to world capitalism by the rebuilding of Europe and Japan following the devastation of World War II, the massive use of "anticrisis" measures by the imperialist governments tended to soften economic downturns, although the end result was merely to postpone the reckoning and entrench permanent inflation.

Particularly important has been armaments spending in the United States. Year after year Washington has poured colossal sums into the national and world economy to arm and finance military forces in the United States and abroad, and to pay the increasingly large interest on accumulated military debts. The budget deficits to carry out these operations have become staggering (figures ranging from \$52 billion to \$70 billion have been mentioned for the U.S. budgetary deficit in the fiscal year beginning July 1975).

The "pump-priming" nostrum of government deficit spending was not limited to the United States. By 1973 all the major capitalist powers were throwing huge amounts into deficit spending. The rapid expansion of credit on a world scale drove up prices everywhere.

Moreover, each successive recession required bigger doses of inflationary deficit spending to block a worse slump. This became a vicious circle.

Increasing inflation of the dollar led to a series of crises and ultimately to the collapse in 1971 of the international monetary system set up at Bretton Woods in 1944, marking the end of the long postwar boom.

The short inflationary boom of 1971-73 was merely a passing phase in the opening of a new long-term period of increasingly aggravated contradictions of world capitalism (including much slower growth) that began in 1967-68 and that became still more clearly manifested in the present world recession.

3. *The present recession is fundamentally a classical crisis of overproduction caused by the inner contradictions of the capitalist mode of production.* It is not an accident, allegedly caused by the "oil sheikhs," any more than the 1929 depression was caused by "speculation" in stocks, or previous serious economic crises were caused by "overextending" railway construction or overseas trade.

To be sure, each crisis of overproduction appears as a combination of general phenomena arising from the very nature of capitalist production, and particular phenom-

ena brought to the fore at a given phase of its worldwide expansion and ups and downs. But the very fact that these "accidents" occur with a regular periodicity, that they can be foreseen and predicted, and that they have a whole series of common features, shows that they are bound up structurally with the capitalist system itself. Neither the precapitalist nor the postcapitalist economies undergo these cyclical fluctuations of employment, industrial output, and national income.

Likewise, the ultimate causes of the present worldwide recession are the inner contradictions of the capitalist mode of production long ago laid bare by Marx. After a period of economic growth, the tendency of the rate of profit to decline necessarily becomes more prominent. This holds with all the greater force the longer the period of growth and the faster its rate. The organic composition of capital increases as automation and semiautomation reinforce the preponderance of machinery and other forms of stored up "dead labor" in production. The classical avenues for offsetting the effects of the rising organic composition of capital are more and more obstructed.

High employment levels and the growing social and organizational strength of the working class make it increasingly difficult for capital to significantly raise the rate of exploitation (the rate of surplus value).

The very attempts of capital to cheapen raw materials create divergent trends in prices and profits in primary products on the one hand and manufactured goods on the other. This leads to a growing disproportion in capital investments and current production in both sectors. Sooner or later this results in a relative scarcity of raw materials and to a radical increase in their prices as compared to those of manufactured goods.

The decline in the rate of profit combined with an intensification of competition, in turn, creates the need for borrowing a larger and larger part of the capital needed for additional investments. This is the source of the increasingly severe "liquidity crises" of private companies both nationally and internationally.

But even the biggest corporations can meet insurmountable difficulties in raising the funds required for profitable investment. At a given point all these forces pressing down on the rate of profit must lead to a growing number of capitalist firms being threatened by bankruptcy or actually becoming bankrupt, to an overall decrease in the volume of investment (of capital accumulation), to a massive curtailment of production, to massive layoffs, which by their cumulative effects create a generalized downturn in economic activity.

On the other hand, there is an inherent trend in capitalist production to extend productive capacity beyond the limited purchasing power of the masses, which is determined in the last analysis by the antagonistic class relations within bourgeois society. Each capitalist boom creates a tendency toward excess capacity and overproduction and the consequent stockpiling of unsellable commodities in key sectors of the economy. As this excess capacity and overproduction increases, current output and employment are correspondingly curtailed, and the crisis is worsened accordingly.

In the present recession, overproduction began in the automobile industry and the building trades. It spread rapidly to electrical appliances, petrochemicals (plastics

and synthetic fibers), textiles and clothing, the tourist trade, and aviation industries. It has now reached even the steel industry, which a few months ago was still in the midst of one of its biggest booms resulting from the drastic concentration and curtailment of investment in that industry in the late 1960s, and relative scarcity of steel that resulted in the beginning of the 1970s.

4. While stressing the general structural causes of the present world recession, the analysis should pinpoint the special aspects that differentiate it from previous overproduction crises, especially the big slumps of 1929-33 and of 1937-38:

(a) The main distinguishing feature is *world inflation*. A sharp increase in prices coincided with the opening of the recession. *The world capitalist economy passed from an inflationary boom through "stagflation" toward "slumpflation."* In the past, a sharply downward movement if not an actual collapse of prices occurred in depressions. Inflation coincided with crises only in exceptional circumstances—lost wars, civil wars, complete disruption of the economy and output; and then only for a short time.

Today world inflation is continuing (and in certain countries like the United States, Britain, Italy, France, even increasing!), in spite of a downturn in production and employment. This disrupts the "normal" function of an overproduction crisis. It is supposed to restabilize the economy by eliminating the more backward firms, clearing out inventories, and increasing the rate of exploitation, thereby paving the way for renewed investment.

But the inflationary expansion of credit prolongs inventory buildup, concealing the actual weaknesses of firms. For a time the increase in nominal wages cloaks the erosion of real wages. Artificial purchasing power is created—artificial for firms that ultimately will not be able to remain competitive; artificial for workers who simply cannot repay debts once the lowering of real wages and outright unemployment has reached a certain point. Thus the expansion of credit can go too far. It can prepare the way for unexpected bankruptcies and the closing of banks; in other words, precisely the kind of credit collapse nationally and internationally that characterized the depression of the 1930s. The imperialists themselves do not rule out this danger.

(b) Another distinguishing factor of the world recession is the combination of recession in most sectors of output, including key raw materials, *with an acute shortage in two central sectors of the world capitalist economy: energy (especially oil) and food (especially grain and sugar).*

This combination is not a result of "natural catastrophes," nor does it express the "limits of growth" of the productive forces. It is a result of disproportions created by monopoly competition.

Relatively low prices of raw materials lead to an outflow of capital from this sector into other sectors. Shortages are a means of increasing profits and attracting new capital. This objective process, in turn, can be accelerated by deliberate decisions of the monopolists.

The international petroleum cartel (the seven "oil majors") curtailed refinery capacity and oil production as part of a policy of driving up world energy prices and profits. In the interest of higher prices and profits, U.S.,

Canadian, and Australian "agribusiness" curtailed food production. This is the root cause of the current famines in the African Sahel countries and the Indian subcontinent.

These specific features of the world recession have to be taken into account to evaluate its economic, social, and political effects on various countries, parts of the world, and social classes. But they in no way change the estimate of the world recession as a deep crisis of the capitalist system as a whole.

5. Theoretically and technically, a transformation of the present world recession into a depression of the 1929-32 type is not excluded. It could occur if the governments of the imperialist countries fail (for objective or subjective reasons) to follow economic policies aimed at mitigating the downturn. Such a depression could occur if aggregate demand in the key imperialist countries were cut by strong reductions of government outlays and by major curtailment of credit coinciding with big increases in unemployment and sharp declines in wages and profits.

Such occurrence would imply:

Either (a) that for some objective reason outside of the control of the capitalist governments (for example, a collapse of confidence in paper money, including the dollar, the Deutsche Mark, etc., leading to a return to gold as the only final means of payment for international operations) a strong deflationary trend appears in money and credit in all the major imperialist countries, a trend that coincides with overproduction. This is what happened in 1929-32, ultimately provoking international bank failures.

Or (b) that a trend appears among the capitalist governments to press for general deflation of the volume of money and credit in order to radically "cure" inflation even if it means 30 to 40 million unemployed on a world scale.

While the second course is technically possible, it is highly unlikely. Even an unemployment level of a half or a third the scale of the 1930s is frightening enough to governments to induce them to revive inflationary policies (as is already the case in Washington and Bonn).

The world recession occurs at a time in the class struggle when the level of working-class organization and the capacity for resistance are immensely stronger than in 1929 or 1937. It occurs at a time when the world relationship of forces between imperialism and its various antagonists is much more unfavorable to world capital than before World War II. Under these circumstances a catastrophic economic depression of the 1929-32 type would engender an explosive social and political crisis not only in Western Europe but also in Japan and North America.

If unemployment levels reached 15 million in the United States, 5 million in West Germany, 5 million in Japan, 3 million unemployed in Britain, France, and Italy, short-term palliatives would not avert the intense anger and explosive reaction of the working class. The example of large-scale noncapitalist planned economies that are able to avoid unemployment and inflation despite their bureaucratic deformations would help inspire the Western working class to break out of the private profit system, giving the thrust toward socialism immense force as the masses noted the most effective tactical expedients used

in other lands. *A repetition of a 1929-32 type of depression would, under the present international and national sociopolitical relationship of forces, clearly intitate the gravest crisis of the capitalist system since its inception.*

To avoid such a catastrophe for themselves, the imperialist governments will likely refrain from the ruthless kind of deflation of money and credit volume that made the 1929-32 depression unavoidable. The strongest ones still have sufficient reserves to follow such a course. They have no alternative but to continue in their characteristically pragmatic, and sometimes even panicky way, to oscillate between anti-inflationary and antirecessionary measures in such a way as not to trigger "too much" unemployment or "too high" prices. They can stop neither!

Nevertheless the question can legitimately be asked: Is it not possible that even the key imperialist governments will lose control over the situation? It seems obvious that inflation cannot continue indefinitely without exhausting its antirecessionary effects and even transforming itself from a motor into a brake on capitalist economic growth. The collapse of the speculative boom in 1973 and early 1974; the bankruptcies of several important banks; the huge losses met by speculators in currencies, in raw materials, and in land; the collapse of stock prices in the main stock exchanges throughout the capitalist world—all these were ominous signs of a potential worldwide panic. The tremendous extension of the Eurodollar market (additionally fueled by petrodollars); the threat of a massive balance of payments deficit in nearly all the imperialist countries (with the exception of West Germany) as a result of the steep increase in their oil import bill, threatened to provoke a sudden collapse of confidence and a resulting worldwide run on the banking system.

Following the collapse of the Franklin National Bank in the United States, I.D. Herstatt of West Germany, and the crisis of the "fringe banks" in Britain, major central banks promised to support rescue operations in behalf of the depositors and, to a certain extent, they will attempt to do this in other cases so as head off a crash. But these cases also illustrated the limits of such operations. When West Germany refused at first to back Herstatt deposits, the United States retaliated by threatening to freeze West German assets and brought the international monetary system grinding to a halt until the secret deals were arranged. The European-American Bank which was formed to take over Franklin National has warned that it will take almost none of Franklin's foreign accounts.

In the same category, the United States has recently warned all U.S. banks to review their medium- and long-term loans to Italian industry and to the Italian government itself. The anti-Arab and anti-Iranian propaganda mounted around "petrodollars" by the imperialist banking circles is aimed at helping to force the oil-exporting nations into international credit rescue operations that the imperialists themselves are unwilling to undertake.

All of these examples illustrate the fact that the self-interest of national capitalism places severe limits on the degree to which central bankers can alleviate the international crisis.

The deeper and more lasting the inflation, the greater the danger becomes that speculation, debts, and liquidity crises of the banking system will mount to such pro-

portions as to touch off a panicky run on the banks, resulting in a collapse of the banking system and a consequent catastrophic crisis, if not now, then in a future recession. That is why the world bourgeoisie is so worried about inflation. That is why it is trying to alter the class relationship of forces sufficiently to make feasible the eventual use of radical deflationary measures.

6. What makes the present situation so grave for world capitalism, however, is not so much the fact that the economic crisis is the worst yet experienced in the postwar period—it is still much milder than those that occurred between the two world wars—but that it is combined with an exceptionally high level of organization, striking power, and militancy of the working class. The situation in the working class is a resultant of two decades of relatively high economic growth, of a relatively high level of employment, of extensive (Japan, Italy, France, Spain, Canada, Australia) and intensive (United States, West Germany, Britain) industrialization, and a general increase in the level of skills and education (even if spread very unevenly and accompanied by massive downgrading, marginalization, and scrapping of workers). Additional factors have strengthened the working class subjectively. These include the worldwide radicalization of youth and women; the advances of the world revolution in the semicolonial countries from China to Cuba; the appearance of a new generation of workers who did not experience the two and a half decades of defeats following the October 1917 victory; the crisis of Stalinism; and a generalized increase in opposition to imperialist war.

This means that the *present social crisis of the world capitalist system*, which began with the May 1968 events in France, *will be seriously and significantly deepened by the present recession*, and that the central role of the industrial working class will become increasingly accentuated.

But it also means that the general trend points to increasing tensions and explosive conflicts between capital and labor, of more and more acute political crises in key imperialist countries. Attempts of the capitalists to "buy off" workers will decline relatively while attempts to inflict serious defeats upon the working class will increase, the objective being to "solve" the crisis at the expense of workers by reducing real wages, thereby enabling the rate of profit to rise again. Such an onslaught on the living standard and level of employment of the working class entails serious restrictions on the democratic rights of the working class (statutory wage controls, government arbitration of labor disputes, onerous limitations on the right to strike, antiunion legislation, etc.).

Experience has shown, however, that as long as capital is unable to succeed in significantly changing the existing relationship of forces between the classes, the attempts to apply such policies generally fail.

This does not exclude short-term attempts to head off revolutionary victories through reforms and concessions. But, as in the 1930s, these will amount to no more than stopgap measures. The aggravation of the world economic situation rules out any significant period of decreasing tension between the classes. It brings class confrontations closer to a showdown. The broad perspective is either the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism,

or grave defeats of the working class that will enable capitalism to apply *its* solution—fascism even more brutal than that of the 1930s.

7. In the present world recession, the proletariat stands in much stronger position than was the case in the 1929-32 depression. Among other things, unemployment is not of such scope and duration as in the Great Depression and has had less of a debilitating effect.

Massive unemployment for a long period is generally highly demoralizing. The most favorable moments for workers actions are either when unemployment starts (that is why the international bourgeoisie is so afraid that sudden massive unemployment could provoke an immediate reaction in the proletariat) or when it begins to decline after an economic revival has started. But during a period of mass unemployment those who do hold jobs are exceptionally fearful of losing them, the employed and unemployed become pitted against each other, as do the partially and fully employed, and those who have a relatively high level of job security and those who lack it. All these factors tend to limit the number and duration of strikes.

Of course, certain modifications have to be made in this general analysis. In particular, it is necessary to take into account the "built-in stabilizers" such as unemployment insurance, social security, the dole, low-cost health services, etc., that were introduced during or after the 1929-32 crisis.

However, unemployment on a limited scale, such as still exists in the major imperialist countries, has none of these debilitating effects, especially in view of its combination with inflation and with the growing level of organization and militancy of the working class. Therefore it can be safely predicted that the *immediate effect of the world recession will be to fortify the upsurge of workers struggles* (with the short-term exception of West Germany, for specific reasons linked with the whole postwar cycle of class struggles and class consciousness in that country).

In Western Europe, the recession will impel a sharpening of class struggles and class tensions especially in those countries where the working-class upsurge has reached the highest level: France, Italy, Britain, Spain, Portugal, but also in minor capitalist countries like Denmark. It will tend to shift the axis more and more away from partial struggles to generalized struggles, and give increasing impulse to the search for overall political solutions to the deep-going social crisis of capitalism.

The upswing of working-class radicalization and militancy in the United States and Japan (as well as Australia, New Zealand, and Canada) will tend to be accelerated by the generalized recession, the proletariat in these countries thereby beginning to fall more into the pattern seen in Western Europe since 1968. It is still too early, however, to predict the forms and rates of this process. The more the Japanese, American, and Canadian working classes move into action in the coming years, adding their weight to the present upsurge of struggle in Western Europe, the greater will be the impact on an international scale and the more difficult it will be for world capitalism to "solve" its present crisis at the expense of this or that sector of the world working class.

8. The intensification of interimperialist rivalries was one of the causes that precipitated the worldwide recession in 1974. Far from responding as a whole in ways that would tend to ward off a world recession and possible financial collapse, the competing capitalist nations have mainly pursued narrow policies of self-interest. Moreover, no imperialist power or group of imperialist powers, including the most powerful of all—the United States itself—is able to impose its own competitive interests on all sectors of the world bourgeoisie as operative guidelines.

Interimperialist rivalries have aggravated the contradictions underlying the recession. From the standpoint of the overall interests of international capitalism, the use of anti-inflationary (mildly deflationary) policies simultaneously in all the major imperialist countries obviously does not make sense. But from the standpoint of each capitalist class taken separately, it makes sense to "fight inflation" and to try to save its currency and banking system from collapse.

Here there are three concerns: to keep foreign goods out of the domestic market by keeping the prices of domestic goods lower; to penetrate foreign markets to a greater degree because prices of foreign goods are higher; and to stabilize the domestic currency by maintaining a less rapid rate of inflation. Thus, in the era of simultaneous world inflation, the fight to keep one's "own" rate of inflation lower than the rates of competitors becomes a central preoccupation of the competing bourgeoisies. Each major power would like to shift part of the burden of inflation and the recession onto its competitors.

West Germany, for example, maintained deflationary policies right up to December 1974, when the specter of world collapse had already been haunting stock exchanges for most of the year. It held to this course despite increasing pressure from its competitors for "reflation" of the Deutsch Mark, since West Germany is the only major imperialist country that is not suffering from a balance of payments deficit as a result of the increase in oil prices.

A strong reflation of the West German economy would mean that German exports (which have now overtaken those of the United States) would suffer seriously, while the West German internal market would yield a larger share to imports from its British, French, Italian, Japanese, and U.S. competitors.

But when unemployment reached 3.5 percent in West Germany and threatened to go to 4 percent, Bonn dropped its anti-inflationary program. Pump-priming government expenditures were announced, the central bank's discount rate was lowered, and West German capitalism will now try another round in gambling against the rates of inflation elsewhere.

The 1973-74 oil crisis marked a shift in the inter-imperialist relationship of forces in favor of U.S. imperialism, since the United States is less dependent on oil imports than the other major imperialist powers and the capitalists in Western Europe had for years paid less for oil (and energy) than those in the U.S.

Meanwhile, however, the stepped-up export drive especially of West Germany and Japan has partially annulled the results gained by Wall Street through the successive devaluations of the dollar and the oil crisis. Yet

France, and especially Britain and Italy, have been less successful with their export drives and as a result have been harder hit by the worldwide rise in oil prices, both Britain and Italy undergoing very severe economic and financial difficulties.

Furthermore, the failure to seriously advance their economic integration during the present recession, which threatens to bring down the Common Market, prevents the West German and West European capitalists from offering a plausible alternative leadership to the world capitalist system.

Under these conditions, the crisis of leadership of international capitalism as a whole is compounded by the crisis of leadership of the bourgeoisies in each of the major imperialist nations. This will not change in the near future, all the more so as the intensification of the class struggle adds to the crisis in each country. The first bourgeoisie to succeed in imposing a major social and political defeat on "its" working class would, as in the 1930s, gain a significant margin for maneuver, enabling it to engage in dangerous attempts at changing the world relationship of forces in its favor. But again, this is unlikely to occur in the near future.

The outcome will be endless consultations, horsetrading, and shady deals, a rigamarole that will become all the more agonizing as the recession drags on.

9. In the semicolonial countries, the effect of the world recession varies according to the relation of their economies to oil, grain, and sugar imports and exports. Those that are large exporters of these vital raw materials, and that have only a small deficit (or no deficit) of these high-priced commodities, have, so far, not suffered from the present recession. (A collapse of sugar prices and a sharp decline of oil prices cannot be excluded if the recession is long lasting, although even in this case, oil prices will not drop to pre-October 1973 levels.)

The ruling classes of the major oil-exporting countries have benefitted the most. They gained much more in oil revenues than they lost because of increases in the prices

they paid for imports, or because of a narrowing of markets for exports other than oil because of the recession.

In fact, the big influx of income and gold-and-currency reserves to the oil-exporting countries expresses a redistribution of the surplus value produced by the world proletariat, including the proletariat of the semi-colonial oil-exporting countries, in favor of the ruling classes of the oil-exporting countries and at the expense of the imperialist bourgeoisies. This redistribution (the appearance of a high mining rent appropriated to a large extent by the local ruling classes) is a result of the economic disproportions underlined above and of a political shift in the relationship of forces on a world scale.

Imperialism was forced to switch from direct to indirect rule over its former colonies after World War II because the anti-imperialist liberation movement became too strong and could not be defeated militarily on a worldwide scale. The imperialist powers tried first to transform the ruling classes in the colonies into junior partners without payment of a substantial economic price for this changed form of rule. Today, through the oil crisis, the bill is being presented by history. Some junior partners are able to demand and obtain a significantly increased portion of the spoils.

While the world balance of forces does not favor an imperialist attack on the Middle East and while U.S. imperialism favors higher world oil prices to a much larger degree than it publicly pretends, no imperialism favors even the partial redistribution of its wealth to subalterns. The danger of renewed war in the Middle East is consequently very real, especially because of the explosive relations between the Palestinian liberation struggle, the Arab regimes, and Israel.

While the oil-exporting countries will generally strengthen their economic growth, including capitalist industrialization to a limited extent, for the other semicolonial countries the combination of a world recession with sharp increases in the prices of oil, food, and fertilizer has become a major economic disaster—the greatest to hit any part of the world since World War II. The countries of the Indian subcontinent have been hit hardest of all. The increased food, fertilizer, and oil bills; the decrease in their own exports as a result of their inability to compete with the imperialist powers in a period of intensified trade warfare; the decline of their own industrial production triggered by all these developments, which in turn leads to serious difficulties in buying the raw materials necessary for normal industrial production; the ruthless profiteering and hoarding of food reserves by the indigenous ruling classes; the collapse of the "green revolution" as a result of the steep increase in fertilizer and energy costs—all these factors have brought about an explosive increase in misery, underemployment, and outright starvation both in the countryside and the towns.

The ingredients for a social explosion have thus been assembled. But the crisis of proletarian leadership, which is nowhere near its solution, has increased the danger that reactionary right-wing forces will take the initiative in turning the crisis to account at the expense of the masses, who will pay for it in blood and starvation.

10. The noncapitalist character of the economies of the bureaucratized workers states has been strikingly con-

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firmed—contrary to all the mystifications of the supporters of the theory of "state capitalism"—by the fact that they have not been caught up in the vortex of mass unemployment and decline in production engulfing all the major capitalist countries. On the other hand, those who stick to the parallel mystification of "socialism in one country" will encounter new difficulties in trying to explain why these supposedly "socialist" countries cannot completely cut their ties with the world market, thereby remaining subject to the effects of the world capitalist recession.

These effects can be summarized in four points:

(a) The world recession reduces the export markets of the bureaucratized workers states in the capitalist countries (except oil, grain, sugar), export markets which these economies urgently need in order to increase their imports of modern equipment. The bureaucracy will try to compensate for this relative decline in its export markets by stepping up the search for loans, in return for which it will be all the more willing to pay the political price of not exploiting the mounting social crisis in the West. The bureaucracy has gone out of its way in giving assurances that it is not going to seek to turn the recession into a revolutionary crisis and that it will see to it that the Communist parties do their utmost to keep the workers within the bounds of class-collaborationist reformism.

(b) The shortage of oil and grain upsets some of the economic plans of the workers states, especially the heavy importers of these commodities like the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Cuba. In these instances it could cause a slowdown of the rate of economic growth, especially in combination with a decline of exports to the West.

(c) The shortage of oil and grain, combined with the effects of the recession, creates new stresses and tensions in the relations between the bureaucracies. To sell oil at world market prices to other workers states (GDR, Cuba, North Vietnam, Hungary, etc.) becomes so lucrative for exporting bureaucracies like the USSR, Rumania, and China that charges will be leveled of exploitation.

(d) The change in the world economic situation increases interest among the imperialist powers in probing the bureaucratized workers states both as markets for exported goods and as sources of raw materials. The tendency will mount to seek big trade deals like those already made to exchange oil and natural gas of the USSR and China for pipelines, petrochemical plants, petroleum refineries and other equipment. However, quantitatively, this is not large enough to offset the results of the deceleration in the growth of the volume of world trade which is occurring. Moreover the deals are of such a long-term character that their effect will be felt only over a period of years.

11. In view of the general increase in social and political contradictions and tensions as a result of the worldwide recession, imperialism will be increasingly tempted to block social explosions by local wars, and to "absorb" some of the major effects of the long-term decline in the rate of growth by stepping up the armaments race. In spite of the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence pursued with complete sincerity by the Stalinist bureau-

cracies, there are areas in the world where, for obvious reasons, i.e., self-defense, the bureaucracies cannot retreat indefinitely without endangering their own security. Factions prepared to adopt a policy of unlimited retreat in the face of renewed imperialist aggression in those areas would probably meet stiff opposition, in the first place from the army commands.

The Middle East obviously is such a key area of potential conflict today. The economic recession spreading throughout the international capitalist economy combined with the steep increase in oil prices has created a dangerous climate of imperialist aggression, politically and economically, in this area. This is the first time since the 1949 recession that a serious downturn in the economic situation of imperialism has coincided with a sharp increase in international tension in an area where a direct military confrontation between imperialism and the armies of the Warsaw Pact is possible.

Up to a certain point U.S. imperialism can carry on maneuvers, horsetrading, and military blackmail with both the Arab ruling classes and the Zionist leaders with the aim of imposing a "settlement" in the Middle East, essentially at the expense of the liberation struggle of the Palestinian masses. The objective of retaining essential control over Middle East oil is to be accomplished through joint ventures with the Arab ruling classes, including massive investments of petrodollars in Western property, the better to tie the Arab rulers to the "economic order" of international capitalism.

The Zionist leaders are not simply puppets of imperialism; they have their own independent interests to defend. Seeing that time works against them, that the relationship of forces in the Middle East could become more and more adverse to the maintenance of an expansionist colonial settler state in the area, they could be tempted to exploit a temporary military superiority at a given moment and undertake a preemptive strike against the neighboring Arab countries. In case of partial failure or in face of heavy retaliation, they might resort to extreme measures, including the use of atomic weapons. This could lead to incalculable consequences through involvement of the world's two major nuclear powers.

The fact that the international working class and toiling masses, including those in the United States, are strongly opposed to warlike adventures is a deterrent to such desperate adventures by the capitalist class. While not underestimating the dangers of a "brush-fire" war in the Middle East, it is unlikely that imperialism will seek a military showdown with the bureaucratized workers states as long as the international working class has not suffered a disastrous defeat.

Nevertheless, the graver the economic difficulties of world capitalism become, the more the social and political tensions increase, the more will certain sections of the capitalist class tend to intensify war preparations and play with military adventures. Either the danger of war will intensify and along with it the danger of forms of the "strong state" and anti-working-class dictatorships coming to power, or the proletariat will impose its own solution for ending the death agony of capitalism—the conquest of power by the toiling masses, the victory of the socialist revolution. □

British Writers Appeal for Valentyn Moroz

[The following appeal appeared in the January 24 issue of the *London Times Literary Supplement*.]

* * *

Reviewing Valentyn Moroz's writings, Bernard W. Hudson (December 13) stresses that the life of the thirty-eight-year-old Ukrainian historian and essayist who is now in Vladimir prison east of Moscow in the fifth year of his fourteen-year term, is reported to be in grave danger. Barely forty-eight hours before the publication of that issue of your journal, Reuter carried a dispatch from Moscow that Mr Moroz had ended his twenty-week hunger strike, the prison authorities having promised that he would not be returned to solitary confinement, in which he had been kept since August 1972—without, it should be noted, actually having been sentenced to it.

Most of us were among the twelve signatories of telegrams sent on October 18 appealing to Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet authorities to save Mr Moroz's life (the names of some of us were mentioned in this connexion in Mr Hudson's review), and we have of course been relieved to learn that the immediate danger may now be over. Nevertheless, according to a message received in early November in the West through Academician Andrei Sakharov, Mr Moroz, being

extremely emaciated and weak and having lost over three stones, could now be saved only by being placed under intensive care in a civilian hospital. According to Western medical authorities commenting on similar prolonged hunger strikes (of the Baader-Meinhof group, lasting over eleven weeks; *The Times*, December 4), the chances of subsequent recovery "are at least uncertain," and "irreparable damage can be done to internal organs."

The same Reuter dispatch also reports that the Kiev newspaper *Literaturna Ukraina* ("The Literary Ukraine"), which is your journal's opposite number, has published an unprecedented article concerning Mr Moroz, signed by the philologist Zinovia Franko, the granddaughter of the famous Ukrainian writer and scholar Ivan Franko; the article itself has since also become available to us. It spells out, for the first time, that Mr Moroz is in fact punished for his convictions, albeit qualified as "too extreme convictions"; the actual substance of his convictions is then made more specific as "his individualistic attitudes and behaviour." You will no doubt note, Sir, that this represents a de facto agreement with your reviewer's assessment of the keystone of Moroz's philosophy, which is the view that man's spiritual individuality is the mainspring of progress. The importance Moroz attaches to individ-

uality was also highlighted in the review's headline.

At the same time, we read in a letter from the Soviet charge d'affaires in London, Vladimir M. Semenov (*The Times*, December 3), that "Soviet justice does not persecute people for their convictions." Not wishing to impugn Mr Semenov's veracity, we would strongly urge him to request his Government to release Mr Moroz, since his continued detention is clearly contrary to the above principle of Soviet justice (this apart from the fact that Mr Moroz's sentence should be nullified under Soviet law, since his trial was unlawfully held in camera, according to Mr Yesenin-Volpin as quoted by your reviewer, and that Mr Moroz could well be released in accordance with Soviet prison regulations since his impaired health makes him unfit to continue serving his sentence). We also understand that last year Mr Moroz was invited to visit Brown and Harvard universities. Permitting him and his family to travel abroad would offer to the Soviet authorities a compromise solution; surely, his "individualistic attitudes and behaviour" are no more a "crime" than Solzhenitsyn's.

The case of Moroz, who has recently been invited to become an honorary member of the English PEN Centre, is one of the most flagrant of a writer persecuted solely for the beliefs and ideas expressed in his writings. As such it deserves the closest attention of the readers of your journal. Can we appeal to them to write to us if they wish to have further details or would like to help in any way in the campaign in support of Valentyn Moroz?

V. S. Pritchett (President), Peter Elstob (General Secretary), Kathleen Nott (President, PEN English Centre), A. J. Ayer, Robert Birley, Dan Jacobson, J. B. Priestley, Alan Sillitoe
International PEN, Glebe House, 62/63 Glebe Place, London SW3 5JB.

It Ought to Read, 'Get Out!'

It was an ironic coincidence. Two painters who were working on the project to shine up the Statue of Liberty for the celebration next years of 200 years of freedom in the United States were seized recently by Immigration department agents. It turns out they are Greeks, two of the 6 to 7 million foreign residents in the United States who lack the proper papers to justify their existence to the authorities.

It was not reported whether the two were lulled into a temporary sense of security under the statue's inscription: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free. . . ."

Special Offer



Malcolm X

To help celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*, reproductions of sketches by Cyprian, artist for *Intercontinental Press*, were published by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers party and bound in an 8.5" x 11" book. The aim was to use the money gained from sales to help us begin publishing articles in Spanish.

The drawings, of various sizes, include portraits of Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, Che Guevara, Cesar Chavez, Leon Trotsky, and many more, some of which are suitable for framing.

A limited number of copies of this collection of drawings are now available for only \$5.

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