

# Intercontinental Press

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75¢

## MORE SECRETS OF THE CIA

**THE REPORT  
FORD TRIED  
TO SUPPRESS**



George Novack

***In Defense of Engels***

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## U.S. and South Africa—Hands Off Angola!

By David Frankel

With UNITA forces in southern Angola in full retreat, it appears as if the Ford administration has failed in its attempt to create a stalemate in the Angolan civil war.

While Ford and Kissinger are trying to blame their debacle in Angola on Congress, influential voices in the American ruling class are counseling in favor of an accommodation with the MPLA. However, the imperialist aggression in Angola is far from over.

There are 4,000 to 6,000 South African troops occupying positions up to fifty miles inside Angolan territory. A February 11 Reuters dispatch from Johannesburg reported, "Government sources said they were determined to hold the positions against forces of the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola unless a political agreement could be worked out."

In an interview published the following day Pieter W. Botha, South Africa's defense minister, elaborated, saying that if MPLA forces "restrain themselves in staying where they belong—doubtless discussions could be held with them regarding our interests in that area."

The racist colonial settlers want to be able to tell Angolans "where they belong" in their own country! They talk about "discussions" and "political agreement" while occupying Angolan territory and threatening military attack.

The Ford administration has remained silent concerning the South African aggression in Angola, thus condoning it. As Geoffrey Godsell said in the February 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, "The U.S. Government is hardly in a position to influence the immediate course of events. . . . This leaves only South Africa as the outside power in a position openly to intervene in Angola in any meaningful way against the MPLA."

However, Ford is not leaving everything to South Africa. Although the White House has been hampered by the refusal of Congress to buck the massive opposition to U.S. military involvement in Angola among the American people, reports of direct U.S. intervention continue to emerge.

On February 6, for example, Senator John Tunney told the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa of the findings of William J. Coughlin and Mark Moran, two of his aides who recently visited Angola.

Tunney said that they "found ample evidence of American involvement with the airlift of arms to Angola, with Americans taking part in the air and on the ground. Mr. Moran has the names of some of those Americans. Mr. Coughlin has talked with the man [UNITA leader] Dr. Savimbi describes as his 'American adviser.'"

Tunney's information was backed up February 12 when the State Department reported that two American pilots were being held by the MPLA in Luanda. The State Department denied that the two were mercenaries, explaining that they had been flying to Namibia (South-West Africa).

Tunney also testified, "UNITA sources in Lisbon told my investigators they were receiving funds from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, indicating that the United States had served as a go-between on the deals."

"The amount from Saudi Arabia was \$50 million, coming, curiously enough, after the Senate amendment cutting off American covert aid."

Further evidence of secret U.S. intervention in Angola came out February 9 when John Banks, a former British paratrooper who had helped hire mercenaries for the FNLA, revealed that the project had been initiated after a CIA agent approached his partner.

Both Ford and Kissinger have argued that failure to stand firm in Angola has diminished the credibility of U.S. imperialism's military threats. In language reminiscent of the Vietnam War, Kissinger said February 12, "It cannot be in the interest of the United States to create the impression that, in times of crisis, either threats or promises of the United States may not mean anything because our divisions may paralyze us."

Kissinger also claimed that failure to take action in Angola would have "the gravest consequences for peace and stability," and would lead to "graver crises at higher costs later on."

Ford was more direct. He complained February 10 that the members of Congress had "lost their guts." But he added that it would be "very unwise" for Moscow to seek military advantage elsewhere in Africa or Asia because "the next time we will speak with one voice in challenging them."

Similar strident declarations were issued in Washington after the U.S. defeat in Indochina. It should be kept in mind that

they were followed by the *Mayagüez* affair, when Ford ordered U.S. forces to attack Cambodia in order to demonstrate that the White House had not lost its guts.

The rapid gains made by the MPLA have apparently convinced some sections of the ruling class that a political settlement with the MPLA is necessary. The editors of the *New York Times* said February 13 that the decision of the Organization of African Unity to recognize the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola should "generate prompt rethinking of the whole Angola issue by the Ford Administration."

Aid to the UNITA and the FNLA may have been defensible when the OAU "was split down the middle," according to the *Times* editors, but "to renew aid in present circumstances would be to place this country at odds with the organization that represents the whole of nonwhite Africa and to lay the United States open to charges that it would prolong the bloodshed in Angola for cold war objectives."

A similar view was advanced February 6 by Senator Tunney, who argued, "The war in Angola . . . beyond guerrilla fighting, is nearly over." Tunney held that "even the presence of fresh CIA-funded mercenaries cannot turn the tide. . . ."

Both Tunney and Senator Dick Clark concluded from this that the only plausible course is to deal with the MPLA, which, they said, has declared its desire for U.S. aid to build "an independent and non-aligned Angola."

Kissinger himself recently indicated that a deal with the MPLA was possible. According to a report by Karen DeYoung in the February 7 *Washington Post*, he told Col. Joseph N. Garba, the Nigerian commis-

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sioner for external affairs, that "he had nothing against the Popular Movement, and when the time comes that it is necessary to shift American policy on Angola, he would consider it."

Of course, South Africa has also said that it is seeking an accord with the MPLA. The fact remains that when imperialist powers sit down to negotiate with the representatives of colonial or semicolonial peoples, the threat of force is never absent.

It is more necessary than ever to demand that Washington end all forms of intervention in the affairs of Angola, and that the apartheid regime in South Africa withdraw its forces from Angolan territory. □

## The Death of Frank Stagg

A new victim in the centuries-old struggle of the Irish people for self-determination died February 12, thanks to the calculated brutality of the British Labour government.

Frank Stagg, a thirty-four-year-old Irishman, had been on a hunger strike for two months to protest his treatment at Wakefield prison and to demand that he be transferred to a prison in Northern Ireland.

Stagg was jailed in November 1973. Although he had committed no criminal action, he was sentenced to a ten-year term for "conspiracy to commit arson, conspiracy to cause criminal damage, and management of a unit of the Irish Republican Army."

British authorities tried to break Stagg, who took part in four hunger strikes. They subjected him to degrading strip-searches, solitary confinement, and the torture of forced feeding, but he stood firm.

Stagg's entire family lives in Ireland, but the British government refused to transfer him to a prison there, despite its transfer of right-wing Protestant prisoners on the humanitarian grounds of moving them closer to their homes. The British Home Office, on the basis of the imperialist-imposed division of Ireland, claimed that Stagg had "no known connection" with Northern Ireland, and therefore should remain in Britain.

The fact is that Stagg's connection with Ireland was the only reason he was in prison to begin with. When the British rulers found out that they were unable to break Frank Stagg, they made the criminal decision to let him die.

Frank Stagg's death was meant to be an object lesson to those who would resist British rule in Northern Ireland.

Called by its right name, it was murder.

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## More Secrets of the Central Intelligence Agency

By Steve Clark

"The Report on the CIA That President Ford Doesn't Want You to Read," announced the front page of the February 16 *Village Voice*, a New York weekly.

Inside was a special twenty-four-page supplement containing the major findings of a damning report on the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation prepared by the U.S. House Select Committee on Intelligence.

Among the committee's disclosures were the following:

- That millions of dollars were fed by the CIA to favored parties and candidates during the 1972 Italian parliamentary elections.
- That Kissinger and the White House attempted to use the Kurdish national liberation struggle for their own diplomatic maneuvers, causing the deaths of thousands of persons.

- That Washington manufactured phony excuses to justify its intervention into the Angolan civil war.

- That the thirty-four-year-long campaign of FBI surveillance against the Socialist Workers party has failed to turn up any evidence of illegal activity.

Given the sensational nature of these findings, the House of Representatives voted by an overwhelming majority January 29 to postpone release of the report to allow President Ford to tidy up those sections that might be harmful to the interests of "national security."

Indications from White House aides suggested that scissors would be taken to more than half the report.

Many of the findings of the House committee, which was chaired by Congressman Otis Pike, had previously been leaked to the *New York Times* and other media sources.

According to a report in the February 12 *New York Times*, ". . . the version obtained by The Voice appeared to be an initial draft of the document submitted to the committee by its staff, and not the version adopted by the panel on Jan. 29. However, the differences between the initial draft and the final report are minor."

The Pike report does not jibe with Senator Frank Church's evaluation late last year that the CIA is a "rogue elephant," launching major operations on its own without White House knowledge or approval. Church recently chaired Senate hearings on the CIA, which confirmed in a report issued last November that the agency was in-

### CIA's Racist View of Arabs Exposed

In public, America's rulers usually attempt to avoid language that exposes their vulgar racist and chauvinist attitudes toward the Arab masses. A glimpse of their real views, however, was provided by the Pike committee.

The report at one point attempts to explain why the CIA failed to foresee the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War. "One reason for the analysts' optimism [that war could be avoided] can be found in a 1971 CIA handbook," the report says, "in a passage reiterated and reinforced in discussions in early October, 1973. The Arab fighting man, it reported, 'lacks the necessary physical and cultu-

ral qualities for performing effective military services.' The Arabs were thought to be so clearly inferior that another attack would be irrational and, thus, out of the question."

A footnote to the report quotes a CIA postmortem on the agency's failure to predict the conflict: "There was, in addition, a fairly widespread notion based largely (though perhaps not entirely) on past performances that many Arabs, as Arabs, simply weren't up to the demands of modern warfare and that they lacked understanding, motivation, and probably in some cases courage as well."

involved in assassination plots against the leaders of at least five foreign countries.

According to the findings of the House committee, "All evidence in hand suggests that the CIA, far from being out of control, has been utterly responsive to the instructions of the President and the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs," that is, Henry Kissinger.

The Pike committee's prime task was to appear to "clear the air" on CIA "misconduct," helping in the long run to restore some of the luster to the agency's "legitimate" activities. By proposing greater "congressional oversight" of U.S. intelligence agencies, the committee hoped to create the illusion that Washington's foreign and domestic political police can be "reformed" to the point of harmlessness.

". . . I can think of nothing more sinister to the survival of our democracy than a populace which believes that its government lies to them," Pike has warned. His committee sought to stem the rising tide of that conviction.

Much of the report, in fact, scores the CIA for not performing *well enough*. "The American taxpayer clearly does not receive full value for his intelligence dollar," the report complains.

The material unearthed during the committee's investigations, however, allows opponents of CIA and FBI intrigues to draw some quite different conclusions.

What did the Pike committee reveal?

The portion of the Pike report printed by the *Village Voice* is entitled "The Select

Committee's Investigation Record." The *Voice* had in its possession but did not print the eighty-one-page first section of the draft, entitled "The Select Committee's Oversight Experience." This part of the report recounted the obstacles to the investigation created by Kissinger, the White House, and other individuals and agencies.

The *Village Voice* selection begins with the committee's findings on the costs of U.S. intelligence activities.

The committee discovered that "the foreign intelligence budget is three to four times more costly than Congress has been told." Expenses for intelligence items have been camouflaged behind apparently unrelated budget categories, omitted entirely, or drastically undervalued.

The committee concluded, for example, that the \$31 million figure cited by the White House as the 1975 expenditure on its Angola intervention was almost certainly too low. The CIA "valued" .45-caliber automatic weapons at \$5.00 each and .30-caliber semiautomatic carbines at \$7.55.

"Based on a sampling of ordnance cost figures and a comparison with Department of Defense procedures," the report states, "staff advises that the CIA's ordnance figure should at least be doubled."

Real expenditures on domestic intelligence were found to be *five times* the amount "given to the Committee in testimony by domestic intelligence officials."

The second section of the committee's investigative record is entitled "Perfor-

mance." It begins, "It is one thing to conclude that tens of billions of intelligence dollars have been rather independently spent, and sometimes misspent, over the past few years.

"The important issues are whether this spending sufficiently meets our needs, whether Americans have received their money's worth, and whether non-monetary costs sometimes outweigh the benefits."

The report cites six examples from the past decade in which—in the committee's opinion—Washington did not "receive its money's worth" from the CIA. According to the report, the agency failed to predict: the 1968 Tet offensive in Vietnam; the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia the same year; the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War; the downfall of the Salazarist dictatorship in Portugal in April 1974; the development by India of nuclear weapons capability; and the June 1974 overthrow of Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus.

"... the system must be reformed to promote anticipation of, rather than reaction to, important world events," the report concludes.

#### A Blood-Soaked Decade of Covert Action

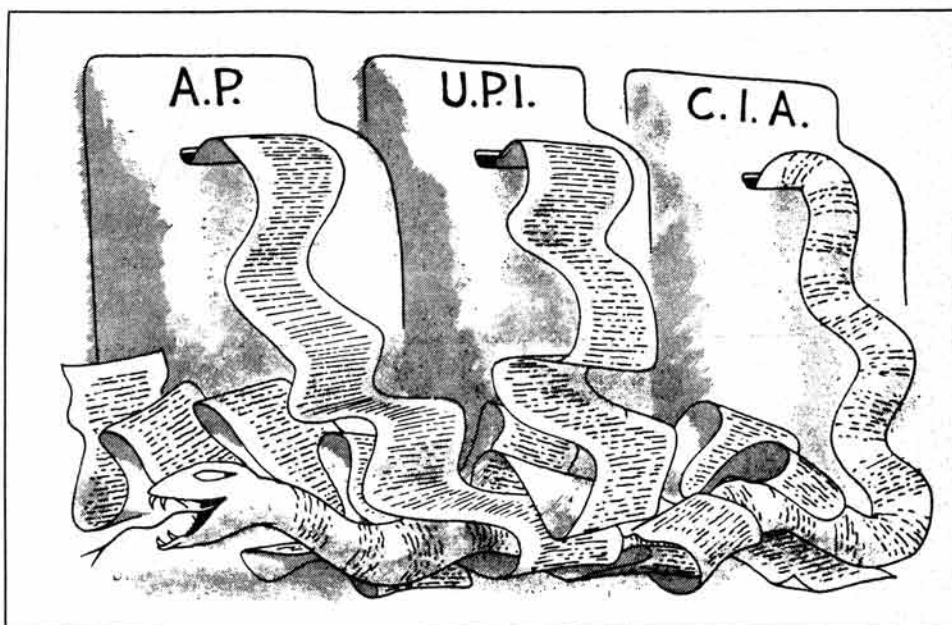
The committee surveyed the past decade of covert CIA actions, which it defined as "clandestine activity other than purely information-gathering, which is directed at producing a particular political, economic, or military result." The committee admitted that "Congress has implicitly acquiesced in covert action through the oversight process."

Thirty-two percent of the covert operations reviewed by the committee involved interference with elections in foreign countries. At least 29 percent dealt with "support of friendly media, major propaganda efforts, insertion of articles into the local [foreign] press, and distribution of books and leaflets."

According to the report, foreign news correspondents in the employ of the CIA "are often directed to insert Agency-composed 'news' articles into foreign publications and wire services."

Twenty-three percent of the cases studied by the committee involved "secret armies, financial support to groups engaged in hostilities; paramilitary training and advisers; and shipment of arms, ammunition and other military equipment." This category of covert actions, the report points out, is "the most expensive and represents the greatest potential for escalating hostilities and deepening American involvement."

The report continues, "By far the most interesting, and important, fact to emerge was the recognition that the great majority of these covert action projects were proposed by parties outside CIA." By "outside CIA," the report clearly means the White House and State Department.



Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

"Many of these programs were summarily ordered, over CIA objections," the committee found. "CIA misgivings, however, were at times weakly expressed, as CIA is afflicted with a 'can do' attitude."

So much for Senator Church's "rouge elephant."

#### Things Are Not Always As They Appear

The committee looked in greater depth at three "case studies" of covert action. The first involved CIA funding of political parties and candidates during the 1972 parliamentary elections in Italy. A total of \$9.9 million was spent on the operation, some funds going to Gen. Vito Miceli, a member of the Italian far right who was then head of Italian military intelligence. These revelations have already received extensive press coverage.

Less attention has been paid to the committee's findings about the CIA's services on behalf of the shah of Iran. In 1972 the shah asked Kissinger to provide military support to the Kurdish people of Iraq in their fight for national autonomy. The shah hoped in this way to weaken the rival regime in neighboring Iraq.

Nixon approved the scheme, and \$16 million in arms aid was provided. The report states, "Evidence collected by the Committee suggests that the project was initiated primarily as a favor to our ally [the shah], who had cooperated with U.S. intelligence agencies, and who had come to feel menaced by his neighbor."

The report continues, "... the apparent 'no win' policy of the U.S. and its ally [Iran] deeply disturbed this Committee. Documents in the Committee's possession clearly show that the President, Dr. Kissinger and the foreign head of state [the shah] hoped

that our clients [the Kurds] would not prevail. They preferred instead that the insurgents simply continue a level of hostilities sufficient to sap the resources of our ally's neighboring country. This policy was not imparted to our clients, who were encouraged to continue fighting. Even in the context of covert action, ours was a cynical enterprise."

The report contained the following CIA memo dated March 22, 1974: "We would think that [our ally] would not look with favor on the establishment of a formalized autonomous government." (It should be noted here that a significant oppressed Kurdish population exists in Iran itself.)

The CIA memo continued, "[Our ally] like ourselves, has seen benefit in a stalemate situation . . . in which [our ally's enemy] is intrinsically weakened by [the ethnic group's] refusal to relinquish its semi-autonomy. Neither [our ally] nor ourselves wish to see the matter resolved one way or the other."

CIA memos also characterize the shah's view of the Kurds as "a card to play" and a "uniquely useful tool for weakening [Iraq's] potential for international adventurism."

In March 1975, however, Iran and Iraq resolved a long-standing border dispute and tensions between the two governments cooled down. The shah cut off all aid to the Kurds, and Washington quickly followed suit.

Iraq, of course, was forewarned of the aid cutoff and launched a brutal search-and-destroy mission against the Kurdish rebels. "The cynicism of the U.S. and its ally had not yet completely run its course, however," the Pike report continues. "Despite direct pleas from the insurgent leader and the CIA station chief in the area to the President and Dr. Kissinger, the U.S. refused to

## 34 Years of 'Intensive Surveillance' Against SWP

[Section 7 of the Pike committee report, entitled "Domestic Internal Security and Counterintelligence," dealt extensively with the FBI's surveillance of the Socialist Workers party. We print below excerpts from that section, taken from the February 16 *Village Voice*.]

\* \* \*

The Intelligence Division of the FBI is divided into two sections: Internal Security and Counterintelligence. The Internal Security Division investigates domestic subversive or extremist groups with the goal of ascertaining whether individuals are violating federal laws.

These investigations are costly, in monetary terms and in terms of personal privacy. Are they effectively and dispassionately controlled, in keeping with criminal priorities? Are they efficiently terminated when clearly unproductive? Thirty-four years of investigating the Socialist Workers Party and over five years spying on the Institute for Policy Studies provide some examples of disturbing answers. . . .

The second example involved the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP adopted a Declaration of Principles and a Constitution at their founding convention in January 1938. The Declaration of Principles was replete with revolutionary rhetoric of the Marxist Left. The

fledgling Socialist Workers Party also swore allegiance to the world-wide organization of Trotsky—the Fourth International.

Nevertheless, the SWP dissolved their allegiance with the Fourth International and retracted this Declaration of Principles on December 21, 1940, in order to comply with the Voorhis Act. The FBI maintained that this disassociation with the Fourth International was merely cosmetic. However, the FBI has been unable to prove any illegal relationship between the SWP and the Fourth International.

FBI's failure to uncover illegal activity by this political party is not from lack of effort. SWP has been subjected to 34 years of intensive investigation.

On November 5, 1975, FBI officials testified that the Fourth International itself was a body made up of Marxist elements around the world and enjoyed no structural power base in the Soviet Union. Significantly, these officials demonstrated no detailed knowledge about the Fourth International. FBI officials did not mention the fact that the Socialist Workers are a legitimate American political party, that even runs a candidate for President. Equally as important, the FBI has found no evidence to support a federal prosecution of an SWP member, with the exception of several Smith Act violations in 1941. Since that time, not only have there been

no further prosecutions against the SWP for any Federal offense, but the portions of the Smith Act under which these earlier convictions had been obtained have been declared unconstitutional.

The investigation, which FBI officials tacitly admit has been conducted partially under the aegis of an unprosecutable statute, has revealed that the SWP is a highly law-abiding group. The SWP has even avoided illegal and potentially violent confrontations with the authorities during any sort of civil protest. Nevertheless, this had no apparent impact on 34 years of unproductive spying.

According to the Presidential candidate of the SWP, Peter Camejo, party members are even forbidden by the SWP to smoke marijuana. The Bureau apparently formulated a philosophy, in this case, to justify their investigation.

Considerable resources have been allocated to compound the error of a continuing unproductive investigation and to back-stop the preconceptions of FBI personnel.

For example, FBI Internal Security investigators committed a massive manpower allocation to interviewing landlords, employers, fellow employees, and family relations of SWP members. The FBI also maintained intensive surveillance of most, if not all, of the SWP's 2500 members.

extend humanitarian assistance to the thousands of refugees created by the abrupt termination of military aid. As the Committee staff was reminded by a high U.S. official, 'covert action should not be confused with missionary work.'

More than 200,000 refugee Kurds escaped into Iran, but the shah forced 40,000 or more to return to Iraq. The United States refused to admit any of the Kurdish refugees.

The committee's third case study—Angola—exposed as a fraud Washington's use of the "Soviet menace" to justify its intervention on the side of two of the three warring liberation groups: the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

The report states, "Information supplied to the Committee . . . suggests that the military intervention of the Soviet Union and Cuba is in large part a reaction to U.S.

efforts to break a political stalemate, in favor of its clients."

According to the report, "CIA officials have testified to the Committee that there appears to be little hope of an outright MPLA military defeat. Instead, U.S. efforts are now aimed at promoting a stalemate. . . ."

The committee was puzzled by former CIA Director William Colby's attempt to explain Washington's attitude toward the three groups, including the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

A footnote to the report quotes Colby's testimony:

"They are all independents. They are all for black Africa. They are all for some fuzzy kind of social system, you know, without really much articulation, but some sort of let's not be exploited by the capitalist nations."

The footnote continues:

"The Committee also attempted to discern why certain nations were supporting differ-

ent groups if they were all similar in outlook:

"MR. ASPIN. And why are the Chinese backing the moderate group?"

"MR. COLBY. Because the Soviets are backing the MPLA is the simplest answer.

"MR. ASPIN. It sounds like that is why we are doing it.

"MR. COLBY. It is."

Although the Pike committee was mandated to investigate both CIA and FBI activities, only a relatively small portion of its findings relate to domestic intelligence. Nonetheless, its findings in this regard are important, as evidenced by the section on the Socialist Workers party (excerpts of which are printed elsewhere in this issue). The committee drew a similar negative balance sheet of the FBI's five-year campaign of surveillance directed against the Institute for Policy Studies, a left-liberal "think tank" in Washington.

The committee found evidence that the CIA has collaborated with local U.S. police forces to quell domestic protest activities. The report says: "Of those activities, CIA's

role as a source of ordinary as well as exotic equipment is perhaps the most troubling and publicized. The Agency has loaned such traditional gear as body protectors, billy clubs, mace and similar civil disturbance paraphernalia. Most of the equipment was provided during the height of the Vietnam War movement and may have been used by local police during the May 1971 demonstrations in Washington.

"More exotic loans consisted of decoders, clandestine transmitters, analyzers, and other wiretapping devices."

The committee discovered in testimony by former CIA chief Colby and other intelligence officials that the CIA has wiretapped telephone calls between American citizens and individuals in foreign countries.

The report also commented on the use by the FBI of agents provocateurs in the radical movement in order to victimize and "set up" opponents of Washington's policies.

In another section, entitled "Programs as Abuses," the report comments on the FBI's infamous Counterintelligence (Cointelpro) programs against the Black movement, student protest groups, the SWP, the Communist party, and other groups.

According to the report, "The program itself consisted of myriad clandestine dirty tricks carried out by FBI agents against persons and organizations considered subversive by the FBI. Careers were ruined, friendships severed, reputations sullied, businesses bankrupted and, in some cases, lives endangered."

The committee noted that "the chilling effect such investigations have on First Amendment rights, including freedom of association, is painfully clear." A footnote to the report adds, "The risk may even be intended."

As in the case of the CIA, however, the committee's objection is not to FBI intelligence gathering as such, but to those operations that have given the government a black eye. The singling out of the SWP in the document is undoubtedly a direct result of the socialists' \$27 million lawsuit against government harassment, which has forced the release of many FBI documents. These documents have embarrassed and helped discredit the agency.

The Pike report concludes the section on domestic intelligence by pointing out: "The important issue is whether citizens receive a valuable product in the form of anticipatory intelligence which would serve as a deterrent to, and a prevention of, crime. . . it is obvious that the FBI failed to anticipate groups dedicated to the overthrow of the existing government and fully committed to violence."

So while the Pike committee dissociated itself from certain FBI procedures, it reaffirmed the very basis on which those criminal activities have been justified. □

## Denounces CIA Report as 'Malicious Lie'

# Kissinger Blows His Stack

The findings of the House Select Committee on Intelligence definitely rubbed Secretary of State Henry Kissinger the wrong way. At a February 12 news conference he labeled the report a "malicious lie" and a "new version of McCarthyism."

During the committee's hearings, Kissinger defied its subpoenas and barred testimony by State Department officials. The committee voted at one point to initiate contempt of Congress proceedings against Kissinger, but later backed off.

The secretary of state took personal offense at many of the committee's findings. Correspondent Bernard Gwertzman commented in the February 14 *New York Times* that "it would have been inconceivable two years ago for a House committee to have assembled the kind of anti-Kissinger report that the Pike committee produced."

Kissinger believed that he had maneuvered in such a way during the 1974 Watergate stench that he had come out smelling like a rose. When it was charged that he had ordered wiretaps of thirteen government officials and four reporters, he feigned indignance and threatened to resign. Fifty-two members of the Senate rushed to cosponsor a resolution asserting that Kissinger's "integrity and veracity are above reproach."

Yet the Pike committee confirmed Kissinger's involvement in these seventeen wiretappings. It even warned that "the Kissinger wiretaps posed a risk that the FBI could become the tool by which an Administration in power obtains political information."

Kissinger was especially chagrined by charges in the report—first brought to light by *New York Times* columnist William Safire—that the Ford administration attempted to use the Kurdish freedom struggle as a bargaining chip in its diplomatic maneuvers and then left the Kurds in the lurch, causing thousands of deaths. "That is a total falsehood," the secretary of state responded.

"But," he added, "it is impossible in these covert operations to explain the truth without creating even more difficulties."

The Ford administration is painfully aware that each new unveiling of CIA and FBI crimes chips away a bit more of the public's crumbling confidence in America's governmental institutions and ideological myths. That it understands just how villainous its activities must appear in the public eye was shown in a remarkably candid statement by one White House official. □

According to a February 12 *New York Times* dispatch, this official was commenting on speculation by Congressman Pike that the CIA may have leaked the report to the *Village Voice* in order to embarrass and discredit the committee. Referring to the contents of the report as "all the slimy stuff," the White House official added, "Why would we want to make this stuff public? It doesn't do anybody in the executive any good. It smears everybody."

Nonetheless, the administration has launched a halfhearted witch-hunt around the affair, hoping to dam the current stream of leaks before it reaches flood proportions. On February 12 Ford offered Congress the "full resources and services of the executive branch" to investigate the disclosure.

Soon after, television news correspondent Daniel Schorr disclosed that he had provided the *Village Voice* with the Pike report. Schorr said that he had become convinced that he was "possibly the sole possessor of the document outside the Government," and that "I could not be the one responsible for suppressing" it.

The U.S. Justice Department announced February 14 that it was investigating any possible federal violations in connection with leaks of the Pike findings. One violation mentioned by a Justice Department official carries a maximum penalty of \$10,000 fine and ten years imprisonment. Another official confirmed that charges could be brought against the *Village Voice* for publishing the material.

Congressman Samuel Stratton announced the same day that he intends to place a motion on the House floor citing Daniel Schorr for "contempt of Congress." "It is about time for us to stop talking about protecting our nation's key intelligence secrets and procedures and start doing something about it," Stratton said.

At the same time, the White House is sensitive to the dangers from its own standpoint of turning the affair into a cause célèbre. Ford no doubt remembers the fiasco created by the federal indictment against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, who in 1971 released the Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times*.

Given the mood in the United States since Watergate, even Ford may realize that correspondent Bernard Gwertzman is right in pointing out that "it seems politically more advantageous to be on the side of the Pike committee than on that of Mr. Kissinger." □

### South Africa Threatens New Attack in Angola

By Ernest Harsch

In less than a week, the MPLA<sup>1</sup> has made a series of military gains, taking in rapid succession most of the major cities held by the UNITA<sup>2</sup> in central and southern Angola.

By February 13 the MPLA forces, backed by thousands of Cuban troops, were within 130 miles of the positions held along Angola's southern border by the South African army.

This sudden military shift heightened the danger of an attack on the Angolan nationalists by the South African imperialists.

The racist white minority regime in Pretoria has threatened to throw its military forces into action if the MPLA attempts to extend its drive to the border between Angola and South African-occupied Namibia (South-West Africa).

In a January 26 speech, Defense Minister Pieter W. Botha warned, "If we are attacked we will retaliate effectively. In the past we hit back with small forces. If necessary we will retaliate with greater force."

There are an estimated 4,000 to 6,000 South African troops in southern Angola occupying a strip along the border up to fifty miles deep. Thousands more are stationed in northern Namibia.

The South African troops in this region are equipped with tanks, helicopter gunships, and other heavy weaponry. Moreover, Pretoria's forces have logistical support and air cover from the huge military base at Grootfontein just 200 miles south of the border.

A February 12 Associated Press dispatch from Johannesburg reported, "Grootfontein includes an all-weather air base from which the South African Air Force could launch short-range and thus full-capacity air strikes against attacking forces."

Posing the threat of a large-scale confrontation as the alternative, Pretoria has offered to reach an "accommodation" with the MPLA regime. The February 12 AP dispatch said, "Officials have repeatedly declared in Parliament and privately that South Africa is willing to seek a peaceful compromise with the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola."

1. Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

2. União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).



The South African imperialists have made it clear, however, that such a "compromise" would have to include at least two guarantees from the MPLA.

The first is that the MPLA protect the South African interests in the hydroelectric dam project on the Cunene River in southern Angola, in which Pretoria has more than \$200 million invested. The Cunene project, when completed, is scheduled to supply most of the power for the large diamond, copper, zinc, and uranium mines in Namibia and is a cornerstone of the South African efforts to increase its exploitation of those resources.

The original agreement signed between Pretoria and the Portuguese colonialists in 1969 stipulated that no power from the Cunene project would be supplied to Angola itself during its first phase of operation. Royalty payments to the Angolan administration were also pegged at a low rate. According to the AP dispatch, "South African officials are now saying the project could be modified to benefit southern Angola as well."

The second guarantee that Pretoria is seeking from the MPLA is that the guerrillas of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) not be allowed to use Angola as a base for their operations within Namibia. SWAPO gets much of its support from the Ovambo people who inhabit northern Namibia. Its bases in southern Angola, where about 100,000 Ovambos also live, have been crucial for its continued guerrilla operations.

Some of the earliest South African raids into Angola, in July and August 1975, were directed at these bases. Pretoria claims a "right to hot pursuit," warning that it will strike up to 200 miles beyond its borders in retaliation for guerrilla raids.

There appears to have been some discussion of these issues in government circles in Luanda. A February 14 Reuters dispatch from Johannesburg reported:

Dr. Agostinho Neto, head of the Popular Movement, was quoted by the Yugoslav news agency Tanyug yesterday as having said that he had no intention of interfering directly in South-West Africa. . . . And in a French newspaper interview, José Eduardo Dos Santos, the foreign minister of Popular Movement, indicated that his group would be prepared to guarantee safety for South Africa's huge hydroelectric project in southern Angola—provided that South Africa recognize the Popular Movement.

South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Muller said February 14 that Santos's remarks were "interesting." Pretoria, he said, was considering them.

Parallel with its military advances, the MPLA has also made major diplomatic gains. On February 11, William Eteki M'Boumoua, the general secretary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), announced that the MPLA's People's Republic of Angola had been recognized by the OAU as Angola's "legitimate" government and had been admitted into the organization as its forty-seventh member.

This move came a month after an emergency OAU summit meeting at which the organization shelved the recognition question. At that time only twenty-two African states recognized the MPLA regime (the OAU charter requires a majority of its members to approve admission of a new state). Since the meeting, however, more African heads of state, including Uganda's Idi Amin, the current OAU chairman, granted diplomatic recognition to the MPLA. Within days of the OAU recognition, several other OAU members did likewise.

The MPLA also appears on the verge of gaining diplomatic recognition from several of the most powerful imperialist powers.

A British diplomatic source was quoted in a February 13 AP dispatch from London as saying that British recognition of the MPLA regime could come "in a matter of days." The British Foreign Office said the same day, "We hope that whatever happens will be done in an orderly and coordinated way with our partners in Europe and obviously also the United States. The whole Angolan situation is being given close consideration."

The French ambassador to Kenya, Olivier Deleau, declared that French recognition of the MPLA was not far off.

The Portuguese regime—the former colonial power in Angola—has indicated for several weeks that it was considering



giving diplomatic recognition to the MPLA. In fact, a wing of the ruling Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) had favored the MPLA over its rivals months before Angola gained its formal independence in November 1975.

Maj. Ernesto Melo Antunes, the Portuguese foreign minister and a key leader of the MFA, said in Brussels January 28 that the Lisbon regime was "waiting for the right moment" to recognize the MPLA.

On February 11, the MFA announced the suspension of the agreement it signed in January 1975 with the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA.<sup>3</sup> In that agreement, the MFA had recognized all three groups as legitimate Angolan representatives.

The suspension of the accord was seen as a step toward possible recognition of the MPLA regime. A Lisbon official said a few days later, however, that the MFA would not recognize the MPLA until it received guarantees that Portuguese interests in Angola would be protected.

With the FNLA and UNITA driven out of Angola's major cities and the MPLA apparently on the verge of a military victory in the civil war, officials in Washington, including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, have indicated that they are also considering a change in policy.

The MPLA has sought to encourage such a shift in Washington. In an interview in the February 10-14 Baltimore *Afro-American*, Foreign Minister Santos stated that the MPLA would accept aid "from all countries around the world on the basis of non-interference in our affairs." When asked if that meant the MPLA was leaving its doors to the United States open, he replied: "Exactly."

Referring to foreign investments in Angola, Santos added, "We made it very clear that we have to give guarantees and to respect and protect private interests in Angola. . . ."

While the MPLA now appears to be the dominant military force in Angola, it may still face challenges from the UNITA and FNLA to its efforts to consolidate control.

In face of the MPLA's military superiority and its use of thousands of highly trained Cuban troops, the UNITA abandoned all the major cities it held in central and southern Angola, including Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa), Benguela, Lobito, Silva Pôrto, Moçâmedes, Sá da Bandeira, and Serpa Pinto.

UNITA leaders said that the group was unable to fight a conventional war against the MPLA and that it would return to guerrilla warfare. Speaking in Mussende in mid-February, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi told his supporters to disperse into the countryside to initiate the guerrilla

## Protests Score U.S. Intervention in Angola



Jon Flanders/Militant

Protest in Philadelphia February 7.

During the past several weeks, rallies, picket lines, and teach-ins have been held in cities across the United States in opposition to Washington's intervention in Angola. Among those protests were the following:

- In San Francisco, 600 persons

picketed February 3 outside a hotel where Kissinger was delivering what was billed as a "major foreign policy statement." The picketing was preceded by a rally at Union Square.

- Despite subfreezing weather, 400 protesters marched in Boston February 7 in a demonstration sponsored by the Angolan Solidarity Coalition.

- A January 26 teach-in at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis drew 275 persons.

- In Chicago, 250 persons marched in a protest February 7.

- Another 250 marched in Philadelphia the same day, chanting, "No more Vietnams! Out of Angola now!"

- About 130 persons attended a meeting at Howard University in Washington, D.C., February 6-8, at which a national Black coalition was formed to oppose U.S. and South African aggression in Angola. Sponsors of the meeting included Congressmen John Conyers, Ronald Dellums, and Charles Rangel.

- In Houston, 120 persons attended a meeting January 23 addressed by Socialist Workers party leader Tony Thomas, who is on a national speaking tour against U.S. intervention in Angola.

- By a 2-to-1 vote, the student body at Cleveland State University passed a referendum January 21-22 demanding, "All U.S. military and economic intervention into the affairs of Angola should be immediately and unconditionally ended."

campaign.

The UNITA has a strong base among the Ovimbundu people of the central plateau region. Numbering almost 2.5 million, the Ovimbundu are the largest ethnic group in Angola. Some of the rallies the UNITA held while it still controlled the cities in its region reportedly drew crowds of more than 100,000 persons. (*Christian Science Monitor*, January 27.)

One of the factors behind this massive Ovimbundu support for the UNITA appears to be a fear of coming under the domination of the MPLA's Mbundu supporters, who live in the north-central area from Luanda to Malange. Robin Wright reported in the January 29 *Christian Science Monitor* that the residents of Silva Pôrto "enthusiastically back the movement they believe will prevent northern tribes from controlling their territory."

When the UNITA withdrew from the cities, much of the Ovimbundu population did also. According to the January 28 *Washington Post*, a correspondent for

Agence France-Presse reported that as the MPLA drove further into Ovimbundu territory, the villages and towns that came under its control were abandoned. A February 13 United Press International dispatch from Lusaka, Zambia, reported that as many as 250,000 persons were fleeing southward before the MPLA advance.

The UNITA's principal goal in launching a guerrilla campaign appears to be to pressure the MPLA into a political settlement. In a dispatch from Mussende, Robin Wright quoted an "experienced military observer" as saying, "They know they can never march into Luanda. But they may be able to irritate their way into a coalition government." (*Christian Science Monitor*, January 30.)

While the UNITA has a strong base of support and claims to have enough arms for a long guerrilla war, its plans may be seriously hampered if the regime of Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, which backed the UNITA throughout the civil war, decides to

3. Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front).

block the UNITA's access to that country. During its war against the Portuguese, the UNITA used Zambia as an external base. At the OAU meeting in January, Kaunda indicated that if the organization recognized the MPLA regime, his government would do likewise.

Since the beginning of the year, the FNLA has lost almost all the territory it held in northern Angola, with the exception of São Salvador, the traditional capital of the Bakongo people, and a few areas along the border with Zaïre. Tens of thousands of Bakongos have reportedly fled into Zaïre with the retreating FNLA troops.

The FNLA has recruited some mercenaries, mostly from Britain, and has vowed to regain its lost ground. But in face of the MPLA's current military strength, it appears doubtful that the FNLA can carry out its pledge.

Moreover, the FNLA's continued support from the Mobutu Sese Seko regime in Zaïre may also be in question. About 70 percent of

Zaïre's copper exports from Shaba Province (formerly Katanga) were shipped through Angola along the Benguela railway, which is now in MPLA hands. Zaïre's other major export route, along the Zaïre River to the Atlantic Ocean, could also be cut off by the MPLA if it manages to consolidate its control along the northern border.

Given the present circumstances, Mobutu has indicated a willingness to write the FNLA off. According to a report in the February 11 *Washington Post*, the Zaïrean regime is considering recognizing the MPLA. The MPLA, for its part, has announced its readiness to "normalize" relations with Zaïre if Mobutu stops backing the FNLA. The MPLA's prime minister, Lopo do Nascimento, said February 5 that the MPLA would not use its control of the Benguela railway to pressure either the Zaïrean or Zambian regime.

The MPLA still faces continued opposition within Luanda itself to its efforts to stifle dissent and bring the population

under control. On February 6, about 600 dock workers and high-school students held a demonstration demanding the resumption of a popular radio program, called "Kudibenguela" (*Our Struggle*).

Broadcast in the local Kimbundu language, the program had denounced the "new bourgeoisie" working in the government palace, and according to the February 15 *Washington Post*, called for immediate rule by workers and peasants.

Correspondent René Lefort reported in the February 8-9 issue of *Le Monde* that the protesters had also demanded the ouster of whites and *mestiços* (those of mixed African and Portuguese ancestry) from the government.

MPLA leader Neto condemned the demonstrators as "divisionists" who were objectively aiding imperialism. He also denounced the "acts of indiscipline of people who give the impression of wanting to organize a political movement parallel to the MPLA." □

## SASO Nine Charged Under 'Terrorism Act'

# Trial of Black Nationalists Begins in South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

The largest wave of political trials in South Africa since the early 1960s is now under way.

Since late 1974, the racist white minority regime has arrested scores of persons opposed to the apartheid system of racial segregation, including Black\* and white student leaders, trade unionists, university instructors, and writers. Many of those arrested were detained without charges or trial under the provisions of the Terrorism Act. Some were released after spending months in prison.

The most important of the current political trials is that of the SASO Nine, who are leaders of the all-Black South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC). Their trial resumed in Pretoria on February 2, a year after their first appearance in court. The nine are Sathasivan Cooper, Mosiona Lekota, Dr. Aubrey Mokoape, Nkwenkwe Nkomo, Net Nefodlov-Hodwe, Gilbert Sedibe, Absolom Cindi, Strinivasa Moodley, and Muntu Myeza, who was president of SASO at the time of his arrest.

The nine student leaders—seven Africans and two Indians—are charged with "con-

spiracy" under the Terrorism Act. If convicted, they face a mandatory minimum sentence of five years in prison. The maximum sentence is death.

In South Africa, the term "terrorism" has a very broad definition and can be applied to anything the apartheid regime considers "subversive." Among the examples of "terrorism" outlawed by the act are "obstructing the free movement of traffic," "embarrassing the administration of the affairs of State," "promoting by intimidation the achievement of any object," "endangering the safety of any person," and "prejudicing any undertaking." Speeches and writings may also be considered "terrorist acts."

The case of the SASO Nine is part of a repressive campaign against the Black student organization and related groups that has been going on for several years. The SASO was formed in 1969 by Black students who wanted their own organization, independent of the white-dominated National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The SASO adopted a Black nationalist outlook (called Black Consciousness), publicly denounced the racist apartheid policies of the white regime, and condemned foreign investments in South Africa.

SASO members organized university sit-ins, distributed publications, and helped set up other Black nationalist organizations, including the BPC (in July 1972), the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU), and several theater groups.

A correspondent for the London monthly *Africa* magazine commented in the June 1975 issue that the declared aims of the SASO, BPC, BAWU, and other groups "is to carry militant opposition to its legal limits. But the repressive nature of the law in South Africa has few limits. While the apartheid regime initially appeared to tolerate these groups, it is now clearly determined to crush them."

Although Pretoria did not formally outlaw the SASO, as it had older antiapartheid groups like the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, it nevertheless set out to destroy the organization. In 1973, eight leaders of the SASO were banned. (A banning order prohibits a person from attending gatherings of three or more persons, traveling outside his or her town, receiving visitors, or publishing or helping to prepare anything for publication.) Another five SASO leaders were later also banned.

The victimization and harassment by the South African security police against the

\*As used by many Black nationalists in South Africa, the term Black refers to Africans, Indians, and Coloureds.

SASO, BPC, and BAWU forced an estimated sixty members of those groups to flee to the neighboring Black-ruled country of Botswana. But even there the Black nationalists were not safe. In February 1974, Onkgopotse Abraham Tiro, a former SASO leader at the all-Black University of the North at Turfloop, was killed by a parcel bomb in Botswana. All mail to Botswana passes through South Africa.

In spite of this repression, the SASO and BPC organized demonstrations in Durban and Turfloop in September 1974 in solidarity with the Black nationalist struggle in Mozambique. The organizers announced that the demonstrations were to be the first of a series. Although the rallies were banned, the Durban demonstration drew between 4,000 and 5,000 persons. A large contingent of police armed with rifles, clubs, and dogs attacked the Durban protesters, injuring many and arresting fourteen.

In subsequent days, the police carried out a nationwide wave of arrests, detaining about forty leaders of the SASO and BPC in Durban, Johannesburg, Germiston, Kokstad, and Kingwilliamstown.

Some of these political prisoners were kept in solitary confinement for four months and were not allowed to see relatives or lawyers. On February 7, 1975, twelve of them were brought to court and charged. They marched into the courtroom singing and then with raised fists shouted, "Amandla" (Power). A thirteenth SASO detainee was later added to the case.

The indictment under the Terrorism Act charged that they had conspired to "transform the State by unconstitutional, revolutionary and/or violent means; condition African, Indian and Coloured groups of the Republic for violent revolution; create and foster feelings of racial hatred, hostility and antipathy by Blacks towards Whites; denigrate Whites and represent them as inhuman oppressors of Blacks; and induce, persuade and pressurise Blacks to reject Whites and their ways of life and to defy them."

Of the original thirteen, Solly Ismail and Lingham Moodley were released in June 1975 and the charges against Rubin Hare were dropped. Sadecque Variava is also charged under the Terrorism Act, but will be tried separately from the SASO Nine (Nomsisi Khuzwayo, a young woman, also faces charges and will be tried with Variava).

The "evidence" brought against the SASO Nine includes more than 100 pages of poems, speeches, plays, and resolutions produced by the Black Consciousness movement over the past several years. *Manchester Guardian Weekly* correspondent Denis Herbstein quoted one of these pieces of "evidence," a poem, in the February 8 issue:

I am black, I am proud,  
I am insulted every day,  
My people are scorned every moment,  
But the day will come  
When I'll be free of the yoke  
of the white man.  
Black man, black nation,  
Arise, arise from the slumber,  
Prepare yourself for the war  
We are about to start.

Among the other political prisoners in South Africa who have recently been convicted or are still facing trial are the following:

- Raymond Suttner, a Durban University law lecturer, was sentenced to seven and a half years imprisonment in November 1975. He was convicted for allegedly publishing and distributing literature advocating the aims of the South African Communist party, the African National Congress, and the Spear of the Nation.

- Eric Molobi was sentenced in November 1975 to five years in prison under the Terrorism Act for distributing a pamphlet entitled *Freedom Now*, which, according to the presiding judge, contained phrases that were "plain incitement to violence." Molobi's cousin, Frank, was sentenced to four months for refusing to testify against him, and Vincent Selanto faces charges of making conflicting statements under oath at Molobi's trial.

- Breyten Breytenbach, an Afrikaans-language poet who spent ten years in exile, was arrested in August 1975 after he secretly returned to South Africa. He was charged with being a founding member of an organization called Atlas/Okhela. The prosecution claimed the group was a branch

of the African National Congress and that its aim was to overthrow the white minority regime. Breytenbach was sentenced in November to nine years imprisonment.

- Karel Tip, Glenn Moss, Charles Nupen, Edward Webster, and Cedric de Beer face charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. Tip was until recently president of the NUSAS.

- Bernard Trevor Bloem is charged under the Terrorism Act for allegedly conspiring to leave South Africa for the purpose of obtaining military training. He was said to have planned to return to South Africa to carry out sabotage, organize strikes, and foment unrest. Weizman William Hamilton, Christopher Wyners, and Johnny Herbert Ramrock are charged with being coconspirators of Bloem's, but they are to be tried separately.

- Joseph Moloken, Amos Masondo, Bheki Langa, Kgotaduwa Molotsane, Patrick Monsela, Benjamin Nteyane, and Phumza Dyantyi were charged under the Terrorism Act in January 1976, although a full indictment has not yet been brought against them.

The racist regime may increase its number of political prisoners even more in the coming months. The February 1976 *Africa* reported, "With the current escalation of South Africa's military involvement in the Angolan conflict and the subsequent spreading of what has been termed a 'war psychosis,' observers believe that the South African Government will tighten up internal security and clamp down ruthlessly on all serious opposition this year." □

## PAN Drops Out of Mexican Presidential Race



Oswaldo/Excelsior

"I swear I didn't even touch him."

The special nominating convention of the only legal party that had been expected to field candidates against the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party) in Mexico broke up in shouting matches and fistfights January 25.

After thirteen straight hours of wrangling over who to nominate for president, Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN—National Action party) President Manuel González Hinojosa announced that the party would not present a candidate. The meeting exploded, with González Hinojosa himself falling victim to blows and being pulled from the platform.

The PAN has been running against the PRI in elections since 1941 but has never won a presidential race. In 1970, the PAN won 14 percent of the vote for president.

Unhappy at the prospect of staging a Thieu-style election without even a token opposition, PRI Interior Minister Mario Moya Palencia commented, "I fear this could be harmful to democracy. This could favor the worst elements of abstentionism."

### Iranian Regime Claims 19 Victims in One Week

By Candida Barberena

[The following article is scheduled for publication in the March issue of the *CAIFI Newsletter*, published by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.<sup>1</sup> It has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.]

\* \* \*

Last January, on four separate occasions and all within less than one week, the Iranian government announced the execution of eleven political prisoners and the deaths of eight others in "shoot-outs" with the police.

On December 31, Associated Press reported that ten opponents of the shah had been sentenced to death and an eleventh, a woman, Tahereh Sajjadi Tehrani, to fifteen years solitary confinement. The first report that the executions had taken place came on January 24.

The victims, nine oppositionists, included Manijeh Ashrafzadeh Kermani, the first woman known to have been executed in Iran for political reasons. The sentence of one of the condemned persons, Mehdi Ghayourian, was commuted to life imprisonment.

The eight other victims were listed in the January 1 issue of the Tehran daily *Ettela'at* as Vaheed Afrakhte, Mohammad Taher Rahimi, Sae'ed Mohsen Khamoshi, Morteza Samadieh Labbaf, Mohsen Bathaie, Sasan Samimi Behbahani, Abdoul-Reza Mirie Javid, and Morteza Labbaf-Nejad.

On February 4, an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Tehran reported the February 2 execution of two persons the regime claimed were "terrorists." They were charged with "attacking a policeman in the street" on "an unspecified date" in downtown Tehran.

The two, Mohammad Ali Bagheri and Mahmoud Pahlavan, are said to have been aided by three "accomplices." The death sentences of two of the three "accomplices" were commuted to life imprisonment, according to AFP. The third was sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

From the time the first executions were carried out on January 24 to the second wave on February 2, the Iranian government also announced the deaths of five "guerrillas" in a "shoot-out" with police in

Tabriz, and the deaths of three other "guerrillas" in Gorgan.

Unlike the February 2 executions, those of January 24 were preceded by a campaign in the government-controlled press, lasting several months, to sensationalize and distort the case. Moreover, international observers were shunted aside, thus effectively cloaking the actual facts in a veil of secrecy and enabling the shah's secret police to carry out their odious work behind closed doors. As *Le Monde* pointed out in an editorial February 4:

All attempts by international organizations to send observers to follow trials have failed. Only a single German television team was recently able to film the courtroom of a military tribunal and the defendant's dock. Scenes of confessions aired by Iranian television have shown condemned persons detailing their crimes, and in rare instances, weeping in front of their own family. The visible exhaustion of these young people leaves entirely open to the imagination the way in which their confessions were obtained. The SAVAK, the unfortunately well-known political police, regularly resorts to torture. All the testimony of lawyers who during the last few years have now and then been able to talk to political prisoners agree on this point.

On January 22, Amnesty International General Secretary Martin Ennals cabled the Iranian embassy in London to ask that an observer from his organization be allowed to attend the appeal hearing against the death sentences. His request was denied, and the executions were carried out within forty-eight hours after the appeal was turned down.

Originally, the defendants were charged with belonging to an urban guerrilla group and with participating in the assassination of three American army colonels stationed in Iran.

The latest executions raise serious questions as to the regime's plans for the estimated 100,000 political prisoners,<sup>2</sup> including scores of artists and intellectuals. In fact, by their very nature, the charges are an attempt to lend credence to the shah's branding of all dissidents as "terrorists," thus marking them for execution.

2. "According to the sources at our disposal, the number of political prisoners approaches 100,000. The [shah's] regime has accomplished the extraordinary feat of establishing a higher rate of construction for prisons than for schools. . . ."—Nuri Albala, French lawyer active in the defense of Iranian political prisoners, as quoted in the August 3-4, 1975, *Le Monde*. —IP

As CAIFI pointed out in a January 6 news release, the strident articles appearing in the Iranian press prior to the arrests carried the names of seven accused persons, with "no mention of a trial, military or otherwise. . . . The only evidence cited by the government against the seven was based on 'confessions' extracted by the SAVAK . . . from the defendants."

Predictably, the so-called confessions included admissions to numerous crimes the government has so far been unable to solve. This pattern of expediting politically sensitive cases through arbitrary arrests and executions is a well-known practice of the Iranian regime.

CAIFI pointed out in its release:

While the arrests were apparently made last summer, the only mention of a trial came when the press was informed of the death sentences. It is doubtful if a trial actually did take place. At best, a secret military tribunal was convened where the prosecutors and court-appointed 'defense' lawyers each received their instructions from SAVAK and after the defendants were made to 'confess' in SAVAK torture chambers. This has been the pattern of previous trials, as has been noted in the international press.

Upon learning of the impending executions, concerned individuals in the United States cautioned that serious doubt was cast upon the allegations of the Iranian government, given the apparent absence of due process in the handling of the cases. Many protests were sent to the shah demanding that the executions be stayed, including a letter from American Congressman Donald M. Fraser.

In Europe, the Secretariat of the French Socialist party published a communiqué on January 26 expressing its "indignation" at the executions. The statement, reported in the January 27 *Le Monde*, was also endorsed by the Socialist parties of Portugal, Belgium, Chile, Spain, Greece, and Italy.

Particularly ominous is the possibility that the shah views these executions as an example of the punishment he intends to mete out to all Iranian dissidents, including many prominent artists and intellectuals. The lives of the 100,000 political prisoners at present incarcerated in Iran are at stake. Urgent attention must be focused on the demand for the immediate release of these prisoners. □

#### First Things First

From an advertisement by Teledyne Isotopes in the January issue of *Nuclear News*: ". . . a radiation overdose can mean a lot more than worries. It can mean heavy fines. Your problem as a manager: How can you get maximum performance out of your high-risk people, and still keep them within acceptable radiation limits? Our solution: the new model 9100 automatic. . . ." (Cited in the March issue of *Progressive*.)

1. 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

## 'State of Emergency' Declared in Zambia

LUSAKA—Lionel Cliffe, senior lecturer in political science at the University of Zambia, was taken by police from his house on the campus and placed in detention early on the morning of January 31.

No reason was given for his arrest. But according to the February 1 *Sunday Times* of Zambia, Cliffe's wife, Doris, stated that the police had searched the house for "any literature on Angola." Cliffe can be held without charge or trial for twenty-eight days while "an investigation" is carried out to determine whether a longer-term detention order should be issued.

Events during the week leading up to Cliffe's detention indicated that such arrests were likely. On January 25, President Kenneth Kaunda addressed a demonstration of Lusaka secondary-school students who marched to his residence "to demonstrate their support for Zambia's stand on Angola." Kaunda declared that there was a campaign afoot "to change the course of our revolution. The people involved want to upset the revolution. I know the big powers behind this campaign. We are going to reveal them very soon."

Kaunda also warned that "counterrevolutionaries have infiltrated a number of institutions and companies to cause confusion."

The threat was made more explicit by Frank Chitambala, a member of the Central Committee of the ruling United National Independence party (UNIP), who told a similar demonstration in Ndola that same day that some "misguided marxist lecturers" at the University of Zambia were inciting students there to oppose the government's stand on Angola.

In his speech, Chitambala referred to a January 15 demonstration in which the university campus was occupied for an entire day by students demanding an end to the government's formally neutralist position on the Angolan war. They called for support to the MPLA.<sup>1</sup>

The regime responded by ringing the entire campus with police and diverting traffic on the Great East Road, which passes the university gates, to keep travelers unaware of the posters declaring solidarity with the MPLA which decorated the gates. The Zambian media mentioned this demonstration for the first time in reporting on Chitambala's speech.

These threats were followed up January



KAUNDA: Presses drive against "saboteurs and subversive elements."

28 when Kaunda went on radio and television to declare a "full state of emergency," to take immediate effect. Because Zambia has been under a "partial" state of emergency since the Rhodesian Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965, it was difficult to assess immediately the actual legal implications of the move. But the total eradication of Part III of the constitution effectively suspends civil liberties, allowing the authorities to enter any premises, search any persons, and ban the circulation of any literature.

In justifying this move, Kaunda again referred to the university, saying that "we now have saboteurs and subversive elements sowing seeds of discord. These are foreigners or Zambians either working separately or in collaboration to infiltrate institutions. . . . some of our institutions of learning have been infiltrated. Some student groups are like an orchestra with an invisible conductor on the payroll of a social imperialist power."

(This, incidentally, is the first recorded use by Kaunda of the Maoist characterization of the Soviet Union, which has recently become a stock element in the vocabulary of FNLA<sup>2</sup> leader Holden Roberto and Zaïrean President Mobutu.)

Despite the fact that Kaunda's speech

also contained references to various economic crimes involving hoarding of scarce commodities, it was apparent that the venom of the state was to be directed against that tiny section of the population which has openly expressed opposition to the regime's policy of détente in southern Africa. This policy has involved more and more open economic and political collaboration with the apartheid regime in South Africa over the past two years. It has been expressed most clearly in Kaunda's attitude toward the struggles in Zimbabwe and Angola.

In Zimbabwe, there is now de facto support for the efforts of the Rhodesian government to reach a constitutional settlement with a section of the Black leadership that would deny the central nationalist demand for "one man, one vote." In Angola, Kaunda has followed a policy of at first totally ignoring and now playing down the involvement of South Africa and the U.S.-backed government of Zaïre in the war. Instead, increasing attacks are made on the support given to the MPLA by the Soviet and Cuban regimes.

Cliffe is not the first victim of Kaunda's purge of foreigners living in Zambia. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 12, p. 8.) In addition to attacks on Zimbabwean freedom fighters living in Zambia, two British correspondents of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Financial Times* were detained January 30 in Lusaka under the emergency regulations.

Lionel Cliffe has a history of principled support for the liberation of Africa from colonial rule going back over the past fifteen years. He was, in particular, a leading activist in the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné.

The urgency of a massive international campaign for freedom for all political prisoners in Zambia is underlined by the following sinister threat from Kaunda's January 28 speech: ". . . if you engage in diabolical activities against the state, spoiling and corrupting Zambians . . . then I pledge to deal with you very firmly and absolutely without mercy. Deportation will only be part of the firm action." □

2. Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front).—IP

### 1,000 Journalists Demand Inquiry Into Death of Vladimir Herzog

More than 1,000 Brazilian journalists signed an advertisement in the São Paulo newspaper *O Estado* February 3, demanding that the military regime further investigate the death of Vladimir Herzog. Herzog, himself a journalist, supposedly hanged himself in an army prison last October. It is widely believed that he was actually tortured to death.

1. Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola).—IP

# Paul Robeson (1898-1976)

By Frank Lovell

[The following article appeared in the February 13 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in New York.]

\* \* \*

The great Afro-American singer and actor Paul Robeson died at the age of seventy-seven on January 23 in Philadelphia. He lived in seclusion with his sister during the final years of his life, suffering the ailments of old age.

In his active and creative years Robeson excelled as a college athlete, scholar, stage and screen actor, and concert singer. He also became a political activist, seeking to identify himself with oppressed Black people everywhere and with the working class.

As an artist, Robeson won international acclaim.

As a defiant Black man, he won the hatred of the ruling class in this country.

From his earliest memories, Robeson was never allowed to forget that he was Black and unwelcome in white society, despite his superior abilities and talents.

During the Black cultural awakening of the 1920s—the Harlem Renaissance—Robeson began his long and illustrious career as actor and concert soloist. He performed in Eugene O'Neill's early plays and sang Negro spirituals. He was an immediate critical success. But the social climate in the 1920s was so hostile to Blacks in the performing arts that Robeson, like many others in those days, left in 1927 for England. He won greater acceptance there and enjoyed more freedom to practice and develop his art. In the 1930s he was acclaimed throughout England and Europe as one of the world's great theatrical artists.

At the height of his career Robeson was deeply affected by the social and political movements that rocked the world. The economic collapse of the capitalist system, the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, and the triumph of Hitler in Germany in 1933 all profoundly shaped his life. Robeson turned to socialism for answers.

In Nazi Germany he saw the ugly face of racism unveiled and unashamed, the same features he had seen half-hidden in democratic America.

In those days the Soviet Union meant socialism to millions of people in all countries, including many of the most talented artists and writers. Robeson visited



Rights

PAUL ROBESON

the Soviet Union in 1934 as an honored guest. He and his family were shielded from the seamy side of the bureaucratic regime. What they saw they liked. And like others of that generation—including Picasso, André Gide, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Diego Rivera, Theodore Dreiser, and hundreds more of similar stature and renown—Robeson was drawn into the Stalinist political milieu. Some of them soon discovered the hideous character of Stalinism and refused to be used by the Soviet bureaucracy for its selfish political schemes. Others did not.

Robeson was anxious to lend whatever help he could to the fight against fascism. In 1938 he went to Spain and sang for the loyalist brigades fighting Franco, hoping to inspire the troops and bolster the morale of the antifascist fighters who were then on the brink of defeat. Little did he know that the popular-front policy of Stalinism, the Soviet détente of that day with the imperialist powers, had paved the way for Franco's victory.

During World War II Robeson was back in this country, but by then he was trapped in the vise of Stalinist politics. From the start of the war in September 1939 when Stalin and Hitler were bound together in their mutual-aid nonaggression pact, until the day in June 1941 when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the American Stalinists denounced the U.S. government as imperi-

alist and tried to prevent its entry into the war. So did Robeson.

But as soon as Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the American Communist party stopped denouncing the U.S. government and started demanding that it enter the war to "defeat fascism." The CP opposed strikes as unpatriotic and called on Black people to subordinate or postpone their struggles for equality until after the war. So did Robeson.

It adds nothing to the stature of Paul Robeson to lie about his political misdeeds, as the weekly *Guardian* does in its February 4 issue. In a panegyric to Robeson's tragic political past, the *Guardian* reports, "During the war years, Robeson consistently supported the struggles of Black people for their rights. He called upon his people to disregard those who were saying that Black people should accept the status quo in behalf of national unity during the war."

There is not a shred of evidence to substantiate this. The CP, in its self-serving praise of Robeson, makes no such claim because for the present it prefers to forget that chapter of its own sordid past.

The truth can be seen by examining Robeson's attitude toward the March on Washington movement, organized and led by A. Philip Randolph. That was the movement against Jim Crow in the war industries and in the army that forced the Roosevelt administration to make concessions to Blacks for the first time since Reconstruction. It was the most powerful and popular movement of Black people during World War II, the only one until the rise of the civil rights movement a decade later.

The Communist party opposed the March on Washington movement. The Stalinists wanted Roosevelt to crush it for hindering the U.S. war effort. Robeson neither endorsed nor supported the March on Washington movement.

During the war Robeson sang patriotic ballads to promote the war effort. He helped to sell war bonds to finance the war, but he did not lift his voice or make a single gesture to aid Blacks fighting for their rights during World War II. And although he was associated with groups favoring the freedom of colonies in Africa and Asia, Robeson—following his CP mentors—went along with the Stalinists, who in those war years opposed struggles for independence in the colonies of the "democratic" imperialists with whom Stalin was allied.

Paul Robeson's greatest triumph during the war years was his unforgettable role as Othello in the Shakespearean play in 1943-44.

After the victory of U.S. imperialism in World War II, the American ruling class undertook to police the war-torn world, to extend its rule over China, and to cordon off the Soviet Union for future attack. The long period of the cold war set in.

The Communist party of the United States came under direct attack, its leaders indicted under the infamous Smith Act on charges of subversion and conspiracy just as the leaders of the Socialist Workers party had been indicted under the same act at the beginning of World War II. The Stalinists had cheered the wartime imprisonment of the SWP leaders, but when their turn came they complained of a mistake by the Justice Department, claiming that they were patriots and that the thought-control Smith Act was intended only for Trotskyists. They sought to organize a defense committee for themselves but not for others.

An organization called "Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights," sponsored by the Stalinists and supported by a broad spectrum of civil libertarians, was launched in New York, July 16-17, 1949. At that time James Kutcher, the legless veteran who had been fired from his job and had his pension revoked for his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers party, was seeking help against the government. He attended the conference. In his book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, Kutcher tells what happened.

"A battle took place in the resolutions committee, which ended in the majority of that committee voting for a resolution introduced by Prof. Emerson, calling for support of the rights of members of my party as well as those of the Communist Party. But the Stalinists had a mechanical majority of the conference and they rammed through their own line after a hot debate (in which Paul Robeson, defending the Stalinist position, demagogically demanded: 'Would you ask the Negroes to give freedom of speech to the KKK? Would you give civil rights to Jefferson Davis?')."

In this way, by following the Stalinists in their slanders and frame-ups, Robeson undercut his own efforts to defend his civil liberties and those of the Stalinists. Wedded to their narrow, sectarian defense policy (civil liberties for me and my friends but not for others), Robeson was prevented by the logic of that position from organizing the broadest possible support when the witch-hunters went after him.

In 1950 Robeson's passport was revoked and was not restored until 1958. During those years he was blacklisted, barred from theater, screen, and concert hall. Held like a prisoner under house arrest and deprived of the right to travel abroad, he was robbed of the mass audience his artistry deserved. It was a loss to the world of music and drama.

During those eight years Robeson was defiant, never bowing to the dictates of the white ruling class in this country. This was the good side of his character, the real side that most accurately reveals the real Paul Robeson.

He was potentially one of the great

popular anticapitalist leaders of his time. But miseducated and disoriented by Stalinism, he never realized most of that potential. Although he had a natural and instinctive affinity for Black nationalism, he suppressed it. Beguiled by Stalinist politics, he responded to every twist and turn of Kremlin diplomacy, not to the needs

of Black people.

Thus, before he became ill, Robeson never spoke or raised his voice in defense of Malcolm X or the Black Muslims when they were simultaneously under attack from Washington and the Communist party.

In life Paul Robeson was like the tragic Othello. Stalinism was his Iago. □

## Former Member Testifies in Parliament

### Argentine AAA Was Organized by Peronist Regime



LOPEZ REGA: Ordered formation of AAA ultraright murder squad.

A retired army lieutenant revealed February 4 that the right-wing terrorist organization Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anticomunist Alliance) was organized and funded by the government of Isabel Martínez de Perón.

Héctor Paino, the former officer, told a parliamentary investigating commission that in mid-1973 he was approached by Jorge Conti, then director of public relations and press in the Ministry of Social Welfare.

Conti, using the authority of Social Welfare Minister José López Rega, instructed Paino to form a "dynamic security force."

Paino was provided with a post in the ministry to serve as cover. He said he had "two or three personal conversations with the minister [López Rega] in which he

explained to me more or less what kind of organization he wanted, always to counter terrorist attacks," according to the February 15 *Washington Post*.

When asked by one of the legislators to describe how the AAA operates, Paino replied, "The organization became not [one] of a defensive or static type but one capable of going and striking in the places where they thought they had to strike, using the old military axiom that there's no better defense than a good offense." He said he recruited members of the national police force to the AAA.

At a later date, on the express order of the ministry's secretary of social promotion, money to pay for the purchase of twelve crates of submachine guns was requisitioned from ministry funds.

This is the first testimony directly linking the organization and funding of the AAA's operation to the Peronist government. Previously, informal connections had been established between the terrorist group and López Rega.

The AAA has been responsible for hundreds of assassinations of revolutionists, trade-union militants, and other opponents of the regime's policies. It has also claimed responsibility for many kidnappings and bombings of political headquarters and homes. Not a single one of these cases has ever been solved. □

### The Fate of Chile's Children

More than 72,000 Chilean children have lost one or both parents since the September 1973 coup in that country, according to a February 1 report from the Belgian press service Agence de Presse Libération.

A total of 5,626 children have lost both parents, and 66,667 have lost one parent. An additional 990,000 under fifteen years of age are offspring of unemployed workers.

Thousands of Chilean youth are reported suffering nervous conditions as the result of having been present during the torture or assassination of their parents.

### Devolution Issue Provokes Split in Labour Party

By Ray Davis and Donald Waterson

GLASGOW—A four-day parliamentary debate about the Labour government's proposals for the devolution of governmental powers to elected assemblies in Scotland and Wales began January 13.

The issues at stake in the devolution debate are (1) the right of the Welsh and Scottish people to run their own affairs; (2) whether the Labour government will allow them to have their own elected parliaments; and (3) if so, what restrictions and limitations will be placed upon these parliaments by Westminster.

The debate takes place against the background of a profound social crisis in Scotland. Every aspect of the living standards of the Scots has come under fire from successive Labour and Tory governments. Social expenditure on housing, jobs, education, and health has continually been cut back.

The Department of Employment announced the latest official unemployment figures January 20. The United Kingdom as a whole has 1,430,000 unemployed—6.1% of the working population—as compared with 162,000 for Scotland, which represents a 7.5% unemployment rate. This breaks all previous postwar records.

However, these statistics do not reflect the real disparity between Scotland and England. In the highly industrialized area of Scotland around Glasgow and the Clydeside—which is not the worst-hit area—the unemployment rate is almost 11%, while the highest figure for England is 7.9%. On top of this, the Marathon company—one of the companies arising out of the break-up of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders—is threatening to close down its Clydebank yards, throwing a further 2,000 persons out of a job.

Another threat hanging over the heads of Scots workers springs from a New York-type fiscal crisis confronting the Labour-controlled Glasgow District Council. The Labour government has ordered the Glasgow Council to slash next year's proposed £60 million [£1=US\$2.02] budget by a staggering £13.4 million. According to leading Glasgow Labour councillors, if the government's edict is carried out, it will result in 2,000 of the 16,000 council employees being sacked.

Getting no satisfaction from either the Labour or the Tory party, many persons in Wales and Scotland have mistakenly turned under these pressures to the nationalist parties. This was reflected in Scotland

by the spectacular rise in fortunes of the petty-bourgeois Scottish National party (SNP), particularly during the two British general elections held in 1974.

In the February 1974 elections the SNP gained seven seats, and in October, eleven, out of a possible seventy-one Scottish seats in Parliament. But even those eleven seats belie the SNP's real support. As a result of the October elections, the SNP ousted the Tories as the second party in Scotland. To do that they polled approximately 30%—800,000 votes—of the ballots cast in Scotland.

Since then, opinion polls and other signs indicate even greater support has gone to the SNP. For example, on January 19 the *Glasgow Herald* published an opinion poll that claimed Labour's popularity at present has slumped to 30%—compared with the 36% they polled in the October 1974 elections—whereas the SNP's support was said to have risen from 30% in the October 1974 elections to 36% now. This would make the SNP the leading party in Scotland.

In the interval between the 1974 elections the Labour party tops sought to dump their previous image as hard-line antidevolutionists. To accomplish this they were forced to use the big stick against the local bureaucrats in Scotland, who were more reluctant to abandon their staunch prounionist policies.

In August 1974 a special Scottish area Labour party conference on this issue voted by 4-to-1 to support "the setting up of a directly elected assembly with legislative powers within the context of the political and economic unity of the United Kingdom." The bloc vote of the Scottish trade-union functionaries, who more readily took their cue from Labour party leading lights, was the decisive factor in this vote. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 14, 1974, p. 1325.)

But this was still not enough to stem the tide of support for the SNP. Nor did it resolve the deep differences among the Labour party tops, especially in Scotland, about the best method of containing this potentially explosive question within the framework of maintaining a capitalist United Kingdom.

The publication of the White Paper on devolution last November, far from quelling this inner-party and inter-party dispute, only made it more acute.

The SNP, often characterized by Labourites and Tories as a separatist party, has

gone to great pains in the past months to polish up its image of respectability. With this in mind a special committee was set up, headed by Neil MacCormack, a leader of the SNP and professor of public law at Edinburgh University, to define the SNP's position on independence. "No one in the party would sensibly suggest breaking all constitutional connections between Scotland and England and the party will have to argue how some things may be changed without affecting others," said MacCormack, according to a report by Ronald Faux in the December 22 *Daily Telegraph*.

The SNP has three main criticisms of the Labour government's proposals. First, they have criticised Labour for dragging their feet on this issue. Labour's timetable for implementing their proposals was outlined by Edward Short in Parliament January 14. According to Richard Evans, writing in the January 15 *Financial Times*, "Mr. Short, one of the chief architects of the Government's White Paper, said he was confident that the devolution legislation would be completed in the next parliamentary session and it might still be possible to hold the first assembly elections towards the end of 1977.

"But it will be more realistic to think in terms of the spring of 1978," he added to shouts of protest from Scottish Nationalist MPs."

The SNP has also criticised the manner in which the proposed Scottish Assembly would be financed. How the White Paper recommendations would work in practice was explained by Geoffrey Smith, correspondent for the *London Times*. On January 13 he said, "The White Paper recommends that this should be [done] essentially by a block grant from the Exchequer, with the Assembly having the right in addition to levy a surcharge on local authority taxation. With the present system of local authority finance that would mean simply the right to levy a surcharge on the rates, which would be highly unpopular and unlikely to be used to any great extent."

Quick to seize on this built-in deficiency in order to discredit all devolution measures was Thomas Galbraith, Tory MP for Glasgow Hillhead. He was quoted in the *Times* of January 15 as saying that "it was freely admitted that an assembly meant extra taxation. . . . Ordinary people did not want to have the government closer to them, breathing down their neck like Big Brother of 1984. It was the conception that appealed to socialists but it was an anathema to Conservatives."

However, the main criticism that keen

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devolutionists have laid against the White Paper concerns the section that invests the Westminster government with what is called "reserve powers." This, in effect, gives the secretary of state for Scotland and the secretary of state for Wales veto power over all decisions adopted by the Scottish and Welsh Assemblies.

The secretary of state for Scotland and his counterpart for Wales are chosen by the British cabinet in Westminster. How the "reserve powers" would be exercised by them was spelt out by Edward Short during the parliamentary debate.

"Obviously some person must appoint the Scottish Executive and present Bills for Royal Assent. It would seem to us the Secretary of State was the best placed person to perform these duties," the January 15 *Guardian* quoted Short as saying. "In circumstances in which the exercise of his constitutional role might give rise to controversy, it is clear the decision would be one for the UK cabinet and this parliament as a whole."

The whole question of devolution has caused deep rifts in both the Tory and Labour ranks. Leading Tories, like Labour tops, recognise the need to offer some concession to nationalist sentiment lest it seek more radical outlets. The January 20 *Glasgow Herald* credited Edward Heath, former leader of the Tories, with the following view: "Making a powerful intervention in the closing hours of the debate, the former Prime Minister warned MP's against being half-hearted over devolution. That could lead to the destruction of the United Kingdom, he claimed."

On the other hand, many Tory MP's are expressly against any devolution measures. One fear they have is that such measures may make the bloody suppression of the national liberation movement in Northern Ireland less defensible to the British masses.

More serious are the rifts in the Labour party. At the start of the year James Sillars, Labour party MP for South Ayrshire, resigned from the Scottish Executive of the Labour party, announcing soon afterwards his intention to form a new party to be known as the Scottish Labour party (SLP). He was joined shortly by another Scottish Labour MP, John Robertson of the Paisley constituency. Among other prominent Labour party officials to declare their adherence to the SLP were Alex Neil, research officer for the Labour party, and the secretaries of four Scottish constituency Labour parties.

The course plotted by the initiators of the new organisation seems more designed to set up a rival party in Scotland than winning the majority of Scottish members of the Labour party to their point of view. One indication of this was their announcement that 2,000 membership forms had

already been printed. Coupled with this was their declared intention to organise an inaugural meeting for the new party on January 18 in Glasgow.

According to the London *Sunday Times* of January 11, "Mr Sillars, in the first detailed account of his plans, made it clear to The Sunday Times that he does not intend to turn back. He is set upon forming 'a sovereign autonomous Scottish party,' within the Labour movement and expects a membership of 2,500 in the first year."

Sillars's advocacy of a Scottish National Assembly is the result of a relatively recent conversion on his part. He, like many other Scottish Labour MP's, had proudly assumed the nickname of "Hammer of the Nats" (nationalists). This more-pro-English-than-the-English stance has of late become a political burden in Scotland. The resulting rush to the tailors for a coat of new colours is in danger of becoming a stampede.

Sillars, speaking prior to the founding meeting of the SLP, put forward an optimistic view of the SLP's future. He said, "We believe the SLP will become the dominant political organisation in the labour movement north of the border," according to the January 11 *Sunday Times*. The inaugural meeting drew more than 350 new applicants to the SLP, a response greater than that anticipated by the organisers.

However, the prospects for the SLP have still to undergo a decisive test. If the SLP is to become a significant political force in Scotland it will need to gain the support not only of those won away from the Labour party by the SNP, but also of layers still adhering to the official Labour party.

The Labour party officials approached the SLP founders' rebellion with kid gloves. Robert Mellish, government chief whip (his task is to make sure that Labour MP's vote the right way in Parliament), has sought to kill the SLP with kindness. "If the ultimate happened, and Jim Sillars broke away from the party, then it would be a disaster in my view. But he is a very likeable chap and I am hoping that after the devolution debate there will be a change of heart," Mellish said.

"In fact I am certain that if there are any votes Jimmy will vote Labour as he has always done." (London *Times*, January 13.)

At least three considerations are shaping the Labour bureaucrats' soft approach to the SLP rebels. At present Labour's majority in Parliament is wafer thin. Although Sillars's and Robertson's opposition might not bring Labour down, it would certainly make its continued functioning extremely difficult. Another consideration is that any rough handling of Sillars and his followers might bring into doubt Labour's commitment to devolution. Lastly, the SLP leaders propose no real alternative to Labour's reformist programme.

As *Red Weekly* (newspaper of the Interna-

tional Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International) put it in its January 15 issue: "There is no doubt that its [the SLP's] founding circle, Jim Sillars and his supporters, are hardened social democrats. The SLP has no programme qualitatively distinct from that of the left of the Labour Party. Nor does 'nationalism' provide any solution for the working class in Scotland. It is quite possible that some of its founders will eventually end up in the SNP."

The parliamentary debate finished on January 19 with a vote on the White Paper. Only three votes were allowed on this question. (1) Labour's motion to "take note" of the White Paper proposals. (The wording of this was designed to placate the English, antidevolutionist Labour MP's.) (2) The Tories' amendment to water down Labour's proposals. (3) The Welsh and Scottish Nationalists' proposal (which was supported by the SLP and some Liberal MP's) to beef up the powers of the proposed Scottish and Welsh Assemblies.

In the vote Labour registered quite a comfortable majority for its motion. But any relief on this score can only be short-lived. The debate has decided nothing. The Labour government has still to introduce legislation on this issue. If the past months are anything to judge by, the Labour government is going to face even tougher opposition in the future. □

### Chilean Daily Denounces Censorship

Chile's leading daily newspaper, *El Mercurio*, has called on the Pinochet regime to relax censorship, according to a February 14 dispatch from United Press International.

The editors of *El Mercurio* condemned a censorship decree issued in December, pointing out that it violates even the military junta's own constitution.

The decree permits the junta to shut down any newspapers, magazines, or radio and television stations deemed to have publicized "false or exaggerated reports" or news that causes "alarm or disgust."

### 60,000 Children Starving in Honduras

A half million children are thought to be suffering from malnourishment in Honduras. According to the United Nations, between 75 and 95 percent of the children under five are affected by some form of malnourishment.

The country is currently in the midst of its worst famine in decades. One doctor, quoted by Simon Winchester in the February 4 *Washington Post*, estimated that "at the very least" 60,000 Honduran children need "immediate urgent hospital treatment" to prevent them from starving to death.

## In Defense of Engels

By George Novack

[The following was originally presented as a talk given as part of an educational program following the twenty-sixth national convention of the Socialist Workers party, held in Ohio August 17-21, 1975.]

\* \* \*

Our discussions this week have revolved around the new turn in the world situation brought on by the end of the postwar boom and what this portends for the prospects of the class struggle and our work in the United States. The dialectics of capitalist development, arising from its incurable contradictions, is becoming asserted with ever greater force. After thirty years of prosperity come stagflation and large-scale unemployment. After the explosive and unchecked expansion of Washington's military might on the world arena comes the defeat in Southeast Asia.

Our movement is now looking ahead and tooling up for corresponding shifts in the attitudes of the American workers. They can be expected to pass from raw material for capitalist exploitation into a more self-conscious and independently acting force for political and social change.

These reversals at hand and in the making present a philosophical as well as a political challenge to us. The revolutionary vanguard requires a world outlook and a logical method capable of analyzing these unfolding processes and foreseeing their underlying trends. Fortunately, we have at our disposal the ideas of Marxism, the theoretical foundation of scientific socialism.

However, Marxism itself is in a state of crisis nowadays in the international socialist movement. Several generations have been miseducated by the Stalinist degradation and distortion of Marxist theory that has been coupled with the political degeneration of the Soviet Union. The thoughts on philosophy of Mao Tsetung have further addled the minds of many militants.

Finally, just as the long detour in the course of the world revolution through the colonial countries has induced rebels in the advanced countries to embrace and extend its peculiar pattern and adapt to Castroism or Maoism, so in the field of philosophy many left intellectuals have been beguiled by the ideas held by the young Lukács; Karl Korsch; the Frankfurt school, including Marcuse, Horkheimer, and Adorno; Erich Fromm; Sartre; and similar nonmaterialist interpreters of Marxism.

Some of their misconceptions have seeped into the ranks of world Trotskyism. This was indicated in the exchange of views on Lukács between Comrade Abrahamovici of the French section of the Fourth International and myself in the July-August 1972 *International Socialist Review*.

All these considerations make it advisable to assure that the philosophic orientation of our cadres is clear and correct as we contemplate the advent of more favorable conditions for anticapitalist action on a mass scale in this country.

This talk will focus upon Frederick Engels and his contributions to the elaboration of dialectical materialism, for the following reason. The cocreator of scientific socialism has come under heavy fire in recent years on the ground that he switched Marx's thought onto the wrong track and distorted his teachings on philosophy. Just as Trotsky is portrayed by the Stalinists as the antagonist of Lenin after 1917, so Engels is separated by his detractors from Marx and depreciated in a like manner on the

philosophic front. He is accused of deforming Marx's method in a mechanistic way, thereby being the progenitor of Social Democratic deviations and Stalinist dogmatism. This fabrication has been broadly accepted and embroidered by New Left ideologists in both East and West because it undermines those elements of dialectical materialism the critics want to discredit and discard.

This variegated grouping applies "salami tactics" to the body of Marxist thought, although they do not all slice it up the same way. The most unrestrained slicers cut Marx himself in half by discovering a contradiction between the young Marx and the mature Marx. He is supposed to have shifted his views in the wrong direction from his early humanistic writings to the publication of *Capital*. They unjustifiably introduce a sharp break in the normal process of growth through which Marx deepened his understanding of many things from one decade to the next.

However, most of the revisionists find Marx blameless for misinterpreting himself or let him off lightly as ambiguous. The other half of the team is singled out as the main culprit and bears the brunt of the attack as the prime falsifier of Marx's real beliefs. The core of the indictment against Engels is that his version of dialectical materialism is essentially different from Marx's historical materialism. The true, innovative, humanistic Marx is to be found in such writings of the 1840s as *The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* and the *Theses on Feuerbach* (which, incidentally, Engels recovered and published after Marx's death). This humanity-centered philosophy of praxis was disfigured and displaced by the deterministic, mechanistic, positivistic, and scientific rendering of dialectical materialism Engels presented in his writings. (Praxis is a Greek word for human activity popularized by contemporary philosophers.)

The false antithesis between Marx and Engels contradicts the basic facts about their relationship. It is, bluntly speaking, a hoax; and serious socialists should beware of being taken in by it. When Engels first visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844, he later wrote, "we found that we were in complete accord in all theoretical domains; this was when our joint work began." It continued without letup until Marx died in 1883.

History has rarely witnessed so close, harmonious, and unabated an intellectual and political partnership. Their correspondence testifies to the communion of thought and lively interchange of ideas on a multitude of subjects that found expression in their writings. Although Engels modestly assigned himself the role of "second fiddle" to Marx, the development of the dialectical method and historical materialism was a collective creation. Engels and Plekhanov later named the synthesis dialectical materialism. Marx and Engels elaborated its fundamental principles together in the 1840s. Most of what they wrote thereafter, whether in the form of newspaper articles, manifestos, pamphlets and books, was either discussed beforehand or submitted to each other's searching critical scrutiny.

Whatever differences of opinion they had on this or that minor matter, there is no record of disagreement on any important theoretical or political question during their forty-year collaboration. Engels was so familiar with Marx's criticism of political economy that he alone could be entrusted with piecing together and putting into publishable shape the second and third volumes of *Capital*.

*Anti-Dühring* by Engels was the fullest exposition of Marxist

philosophy issued while Marx was alive. It was a preliminary sketch for the *Dialectics of Nature* and shares the same theoretical viewpoint. *Anti-Dühring* was undertaken on Marx's insistence. He endorsed every word in the book, which Engels read to him before sending it to the printers. Chapter 10 of part II was written by Marx. Therefore any dissent from the ideas presented in its pages is *ipso facto* a disagreement with Marx as much as Engels. The latter made this clear when he wrote in the preface to its second edition: "I must note in passing that inasmuch as the mode of outlook expounded in this book was founded and developed in far greater measure by Marx, and only in an insignificant degree by myself, it was self-understood between us that this exposition of mine should not be issued without his knowledge." Engels likewise noted in the preface to the first edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* that he drew extensively upon Marx's prolific observations and conclusions.

Long after the deaths of Marx and Engels, the mythmakers are attempting to do what was impossible during their lifetimes—pit the one revolutionist against the other. This gambit is not new. In a letter to Bernstein, written April 23, 1883, shortly after Marx's death, Engels said: "The fable about the nasty Engels who had led the benign Marx astray has been repeated many times since 1844."

Indeed, it has been considerably magnified from that time to this. Plekhanov and Kautsky are said to have extended the derelictions of Engels in the next generation. To spice the dish, it is implied, if not always stated, that Plekhanov's bad conduct in 1905, 1914, and 1917, and Kautsky's betrayals from 1914 on are traceable, at least in part, to the philosophic deviations derived from their mentor. To top off this indictment, just as Hegel has been held responsible to some extent for the Kaiser's Prussianism and Hitler's totalitarianism, so Engels is alleged to have fed the version of "diamat" (dialectical materialism) disseminated by the Stalinist school because his dialectical materialism subordinated the human individual to the laws of nature and history.

To round out the rogue's gallery, Lenin is charged with carrying forward their vulgar materialistic mode of thought in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, although he began coming to his senses in his unpublished *Philosophical Notebooks*.

If we are to credit this caricature of the development of Marxist philosophy, all the leading exponents of European socialist thought from Engels to Lenin, Luxemburg, and Trotsky misunderstood Marx's ideas and went astray—until the purveyors of the fable arrived to set matters straight.

This melange of misrepresentations has been taken up by academic Marxologists who willingly retail such misinformation to untutored pupils and unwary readers. Here is how the British philosopher Anthony Quinton formulates the tale in a review of recent books on Hegel in the May 29, 1975, *New York Review of Books*: "The official Marx of the interwar years, discredited by the theological ornamentation of Stalin's slave state, was the late, scientific Marx of *Das Kapital*, as interpreted by the naïvely positivist Engels, whose task it was to generalize Marx's theory of history and society into the comprehensive philosophy of dialectical materialism."

Quinton naturally prefers the libertarian image of Marx dreamed up by the petty-bourgeois humanists who, he says, emphasize "man as the creator of himself and the world." Unlike this newfangled Marx, the original Marx knew that, while humanity did create itself, it did not have the godlike capacity of creating the world but only of changing it. The power of humanity is limited to adapting the materials of nature to serve its needs and purposes.

This Oxford scholar is forthright enough to place the mature Marx alongside Engels as the fountainhead of the original sin of scientism, which is a highfalutin euphemism for materialism. Many of the semi-Marxists are not so candid or consistent. These

timid iconoclasts hesitate to wield the hammer against the granite figure of Marx himself. They fear to question his authority and exempt him from the transgressions of his partner.

A comical specimen of their tortured reasoning is offered by George Lichtheim in his last book, entitled *From Marx to Hegel*. He opposes what he calls "the peculiar ontological system of metaphysical materialism invented by Engels and termed 'dialectical materialism' by Plekhanov and Lenin." (p. 4.) Lichtheim writes, "The 'dialectical' materialism, or monism, put forward in the *Anti-Dühring*, and in the essays on natural philosophy eventually published in 1925 under the title *Dialectics of Nature*, has only the remotest connection with Marx's own viewpoint, though it is a biographical fact of some importance that Marx raised no objection to Engels' exposition of the theme in the *Anti-Dühring*." (p. 67.)

This offhand remark not only blatantly sweeps aside the nature of the working relations between the pair but disregards Marx's whole character. That militant materialist would not have remained indifferent to misrepresentations of his philosophical method by so close a colleague, any more than Plekhanov, Lenin, or Trotsky would have. He would not have allowed such an offense to pass without making his own counterattacks known to the socialist public.

After settling their basic philosophical principles in their own minds, Marx and Engels divided the tasks at hand in the exposition of their common ideas. While Marx immersed himself in the prodigious labors involved in investigating the problems of political economy, Engels undertook to popularize their philosophic positions. The most important of these works were *Anti-Dühring*, from which *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was extracted, and later *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy*. These were to be crowned by the *Dialectics of Nature*, which remained unfinished at his death. In addition to *Capital*, which stands as the supreme example of the application of their method, these classical writings are the prime sources for our knowledge about Marxist philosophy.

From the inventory of previous philosophizing, Marx and Engels retained the materialist conception of the world and dialectical logic, making these acquisitions the cornerstones of their systematic thought. The distinctive character of the revolution they effected in philosophy was to fuse these two disconnected elements into a synthetic world outlook that posed the necessity for the working class to transform society and that offered a theoretical guide in the struggle for emancipation. Materialism was extended from natural to social phenomena and to the development of the thought process; the idealist dialectics of Hegel was turned upside down and given a solid scientific basis in the realities of the universal evolution of matter in motion.

Marxism redefined and revitalized philosophy by linking it with the class struggle and political activity, by converting it into an instrument to be added to the arsenal of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle to change the world through class action, and by absorbing the results of the growing scientific knowledge about nature, history, and the mind into its principles.

The unfounded allegation that Marx and Engels held divergent philosophical views sets up Engels as a whipping boy for Marx himself. The objections raised against his positions are actually aimed against the tenets of the dialectical materialism they held in common. The detractors ought to come out from ambush and challenge Marx fairly and squarely instead of resorting to the subterfuge of assailing his ideas indirectly through Engels.

If all the criticisms they make of Engels were accepted as valid, few parts of Marxist theory would be left intact. They begin with nothing less than an abandonment of its materialist foundation.

From its origins in antiquity, the materialist philosophy has been based on a specific interpretation of the nature of reality; its highest expression in dialectical materialism is no exception. Materialism maintains that nature alone, based on matter in

motion, has a self-sufficient existence and everything in human life is derived from and dependent upon the objective world. Idealism, to the contrary, denies that nature is primary and makes it subordinate to mind or spirit. In Hegel's system, for example, nature is the alienated reflection of the logical process, or as Marx said, the son begets the mother.

These are the two fundamental opposing camps in the history of philosophy. However, their contraposed positions do not exhaust the possibilities in this field. A heterogeneous array of thinkers and tendencies have, on one ground or another, refused to align themselves in a clear-cut manner with one side or the other. They try to combine elements from both the materialist and idealist viewpoints and oscillate unsteadily between these two poles.

These eclectics commonly skate around the crucial question of whether nature or social and intellectual phenomena come first. The humanist exponents of praxis stand on the left flank of this category. They affirm that neither nature nor thinking but human activity is the essence of reality and therefore praxis is the fulcrum of Marxist theory.

They consider this intermediate variant superior to what they term vulgar materialism or out-and-out idealism. Yet their standpoint fails to face up to the need to define the fundamental relation of practice to the external world. When hard pressed, most of the praxologists dispose of the problem by arguing that this question really has no meaning and needs no definite answer because nature and thought are inseparably united in and through practice. While this happens to be true as far as it goes, it leaves undecided whether matter or mind, the objective or the subjective, takes priority in existence. Their ambiguity and evasiveness on this issue is actually a half-concession to idealism, which holds that there is no object without a subject and the object is solely a shadow or "reflective moment" cast by the subject, variously called in the history of philosophy, God, spirit, mind, *nous*, the Word, etc.

The "critical theorists" of the Frankfurt school, as they are known, believe that the objective world cannot be severed from the subject because it is itself a product of human activity. In viewing the object only through the mediation of the human subject and rejecting determinism as a metaphysical aberration, they revert to the standpoint of the Left Hegelians, which Marx and Engels, using Feuerbach's materialism as a bridge, threw off early in their intellectual evolution.

Materialism teaches that nature has objective reality before and apart from the human subject. This paramount premise of its outlook has been confirmed by the discoveries of the natural sciences from astrophysics to biochemistry, showing the evolution of the cosmos over billions of years. The earth itself and its organisms had a prolonged history before humanity came on the scene with its distinctive productive activities.

Practice, to be sure, thereupon became the motive force in social history. But it is not and cannot be considered the basis of material being. The praxis school tends to make social life eclipse the natural matrix of which it is an outgrowth. The value we rightly attach to the activities, achievements, and further progress of our species, which is the focus of our attention, should not contract our vision of reality as a whole. Anthropocentrism is as outdated as the view that the earth is the center of the universe. It is extremely parochial at a time when astronauts and rockets are invading outer space, scientists are looking for signs of life on remote planets and exploring ever deeper into the atom.

Thus the reformist socialist George Lichtheim, whom Quinton describes as "one of the most active and enthusiastic exponents of this current of thought," writes in *From Marx to Hegel*: "The external world, as it exists in and for itself, is irrelevant to a materialism which approaches history with a view to establishing what men have made of themselves." (pp. 69-70.) This is in the same vein as the statements by Lukács in *History and Class Consciousness* that "existence is the product of human activity"

and "nature is a societal category." The discovery of nature is a social enterprise and the *concept* of nature is a social-historical category, but not nature itself. Kolakowski, too, tells us in *Marxism and Beyond*: "The world is a human product." (p. 78.)

Finally, Alfred Schmidt, a younger member of the Frankfurt school, who has devoted an entire book to *The Concept of Nature in Marx*, says: "Nature exists for man only as it is mediated by history." He contrasts the "naturalized Hegelianism" of Engels to Marx, who subordinated nature to its "appropriation through social labor." "Nature," he writes, "only appears on the horizon of history, for history can emphatically only refer to men. History is first, and immediately, practice." (p. 193.)

This is a half-truth: It applies to human but not to natural history. As Marx and Engels stated in *The German Ideology*, "We know only a single science, the science of history. History can be contemplated from two sides, it can be divided into the history of nature and the history of mankind. However the two sides are not to be divided off; as long as men exist the history of nature and the history of men are mutually conditioned." (This text is cited from Schmidt, p. 49.) Schmidt disregards the decisive qualification in the quotation: "as long as men exist." Several million years ago humanity did not yet exist, although nature did. That fact is what the philosophic materialism of Marx and Engels is predicated on. It embraces but goes beyond the horizon of human history as such.

We can agree with other socialist humanists that the problems of human life—and the revolutionary theory and practice of coping with them—are central to the teachings of Marxism. But the point at issue is not the center but the circumference of materialist philosophy that identifies the total field of its concerns. Does dialectical materialism deal only with what is specifically human or with all of reality? Most critics of Engels contend that the broader concern with ontology, the theory of being, is an outworn metaphysical relic of Hegelianism; Marxism limits itself to social experience.

Their narrow conception that restricts the content of Marxism to historical materialism alone is an unwarranted abridgment of the dialectical materialism Marx and Engels developed. This issue has far-reaching implications. The world outlook and procedure of science itself was made possible only when its first practitioners cast aside animism, religion, teleology, and other anthropocentric notions. They learned to separate themselves in thought from nature, and nature from themselves, and approach the world objectively, as it really was in its own right, having an independent existence and operating in accord with its own laws.

According to Karl Klare, editor of a collection of articles on the leading figures of so-called "Western Marxism" from Lukács to Marcuse, their signal achievement has been "to restore human consciousness, human subjectivity to the heart of Marxism." Genuine Marxism does not need any injection of subjectivity. But these critical theorists, who find the determinism and lawfulness upheld by dialectical materialism to be the source of Social Democratic fatalism and passivity and Stalinist totalitarianism, felt that the socialist movement could not be reoriented without it. The trouble is that they gave Marxism such an overdose of subjectivity as to throw it off balance in theory and practice.

Marxism was the first system of thought to give a correctly balanced account of the objective and subjective aspects of human activity. It views the object-subject relation as a unity of opposites in which one can be transformed under certain conditions into the other. In the same process whereby the flint was chipped into a hand ax, thus mingling the physical raw material with the subjective factor of labor, the concept of the tool and its purposes in the mind of the maker was objectivized. The idea became materialized as the natural thing was humanized.

The primary basis of the object-subject relation is to be found in the interaction between humankind and nature incorporated in productive activity. Here nature is objective to the human subject.

To the extent that the forces of nature are converted by social labor into human forces, the object-subject relationship is instituted and developed. The essence of history consists in the progressive modification of nature thanks to the productive activity of humankind and in the correlative transformation of humankind itself as the powers of production grow.

The early Lukács and the Frankfurt school term the artificial environment in which we live, work, and think "a second nature." They focus exclusively upon the phenomena in this domain and try to shove the original and underlying nature into the shade. In doing so they give greater weight to the subjective factors in human history and social life than to the objective conditions of development.

Historical materialism teaches that what is subjective is governed by objective realities, laws, and necessities. This is summarized in the statement that social being determines social consciousness. This does not mean, as some critics contend, that the subjective element is negligible or powerless. Quite the contrary, it is omnipresent in human affairs and can play a more or less influential part depending upon the material circumstances of the case. At climactic junctures in the process of historical determination the subjective factor can even be decisive, as has been reiterated in my article on "The Role of the Individual in History Making."\* Recognition of this fact necessitates the building of the revolutionary party, a conclusion that most New Left apostles of praxis refuse to draw. Their subjectivity shrinks from accepting this objective necessity.

The Marxist conception of the reciprocal interplay of the two factors affords adequate and ample room for effective action by the subject. The subjective, like the objective, is a relative category that shifts its field of reference. It can refer to the human collective in respect to the natural environment, or to a class within the given social formation, a party of the class, an ideological grouping, or a single person and his or her consciousness. As a physical organism, the individual is an object to himself and others, while as a social being she or he is a subject with a spiritual, that is, a private psychological and intellectual, inner life.

As a doctrine of class struggle and a guide to revolutionary action, Marxism least of all downplays the part that can be exercised by the will and initiative of human beings in all departments of endeavor, from altering their habitat, forming and transforming social relationships, and redirecting the course of events through their deliberate intervention. But we humans have been able to do all this only under the historically created conditions of life that have lawfully determined the nature, direction, and scope of our transformative powers, which have not yet come under our collective control as they will be under socialism.

The crux of the argument with the praxis theorists, its practical political point, is that they tend to exaggerate the subjective element and underestimate the predominance of the real objective conditions. This one-sidedness is conducive to voluntarism, ultraleftism, and adventurism in politics. Lukács's essays collected in *History and Class Consciousness*, for instance, reflected the ultraleft course against which Lenin, Trotsky, and other leaders of the Third International fought in 1921. This did not prevent Lukács from swinging around, withdrawing from political activism in the Hungarian Communist party, and accommodating himself, albeit with teeth clenched, to the Stalinist regime for two decades.

Extreme subjectivism in theory and politics can readily turn into its opposite and often end up in capitulation to the existing alignment of forces, as so many of the ultraleft stars of the 1960s in this country, Black and white, from Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden to Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, have freshly demonstrated.

\* See *Understanding History* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972), p. 71.



Volker Kriegel/L'Espresso

The Frankfurt school. Max Horkheimer standing behind Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, and Jürgen Habermas.

The philosophical problem of the object-subject relation goes back to the Greeks. The first materialists from Thales to the Atomists concentrated their attention upon the nature of physical being. The Sophists and Socrates turned aside from these cosmological considerations to focus upon social, moral, and logical problems. They taught that man first had to know himself.

However one-sided this shift was, it was then a necessary step in the development of philosophic thought. This alternation of attention between the objective and subjective sides of reality has recurred on higher levels at subsequent stages of philosophy's progress. In the concrete course of its elaboration, Marxism itself first examined the most urgent economic, social, and political questions and only later, as we shall see, took up the theoretical problems posed by the development of natural science.

However much this overemphasis was justified and inescapable in preceding phases of philosophizing, such one-sidedness becomes retrogressive when it is reproduced by the praxologists at this late date. The Polish Communist thinker Adam Schaff rightly distinguishes between the Milesian and Socratic lines in philosophic tradition and then wrongly urges Marxists to abandon the Milesian for the humanistic starting point and outlook of Socrates. But Socrates was the inspirer of idealism and diverted Greek thought from materialism. Schaff's injunction to follow his lead would impel socialists in the same direction. If examples from antiquity are in order, we, like Lenin, recommend

the path of the pioneer materialists, Democritus and Lucretius, instead.

To go from the history of philosophy to contemporary politics, the opposing consequences of adhering to the objective method of Marxism or slipping into some subjective approach are exemplified in the debate over one of the most crucial issues of world politics: What is the nature of the Soviet Union? According to historical materialism, the fundamental character of a social system is determined by the prevailing relations of production expressed in the form of property its state defends. In light of these objective criteria, the Soviet Union, the product of the October revolution, must be defined as a workers state, a progressive formation qualitatively different from and superior to a capitalist economy. This sociological characterization is made more precise by the political qualification that the Soviet Union today is not a healthy but a diseased workers state because of the absence of proletarian democracy.

Many of the praxis-oriented thinkers reject both this method and its conclusion and resort to more superficial criteria in assessing the nature of the USSR. Some, noting the persistence of commodity relations, classify it as state capitalist. Others designate it as a totalitarian or bureaucratic-collectivist state, a completely new kind of society. Still others throw up their hands and confess their incapacity to fit this historical anomaly into any sociological categories. All of them hold that unless the workers have democratic control over the economy and state, it cannot have any progressive social substance. They give political relations precedence over socioeconomic realities.

Their failures to understand what the Soviet Union really is can lead to incorrect and even reactionary positions. This kind of subjective sociology is carried to an extreme by the Maoists, followed in their manner by the left economists Bettelheim, Sweezy, and Nicolaus. Because of the sharp differences between Moscow and Peking on the state level, the Maoists call the Soviet Union a capitalist, imperialist, fascist power, just as Moscow plastered similar labels on Yugoslavia after Tito resisted Stalin. Such lines of thought, which originated in Stalin's misbegotten theory of social fascism, are a travesty of Marxism.

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The independent existence of material reality, the primacy of objective conditions, and the objectivity of knowledge all fit together in the structure of Marxist philosophy. The Marxist theory of knowledge is predicated on the capacity of the human mind to reflect the surrounding world more or less correctly and is inseparable from its conception of material being. The properties and relations of things that we sense, perceive, and handle are conceptualized through the abstractive and generalizing powers of logical thought. The content of our true ideas corresponds with, that is, more and more approximates, what objectively exists.

The praxologists undercut the premises of this materialist conception of knowledge by severing the intrinsic connection between the ontology, the theory of existence, and epistemology, the theory of knowledge, of dialectical materialism. Lichtheim argues that Marx's historical materialism, which he distinguishes from the philosophic materialism of Engels and Plekhanov, had "no connection whatever" with their "indefensible theory of cognitive perception." (pp. 70-71.)

A major stumbling block in the way of this attempt to demonstrate a divergence between Marx and Engels and stealthily dispose of their materialist theory of knowledge is Marx's clear and categorical statement in the afterword to the second edition of *Capital* in 1873: "With me, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." Schmidt characterizes this assertion as "unfortunate"—as indeed it is for the thesis that

Marx did not hold the same reflective theory of knowledge as Engels.

To make refutation easier, the Marxist view is often mixed up with the position that people passively receive sensations and perceptions that are reproduced in the mind as direct replicas or mirror images of objects. Such a simplified and mechanical explanation of knowledge was held by empiricists, sensationalists, and pre-Marxian materialists. The eighteenth century materialist Diderot likened the brain to wax on which things left their imprint.

Dialectical and historical materialism went far beyond this crude conception. It views human beings, not as mere spectators of their environment or reactors to its stimuli, but as doers, inquirers, and strugglers who engage in labor and other practical activities directed by their ideas and who have developed their conceptual equipment in accord with changing historical circumstances and social relations. In the process of knowledge the active, productive subject works out generalizations, ideal models, and categories in the mind, which when tested in social practice disclose their correspondence with or variance from the essential features of things. The whole development of knowledge from primitive ignorance to present-day science bears witness to the creative capacities and social character of the human reason.

As a faculty and product of developing human beings, knowledge has its subjective sides. But unless our sensations, perceptions, and ideas truly reflected events occurring outside us and gave reliable information about the phenomena, conditions, and laws of reality, the process of cognition would be worse than useless and could not serve the vital requirements of human beings. Theory would have no practical value in orienting us to what is happening or in dealing with difficult situations and changing them.

Atomic physics is in the forefront of scientific research and applications today. It has taken science and society twenty-five hundred years to work out the theory of the atomic constitution of matter; and an immense amount is still to be learned about this aspect of the universe. But we undeniably know that atoms actually exist. We know many of their properties through the verification of hypotheses concerning their content.

A favorite charge is that Engels was a "one-sided economic determinist" who slighted the relative autonomy of political and other forces. This is particularly untenable in light of the series of letters he wrote to Konrad Schmidt, Franz Mehring, and other correspondents in the early 1890s in which he derided the narrow-minded individuals who attributed all social phenomena to economic causes alone and disregarded the many-sided interaction of all factors from the material substructure to the intellectual heights in the process of social determination.

However, Engels never forgot to add, what the praxologists usually overlook, that economic conditions are ultimately decisive in historical developments. As he wrote to J. Bloch, "There is an interaction of all these elements [political, legal, philosophical, religious, and so on] in which, amid all the endless *host* of accidents . . . the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary." (*Selected Correspondence*, p. 498. Emphasis added.) His observation that "what these gentlemen lack in dialectics" applies not only to those mechanical minds who see nothing but economic causes and ignore the influence of superstructural factors but also to those fugitives from materialism who refuse to acknowledge the determinative role of economics in the formation of social-cultural features.

Engels can easily be absolved of having a mechanical approach to social causation because he did not even have a mechanistic conception of natural processes. He adopted a consistently dialectical method in respect to both sectors of reality. The objections of the critics are directed not to his alleged mechanical-mindedness, but to his insistence that human affairs as well as physical phenomena are governed by lawfulness, a conception

that is fundamental to scientific method but anathema to nonmaterialist humanists.

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Marx and Engels contended that through dialectical and historical materialism socialism had matured from its infantile utopianism into a thoroughly scientific approach to the world. This claim is discounted or disqualified by the adversaries of Engels. They deny that Marxism is a scientific theory based upon a correct knowledge of objective reality in the same sense as the natural sciences.

The more sweeping critics say that scientific socialism is a gross misnomer. In their opinion, as an ideology designed to further the aims and interests of a particular class, it possesses no objectively demonstrable validity.

This line of thought is shared by Kolakowski, Ernst Fischer, and members of the Frankfurt school, who regard Marxism not as a fully scientific mode of thought but as a system of values and norms along humanistic lines that Engels, followed by Plekhanov, Kautsky, and Lenin, converted into a misleading positivist and scientific ideology later exploited by Stalinism.

In his book *Art and Coexistence*, published in 1966, the Austrian Ernst Fischer holds that Marxism is not a pure ideology, that is, a mystified consciousness of the world, but a mixture of science and utopianism. Ernst Bloch's philosophy of hope makes utopian idealism the pivot of Marxism.

Decades ago Sidney Hook argued that Marxism could not be an objective science because, unlike the socially neutral natural sciences, it incorporates the narrow and subjective class interests of the proletariat. He regarded Marxism as a pragmatically useful set of directives to assist the activity of the working class in its struggles.

Marxism admits no opposition between the objective truths of science and the interests of the working class; the two are inseparable. Marxism is *both* the outlook of its revolutionary-socialist contingent *and* a scientific mode of thought that gives the most correct and correctible interpretation of reality. This invests it with the exceptional quality of being revolutionary. The credentials for its scientific character come not only from theoretical considerations but from practical proofs provided by actual developments of world society such as the current economic crisis.

In contrast to guesswork and intuition, scientific forecasting is founded on the study of law-governed causal connections as they really exist and operate. Marxism passes this practical test. Its value as a reliable and effective guide to proletarian activity and its usefulness in predicting the main trends of social and political development have been confirmed by both the positive and negative experiences of the class struggle.

Such currents of thought as positivism, pragmatism, and existentialism deny that philosophy must have a foundation in science. They restrict that characteristic to the natural sciences or at most to some branches of social science. Unlike the physical sciences, they say, philosophy is not concerned with the nature and laws of the world at large but only with human activities, aspirations, and values. If philosophy as such has no intrinsic relation with the whole of reality, then dialectical materialism stands in the same boat and is bereft of scientific validity.

Praxis-oriented thinkers agree that Marxist philosophy does not have the same status as the special branches of science. That is the meaning of the contrast they draw between the "scientific" Engels and the humanistic early Marx. Figures such as Adorno want to keep philosophy apart from science in order to safeguard subjectivity.

To support this contention they sometimes point to the fact that whereas philosophy originally contained within itself many of the branches of science from astronomy to psychology, these have

since hived off and set up in business for themselves. This process of divestiture has left philosophy with no content of its own save the realm of human values. Philosophy is in the miserable condition of King Lear, who handed over all his possessions to his daughters and was left destitute and helpless with no domain of his own.

This picture of the interrelations between philosophy and the sciences presents only one side of their progress. While one science after another has split off from philosophy and developed on its own account, along with this continuing diversification the sciences as a whole have come closer together and tightened their respective ties, as biophysics and biochemistry testify. These growing interconnections and their results have provided a more comprehensive and solid basis for the categories of scientifically guided philosophic thought. The laws discovered in their specific fields of operation have yielded the groundwork for elaborating and verifying the most general laws of motion in the universe.

This brings us to the most controversial issue in the anti-Engels campaign. Its main target is the *Dialectics of Nature*, which is held up as the prize exhibit of the unscientific character of dialectical materialism and dismissed as a fantastic metaphysical hangover from the Hegelian heritage of Marxism.

All the more reason why it is essential to explain what Engels was aiming to accomplish in this fragmentary and unfinished work. The *Dialectics of Nature* is not a marginal addition nor an excrescence in Marxist literature, as the anti-Engels forces contend. It is an integral part of the whole world outlook of modern materialism.

Let us see what place this undertaking occupies in the development of the thought of its creators. In common with the titans of philosophy from Democritus and Aristotle through Aquinas to Descartes and Hegel, Marx and Engels responded to the necessity of elaborating a unitary and systematic interpretation of reality, encompassing the physical world, society, and the cognition of both of them.

Unlike the metaphysicians, they did not propose to present a closed, fixed, final structure of philosophic generalizations. What they did aspire to work out was as coherent and consistent an understanding of matter in motion as the available scientific knowledge and theoretical insight of their time allowed. This synthesis could then serve as a powerful instrument of further analysis.

In *Capital* Marx formulated the laws governing the development of capitalism; and in other writings on historical materialism, notably in the introduction to *The Critique of Political Economy*, he indicated the general laws that determined the nature and regulated the march of humanity in precapitalist times as well. Starting, as they had to do under the spur of the most pressing requirements of the working-class movement, with their analysis of the driving forces of social activity, Marx and Engels went on, as soon as they could, to examine the vast realm of nature and the findings of the natural sciences as a further test of their outlook. This next step was a logical extension of their theorizing.

That gigantic task involved assessing the results of the advances in the natural sciences from the standpoint of the materialist dialectic just as they were doing in the social sciences, beginning with political economy. By mutual agreement, as their correspondence amply shows, Engels set about to study the conclusions of the natural sciences to inquire whether and in what ways they demonstrated the presence of the dialectical laws and categories in the world. He did not seek to impose these logical laws upon the phenomena of nature but rather to find out what laws of motion were actually exhibited within the facts that scientific research had extracted in one field after another but insufficiently generalized. He first explored the inorganic and after that the organic sciences.

The notations assembled in the *Dialectics of Nature* were

organized around the following key concept: The physical world harbors a hierarchy of diverse forms of motion, each of which has a distinctive and irreducible quality of its own. These modes of motion are not uniformly and exclusively mechanical as the Newtonian determinists believed, although the laws of mechanics are widely operative in the macrocosmos. There are many other different types of motion, chemical, electronic, physiological, and so on, determined by the structure and properties of the field under observation. All these forms of motion are materially interconnected, and under the appropriate conditions are convertible one into the other. In the process of transformation, the energy is conserved although the form is changed.

The individual sciences deal with the laws specific to their domains. But running through these particular kinds of movement are more general laws that constitute the content of the dialectics of nature. One such law, for example, is the transformation of quantity into quality. Another is the conversion of possibility through probability into categorical necessity.

The dialectical method dictated that the essential features of each of the diverse forms of motion are to be concretely investigated not only in and for themselves, as the specialists of the separate sciences do, but also in their generality, in their mutual determinations and transitions from one into the other. The most important points in this connection are the borderlines conjoining one form of motion with another through which they undergo a qualitative transformation—mechanical motion generating heat, electricity converting into mechanical movement. Over time the dialectical development of nature has given rise to qualitatively higher forms of being, new states and more highly organized types of matter.

Marx and Engels gave special attention to those critical turning points in the development of things at which they pass over into their opposites. The two most momentous transitions in universal evolution were the leaps taken from the inorganic to the organic, from physicochemical processes to living beings, and billions of years later, from animal to human. In human history the two most important are the passage from precivilized to civilized institutions, described in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, and from class formations to the socialist future, envisaged in the *Communist Manifesto*, *Capital*, and other writings.

The *Dialectics of Nature* does not confine itself to a study of the evolutionary processes in the physical world, but as a materialist humanism should, heads toward its culmination in the creation of our species. Since the myth of divine creation was junked, the riddle of anthropogenesis, which asks how and by what means human beings originated, had baffled investigators. In the article on "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition From Ape to Man," included in *Dialectics of Nature*, Engels outlined a materialist and dialectical solution to this problem. The labor theory of social origins showed how the process of cosmic development led by its own laws several million years ago to the emergence from nature of its own opposite, the human species, which had its own special kinds of activity and laws of development as a social being. This triumphant achievement of the Marxist method has been substantiated by many scientific discoveries since its first formulation.

The labor theory of humanization rounds out the dialectics of nature. Engels wrote in *Feuerbach* that "the key to the understanding of the whole history of society lies in the historical development of labour." (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, p. 470.) The ending of *Dialectics of Nature* is linked with the beginning of *Capital* through this evolutionary approach to the labor process. The one shows how laboring created humankind, while the first chapter of *Capital* analyzes the nature of the commodity as a compound of the two forms of labor, concrete and abstract labor. Later in his exposition Marx traces labor activity

back to the beginning of humanity's struggle with nature for survival.

In addition to mapping out the objective dialectics of nature, Engels had much to say about the dialectical, i.e., contradictory, ways in which scientific knowledge itself has developed. He pioneered in the new field of the history of science that has so energetically been pursued by scholars in recent years.

What conclusions can be drawn from these observations that are pertinent to our theme? First, the dialectics of natural evolution itself passed over into the dialectics of social evolution, a qualitative jump of the utmost importance. The first process was the material root, the precondition, the necessary basis, for the second. Contrary to the praxis theorists, who deny its existence or belittle its importance, the dialectics of nature existentially precedes the dialectics of the subject-object relation that they take as the be-all and end-all of Marxist method. Although these two modes of dialectical development operate in tandem within human history, the secondary process is dependent on the primary one. This is a cardinal principle of materialism.

Second, the dialectics of nature is not an invention of Engels that he smuggled into dialectical materialism behind Marx's back or after his death. It is a conception they worked out together. In *Capital*, vol. 1, p. 309, International Publishers edition, Marx appealed to the law of the transformation of quantity into quality as having shown its worth in natural science as elsewhere.

Third, the dialectics of nature is an essential part of Marxist philosophy, which would otherwise be incomplete, remaining a structure of sociology or anthropology without a firm and harmonious foundation in the acquisitions of the natural sciences that form the bases of all knowledge. In ruling out the operation of the laws of dialectics in natural processes and confining them to social phenomena, the myopic praxologists disrupt the unitary character and universal scope of Marxist theory, which reflects the material unity amidst qualitative diversity of the external world. They divide reality into two contraposed compartments, the physical, from which the laws of dialectics are absent, and the social, where they prevail because humans are actively involved.

Thus the existentialist Merleau-Ponty along with Sartre insists that matter has no principle of productivity or novelty. He writes: "If nature is dialectical, it is because it is that nature is perceived by man and inseparable from human action, as Marx made clear in the *Theses on Feuerbach* and in *The German Ideology*." (*Sense and Nonsense*, p. 274.) To the contrary, what Marx made clear was that the dialectics of nature proceeds on its own, long precedes human existence, perception, and action, and in fact gave birth to them. Schmidt asserts: ". . . it is only the process of knowing nature which can be dialectical, not nature itself." (p. 195.) Both of these commentators offer a subjectivist version of the dialectical process which is basically objective in character.

The revolution in the natural sciences over the past one hundred and fifty years has transformed the world through the impact of technology and industry. Revolutionary developments of such magnitude have to be incorporated into the philosophy of the most revolutionary class in this age of permanent revolution. This fact obliges socialist thought to encompass the achievements of the sciences in all areas, as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, and Trotsky recognized.

It may be asked: What use have natural scientists made of the dialectical approach to the understanding of nature? There is a pronounced disparity in this respect between the Soviet and Anglo-American scientists. Except for the eminent geneticist H.J. Muller in the 1930s, American scientists have regarded it as unserviceable, just as the academic economists have found the teachings of Marx unserviceable in political economy. Their empirical training and positivist outlook lead them to believe that nature exhibits no general laws apart from the specific laws of physics, chemistry, biology, etc., and that the search for them has no value.



The dialectics of nature aims to answer two related questions. Are there more general laws of motion intermingled with and arising from the specific laws to be found in limited domains such as physics, chemistry, electronics? The ordinary scientists along with the positivist-minded philosophers do not even raise this question, let alone provide an answer to it. Marxism does. It maintains that the relation of the specific laws of motion to the dialectical ones is comparable to the relation between arithmetic and algebra. The one exists on a higher level of generality and abstraction than the other.

Are there laws of motion operative in and universally applicable to all three divisions of being: nature, society, and the thought process? Marxism answers affirmatively and seeks to find out and describe what these are. Most other philosophies give a negative answer and accuse the dialectical materialists of going on a wild-goose chase. The critics of Engels agree with them.

One considerable handicap to serious consideration of the dialectical characteristics of nature has been the appalling spectacle of the obscurantism imposed upon the sciences under Stalin. The advances made in relativity physics, genetics, the resonance theory in chemistry, and cybernetics were rejected on the false ground that they failed to conform to the arbitrary specifications of all-powerful arbiters of Soviet thought like Zhdanov. Under the guise of defending materialist dialectics these discoveries were castigated and banned as idealistic aberrations. In this way Stalinism has cast the same discredit on dialectics in nature as on the name of socialism.

Since the dictator's death the situation has eased so far as most Soviet natural scientists are concerned. The best of them are no longer burdened by these taboos and the convinced dialectical materialists among them can employ that method more flexibly and creatively. One of the most perceptive is B.F. Kedrov, who under Stalin was removed in 1948 as editor of the chief Soviet philosophical journal, *Problems of Philosophy*. He is now director of the Institute of the History of Science and Technology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. His writings on the development of scientific thought are superior in insight to most productions of the Western scholars on this subject. I am indebted to him for some of the ideas about Engels's work presented in this talk.

One of the fullest accounts of the interaction between Marxist philosophy and the natural sciences among the leading Soviet scientists today has been given by the Columbia University scholar Loren Graham. Here is his concluding opinion:

Contemporary Soviet dialectical materialism is an impressive intellectual achievement. The elaboration and refinement of the early suggestions of Engels, Plekhanov, and Lenin into a systematic interpretation of nature is the most original creation of Soviet Marxism. In the hands of its most able advocates, there is no question but that dialectical materialism is a sincere and legitimate attempt to understand and explain nature. In terms of universality and degree of development, the dialectical materialist explanation of nature has no competitors among modern systems of thought. Indeed, one would have to jump centuries, to the Aristotelian scheme of a natural order or to a Cartesian mechanical philosophy, to find a system based on nature that could rival dialectical materialism in the refinement of its development and the wholeness of its fabric. (*Science and Philosophy in the Soviet Union*, p. 430.)

This well-informed judgment is far better founded than the cursory dismissal of the worth of the dialectics of nature by the critics of Engels, who have little understanding of the broad theoretical problems posed by the advances of contemporary natural science.

The main source of inspiration for the nonmaterialist reinterpretations of Marxism that have become so popular is the early work by the late Hungarian philosopher Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness*. There he claimed that Marxism does not concern itself with any theory of nature but is exclusively a class explanation of human history and exposition of society. Lukács accused Engels of being an exponent of an empiricism,

scientism, and crass materialism that amounted to a bourgeois philosophy. Karl Korsch, an ultraleft leader of the German Communist party who was expelled in 1926, likewise Hegelianized Marxism, although he did not agree on all points with Lukács, with whom he has been coupled.

Toward the end of his long career Lukács reconsidered and repudiated the views expressed in his set of essays, saying they were predicated on false assumptions. He further recommended a return to the theoretical traditions of Engels, Plekhanov, and Lenin, whom he no longer dissociated from Marx. But the errors that men commit live after them, and despite the self-criticism of the older and wiser Lukács, these misconceptions have acquired a life of their own.

They were eagerly snapped up by left existentialists such as Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, who found their expunging of materialist objectivity and opposition to determinism consonant with their voluntaristic conception of the individual freely deciding his destiny. In his polemic against "the myth of objectivity" in "Materialism and Revolution," Sartre mistakenly claimed that Marx held that subjectivity could not be dissociated from objectivity—until his "destructive encounter with Engels." (*Situations*, vol. 3, p. 213.) He repeats this theme in his more recent work *The Critique of Dialectical Reason*.

The reaction against the materialist foundations of Marxism has been further promoted through the ideas spread by such luminaries of the Frankfurt school as Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse, and their disciples. The line of thought fathered by Lukács has also been fostered by a broad spectrum of philosophers and sociologists in revolt against Stalinist orthodoxy from Yugoslavia through Hungary to Poland.

These ideas have percolated from Europe to New Left intellectuals in the English-speaking countries. The quarterly publication *Telos* is at present the most assiduous propagandist for the Hegelianizing of Marxism in the United States.

While the views they have espoused may come as a fresh revelation to these radicals, they are a warmed-over dish to revolutionists of my vintage. This train of ideas was inaugurated as long ago as 1933 by Sidney Hook with his book *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*.

In the preface he gives credit to Lukács's *History and Class Consciousness* and Korsch's *Marxism and Philosophy* for confirming his "own hypothesis of the practical-historical axis of Marx's thought." Hook reproduced many of the major Lukácsian theses. Marxism is not based on a scientific explanation of objective reality, he held. The materialist dialectic does not apply to natural phenomena but solely to human history; it is a dialectic of social change. Marxism is not a body of doctrines derived from a scientific analysis of nature, society, and human thought; it is simply a method without any essential determinate content and would be valid without its specific conclusions. Like the early Lukács and Horkheimer, Hook contested the inevitability of socialism as the progressive outcome of the class struggle under imperialism; it would come about from a voluntary embracing among options by a conscious proletariat.

Hook denied that there had been a complete identity in the doctrines and standpoint of Marx and Engels from the beginning of their friendship. To the contrary, he said Engels gave a wrong twist to his partner's positions in both economics and philosophy, transforming Marx's economic propositions into a closed deductive system and shifting his naturalistic activism to a simplified materialism that he called dialectical but was really mechanical. Engels also misconstrued Marx's theory of knowledge by insufficiently stressing the importance of the active practical element and retaining a crude theory of ideas as passive reflections of the material world. These innovations became hardened into dogma by the Social Democratic theoreticians before the First World War, he said.

During the 1930s Hook paraded as a free-thinking philosopher

of the extreme left intent on combating the twin evils of the reformist Social Democratic and bureaucratic Stalinist perversions of Marxism. Despite his pretensions, he was actually engaged in trimming dialectical materialism to a pragmatic pattern that fitted his political opportunism in the socialist movement as he drifted away from the revolutionary struggle.

At the time of their appearance, Hook's deviations were severely criticized by Trotsky. Hook had sketched them in an article in the *Nation* entitled, "Marxism: Dogma or Method?" In his comments Trotsky pointed out that the very posing of the question in that way was wrong. The materialist dialectic is not only a method but one whose applications to capitalist economy and the historical process have produced positive results contained in the Marxist doctrines of political economy and historical materialism.

To Hook's contention that Marxism is not a science but merely a realistic method of class action, Trotsky rejoined that it could not be realistic unless it was based upon true knowledge of objective reality. To Hook's argument that the motivations of practical needs and class aims invalidated the scientific objectivity of Marxism, Trotsky answered that the usefulness of a doctor's prescriptions in curing a patient depends upon accurate knowledge of anatomy, physiology, pathology, and other sciences. The same held true for revolutionists confronted with a sick society. (The full text of Trotsky's letter can be read in *Writings, 1932-33*, pp. 200-1.)

It was around this time that newly hatched Trotskyist intellectuals like myself became inoculated against the views of Lukács, Korsch, and their American followers. Unfortunately, other leading comrades such as Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, and James Burnham were not.

The continuity in the assimilation of Marxist philosophy was so sharply broken between the 1930s and 1970s that this earlier dispute between the pro-Lukácsians and their opponents is virtually unknown even to our own ranks. The New Left intellectuals who are refurbishing the ideas of the early Lukács may be disconcerted to learn that Hook was their precursor in pitting Engels against Marx, tossing out the dialectics of nature and interpreting Marxism as a sociology of revolutionary praxis. This theoretical weakness had its effect upon his regressive course from 1940 on.

Marxism is, to be sure, the theory of revolutionary action par excellence. But it could not serve this purpose unless it was a scientific doctrine based upon true knowledge of the material conditions of development that determine the nature, scope, and effectiveness of social change and political activity. By cutting away or sliding over the totality of objective factors, the revisionists invite the intrusion of pragmatism, voluntarism, and subjectivism in place of an authentic materialist method.

\* \* \*

What relevance do these apparently abstruse theoretical disputes, past and present, have to our current party work and historical tasks? The members of our movement were first impressed with the practical importance and political relevance of a correct philosophical method in the 1939-40 struggle and split in the Socialist Workers party recorded in Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* and Cannon's *Struggle for a Proletarian Party*. The polemics of that time over the relation between dialectical materialism and revolutionary politics were connected with the task of clarifying the most fundamental issues of proletarian policy and program revolving around the nature and defense of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state.

At present there are no such tense differences over philosophy or politics in our party. However, a variance of views on some questions of method does exist within the world Trotskyist movement. These can be calmly and objectively discussed. Unlike the Healyite sectarians, we do not believe that philosophic ideas are the most important and determining element at all times in

class politics. The notion that philosophy takes command is not a materialist and dialectical but a mechanistic and idealist approach to the place philosophy occupies in the total activity and development of the revolutionary movement of the working class.

Nonetheless, experience has demonstrated that a light-minded attitude toward a correct and consistent theoretical outlook, and even more a stubborn defense of nonmaterialist premises, can have serious consequences for practical activity. Underlying philosophical differences can come to the surface in the form of opposing political conclusions. What these might be can be ascertained only by analysis of the concrete circumstances of the case.

Individuals can stray from the right road in various directions. Despite their affinities in misinterpreting certain principles of Marxist thought, Lukács, Korsch, and Hook, for example, subsequently traveled along divergent paths and ended up at different destinations determined by their personal situations and the enviroing pressures directly exerted upon them. Lukács was trapped in the Stalinist apparatus; Korsch quit politics and even repudiated Marxism in the 1950s; Hook became an apologist for the U.S. State Department and voted for Nixon in 1972. The unstable eclecticism of their positions can hold out equally divergent futures for present adherents of the praxis school.

The doctrines upon which our movement is based are not named scientific socialism without good and sufficient reason. Our party endeavors to educate its members in all aspects of Marxism from the most general problems of theory to everyday tactics. We want to create well-equipped cadres of revolutionists who know enough not to be captivated by passing fads and are on guard against being tripped up by their errors. We have to check and polish the tools of thought given by Marxism and keep them bright and sharp by continuous application.

\* \* \*

The philosophical situation within the international socialist movement nowadays is very complex. Three main tendencies are contending with one another. There are the propagators of the deformations of Marxist thought emanating from Moscow or Peking. In opposition to them are genuine exponents of the dialectical materialist method derived from the unalloyed teachings of its creators. In between is a variety of tendencies in flux that overlap materialism at one end and border on subjectivism at the other.

The wide differences of opinion among the dissidents in the Soviet bloc require us to distinguish between them. We support the democratic rights of all of them without qualification; we do not support those theoretical positions and political perspectives that deviate from revolutionary Marxism. On the philosophical level many of them are resisting the stultifying effects of Stalinism and questing for the truth along previously forbidden lines. Here too we solidarize with their fight against thought control and official dogmas without sharing their errors.

The Stalinist debasement of Marxist teachings constitutes an ideology in the worst sense; it is a rationale for the special interests of a privileged caste. Moscow's "red professors" blunted the critical edge of the dialectical method and turned its laws and categories into a set of rigid formulas applied in a stereotyped manner dictated by state prescription. The logic of Marxism was not only schematized but eviscerated.

In his obligatory catechism of *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, Stalin, for instance, omitted mention of the law of the negation of the negation, which sets forth the pattern of progressive development in which the new replaces the old on a higher level as the outcome of the conflict of opposing forces. Supposedly this shielded the bureaucracy from liquidation. Instead of Marxism being a school of unfettered thought, it became a school of scholastic mumbo jumbo.

In the course of challenging this ideology, numerous oppositionists have questioned some of the postulates of Marxist philosophy. Since the Stalinists, in the name of dialectical materialism, so grossly falsify the real state of affairs, many no longer consider dialectical materialism to be a scientific doctrine. They have likewise turned against historical determinism in indignation against the inquisitors who justify their abuses on the pretext that as executors of the laws of history, they are entitled to pursue the class struggle more harshly after the conquest of power than before. Some counterpose to it the fervent moral idealism of the individual defying arbitrary rule. They seek an ethical instead of a class basis for their shaken faith in the prospects of socialism.

Those humanist dissidents who disavow the governance of lawfulness and necessity in social life and stress the autonomous freedom of the nonconformist personality are themselves driven by the imperious necessity of throwing off bureaucratic oppression and unmanacled their own minds. Their assertion of the unhampered exercise of critical thought and the right to uncensored expression is a powerful progressive ferment at work within the Soviet bloc.

However, too many of them still accept the say-so of the Stalinists that they are faithful disciples of Engels and Lenin and that to break away from them is equivalent to repudiating scientific socialism. In unthinking reflex they place a minus sign wherever Stalinism has affixed a plus. Such critics make the same methodological mistake in philosophy as in party organization where they lump together the autocratic centralization of the monolithic Communist parties with the Leninist conception of democratic centralism and reject both one and the other.

The ideological havoc wrought by Stalinism is evidenced in the paradoxical fact that many of the most courageous champions of democratization have been caught up in the anti-Engels current. Some among them, such as certain members of the *Praxis* group in Yugoslavia, Kolakowski in Poland, and Karel Kosik in Czechoslovakia, have been penalized for their justified criticisms of the regime. In response to the indiscriminate accusations flung at them by the watchdogs of the status quo, they have clung all the more firmly to their heretical views.

So the work of Engels and the tradition stemming from his work has become an unmerited casualty of the conflict between the repressive rulers and dissident thinkers in Eastern Europe who have permitted the falsifications of Stalinism to blur some of the truths of Marxism.

It should be recognized that these heterodox theorists are grappling as best they can with the novel issues and unprecedented problems posed by the unexpected and anomalous path taken by the development of the postcapitalist regimes in their countries. They have to undertake their inquiries in ceaseless conflict with the authorities bearing down upon them.

To explain the reasons for the direction their thought has taken is not to justify any of their incorrect views. In philosophy as in politics those who disengage from Stalinism can move along opposite lines. They can either find their way to the viable traditions of dialectical materialism that Stalinism smothered and obscured—or else adapt to or adopt nonmaterialist, nonproletarian positions.

Up to now only a few have managed to embark on the first course in their search for a new orientation. Instead of going forward to resuscitate and extend the method of dialectical materialism, many of the iconoclasts have jettisoned some of its fundamental tenets and veered away from its standpoint. They adulterate Marxist thought with ideas that are incompatible with its teachings. Just as certain Social Democrats before the First World War attempted to amalgamate Marxism with borrowings from Kant, the empiriocritics, and others, so New Left thinkers East and West are prone to cook up a stew that mixes Marxist conceptions with ingredients from nonmaterialist sources, rang-

ing from existentialism, structuralism, and pragmatism to neo-Hegelianism, phenomenology, and linguistic analysis. It is the season for raising hybrids rather than developing purebred Marxism.

The evolution of the two most prominent Polish Communist philosophers, Leszek Kolakowski and Adam Schaff, typifies this swing away from classical Marxism toward eclecticism. From their common starting points in Stalinist orthodoxy before 1956, both master and pupil have at different paces and in differing degrees discarded key elements of dialectical materialism en route to their present beliefs. Schaff spurns the dialectics of nature and doubts the possibility of eradicating alienation in the future socialist society, as though it were a built-in human trait, not a historically conditioned phenomenon. Kolakowski has almost entirely lost his Marxist bearings. The root of their trouble is their failure to overcome the insidious effects of Stalinist misdeeds and miseducation, even in resisting them, and their failure to use their newfound freedom of thought to advance to consistent Marxist positions.

\* \* \*

Where, amidst this swirling confusion, do we as Trotskyists stand? We adhere to the principles originating with Marx and Engels and the course marked out by their ablest followers in philosophy. Plekhanov, Lenin, Luxemburg, and Trotsky are our teachers, and we regard the heritage received from them as among our most precious possessions. We are resolved to carry forward and develop their ideas as the only scientific basis for revolutionary working-class politics. □

### Scandal Hurts Lockheed Sales

The first of what promises to be many lost sales hit the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation February 10, when Japanese officials announced that plans to buy about 100 Lockheed planes had been canceled. Tokyo had tentatively agreed to buy \$1.3 billion worth of Lockheed's P-3C Orion antisubmarine aircraft.

"We can't buy that plane now," one official told *New York Times* reporter Richard Halloran. "We can't buy anything from Lockheed now."

Halloran's sources also told him, according to a February 10 dispatch, that "the public in Japan assumes that, if Lockheed paid Japanese officials, other American companies did the same."

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# Capitalism Fouls Things Up

## Where Cancer Hits Hardest—And Why

By Steve Clark

Cancer.

After heart disease it is the leading killer in the United States, accounting for an estimated 16 percent of all deaths. Even among children, cancer ranks second only to accidents as a cause of death.

Mother Nature's curse against humanity? Some might say so. Certainly the malady—or maladies—commonly called "cancer" has plagued humankind throughout history.

But there is mounting evidence that the major responsibility for cancer *today* rests squarely with another of the world's top killers—capitalism. An estimated 70 to 90 percent of all human cancers can be traced to environmental factors, according to the National Cancer Institute. The World Health Organization estimates 85 percent. The air we breathe and the conditions under which we work are literally condemning us to the grave.

The death rate from cancer more than doubled between 1950 and 1965. Big business's insatiable drive to keep its profits high and its "overhead" low is undeniably

a major factor behind this leap. Pollution-control expenditures are numbered among the most expendable of all overhead costs in America's corporate boardrooms.

The U.S. National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health has compiled a list of 1,500 chemicals that are suspected of being carcinogenic, that is, cancer-producing.

Arsenic pollution—which is belched in huge doses from copper, lead, and zinc smelters—has been shown to be one of the deadliest. A study released last year by scientists at the National Cancer Institute demonstrated just how deadly.

Dr. Joseph F. Fraumeni and William J. Blot investigated the incidence of cancer fatalities in the thirty-six American counties where arsenic-containing nonferrous metals are smelted and refined. Reporting on their results in the August 8 *Wall Street Journal*, correspondent Barry Kramer said, "According to the cancer institute, the 36 counties, in 20 states, as a group showed a 17% increase in lung cancer among men and 15% among women [above the national

average]. In the three counties with the highest percentage of the total population employed in copper, lead and zinc processing, lung-cancer mortality in males was 92% higher than expected, and 36% more in females."

Residents of thirty-five other counties where there are no smelters, showed no such increase in lung cancer.

Fraumeni and Blot argued that the unusually high cancer rates among both men and women in the thirty-six targeted counties could not be traced primarily to workplace contamination. "The most likely explanation of the increased lung-cancer mortality in this study," they said in the British medical journal the *Lancet*, "is neighborhood air pollution from industrial sources of inorganic arsenic."

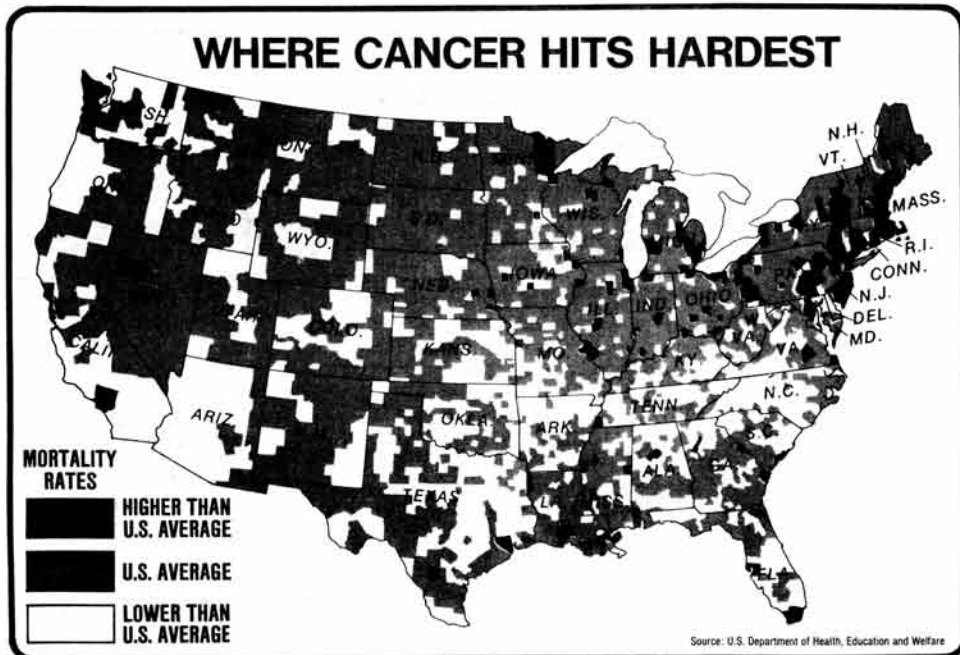
A tragic verification of this conclusion is provided by Deer Lodge County, Montana, which last year ranked ninth among the 3,021 U.S. counties in its lung-cancer death rate.

Right in the middle of Deer Lodge County, in the town of Anaconda, stands one of the world's tallest smokestacks. Towering 585 feet above the copper-smelting works of the Anaconda Company, the stack can be seen from as far away as twenty miles. What the residents inside this radius have not known until recently is *that nearly twelve tons of arsenic every day billow from that chimney and settle all around them.*

Deer Lodge County can be easily spotted on the "Where Cancer Hits Hardest" map elsewhere in this page. It's the lone Montana dark splotch, denoting a higher than average mortality rate—in fact, almost 250 percent higher.

The county's cancer mortality rate is 65.2 deaths annually for each 100,000 residents, compared with the national average of 37 deaths, and the even lower figure of 20 for rural areas, which are relatively freer from industrial pollution. Since Deer Lodge County has a population of about 20,000, these statistics mean in human terms that between 6 and 9 extra deaths occur each year so that Anaconda can boost its revenues.

According to a report in the February 3



Feng & Freyer/Newsweek

*Washington Post*, "...air samples collected by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 22 of the most heavily polluted cities in the U.S. showed that in Akron, Ohio, where arsenic readings were the highest, the levels were still 100 times less than the amount in Anaconda's air now."

In 1971, for example, the Montana health department found up to 5.4 micrograms of arsenic in each cubic meter of air at a junior high school two miles from the jumbo smokestack. The amount of arsenic pumped into the air by Anaconda has nearly doubled since then. The market for the arsenic residues of its smelting process collapsed in 1971, so the company stopped storing its wastes and instead spewed them on Deer Lodge County.

Tacoma, Washington, is the site of another major smelting works—this one owned by the American Smelting and Refining Company. Dr. Samuel Milham of the University of Washington testified at a Labor Department hearing last April that he discovered arsenic in the urine of third- and fourth-graders (eight- and nine-year-olds) at a school near the plant. Milham said that the students' arsenic levels were as high as those of the smelting workers themselves.

Pierce County, which surrounds the Tacoma smelting works, is also clearly visible on the cancer distribution map.

Studying the map further, the reader may notice that one state in particular falls almost in its entirety in the high mortality zone. That state is New Jersey—or "Cancer Alley," as *Washington Post* staff writer Stuart Auerbach has labeled it.

According to the study by the National Cancer Institute, nineteen of New Jersey's twenty-one counties rank in the top 10 percent of all American counties in their cancer mortality rates. The institute blames the high figures on pollution from the state's \$4 billion-a-year chemical industry, which fouls the air all along the Atlantic coast, following the prevailing winds.

New Jersey's Salem County, which is located right across the Delaware River from the state of Delaware, has the nation's highest bladder cancer mortality rate—8.7 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants. The E.I. Du Pont de Nemours & Company, owners of the Chambers chemical works in the county, admits that the production of carcinogenic materials was once a problem.

Between 1919 and 1955, 339 of 2,000 employees at the Chambers Works were stricken by cancer, caused by the chemical betanaphthylamine (BNA) produced at the plant. "It's certainly a tragic chapter in the history of Du Pont," commented plant manager Paul M. Humanick.

Du Pont claims that the substance now produced at the Chambers Works is not carcinogenic, but others disagree. Cancer

usually appears only after a fifteen-to-twenty-year latency period.

The revelation of New Jersey's exceptionally high cancer rate proved embarrassing to state industrial inspectors. *Washington Post* correspondent Auerbach reported, "Their inspections showed great attention to such details as elevator checks and accidents involving fork lift trucks. But the only health items they checked revolved around toilets and washrooms."

A New Jersey Department of Labor official said, "We never paid attention enough to dust, gases, vapors, fumes. Practically nothing was done."

Given the recent sharp attacks by both Democratic and Republican party state governors against what they call "overly restrictive" environmental standards, it is unlikely that much of anything will be done. These capitalist politicians use the excuse that health and safety legislation chases out industries, causing job loss and depleting state tax revenues.

New Jersey's Governor Brendan Byrne, for example, announced February 11 that the state was preparing to relax pollution standards in certain areas of South Jersey. David J. Bardin, the state environmental protection commissioner, said, "We want to lower the cost of doing business to the extent possible consistent with the public health. One should not overkill with environmental regulations."

Similar demagoguery has been used by President Gerald Ford, who this year proposed a \$53 million cut in federal spending for environmental control.

The corporations themselves sing the same tune. Anaconda, for example, says that it would shut down its Montana smelting works before agreeing to lay out the funds for stiffer pollution controls. Like a crude Mafia extortionist, Anaconda offers the people of Deer Lodge County either mass unemployment or death.

Unfortunately, the local union at the Anaconda works has been bludgeoned by company threats into making the deadly blackmail payments. "What bothers me is not what happens 20 years from now, but how I feed my kids tomorrow," union President Natt Strizich told *Washington Post* correspondent Bill Richards.

But the arsenic readings taken at the Anaconda Junior High School should have been a warning. "Twenty years from now" those students may suffer from lung cancer.

There is an alternative to this corporate extortion. The union could demand that Anaconda make public its financial records so that Deer Lodge inhabitants can decide for themselves whether or not to believe the company's claim that it "can't afford" pollution controls.

If Anaconda tries to "run away," the union could demand that the factory be

nationalized and placed under the control of the smelting workers themselves. That way no jobs would be lost, and the union could cooperate with other Deer Lodge residents to institute adequate safety standards at the copper works.

Although it might not seem so at first, the continued flourishing of cancer adds another powerful argument to the arsenal of the socialist movement. Replacing capitalism with a social system that puts human needs before profits is truly a matter of life and death. □

### Poisonous Pesticide Politics

Three attorneys for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, including the chief lawyer of its pesticide division, have resigned, charging that the agency has failed to "take effective action under existing authority to regulate toxic chemicals in water, air, human and animal foods and drinking water."

The three also charged "that this regulatory inaction and contemplated retrenchment from established policies and decisions is attributable in part to industry pressure brought to bear through Congressional committees and to election year politics."

Former EPA lawyer Jeffrey Howard said that the agency possesses a list of 100 cancer-causing pesticides that it has not acted to ban. EPA officials admitted that such a list exists, but said that until the pesticides were proven to be cancer-producing in humans, the agency cannot take them off the market.

### Vinyl Chloride: a Deadly Chemical

Hearings began February 3 before the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency on proposed standards for vinyl chloride emissions. Nearly thirty cases of a form of liver cancer called angiosarcoma have been confirmed among vinyl chloride workers. In addition, air pollution in areas surrounding vinyl chloride plants has been linked to birth defects and genetic injuries.

A new government study announced at the hearings revealed that wives of vinyl chloride workers are twice as likely to have miscarriages or stillbirths, probably because of damage caused to their husbands' sperm cells by the chemical. Vinyl chloride is used in the production of plastic garden hoses, disposable diapers, insulating materials, mats, toys, and many other plastic products.

An estimated 4.6 million persons live within five miles of vinyl chloride plants, and 46,000 live within a half mile. The EPA estimates that up to twenty new cases of cancer will occur each year if its proposed regulations are not implemented.

# AROUND THE WORLD



## **PST Leader José Páez Arrested in Argentina**

José Francisco Páez, the vice-presidential candidate of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) in the 1973 elections, was arrested January 28 in Córdoba.

A brief article in the January 30 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* said that Páez was being held by the provincial police for alleged "subversive activities."

Páez, who is a resident of Córdoba, is well known as a leader of the auto workers union of that city.

## **Pinochet's 'Shock Treatment' Sends Economy Into Nose Dive**

The results are in on the Pinochet dictatorship's economic "shock treatment"—a brutal policy aimed at restoring the capitalist economy at the expense of Chile's workers.

Industrial production in 1975 fell by 25% in comparison with the preceding year, whereas unemployment in the greater Santiago area more than doubled, from 8% to about 17%.

The ruinous rate of inflation declined only slightly, from 375% to 345%, while the balance-of-payments deficit increased more than 170%, from US\$140 million to US\$240 million.

## **Niger Faces New Famine**

Niger's foreign minister, Moumouni Djermakoye Adamou, appealed February 9 for 200,000 tons of food supplies. He said that the situation "will be tragic in two

months if decisions are not taken immediately."

Niger is among the world's poorest countries. It suffered severely from the recent drought in sub-Saharan Africa, and its crops have now been attacked by birds, rats, and insects. The government estimates that as many as 1.2 million of Niger's 5 million inhabitants will face starvation unless help arrives before the rainy season in May.

## **Kim Chi Ha in Solitary Confinement**

Dissident South Korean poet Kim Chi Ha has been placed in solitary confinement, according to a report by his mother cited in the February 8-9 *Le Monde*.

Kim was arrested in March 1975 on charges of being "a Communist who infiltrated the Catholic church." The arrest, his fourth since 1970, followed publication of a series of articles he wrote describing the methods of torture used by the government against political prisoners.

The cells around him have been emptied. He is allowed no visitors and no reading or writing materials.

## **Worldwide Illiteracy Rises**

There are now 800 million illiterate persons in the world, compared with 735 million in 1965, according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

A report by UNESCO on its "experimental world literacy program" described some of the difficulties encountered in teaching those enrolled in the program how to read. In Ethiopia, for example, the language of instruction was Amharic, "not the first language of a substantial proportion of the participants."

## **New Nuclear Threat from Israel**

On February 11, former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan came closer than any Israeli official so far to acknowledging publicly that Israel has nuclear weapons.

Speaking in Tel Aviv, Dayan declared, "We must keep the atomic option without depending on the United States." Referring to the Pershing missiles requested by the Israeli regime last year, Dayan said, "We do not need the Pershing to install an atomic

warhead, and whoever says so is misleading. An atomic bomb can be dropped from an aircraft."

Dayan's statement came on the same day that Professor Yuval Neeman denounced former U.S. President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger for reneging on a pledge of \$20 billion in aid over a ten-year period. "We have lost all semblance of being a self-respecting independent state with its own national interests," Neeman said. One of Israel's foremost nuclear physicists, Neeman recently resigned in protest as chief military adviser to the defense minister.

## **UN Committee Condemns Israeli War Crimes**

Israel suffered another setback in the United Nations February 13 when the UN Commission on Human Rights approved a resolution charging the Zionist state with having committed "war crimes" in the occupied Arab territories.

The vote was 23 to 1, with 8 abstentions. The representative of the United States, former Nixon attorney Leonard Garment, cast the sole negative vote.

In the resolution, the commission said that "continued grave violations" of international law in the Arab territories by Israel constituted "war crimes and an affront to humanity."

The resolution also condemned such "Israeli policies and practices" as "mass arrests, administrative detention and ill treatment of the Arab population."

## **Camejo Scores 'Token' U.S. Aid to Victims of Guatemala Earthquake**

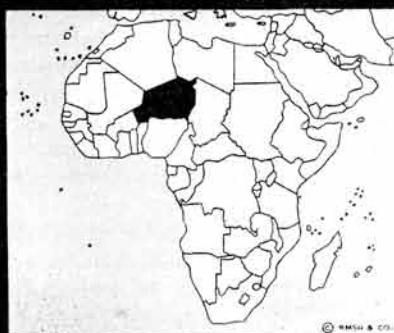
Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, scored Washington's aid to victims of the Guatemalan earthquake as a "token gesture."

In a statement issued to the press February 12, Camejo termed the \$3.6 million in relief funds supplied by Washington "totally inadequate."

He suggested instead that President Ford "redirect sufficient funds from the \$112 billion allocated for the war budget toward saving thousands of lives in the earthquake-devastated country of Guatemala and for beginning reconstruction."

Condemning Washington's "lack of concern for human suffering," Camejo cited by

## **NIGER**



comparison the millions the White House sent to Chile to prop up the Pinochet dictatorship, the \$33 million sent to Angola to finance a fratricidal war, and the signing of a \$1.2 billion treaty to aid the reactionary government in Spain.

"These actions show the true face of the U.S. government," Camejo said, "that it serves the interests of the ruling rich at the expense of the people of the world."

### Behind Saigon's Collapse

Graham A. Martin, the last U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, recently testified before a congressional subcommittee. Martin explained that he did not blame the fall of Saigon on Congress, because its refusal to vote more aid for Thieu was prompted by "organized campaigns of distortion in the United States."

Martin, currently a special assistant to Kissinger, called the American antiwar movement "one of the best propaganda and pressure organizations the world has ever seen." (Quoted in the February 10 *Christian Science Monitor*.)

### Agribusiness Gloom Meets Rice Boom

The fact that hundreds of millions of persons in the world go to bed hungry every night has not stopped American agribusiness from bemoaning this year's record rice crop.

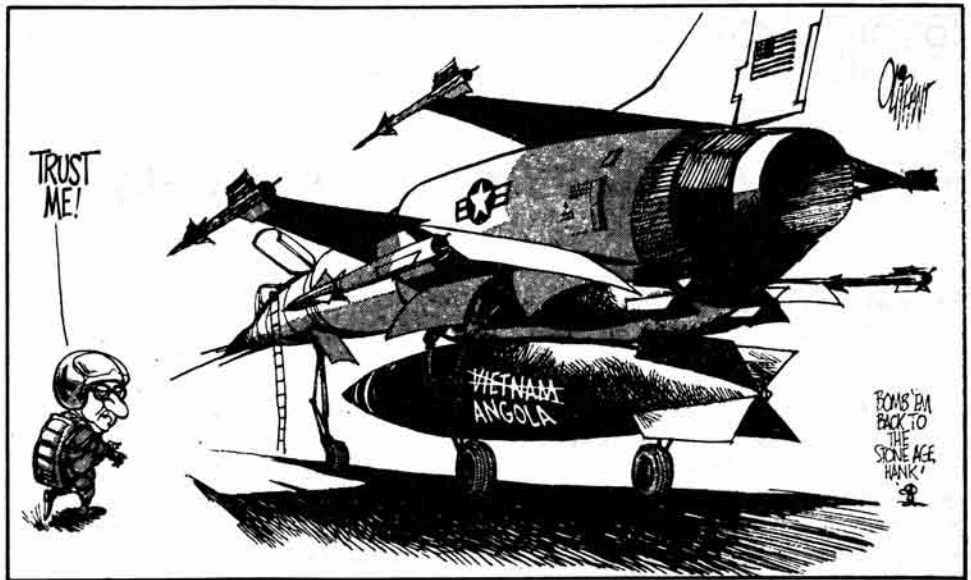
Writing in the January 26 issue of *Foreign Agriculture* magazine, Weyland Beeghly said, "Extraordinary 1975/76 harvests across virtually all of Asia are rapidly returning world rice supplies to the levels prevailing before the failure of the 1972 monsoon. But just as that year's drastically reduced crop launched an upward spiral in world rice prices, this season's upsurge in production has further depressed an already weakened market."

### Madrid Devalues the Peseta

The Spanish government cut the value of the peseta on world money markets by 10 percent February 9. Designed to offset Madrid's \$3.1 billion trade deficit, the move is expected to raise living costs by about 3 percent.

The action was taken against the advice of many of the regime's supporters. The Bank of Bilbao, one of the largest financial institutions in the country, warned that "the direct effect of a devaluation would be an increase in domestic prices, manifestly unpopular and absolutely undesirable."

The bank argued that "the beneficial effects that might be derived from it—a slight increase in exports and a cheapening of tourist prices—do not have sufficient substance and are hypothetical while the



Oliphant/Washington Star

increase in prices is certain and real."

Henry Giniger, reporting from Madrid in the February 10 *New York Times*, noted that the effect of the devaluation "was to augment the impression of a Government under political, economic and social siege and reacting with stopgap measures."

### Opponents of Shah Threatened With 'Severe' Treatment

Worldwide protests over the recent executions of eleven Iranian political prisoners and the gunning down of eight alleged "guerrillas" have made their impact felt in Tehran.

The shah's mouthpiece, Foreign Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida, said February 3 that he was astonished that world public opinion had not uttered "a word of sympathy" for the "victims" of the so-called terrorists.

In a speech before the Association of American Women in Iran, Hoveida made clear that more executions may be carried out.

"... terrorists are found in all societies," he said. "The only difference is that in our case they are generally inspired, paid, and armed from beyond our borders. . . . Justice is justice, and those who resort to violence must expect to be dealt with severely."

### U.S. Judges Sue for Pay Raise

Forty-four federal judges have filed a lawsuit in an attempt to get a pay increase. They argue that their salaries have been eroded by inflation to the point where they are unconstitutionally underpaid.

The judges point to the section of the U.S. Constitution designed to protect the judiciary from pressure from the president or Congress by stipulating that the compensa-

tion awarded judges cannot be reduced while they are on the bench.

The fact that the \$42,000 annual salary of federal judges is already more than four times the annual yearly wage earned by workers in American industry drew little comment in most news reports on the case.

However, reservations about the advisability of the suit were raised on other grounds by the editors of one influential daily.

In a February 13 editorial, the *Wall Street Journal* pointed out that the judges' suit could lead others to ask, "if inflation is found to be a villain that can violate constitutional rights, why shouldn't we all have protection?"

### International Appeal for Release of Singapore Political Prisoners

An international appeal has been issued for the release of political prisoners in Singapore. The appeal focuses on the more than 100 prisoners jailed in 1963 as part of "Operation Cold Store"—a roundup by the Internal Security Council of political leaders, trade unionists, journalists, and students.

"Operation Cold Store" was aimed at opponents of the terms under which Singapore was to be merged with Malaysia. (Singapore withdrew from Malaysia in 1965.)

Among the best known of the prisoners are Dr. Lim Hock Siew, Said Zahari, Ho Piow, and Lee Tee Tong, who have been held since 1963 without due process and have been subjected to torture.

Letters of support for the prisoners can be sent to the Standing Committee on Human Rights in Malaysia and Singapore, c/o National Union of Students (International Section), 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DU England.

## Two Worthless Books About Trotsky

Reviewed by George Breitman



In 1937, at the age of twenty-one, the writer Bernard Wolfe spent eight months as a member of Leon Trotsky's secretariat-guard when Trotsky first arrived in Mexico. A few years later Wolfe renounced Bolshevism.

In 1959 he published a novel called *The Great Prince Died*, about a Russian exile in Mexico in the late 1930s, Victor Rostov, and how he came to be assassinated by a Stalinist agent.

In the back of this novel Wolfe supplied author's notes to explain that Rostov was patterned on Trotsky and to support his thesis that in his final years Trotsky was so badly ridden with guilt over the Bolshevik suppression of an anarchist military uprising at the Kronstadt naval base in 1921 that he did not really want to live any longer and therefore made it easier for the assassin to do his work.

Now, Wolfe has republished his 1959 novel under a new title, *Trotsky Dead*. In 1959 he gave his reasons for considering it improper to call his fictional character Trotsky. But today, when a book title containing Trotsky's name might be more popular than it was in the days of the cold war witch-hunt, Wolfe has overcome such qualms and has renamed the protagonist and his wife "Leon Trotsky" and "Natalia Sedova."

Otherwise, it is the same novel. Except that the author's notes following the novel have been revised, and this time the novel is preceded by three documents. One is from the Kronstadt period and the two others are attempts by Wolfe to defend the thesis of his novel against criticism it received when it was first published.

As a piece of fiction Wolfe's novel did not get a very good reception in 1959, not even from most of the reviewers who were delighted by its anti-Bolshevism. But it is against political, not literary, criticism that Wolfe now tries to defend himself, and here we find something of an oddity.

The chief political criticism of the 1959 novel, and the only one from a Marxist point of view, was written by Joseph Hansen, who succeeded Wolfe on Trotsky's staff. His lengthy review-essay, entitled "Trotsky 'Psychoanalyzed,'" challenged

Wolfe on every important point and many details.

It is this article that Wolfe now seeks to refute. But for some reason he cannot bring himself to give his readers the name of the author he is polemicizing against (he quotes instead from "A secretary of the later period," Trotsky's "apologists" and "Trotsky supporters," although all the citations

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*Trotsky Dead*, by Bernard Wolfe. Los Angeles: Wollstonecraft Incorporated, 1975. 372 pp. Cloth \$8.95

*Trotsky*, by Joel Carmichael. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1975. 512 pp. Cloth \$15.

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are from the same article by Hansen), and he cannot bring himself to state where or when these citations appeared so that readers could check them for themselves.

Since Hansen shattered Wolfe's thesis about Trotsky, Kronstadt, and Kronstadt's "relation" to the assassination, and since Wolfe has not answered Hansen at all, this reviewer sees no need to repeat Hansen's points. All that is required is the information, withheld by Wolfe, about where readers can find Hansen's article. It appeared in *International Socialist Review*, Summer 1959, and is reproduced in a book still in print: *Leon Trotsky: The Man and His Work*. (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1969.)

There are only two things in Wolfe's "new" material worth noting. One is a sample of his method.

In the 1959 book he complained that Trotsky's writings on Kronstadt from 1937 to his death in 1940 were "meager"; in 1975 he points to the same list to show that Trotsky "was devoting a lot of thought, and a lot of words, to Kronstadt." It doesn't matter, because for Wolfe meagerness and plentifulness are equally proof of Trotsky's preoccupation with and sense of guilt about the subject. Damned if you do, damned if you don't.

(Fortunately, it is possible to judge Trotsky's three articles on Kronstadt written in 1937 and 1938 without depending on interpreters, because they can be found in

the collection, "The Kronstadt Rebellion in the Soviet Union, 1921," issued by the Socialist Workers party National Education Department and distributed by Pathfinder Press, 1973, 40 cents.)

In his polemic against Hansen, Wolfe badly undermines his own credibility as a witness.

In his 1959 version, he said, "For a long time I wanted to work out a novel on Trotsky's last days, but I saw no approach to it until it occurred to me that his final tensions must have centered on Kronstadt as much as on any one supra-personal thing. . . . The present book became possible when I saw that the GPU-sponsored blow [killing Trotsky in 1940] could be taken, and in a sense *had* to be taken, as a last spasm of the corpse of Kronstadt."

At any rate, this blinding revelation did not come until "a long time" after Trotsky's death.

But sixteen years later, in 1975, that is, thirty-eight years after his stay in Mexico, Wolfe suddenly recalls a rather long discussion he had with Trotsky on July 7, 1937, the day Trotsky had written a letter on Kronstadt; Wolfe's summary, without quotation marks, takes three and a half pages.

According to this version, Wolfe expressed his uneasiness about Kronstadt, and their exchange ended with Trotsky's suggestion that Wolfe should leave the staff after completing some tasks connected with the Dewey Commission's inquiry into the Moscow trials.

If that is what actually happened, then the Kronstadt issue, it should seem, would have burned itself into Wolfe's consciousness in relation to Trotsky. If differences over Kronstadt were the cause of his leaving Trotsky's staff in 1937, and presumably evidence of Trotsky's touchiness on the question, why did Wolfe neglect to mention it in 1959? Why did it take him "a long time" to make his Kronstadt connection?

(Of course Natalia Sedova was still alive in 1959 and able to confirm or refute this latest version, as well as Wolfe's contention that she too was a closet Kronstadter.)

The truth is that in 1937, when he returned to New York, Wolfe never referred to Kronstadt as the reason; nor did anyone



else at that time, in Mexico or New York. The truth also is that Trotsky wanted Wolfe replaced not because of his then nonexistent views on Kronstadt but because he regarded Wolfe as unsuitable for the staff; Trotsky thought him not sufficiently responsible, too inclined to lie around reading novels when there was unpleasant routine work that needed doing, etc.

Wolfe's novel is a fiction that has little relation to the real Trotsky, and other parts of his book, which are supposed to be nonfiction, are as much the product of his imagination as any novel.

Near the end of his 1959 article Joseph Hansen said, "Future generations will, I imagine, find Trotsky a most attractive figure among the heroes who helped lead mankind in the painful struggle out of class society into the socialist order."

It was in fact only a few years later, in the 1960s, that Trotsky's popular reputation and image began to undergo significant change, especially among young rebels. The colonial revolution, de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union, the end of monolithism in the Soviet bloc, the thawing of the cold war, and the international radicalization of youth combined to create a new audience for Trotsky's writings and a new evaluation of the man and his ideas.

This infuriates opponents of revolutionary Marxism like Joel Carmichael, a specialist in anticommunist ideology. "Trotsky's name, symbolising the purity of The Revolution, has acquired a new lustre," he complains, and so he has written a 500-page book to remedy that. *Trotsky* is subtitled "An appreciation of his life," but "A hatchet job" would have been more accurate.

An effective hatchet job it is not, because Carmichael does not make much of a pretense at objectivity. He detests Trotsky too much to conceal his animosity; his tone is generally derisive or spiteful, and the few acknowledgments he makes of positive qualities in Trotsky suggest the sound of teeth being pulled.

For his material Carmichael has combed through other books—especially Isaac Deutscher's, Victor Serge's, as well as Trotsky's *My Life*—which he then rearranges, comments on, interprets or misinterprets in order to produce the conclusion or innuendo presenting Trotsky in the most unfavorable light. It is as scrupulous a method as those used by district attorneys prosecuting radicals in the McCarthyite period.

The Trotsky that emerges from this treatment is contemptible or pitiful: an accidental figure lacking most attributes of leadership; an amateur not a professional revolutionary; a windbag bitten by the theatrical bug at seven who never got over his passion for starring in dramatic roles at the center of a well-lit stage; a man who

was vain and arrogant, consumed with ambition but completely ineffectual and naïve in the pursuit of power; and a thinker whose ideas were so absurd that they are not worth debating.

Trotsky risked his liberty and life for the right to expound his ideas, which therefore seem to have some relevance to his character, career, and place in history. Carmichael rejects this: "Since these ideas, whatever their validity, fail to explain his career. . . . I have, accordingly, been obliged to distance myself from his preconceptions." So when he discusses Trotsky's ideas it is usually to belittle them or dismiss them as unworthy of serious examination. His favorite device is to capitalize words related to concepts he considers patently ridiculous: the Great Key of Marxism, The Proletariat, The Revolution, etc.

Where Carmichael doesn't see a point to score against Trotsky, he becomes careless and commits an occasional factual error. But when he's hot on the trail of some favorite theme, he doesn't refrain from outright invention and falsification. The worst example is his charge that as a refugee in France during World War I Trotsky make "a curious reversal of his general political 'line'" and began to castigate the French and Russian governments because he and his Paris paper were the recipients of "German money."

Carmichael is obsessed by the German imperialist effort in World War I to undermine the Russian imperialist government by extending secret financial aid to its domestic opponents, including revolutionaries. But he knows there isn't the slightest scrap of evidence to support this charge against Trotsky, or, more exactly, this slander.

Trotsky opposed *all* the imperialists in World War I and there was never any reversal by him on this score from the first day of the war. No conscientious scholar would ever deny this. But Carmichael gets carried away because his German connection is almost as central to this book as Wolfe's Kronstadt connection to his. Without it, he is at a loss to explain the Bolshevik revolution, why Trotsky became a "celebrity" in 1917, etc.

Carmichael doesn't always invent things; he usually prefers insinuation to direct charges. But he really soars off after pinning poor Trotsky on the couch.

First comes the pious disclaimer: "Any psychoanalysis of Trotsky would be presumptuous: it is impossible. No unconscious material is available, no dreams, no intimate information." But the very next sentences are the following:

Yet it would seem likely that what amounts to Trotsky's disavowal of his origins—of his family background as well as of his family—stitched a kink into the very fabric of his being—an inability to radiate a personal charm gladly

internalised by his peers. His fundamental self-rejection forestalled his exercise of an authority based not on his position but on himself. And it was during the grotesquely misnamed "struggle for power" in the Twenties that his recessiveness reached a peak.

And shortly before the disclaimer:

At bottom Trotsky was incapable of forming the basic act of maturity—*taking responsibility*. He could not accept himself as a leader because his own ego was not a sufficient source of authority.

Genuine authority arises, after all, only on the groundwork of a personal integration in which the whole man, having overcome his adolescent rebellion against his parents, is capable of achieving, through the absorption and sublimation of hostility toward his father, an identity of his own anchored in the fusion of unconscious strivings, the ambitions of the ego and the ideals of the super-ego.

It was, perhaps, the unconscious disdain he felt for his father—petty-bourgeois, illiterate, provincial, Jewish—that prevented Trotsky from realising the confluence between ambitions and personal history that should, ideally, take shape when the adolescent rebellion has yielded to the maturing of an adult who can perceive, accept, and love his father as another adult and can thus assimilate a balanced, purified, and harmonious version of him as a model.

Trotsky's rejection of his father made it impossible for him to become a father in his turn: he remained a son—a lost boy.

In the next to last paragraph Carmichael still has an escape clause, "perhaps." But it has withered away by the time Trotsky has become a childless, lost boy. All this, by the way, is supposed to throw light on why the Stalinist bureaucracy succeeded in defeating Trotsky's Left Opposition in the 1920s. Reeling from a stitch kinked into our very fabric, the only thing we can say is, Perhaps not. □

### Britain's Deadly Baby Milk

Thousands of babies in Britain are being fed on government-subsidized milk that health experts believe is a factor in some of the 3,000 crib deaths that occur in the country every year.

About 50,000 women are giving National Dried milk to their babies, Patricia Jones reported in a February 1 London *Sunday Times*, "yet the milk was condemned in 1974 by a Department of Health committee on child nutrition which demanded that it should be modified because of its relatively high salt content."

The excess salt can produce a condition called hypernatraemia, which dehydrates babies and sometimes causes convulsions leading to brain damage. Doctors think this condition is a factor in causing crib deaths.

Despite the known danger, the government continues to encourage the use of National Dried. It is heavily subsidized (costing about one-third the price of other baby milks), promoted in baby clinics all over the country, and given free to mothers who receive social assistance.

## Portugal: The Third Congress of the LCI

[The third (extraordinary) congress of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Portugal) was held January 10-11. It follows by five months the LCI's second congress, held August 2-3, 1975.

[According to the report in the February 5 *Inprecor*, the special congress was held to "draw a balance-sheet of the activity of the LCI since the summer and to work out an orientation responding to the requirements of the revolutionary struggle in Portugal."

[The congress also "pronounced itself in favor of the unification of revolutionary Marxist forces in Portugal and for the immediate opening of discussions toward this end with the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party)," *Inprecor* reported. In addition, a new leadership was elected.

[We print below the theses and a self-criticism adopted by the special congress, as translated and excerpted in the February 5 *Inprecor*.]

\* \* \*

In the present period, all our forces must be turned toward open mass work in order to carry out the tasks described above.

The main direction of our work today is toward the mass organs of the working class. It is here that we must implant ourselves; in implanting ourselves here we will advance in the construction of the revolutionary workers party.

### **Make the Workers Commissions the Backbone of Dual Power**

In the present conjuncture all our mass work must respond to the necessity of *stimulating and strengthening a response* to the attempt of the government and the employers to extend the success they achieved on November 25 to the social sphere.

Our work in the workers commissions and the trade unions in the present phase must be oriented primarily in this direction. To assure the maintenance and revitalization of the workers commissions so that they fully and as rapidly as possible again assume their function as embryonic organs of dual power in the context of a new workers upsurge, it is necessary that the workers commissions take on concrete functions in the daily struggle to defend the conquests of the workers.

To the extent that they accomplish this function, they will be able to assert their role as the backbone of the emergence of a situation of dual power. Thus, today we must carry out mass work *aimed at developing the response to the austerity plan*, lending the workers commissions a decisive role in this counterattack. This is the basis of the link between our trade-union work and our activity in the autonomous organs.

In this perspective, the establishment of a situation of dual power and even the strengthening, extension, and independence of the autonomous organs of the workers vis-à-vis the bourgeois state apparatus requires that priority be placed on the struggle for the development, generalization, and expansion of the workers commissions.

The strengthening of the workers commissions means the effective strengthening of the independent organization of the class, the development of workers control, the raising of the consciousness of the proletariat; this implies the development of conditions for proletarian hegemony in the local coordinating bodies of the workers commissions, moradores [tenants] commissions, etc., in all the organs that permit the alliance of the proletariat with intermediary layers of the population and that prefigure soviets.

The strengthening of workers control through workers commissions enables the workers to broach the economic problems with the perspective of their being resolved by the working class itself through the coordination of the workers commissions at the local branch level and through the coordination of the workers commissions with the moradores commissions.

Thus, we can say that *the strategic objective of our intervention in the factories is the stimulation, centralization, and extension of the workers commissions and the combination of this work with intervention in the trade unions*.

### **Stimulate, Extend, and Centralize the Workers Commissions**

Because of the grave crisis of Portuguese capitalism, the very development of struggles for their demands on the part of the workers gave rise to the emergence of commissions that most often went beyond the tasks of mere committees to lead given struggles and took on tasks of permanent workers control.

The development of the workers commissions was a factor of fundamental importance for the Portuguese revolution. These commissions paved the way for overcoming the division introduced by the craft unions and for endowing the workers with effective instruments for their struggle.

Our intervention must aim at pushing forward the workers commissions as the *organized product of mass struggles in the factories*, with the following essential functions:

- to exercise workers control in the enterprises (prices, raw materials, layoffs), to combat sabotage, to plan the economy;
- to organize self-defense, to struggle against capitalist reaction; to fight against the isolation of exemplary struggles and to fight for their generalization to ever broader sectors of workers;
- to lead the struggle for better working conditions, to struggle against restrictions on the democratic rights of the workers.

It is nonetheless necessary not to push the workers commissions forward in a vacuum, without the workers' understanding what they are and what their purpose is, because in that event the workers commissions wind up as forms for administering and controlling the workers. This is especially true in the North and Center of the country, where the role and importance of the workers commissions have been less understood.

In the case of the workers commissions in which we have some influence, all opportunities must be seized to pose the problem of sectoral and intersectoral coordination, especially in the sectors in crisis, where the demand for credits for the reconversion of raw materials, for example, enables the workers to more easily understand the necessity of coordinating the workers commissions with other commissions of the same branch or of other sectors.

It is here that the proposals for *congresses of the workers commissions in industrial sectors* or in complementary sectors take on particular importance; we must take advantage of all opportunities to propel them forward.

But such a centralization must be able to be based on all the already existing experiences and to struggle for their fusion, which is the only way to broaden the mass base of the workers commissions and to *guarantee proletarian democracy within them*.

It is in this direction that we must orient the Provisional Secretariat of Workers Commissions of the Lisbon Industrial Belt (SPCTCIL—Secretariado Provisório das Comissões de Trabalhadores da Cintura Industrial de Lisboa), demanding that this body hold local and sectoral congresses to begin preparation of a National Congress of Workers Commissions.

Such proposals are intimately linked to the struggle for the formation of a tendency

in the SPCTCIL, which must be the prime objective of our intervention, given the fundamental weight of the layers of workers led by the SPCTCIL. At the same time, in order to broaden the mass base of the workers commissions, it is necessary to struggle not only for the broadest democracy in the election and functioning of the commissions, for the right of the various currents of the workers movement to express themselves within the commissions, but also for the presentation by the workers commissions of clear projects to defend the interests of the workers and of overall solutions to the crisis of the system. Concurrently, the formation of a secretariat of the workers commissions of other basic industrial regions would be of major importance in preparing a National Congress of Workers Commissions.

The present tactic of the CP is to demobilize the class and paralyze the bodies that it leads, doing this through its policy of government compromise, its propaganda around the imminence of the fascist danger in order to justify its alliances, and its manipulation of the coordination bodies that already exist, using them as instruments for pressuring and collaborating with bourgeois institutions. Against this, on the one hand we must stress the importance of the unity in action of revolutionaries in order to increase their weight in launching mass actions for demands and in the coordination bodies, and, concretely, in order to strengthen their initiatives toward creating genuinely representative regional secretariats; on the other hand we must insist on the necessity for the independence and broadest democracy within the autonomous organs, consolidating the united class front within them and adopting the most appropriate forms of representativity (revocability, control by plenary sessions, election of delegates to the workers commissions from each sector or workshop so that the commissions will apply the program decided on by the majority).

#### **Avoid the Isolation of the Workers Commissions; Trade-union Work in the Factories**

It is on the basis of understanding the priority of intervention in the factories and the workers commissions that we must measure our trade-union intervention at the present time. Given the lack of centralization of the workers commissions and the fact that there are many factories in which they do not exist, and given the lack of a consolidated trade-union bureaucracy, many trade-union commissions may be able to be used: *first*, as instruments of the workers commissions in the more backward factories; *second*, to enable the vanguard workers commissions in this transition

phase of the prerevolutionary situation in Portugal to make their weight felt throughout the entire working class, deepening struggles for workers demands and participating in the debates going on in the unions. *Third*, in the backward sectors, the emergence of factory trade-union commissions through the development of trade-union struggles can serve as a springboard for the emergence of workers commissions with a mass base.

Some comrades frequently complain that it is difficult to distinguish between workers commissions and trade-union commissions. This mixture of functions during the present period—during which the trade unions, even those led by the reformists, are most often unable to restrict themselves to mere economic demands and are compelled by the deep crisis of Portuguese capitalism to put forward overall proposals—*must be utilized*:

1. To develop, on the national level, the general problems of workers control and to introduce this same discussion among the more backward layers of the proletariat;
2. To avoid the isolation of the workers commissions;
3. To combine the struggle for immediate demands with the struggle for transitional slogans (workers control, sliding scale of wages and hours).

On this basis, not only can the work in the workers commissions serve as an important point of departure for the struggle for a *trade-union organized on a branch basis*, but also revolutionary work in the trade unions can contribute significantly to the development of the workers commissions, especially in factories with combative trade-union commissions, to the centralization of their struggle on a national level, and to the development of the factory structures on which they can base themselves. This requires a determined struggle for trade-union democracy, for decentralization of the discussion of forms of struggle at the factory and branch level.

On this basis the trade unions will be able to be in position to convoke *congresses of*

*industrial sectors based on elected structures in the factories* in order to discuss the concrete problems of each sector, thus playing an important role in the coordination of the workers commissions.

It is in this sense that our trade-union work, centered primarily on the sectors of workers in which a more rapid radicalization can be expected because of the economic crisis, is axised around objectives of struggle complementary to those we attribute to the workers commissions.

It is also for these reasons that the LCI insists on the absolute necessity of combining both sorts of work, utilizing its overall weight at the level of factory work.

Moreover, the close combination of the two sorts of work leads toward placing on the agenda the slogans of the *National Congress of Workers Commissions and the Democratic Congress of all the trade unions* around the axes mentioned above in relation to the work in the workers commissions.

Not only are such slogans sufficiently concrete to be understood by broad sectors of workers, but they also appear as increasingly corresponding to the requirements of a workers response, to the objective needs of the working masses, and to the level of consciousness of the workers, which does not yet permit the immediate formation of a structure of centralization of all the autonomous organs.

Finally, given the differences in radicalization of the working class, it is an objective of struggle that takes account of the development of the workers commissions and the trade unions, aiming at the unification of the class. By placing the emphasis on the unions and not on the Intersindical, it permits the mass base of the congress to be broadened by addressing the unions controlled by the CP and permits the unmasking of the divisive policies of the reformist or sectarian leaderships. In sum, it is a question of an intermediary objective that better corresponds to the present degree of extension and centralization of the workers commissions. □

#### **LCI Self-Criticism**

a. Since December 1973 the regular intervention of its revolutionary militants has permitted the construction of the LCI, the deepening of its implantation and ability to take important political initiatives (anticolonial movement in May-September 1974, antimilitarist actions), and the participation of the LCI in the leadership of some mass struggles.

But there was difficulty in freeing this intervention, conducted by a handful of militants that has since expanded to the present nucleus, from some initial errors

that marked our history and were a logical consequence of our small implantation at the outset combined with a formal sectarianism and some dogmatic conceptions.

The uneven growth and the lack of a clear central political line, which reflected the weakness of our political experience, was nonetheless counterbalanced by the implantation that was developed and by the organization's breaking into new zones in which significant nuclei of workers were rapidly developed. But this development was often carried out at the cost of deepening

ing the empiricism and regionalism of the intervention.

It is in this sense that, in spite of the errors committed, in spite of the limits of its education and of the political debates that were conducted within it, the LCI was always integrated into the dynamic of the Portuguese revolution and participated with all its strength in the important confrontations that strengthened the revolution (September 28 and March 11). Although these political errors contributed to weakening us and led us to underutilize important political opportunities, the consolidation and strengthening of the revolutionary Marxist organization and the commitment of its militants and sympathizers to important mass struggles in the factories, enterprises, trade unions, neighborhoods, and barracks constitute a point of departure for a qualitative leap that is now possible, provided we understand and correct our previous errors.

b. The fact that the revolutionary Marxists have held two congresses in less than five months is not evidence of any arbitrary subjectivism or a desire to discuss simply for the sake of discussion, but rather corresponds to the objective and subjective requirements of the revolutionary process itself. In this respect, Leninism, the Bolshevik practice to which the LCI adheres, certainly stands in contrast to the Stalinist and bureaucratic practice of holding congresses at intervals of years, congresses in which tendency differences and debates are replaced by the principle that unanimity is a virtue and differences a sin.

It was exactly five months ago, in August 1975, that the last congress of the LCI was held. But in the five elapsed months, the revolutionary process has developed much faster than expected. During this period, revolutionary Marxists found themselves facing tasks whose scope far exceeded their forces. But what made this third (extraordinary) congress necessary was the observation of the fact that the orientation approved at the second congress had not sufficiently armed the militants for carrying out the tasks required by the rapid development of the revolutionary process.

c. While the second congress, in August 1975, marked an advance in the discussion of some important questions, it nonetheless maintained and deepened some of the errors mentioned above. The analysis of the MFA, the CP, and the SP that was adopted at the congress facilitated political hesitations and turns that logically led to the signing of the August 25 accords,<sup>1</sup> the acceptance of the September 10 FUR manifesto,<sup>2</sup> and the

1. For text of the August 25 accord, see *Intercontinental Press*, September 15, 1975, p. 1206.—IP

2. For text of the manifesto issued by the Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (Front for Revolution-

participation in this front until its effective disappearance.

Because of its importance and because of the political and organizational consequences, it is necessary to systematically enumerate the errors of the FUR:

- The unity in action that was possible and necessary was replaced by a "frontist" policy based on an erroneous political platform, which inevitably led objectively to sectarian and divisionist actions relative to the workers movement as a whole and subjectively to confusion about the party, which facilitated the division of the workers vanguard and the development of the "nonpartyist" current within the independent organs (the workers commissions, moradores commissions, soldiers commissions, etc.).

- The lack of any conception of the workers united front at a time when it was particularly important to stimulate united actions that would have permitted the development and presentation of a political outlet for the process of self-organization, uniting the majority of the class in defense of its social and economic conquests and responding immediately to the economic and political crisis of the bourgeoisie.

- An incorrect and extremely dangerous conception of the Social Democracy, which was identified as the twin of fascism;

- The development of putschist and insurrectionist conceptions that facilitated the events of November 25 and made it difficult to put forward an alternative political solution.

The political dissolution and organizational consequences of the LCI's participation in the FUR were the product of serious errors that opened the way for a combination of sectarianism and tailendism towards the policies of the centrist organizations and the CP. In reality, a correct comprehension of the dynamic of class struggle that led to the fall of the fifth government, to the mass actions of the soldiers movement, to the new rise of generalized struggles for unifying economic demands (rural wage-earners, metalworkers, civil construction, bakers, etc.), and to the development of partial initiatives of centralization of the organizations of direct democracy would have prevented the LCI from signing, on August 25, an accord that supported the MFA and the fifth provision-

ary Unity), see *Intercontinental Press*, September 22, 1975, p. 1259. Groups present at the September 10 news conference announcing the formation of the FUR were Movimento Democrático Português (MDP—Portuguese Democratic Movement), Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado-Brigadas Revolucionárias (PRP-BR—Revolutionary party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades), Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left), Liga de União de Acção Revolucionária (LUAR—League for Revolutionary Unity and Action), Frente Socialista Popular (FSP—People's Socialist Front), and the LCI.—IP

al government, giving rise to all the centrist confusion about the character of the CP and developing a sectarian policy toward the SP. This political understanding also would have permitted a different policy, based on a break with the FUR (as soon as the FUR accepted the August 25 accords) and on the recomposition of the unity in action of the revolutionary organizations to attain essential objectives like the creation of a more favorable relationship of forces with the reformists so as to stimulate the centralization of the autonomous organs, thus addressing ourselves to all the workers and revolutionary organizations.

These political errors prevented a battle for the unity in action of the workers movement for its fundamental objectives: the deepening of the conquests and demands of the working masses for the development and centralization of the embryonic organs of dual power in a period in which the initiatives of the workers movement could have rapidly been transformed into new steps forward. □

### 'Agnew Legacy' Haunts Capitalists

The depth of cynicism and disillusionment about the American political system has capitalist politicians and their advisers worried.

"There is a belief that the (political) process is so unresponsive and dishonest that it cannot be used by voters for their purposes," said poll-taker Patrick Caddell. One Caddell poll found that 68 percent of those asked feel that "over the last 10 years, this country's leaders have consistently lied to the American people."

Other polls have recorded a similar mood. According to the Louis Harris survey, 58 percent believe that "people with power are out to take advantage of me."

Peter Hart found that 57 percent believe that "both the Democratic and Republican parties are in favor of big business rather than the average worker."

Although the issues of inflation and unemployment dwarf other concerns in the public mind, Caddell pointed out that people "don't believe the rhetoric of the Democrats on jobs or of the Republicans on inflation—they just dismiss it."

There is also widespread disbelief in the so-called energy crisis. In fact, Caddell said, "there is resentment about what is perceived as a conspiratorial rip-off" by oil companies with the connivance of the government.

Even the old standby of promising to crack down on crime is not working. "A majority now believes that such a candidate won't make the streets safe from crime and chances are he will end up being proved a crook himself," said Louis Harris. "That is what I would call 'the Spiro Agnew legacy' in American politics."

# An Appeal for Mustafa Dzhemilev

[The following statement by Andrei Grigorenko was printed in the January 9 London *Times*. Grigorenko, an engineer who currently lives in exile in Munich, is the son of Pyotr Grigorenko, dissident Soviet communist who was imprisoned for almost five years in a psychiatric prison-hospital for his work in defense of the Crimean Tatars.]

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For 27 weeks my friend Mustafa Dzhemilev, leader of the Crimean Tartars, has been on hunger-strike in a Siberian forced labour camp in Omsk. He is protesting against inhuman persecution by the KGB, who are fabricating a new case against him. On December 3 his sister described his condition as that of "a living corpse, a walking skeleton." Andrei Sakharov and my father, Pyotr Grigorenko, had organized a press conference for her in Moscow. They also appealed to the United Nations to intervene to save Mustafa's life.

The journalists wrote their stories, but the world's newspapers did not print them. Who, the editors must have asked, are the Crimean Tartars? And what does it matter if their leader is being martyred? These are the questions I hope to answer, simply by describing the life of a man with whom I am linked by many years of friendship.

Mustafa was born in 1943 in the Crimea. Six months later, on May 18, 1944, he and all the Crimean Tartars were forcibly deported to far-away Central Asia. The soldiers who broke into the houses at dawn on that day gave the Tartars 20 minutes to pack their things. Then came the long months of deportation in cattle trucks, during which the weak died by the thousand—of grief, thirst, cold and starvation. By the end of 1945 nearly half the nation had perished.

Mustafa's earliest memories are of a small settlement in the deserts of Uzbekistan. To stray beyond the last hovel meant to be shot on the spot, for a child. At school the teachers sang the praises of Soviet rule, and asserted at the same time that the Tartars had been bandits for centuries, had betrayed the motherland to the Germans, and had been justly punished for this by deportation.

His family was poor, and Mustafa started work very young. But all his spare time he spent in the library, searching for the truth about his people among all the falsified texts. This put him in touch with other like-minded youngsters, and soon they formed a Crimean Tartar Youth League. The league's aim was to convince the Tartars of the need to launch a militant campaign for the right to return home. Mustafa insisted from the start that the campaign should be based on



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MUSTAFA DZHEMILEV

the broad principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As a 16-year-old youth he already understood that freedom is indivisible.

In 1962 the KGB broke up the league by arresting four of its members and subjecting their protesting comrades to a mixture of threats and inducements to turn informer. Mustafa refused to inform. Two days after his last interrogation he was sacked from his job.

Soon he entered an agricultural college in Tashkent, but in 1965 he was accused of "taking part in unauthorized nationalist meetings, writing a *Short Historical Essay on the Turkic Culture of the Crimea from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, and refusing to join the Communist Youth League." He was later expelled, after the police had beaten him up for making a speech to a youth group. Harassment increased, especially after he had tried to get the courts to reinstate him as a student, and then travelled to Moscow to appeal to the relevant ministry. The ministry ruled that he had indeed been illegally expelled, but as he left the building the police arrested him, held him a few days, then deported him under guard to Tashkent.

He was tried in May, 1966, on a trumped-up charge of avoiding military service, and sentenced to 1½ years in forced labour camps. At the trial he spoke of his nation's

tragic fate: "As a result of the crime of 1944, I lost thousands and thousands of my brothers and sisters. And that has to be remembered! Remembered like the crematoria of Auschwitz and Dauchau. Remembered so that such things are not repeated, so that the terrible Nazism and chauvinism which gave birth to these crimes are destroyed at their roots."

In the camp he was urged to renounce his views, was put in the punishment cells, and provoked into a hunger-strike. On his release the harassment continued. He could not find work and was again refused reinstatement as a student.

Now Dzhemilev was elected as one of the permanent representatives of the Crimean Tartars, whose job it was (and is) to press the authorities continuously to allow the Tartars to return home from their exile. In May, 1968, he was due to participate in a demonstration in Moscow by several thousand Tartars on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the deportation. The day before, however, the police rounded up most of the demonstrators, including Mustafa, and sent them back to Central Asia under armed guard.

At this time Dzhemilev got to know many of the leading figures in the Soviet human rights movement, people like Pyotr Grigorenko, Leonid Plyushch and Alexei Kosterin. As a believer in the indivisibility of freedom, he immediately sympathized with their aims. It was in large part thanks to his efforts that misunderstandings were ironed out between the Moscow democrats and the leaders of various national movements in the USSR. Quite logically, therefore, he became one of the 15 founder-members, in 1969, of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the USSR.

During this period Mustafa signed open letters and appeals, and denounced the occupation of Czechoslovakia. So when his new arrest came in September, 1969, it provoked widespread protests. But he was sentenced none the less to three years' forced labour. At his trial he declined to appoint a defence counsel on the ground that the few available independent barristers would be severely persecuted for their efforts on his behalf, while the police-approved ones would simply do what the KGB ordered. Instead, Dzhemilev himself demonstrated the groundlessness of the charges of "deliberate anti-Soviet slander." He also compelled the court to admit that the prosecutor had participated in punitive police actions against the Tartars. This fact made his prosecutor's role illegal. He also caught the judge red-handed receiving notes which instructed him how to conduct the case.

On his release in 1972, Mustafa's health had been severely undermined by the camp conditions and associated hunger-strikes.

But the police at once resumed their persecution, subjecting him several times to preventive detention. In June, 1974, they arrested him yet again. A wave of protests and appeals came from the Tartars and his friends in Moscow. Some were addressed to the Soviet authorities, others to the UN and international human rights bodies. But they did not avert a new sentence of one year. Since no one was informed about when or where the trial would take place, and as it was conducted in camera, little is known about the proceedings. But it soon leaked out that Mustafa had declared a new hunger-strike and that a prison in Central Asia had refused to accept him in a highly emaciated condition, for fear that he might die there.

On June 21, 1975, Dzhemilev's third sentence was due to end. On June 19 new charges of "deliberately slandering the Soviet system" were preferred against him. He went on hunger-strike.

The new charges were no surprise. In January, I had heard from Mustafa's fellow-inmates that a new case was being concocted. And in May I had received a document, signed by one of them, which described the circumstances. The camp authorities were trying to recruit false witnesses from among the prisoners, using threats and blackmail.

Using these materials, I appealed to the camp authorities to put a stop to such illegalities. At first they appeared to do so. But soon came the new charges. A group of friends, including Dr Sakharov and myself, promptly sent a telegram to the head of the KGB, Yuri Andropov. When we got no reply, we organized a press-conference in Moscow last July, at which Mustafa's mother and sister were present. Copies of all the documents, including protests signed by a number of democratically minded people, were given to the press. No stories appeared.

Now, once again, in Omsk, Mustafa is deploying his only weapon. His friends, including myself, have urged him to end his present, most terrible hunger-strike. Recently he replied: "I refuse to do so, but not because of any childish heroics. The fact is that I began the strike not only as a protest, but also to defend myself against false witnesses. You can see for yourselves they've got nothing to charge me with. So if I hadn't gone on hunger-strike, they'd have thrust on me two or three 'cell-mates,' who would now be 'testifying' against me." The point here is that Soviet law requires hunger-strikers to be kept in solitary confinement.

Because Mustafa is not a Jew, but a Crimean Tartar, will he continue to receive no help from the outside world? Perhaps those governments, groups and individuals who support the Palestinians could give a

lead. After all, the Crimean Tartars have been dispossessed of their homeland for a few years longer than the Palestinians. To the Arabs, moreover, they are fellow-

Muslims who have repeatedly appealed for support to their Islamic brethren.

Who, in short, will save my friend?

Andrei Grigorenko

## Report Urges Steps to Curb 'Distorted' News Dispatches

### 'Image' Problem Peeves Sri Lanka Regime

The government of Sri Lanka is not getting enough good publicity.

That is the conclusion of a "Report of the Cabinet Sub-Committee on Mass Media" issued January 25. The subcommittee was chaired by Pieter Keuneman, minister of housing and construction, and excerpts of its report were printed in the February 5 *Ceylon News*.

"We owe a duty to ourselves to project to other peoples a fair image of ourselves. . .," the report said.

"In such an effort, we could naturally expect the sympathy and understanding of the Socialist world and, understandably, we have received such sympathy and continue to do so."

By the phrase "the sympathy and understanding of the Socialist world," the report is evidently referring to the uncritical backing that has been afforded the capitalist regime of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike by both Moscow and Peking. The counterrevolutionary bureaucrats of both the Soviet Union and China supported Bandaranaike's brutal suppression in 1971 of thousands of radical young members of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front).

Bandaranaike's ruling Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) is based primarily on the country's majority Sinhalese nationality, which is Buddhist. Accordingly, the Keuneman report expressed alarm at the "completely distorted picture given to some newspapers in Arab States about the position of the Muslim minority in Sri Lanka and similar distorted accounts of the position of the Tamil minority that have appeared in some newspapers in South India and Malaysia."

The report pinned the blame for such "distortions" on "deliberately false and prejudiced misinformation by certain political forces in this country. . ."—presumably Tamil and Muslim dissenters.

The major concern of the Keuneman report, however, was the bad press it felt Sri Lanka was receiving in the major capitalist countries of Europe and North America. The report pointed out that "it is with this community of nations that Sri Lanka still relies quite heavily in such spheres as trade, aid, tourism, etc."

Several new procedures were therefore suggested to help spruce up Sri Lanka's image in these powerful quarters.

One problem needing correction, the report noted, is that "it is very often the case that foreign correspondents enter Sri Lanka in other guises such as tourists, apparently under the mistaken impression that they will be refused admission or that their movements would be kept under official scrutiny if they declared the true purpose of their visit."

This clandestinity, the report argued, makes it difficult for official government authorities to provide these correspondents with "briefings." In the absence of such official information sources, the report noted, reporters "instead contact their local Sri Lanka representatives, some of whom put them in contact only with sources hostile to the Government."

How does the Keuneman report propose to allay the "mistaken impression" among foreign news reporters that the regime will subject them to "official scrutiny"?

It suggests that the Ministry of Information and Foreign Affairs establish an accreditation system for these correspondents. "This could help the relevant Ministries to get in touch with the visiting journalist and make sure that he also has access to official sources. In the event of persistent misconduct by such a correspondent, a system of accreditation would also help in initiating remedial action."

Permission to use news cables would be granted only to "accredited" journalists under the proposal. Sri Lankan diplomatic missions around the world would be instructed to investigate and report all visa requests by "reputed journalists."

One of the three authors of the Keuneman report is Leslie Goonewardene, a member of parliament and leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP). The LSSP claims to be a Marxist party, but it was expelled from the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1964 when it agreed to join the capitalist Bandaranaike cabinet.

The LSSP remained in a governmental bloc with the SLFP for eleven years. Last September, however, Bandaranaike kicked all three LSSP members out of her cabinet.

## Perspectivas del Movimiento Campesino en el Perú

Por Hugo Blanco

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 10 de enero de *Palabra Socialista*, un periódico socialista revolucionario publicado en el Perú.]

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En 1975, el regreso al país del compañero Hugo Blanco constituyó un triunfo importante para las masas obreras y campesinas. En testimonio de su reconocimiento al dirigente consecuente y revolucionario, obreros, campesinos y estudiantes le brindamos un significativo recibimiento a su ingreso al país. De igual forma, cuando Hugo Blanco regresó al Cuzco, sus hermanos campesinos que tras 13 años de espera pudieron nuevamente tenerlo en su tierra, le brindaron un caluroso y combativo recibimiento y en reconocimiento de que, pese a toda la campaña de infamias y mentiras, Hugo Blanco sigue siendo el máximo líder reconocido de las masas campesinas que lo eligieron como delegado nacional al CEN [Comité Ejecutivo Nacional] de la CCP [Confederación Campesina del Perú.] En esta página transcribimos un artículo escrito por el compañero sobre la situación del campesinado, en particular del Cuzco y sobre su posición y la de su partido—el PST—sobre las tareas de organización campesina para esta etapa.

\* \* \*

Las luchas campesinas de fines de la década del 50 y comienzos de la década del 60 produjeron grandes transformaciones en los valles de La Convención y Lares y se reflejaron fuertemente en el resto del departamento de Cuzco.

En La Convención y Lares quedó prácticamente abolido el sistema de haciendas y fue sustituido por la propiedad de pequeñas y medianas parcelas. La represión que hizo retroceder otras conquistas no se atrevió a tocar lo fundamental.

En el resto del departamento fue distinto; la represión de los gobiernos burgueses hizo retroceder notablemente las conquistas campesinas, como recuperación de tierras comunitarias y fuerte disminución del poder de los hacendados.

La reforma agraria de este régimen, hecha para impulsar el desarrollo capitalista del país y disminuir la tensión en el campo, consiguió en gran medida estos objetivos: Quedaron prácticamente liquida-

das las grandes haciendas en el departamento. Este es un gran avance capitalista que tenemos que reconocer si queremos actuar coherentemente en el campo.

Pero ¡jojo!, esto no significa que los gamonales hayan dejado de ser poderosos señores ni que el campesinado haya dejado de ser el sector más pobre y explotado. Significa solamente que los hacendados explotan al pueblo en otra forma: como dueños de fábricas, grandes comerciantes o funcionarios y que los campesinos sufren la explotación de los capitalistas y de su estado. Las cooperativas, SAIS [Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social] y desde ahora las empresas de Propiedad Social no son más que formas mal disimuladas de explotación al campesinado. Las cooperativas de comercialización de La Convención y Lares pudieron dejar de ser esto gracias a la conciencia y experiencia del campesinado de esa zona.

### Organizaciones Campesinas

La represión primero y el reformismo del gobierno después, fueron las causas principales del debilitamiento de las Federaciones Campesinas de La Convención y Lares y del departamento del Cuzco.

El gobierno burgués, usando en su servicio antiguos luchadores como Vladimiro Valer, Justo Huallpa, Saturnino Willca, etc., y gran demagogia, presentó a SINAMOS [Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social], las ligas agrarias, la FARTAC [Federación Agraria Revolucionaria "Túpac Amaru II" del Cuzco], etc., como herederas de las grandes luchas del campesinado contra los gamonales y el gobierno.

Así, por causas objetivas y subjetivas se fortalecieron estos organismos financiados por el gobierno burgués.

El debilitamiento de las Federaciones Departamental del Cuzco y Provincial de La Convención, clásicamente antigubernistas, facilitó que se convirtieran en nuevo campo de batalla de las sectas ultraizquierdistas universitarias que por su ignorancia y falta de interés en los problemas diarios del campesinado favorecieron más aún el debilitamiento de las centrales clasistas, o sea que su hegemonía en la dirección de las dos federaciones es efecto y causa del debilitamiento de ellas.

En cuanto a La Convención y Lares, cuando su lucha era por la tierra se

manifestaba a través de sus sindicatos y su federación. Ahora su lucha fundamental es por la comercialización de sus productos y por lo tanto se manifiesta a través de las cooperativas de comercialización agrupadas en la COCLA [Central de Cooperativas Agrarias de La Convención y Lares].

### ¿Y Ahora?

Sucede que han madurado las contradicciones del campesinado cuzqueño con el capitalismo y su estado. El campesinado se queja de que las cooperativas y SAIS le quitaron su tierra, se queja de que en esos organismos se les explota, se queja de los bajos precios pagados por sus productos y de los obstáculos puestos a la comercialización de ellos, se queja del exorbitante alza del costo de vida.

Por supuesto, el SINAMOS, las ligas y la FARTAC no le sirven para luchar contra esas cosas sino para organizar concentraciones en homenaje a funcionarios y gobernantes culpables directos o indirectos de sus males.

Es por esto que el campesinado comienza nuevamente a buscar canales propios para sus luchas y se acerca el momento de la revitalización de las organizaciones independientes del campesinado, contra los organismos estatizados y por encima de las sectas ultraizquierdistas.

### CEN Ampliado de la CCP

En noviembre se realizó en el departamento del Cuzco la reunión ampliada del Comité Ejecutivo Nacional de la Confederación de Campesinos del Perú.

Esta reunión sirvió para constatar y canalizar la radicalización del campesinado, tanto de la zona serrana con la reunión en Chancán, Anta, como en los valles de la ceja de selva con la reorganización de la Federación del valle de Lares que se reinició con 17 bases ratificando su afiliación a la CCP y las multitudinarias asambleas en Huadquiña y Chaupimayo, dos bases que heroicamente combatieron al gamonal Romainville.

Desgraciadamente la nota negra de la gira se dio en la Federación Provincial de La Convención y Lares, donde Patria Roja [maoísta] y otras sectas ultraizquierdistas consiguieron que la Federación Provincial se desafilara de la CCP.

Hay que hacer notar que quien encabezó

esta acción fue el enviado especial de la Federación de Estudiantes del Perú, Tani Valer. No sabemos si el estudiantado peruano realmente dio a Valer la misión de dividir nuestra central campesina pero si sabemos que él que se llena la boca hablando de las "gloriosas luchas de la Federación" fue uno de los que atacó fuertemente hace más de 13 años cuando también era estudiante.

### Nuestra Posición Acerca de la CCP

Consideramos que la CCP es una organización del campesinado independiente del estado burgués. Consideramos que es la única organización de ese carácter que agrupa a grandes sectores de masas.

Estas dos consideraciones son suficientes para apoyar y defender la CCP y luchar por su fortalecimiento.

Hay graves acusaciones de burocratismo contra la dirección de la CCP por parte de Patria Roja y otros sectores. Suponiendo que todas estas acusaciones sean ciertas, lucharemos con todas nuestras fuerzas para la terminación de esos métodos y para la corrección de cualquier desviación política que haya; pero todo esto defendiendo la CCP y desde su interior.

Recordemos la política que tenemos frente a la CGTP [Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú]: Defensa de la organización y lucha por su fortalecimiento; esto lo llevamos a cabo precisamente luchando contra la dirección burocrática y traidora desde el interior.

Es ésta la política que tuvieron Marx y Lenin y que no tiene nada que ver con el sectarismo divisionista y nefasto de la ultrazquierda autotitulada "marxista-leninista."

Además hay una esencial diferencia entre las direcciones de la CGTP y de la CCP: La dirección de la CGTP en manos del PC [Partido Comunista]—"Unidad" apoya al gobierno burgués y practica el colaboracionismo de clases. La dirección de la CCP con mayoría de VR [Vanguardia Revolucionaria] señala al gobierno como uno de los principales enemigos del campesinado y orienta en general una política clasista.

Nuestra primera actitud frente a los compañeros de VR, PCR [Partido Comunista Revolucionario, escisión de VR] y MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria] que han hecho labor campesina, es felicitarles por su trabajo. A partir de esta posición iniciaremos la discusión sobre los análisis hechos, sobre la línea a seguir y sobre el funcionamiento de nuestras organizaciones campesinas.

Por ahora dejaremos sólo señalado el punto fundamental de nuestra discrepancia: Para nosotros la revolución que nos corresponde hacer es la revolución socialista. Más aún, después de las reformas hechas por este gobierno burgués inclusive la revolu-

ción agraria que nos corresponde es fundamentalmente anticapitalista y por lo tanto socialista. En esto discrepamos del stalinismo en todas sus ramas, desde el PC "Unidad" hasta "Bandera Roja," pasando por VR y PCR.

Organizativamente la principal discrepancia es que nosotros creemos que la CCP debiera luchar desde dentro de la CGTP contra la dirección traidora de esta central.

Creemos que con los miembros de la CCP es más lo que nos une que lo que nos separa; creemos que en general nuestras diferencias serán superadas a través del trabajo en común.

Con este espíritu entramos a trabajar en la CCP y para esto he aceptado integrarme como miembro del CEN de nuestra central campesina.

7 de diciembre de 1975

## Frei Denuncia 'Carácter Fascista' del Régimen de Pinochet

### Dictadura Encara Creciente Oposición en Chile

La represión salvaje llevada a cabo por la junta chilena, combinada con la inmensa crisis económica del país y el casi total aislamiento del régimen en la arena internacional, ha causado una creciente oposición a la continuación del dominio del Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

El desencanto dentro de la junta misma se reflejó en la renuncia el 3 de enero del Gen. Sergio Arellano Stark, el oficial que ocupa la tercera posición en la junta y el Jefe del Estado Mayor del Ejército. La renuncia de Arellano fue acompañada según los informes por un ultimátum a Pinochet por parte de diez de los oficiales militares más poderosos exigiendo "cambios inmediatos y radicales en la política," y estableciendo como plazo para su implementación el mes de marzo.

El ultimátum, informó James Nelson Goodsell en el *Christian Science Monitor* el 5 de enero, "incluye una demanda para medidas urgentes para salvar la economía del colapso.

"También exige la disolución de la DINA, la policía secreta establecida por el General Pinochet para descubrir a los elementos subversivos, y un mejoramiento de la 'imagen desagradable' de los militares 'en el extranjero.'"

La publicación de informes en un artículo del *Sunday Times* de Londres el 4 de enero, describiendo en detalle estos acontecimientos fue prohibido en Chile en base a que semejantes cuestiones podrían "causar una conmoción."

La oposición dentro de la junta fue seguida por una protesta por parte del anterior Presidente chileno Eduardo Frei, un dirigente demócrata cristiano que originalmente recibió con aprobación el golpe militar contra el régimen de Allende. Una editorial católica en Santiago, en abierto desafío a la junta, imprimió un folleto escrito por Frei denunciando el gobierno de Pinochet y exigiendo un regreso a formas

democráticas de gobierno.

Frei denunció el "carácter fascista" de algunos en el gobierno, y advirtió que "el país desea una salida y por ello es que no desea que se acumulen factores de tensión que hacen, a medida que pasa el tiempo, más difícil una solución racional en acuerdo con sus tradiciones."

El temor de Frei de agudizar las tensiones, según extractos de su libro impreso en el número del 15 de enero del diario bonaerense *La Opinión*, fue incrementado por una situación económica en la cual la producción económica ha bajado del 22 al 25 por ciento desde hace un año, y el desempleo en la región de Santiago ha subido al 16.6 por ciento. El nivel de inflación durante los primeros diez meses de 1975 era del 280 por ciento.

Frei se quejó de que "en esta política no sólo hay un costo social gravísimo, sino además un costo económico difícil de medir en su magnitud y consecuencias actuales y futuras."

Refiriéndose a la casi universal condena de la junta en el extranjero, Frei dijo de sus críticos que "suponer que todos ellos son marionetas de la propaganda comunista es pensar que son irremediamente estúpidos o ignorantes. Hay países que nadie podría acusar de estar sometidos al comunismo, como es el caso de los Estados Unidos, que votaron en las Naciones Unidas contra Chile, en lo referente a los derechos humanos."

Aunque la corriente se empieza a voltear en contra de la junta, en algunos sectores se mantiene todavía fuerte. Por ejemplo, Anthony Lewis informó en el *New York Times* el 22 de enero que el Presidente del Banco Mundial Robert S. McNamara ha recomendado un préstamo de 33 millones de dólares a la junta, aunque se negó a otorgarle semejantes préstamos al gobierno de Allende. □



### Sionistas Apoyan Sistema Discriminatorio en Líbano

Por David Frankel

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Zionists Back Discriminatory System in Lebanon" que apareció en el número del 16 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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"La P.L.O. [Organización de Liberación de Palestina] acaba de secuestrar algo mucho más grande que un avión."

Ese pie de foto apareció en letras grandes en un anuncio en el *New York Times* el 19 de enero, abajo de una fotografía de media página del edificio de las Naciones Unidas.

El intento de hacer a un lado la lucha por la liberación de Palestina como la obra de un puñado de terroristas es un viejo tema en la propaganda sionista. Pero debido a que la apariencia de los representantes de la PLO en el debate del Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU sobre Palestina a mediados de enero coincidió con las más recientes—y las más salvajes—luchas en la guerra civil libanesa, los sionistas también intentaron ganar unos puntos por ese lado. El resultado es muy instructivo.

En el anuncio, la Liga Antidifamación de B'nai B'rith dijo que "mientras que los delegados de la Organización de Liberación de Palestina están presentes con un ramo de olivo en la mano, el resto de su organización sigue llevando a cabo otra guerra de exterminio en el Medio Oriente.

"Y esta vez no son los judíos que están asesinando en Israel, sino los cristianos en Líbano."

Un argumento similar fue usado por el Primer Ministro israelita Yitzak Rabin, quien dijo, "Es una vergüenza para el mundo, y especialmente para el Vaticano, mantener silencio sobre la masacre de la comunidad cristiana en Líbano por los musulmanes intolerantes." (Citado en el *Christian Science Monitor*, el 26 de enero.)

Esta caracterización de los acontecimientos en Líbano es una mentira destinada a servir sus propios intereses.

- La guerra en Líbano empezó en abril del año pasado cuando los cristianos derechistas de la Falange ametrallaron un autobús lleno de palestinos que regresaban de un mitin.

- La última ronda de luchas comenzó cuando una milicia falangista bloqueó primero uno y después dos campamentos de refugiados palestinos.

- Aunque algunos reporteros han documentado frecuentes casos de saqueo por



RABIN

parte de musulmanes y cristianos y varios casos de asesinatos sectarios de ambos lados en la lucha, no ha habido nada que compare con la masacre sistemática llevada a cabo por los falangistas en la región de Quarantina en Beirut. (Ver el número del 16 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*, p. 240.)

Atrás de la mentira de que la guerra civil en Líbano fue provocada por un impulso musulmán para eliminar la comunidad cristiana, está el intento de difundir la segunda mentira: que el mundo árabe no tolerará ninguna minoría y que por lo tanto la única forma en que los judíos en el Medio Oriente se pueden salvar de la masacre es manteniendo su propio estado exclusivo.

Así, al informar sobre un discurso de Chaim Herzog, el Embajador israelita a las Naciones Unidas, la corresponsal del *New York Times* Kathleen Teltsch dijo el 13 de enero que Herzog "se quejó de que mucha gente ingenua y bienintencionada había sido engañada por el argumento de la PLO de que intenta crear un 'estado democrático y secular.' Lo atacó como un 'truco propagandístico transparente,' que había sido desmentido por las acciones de la PLO,

incluyendo los ataques sobre la comunidad cristiana en Líbano. . . ."

Pero el sistema gubernamental en Líbano se basa en la negación del gobierno de la mayoría y un sistema de cuotas religiosas que contradicen la democracia y el secularismo. Por más de treinta años se le ha asegurado el dominio del país a la comunidad cristiana, pese a que ha sido por mucho tiempo una minoría. La lucha comunal en Líbano no parte de la falta de deseo por parte de la mayoría musulmana de convivir con los cristianos sobre bases iguales, sino del hecho de que a esta mayoría se le ha negado sus derechos democráticos básicos.

Además, las divisiones comunales se acentúan debido a las profundas divisiones sociales y económicas que tienden a seguir líneas religiosas. Aunque hay capitalistas musulmanes en Líbano, la comunidad cristiana es por lo general más rica que la musulmana y la gran mayoría del comercio libanés está en manos de los cristianos. El grado de polarización social es marcada por el hecho de que el 4 por ciento más rico de la población libanesa recibe el 32 por ciento de la renta nacional, mientras que el 50 por ciento más pobre recibe sólo el 18 por ciento.

Sin embargo, los sionistas, quienes presentan la tesis de que la contienda civil en Líbano ha sido simplemente agitada por los "musulmanes intolerantes," particularmente los 300,000 a 400,000 refugiados palestinos que viven en el país, han ignorado todo esto. La lógica del argumento sionista fue explicada detalladamente por Jon Kimche en el número de 31 de enero de *New Republic*.

Kimche, un escritor liberal sionista muy conocido, quien participó en la guerra de 1948 para establecer Israel, dice, "La guerra en Líbano . . . es una advertencia al mundo de que hemos entrado al ocazo de semejantes ideas políticas tales como la democracia, el nacionalismo y especialmente el estado multirracial o multinacional."

Haciéndole eco al grito de Rabin de "musulmanes intolerantes," Kimche afirma, "Como una de las más viejas comunidades establecidas en el Medio Oriente, los cristianos libaneses, especialmente los maronitas, comprendieron que no tendrán ningún porvenir una vez que se conviertan en una minoría indefensa y sin protección en un país gobernado por una mayoría islámica."

Esta posición lleva Kimche a saludar la "crecientemente poderosa y popular Falange cristiana," el "filo de la resistencia cristiana."

Le Falange, cuyo nombre proviene de la Falange de Franco en España, fue fundada como un partido descaradamente fascista, inspirándose en el hitlerismo así como el franquismo. Fue establecida por Pierre Gemayel cuando regresó a Líbano después de los Juegos Olímpicos de 1936 en Berlín.

La admiración de Kimche por este partido, cuya razón de ser es para preservar la posición privilegiada de la comunidad cristiana en Líbano, va de acuerdo con su negación tajante del principio democrático del gobierno de la mayoría.

Desde el punto de vista de Kimche, es necesario "examinar de nuevo la realidad del gobierno de la mayoría y la implicación de las sociedades multinacionales una vez que ya no exista la seguridad de la tolerancia o la autodefensa."

Señala varios ejemplos de países multinacionales donde las diversas nacionalidades han estado envueltas en conflictos agudos, con la obvia implicación de que los sionistas están justificados en cuanto a su insistencia sobre un estado exclusivamente judío en Palestina. Pero Kimche deja fuera de consideración la verdadera base de los conflictos nacionales: la opresión de una nacionalidad por otra. (Esta omisión se comprende en vista del récord sionista en Palestina.)

Aunque insiste en que "no existen ni ángeles ni diablos" en el conflicto en Líbano, esta falsa imparcialidad de Kimche no se extiende lo suficiente como para que le llame al arreglo discriminatorio ahí por su verdadero nombre. Al contrario, argumenta que el cese de hostilidades actual eliminará la dominación cristiana y por lo tanto: "Este es tanto un plan para la paz como el acuerdo en Munich en 1938 fue para los checoslovacos. Les entrega a los musulmanes todo lo que exigían y, según un despacho palestino, 'creará las condiciones bajo las cuales se podrán llevar a cabo mayores reformas ordenadamente.'"

Kimche continúa, diciendo que el plan podría proveer una supervisión militar directa de los sirios sobre la tregua, y "si esto es correcto entonces los norteamericanos tendrán que realizar una gran labor de persuasión y convencimiento cuando el Primer Ministro Rabin llegue en Washington esta semana. Así como el acuerdo de Munich en 1938, el plan para la paz de los sirios tendrá que ser juzgado por lo que viene después: A Munich le siguió la ocupación de Praga y después el ataque a Polonia."

Lo importante aquí no es la evaluación de Kimche de la tregua, que de hecho deja básicamente intacto el sistema sectario en Líbano, sino su afirmación de que Siria piensa ocupar Líbano, y la amenaza de guerra implícita en sus palabras. Esta es la línea del gobierno israelita.

El régimen de Rabin fue restringido por Washington durante las recientes luchas en Líbano, pero ha estado asentando las bases para una futura acción al denunciar a los luchadores palestinos en Líbano como un simple brazo del gobierno sirio.

En un despacho del 26 de enero proveniente de Jurasalén, el corresponsal del *New York Times* Terence Smith dijo:

Los diplomáticos occidentales aquí creen que la intervención israelita es todavía posible, especialmente si se desarrollan nuevas batallas. Los israelitas se restringieron durante la última ronda debido principalmente a las advertencias de los norteamericanos y el deseo de no envenenar el ambiente antes de la visita de once días a los Estados Unidos del Primer Ministro Yitzhak Rabin, que comenzó hoy día.

Después de esa visita, sin embargo, y después de que el Congreso haya empezado a otorgar la ayuda de 2.3 mil millones de dólares pendientes para Israel, el gobierno tendrá una mayor libertad de acción en cuanto a Líbano. Al señalar eso hoy día, una fuente militar enfatizó que la advertencia básica de Israel permanece igual: no permitirá la intervención abierta y directa de los sirios en los asuntos internos de Líbano.

Una intervención en Líbano es una tentación múltiple para Israel puesto que ofrece la oportunidad de arrebatar más territorio árabe, la oportunidad de atacar

las organizaciones palestinas en el único país donde tienen libertad de acción, y la oportunidad de atacar a Siria y al derrotarla aliviar la presión por concesiones territoriales.

La desilusión de que esta oportunidad no haya sido tomada todavía se reflejó en el número del 25 de enero del diario israelita *Yediot Aharonot*, que dice en un editorial: "Lo que realmente ha sucedido en Líbano es una invasión por parte de Siria, de la cual nosotros estábamos muy concientes. Simplemente huimos de la escena, perdiendo la poca credibilidad que nos quedaba después de las constantes advertencias."

Obviamente, hay muchos en Israel que esperan la oportunidad para restablecer la "credibilidad" del régimen a través de una nueva guerra en el Medio Oriente. □

## Una Estabilidad Política Deceptiva

# Costa Rica: Democracia en Muletas

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica—Después de varias décadas la imagen democrática de Costa Rica se ha logrado afirmar sobre todo por efecto de contraste con los países vecinos. Siendo país de capitalismo dependiente, con las garras del imperialismo profundamente enraizadas en todos los sectores de su economía, aparece como realmente sorprendente y excepcional la estabilidad política de la cual ha gozado desde 1948.

Desde la continua alternatividad en el poder entre los partidos políticos de la burguesía, a través de elecciones hasta la ausencia de ejército regular, la "libertad" burguesa de prensa, etc., los rasgos se multiplican dibujando la conocida fisonomía de un tipo de gobierno democrático-burgués políticamente estable.

Claro está que fuertes movilizaciones estudiantiles y esporádicos surgimientos de luchas obreras han jalonado la reciente historia del país. Entonces se ha visto claramente la preparación técnica del estado burgués para reprimir las luchas obreras y las movilizaciones estudiantiles. Han aparecido en efecto en dichos momentos de tensión fuertes contingentes de tropas antimotines con un equipo cuya existencia era, al parecer, desconocida.

Sin embargo, estos han sido momentos excepcionales y en general Costa Rica ha logrado imponer la imagen de las policías de tránsito urbano con destornilladores en vez de revólveres en las cartucheras.

Es entonces lógico que todo análisis político de Costa Rica deba necesariamente intentar, al menos, una explicación que

permita comprender las razones sociales de su estabilidad política. Así, es comúnmente aceptado que en Costa Rica la estabilidad política ha reposado en la existencia de una enorme clase media.

La estructura general del agro, por ejemplo, muestra que la pequeña propiedad ha sido, hasta muy recientemente, el tipo fundamental de tenencia de la tierra, al menos en la zona de mayor concentración de población. De igual forma cada centro urbano se encuentra todavía en una relación estrecha con la pequeña propiedad agraria. La ciudad no tiene límites definidos que la separen del campo. En determinado momento la ciudad se disuelve en pequeña propiedad agraria.

Entre las clases sociales urbanas, el proletariado industrial ha sido pequeño, con bajo grado de organización de clase y sin grandes tradiciones de lucha. La pequeña burguesía en cambio, ha dominado numéricamente y socialmente. Las contiendas electorales entre los diferentes sectores de la burguesía han sido, socialmente, luchas político-ideológicas por ganarse el apoyo y la confianza de la pequeña burguesía urbana y rural.

Las clases dominantes y el imperialismo han podido utilizar en obras de infraestructura y en concesiones reformistas los recursos económicos que otros países han empleado en el ejército. Todo esto ha sido posible gracias a la existencia de una clase media que ha servido como un amplio cojín amortiguador de las contradicciones de clase.

De esta situación se ha derivado una

estabilidad política que ha sido, para el capital imperialista, una garantía social para sus inversiones. Si el imperialismo no se ha visto más atraído a invertir sus capitales en Costa Rica ha sido debido a su pequeño mercado interno a pesar de las facilidades ofrecidas por el mercado común centroamericano. La gran difusión de la pequeña propiedad agraria por otra parte unida al pequeño número de proletarios urbanos han mantenido relativamente alto el valor de la fuerza de trabajo en comparación con los demás países centroamericanos.

Sin embargo, toda la base social en que ha reposado la estabilidad política y la democracia burguesa en Costa Rica se han ido deteriorando a pasos agigantados. En efecto, se ha observado en los últimos años un proceso de empobrecimiento y disminución de la pequeña propiedad agraria, un lento pero continuo incremento del proletariado urbano y rural y la pequeña burguesía urbana se ha visto afectada de forma particularmente intensa por una inflación de un 50% en los últimos seis meses.

Esta nueva situación social ha creado las condiciones objetivas para un cambio cualitativo en las luchas de clase. En todos los sectores de la vida social las tensiones crecen, la agitación se presenta a la orden del día y la democracia burguesa costarricense comienza a sentir tambalearse las muletas enclenques en que hasta ahora se ha apoyado.

La universidad ha visto un incremento enorme de la agitación política de izquierda. Las organizaciones de izquierda han logrado y conservado el control de los gobiernos estudiantiles. El problema del presupuesto universitario se presenta como una fuente de agitación constante que el gobierno burgués es incapaz de solucionar de forma definitiva. El déficit universitario obliga a quedarse fuera de la universidad a miles de estudiantes e imposibilita los proyectos de desarrollo de la universidad. Ante ello las organizaciones estudiantiles presentan como solución un programa antimperialista que consiste principalmente en superar el endémico déficit presupuestario por medio de impuestos especiales a las compañías extranjeras, especialmente a las bananeras.

Capas enormes de población campesina engrosan año tras año las filas del proletariado urbano. Su falta de experiencia y de tradición de clase hace de estos sectores presa fácil de una explotación particularmente intensiva. Una persecución sindical abierta o velada es la regla en estos casos de forma que la mayor parte de dicha población no está sindicalizada. La inflación aparece aquí como un factor adicional que intensifica considerablemente las tendencias a una agitación de clase que anuncia combates inminentes.

En el campo el endeudamiento masivo de los pequeños propietarios, la ausencia de un

sistema de créditos favorables y la penetración de capitales en forma de cultivo intensivo, hacen la situación insostenible. Las tierras se venden o se pierden por deudas y grandes sectores de la población campesina se ven reducidos a la miseria. Aquí el reformismo de las reformas agrarias burguesas es completamente incapaz de oponerse a las tendencias leoninas del capital. Las invasiones de tierra se multiplican convirtiéndose en una expresión continua de la combatividad creciente del campesinado.

La pequeña burguesía urbana vive profundamente endeudada. Créditos a altísimos intereses mantienen comprometidos los ingresos durante años enteros. El descontento de esta clase social se expresa por una parte en un considerable desapego frente a los partidos de las clases dominantes, acentuado esto por una corrupción administrativa cada vez más descarada. Por otra parte, la pequeña burguesía tradicionalmente indiferente ante los partidos de izquierda, comienza a mostrarse sensible frente a la alternativa socialista.

Los intereses de las clases dominantes se han visto representados por dos grandes agrupaciones políticas, el partido Liberación Nacional, en el poder, y el partido Unificación. En los últimos años, sin embargo, el partido Liberación Nacional concentra en su propio seno las principales pugnas de intereses de las clases dominantes, de forma que surge en él la tendencia a convertirse en árbitro de los conflictos. Esto crea una posibilidad real de transformar el tipo de gobierno en un bonapartismo decadente ligado al imperialismo. Esta tendencia se ve acentuada por las tensiones sociales crecientes, por la incapacidad de las clases dominantes de pagarse reformas y concesiones que "calmen" las tensiones y particularmente por la presencia cada vez más diversificada de capital privado imperialista.

Durante todo el año 1975 se produjeron entrenamientos militares en diferentes zonas del país y la amenaza de creación de un ejército regular fue denunciada en repetidas ocasiones. En realidad los diferentes sectores de las clases dominantes han distado de encontrarse desarmados; diversos grupos paramilitares de derecha han existido siempre de una forma más o menos velada.

En base a todo lo anterior es perfectamente posible comprender las bases enclenques en que reposa la democracia burguesa y la estabilidad de la dominación política de clase. Esto significa que los años que vienen verán necesariamente violentos combates de clase al mismo tiempo que intentos determinados, de parte de las clases dominantes, de restringir de una forma significativa las libertades democráticas.

Sin embargo, esta amenaza se encontrará con un proletariado urbano más numeroso,

y en proceso de formación de su experiencia combativa de clase, al mismo tiempo que acentuará más aún la radicalización de las clases medias.

Es en este contexto que la defensa y extensión de libertades democráticas se haya estrechamente ligada a los intereses más básicos de las clases dominadas, al mismo tiempo que a sus formas más elementales de conciencia. El ejercicio aún limitado de libertades democráticas ha permitido que sea alrededor de dicho tipo de consignas que el proletariado y las clases medias se movilicen con mayor energía. El proceso de deterioro de la democracia burguesa en Costa Rica puede crear condiciones objetivas a partir de las cuales sea posible comprender que la más firme defensa de las libertades democráticas es la destrucción de las bases capitalistas endebladas en que se asienta.

De ahí que una crisis prerrevolucionaria en Costa Rica no está excluida en los años que vienen. Todo ello dependerá, en parte al menos, del grado alcanzado de organización de clase del proletariado durante los años próximos inmediatos.

Hoy por hoy el panorama político costarricense se encuentra dominado por la creciente radicalización de los sectores más diversos de la población. Un índice de dicha radicalización es el crecimiento sin precedentes de todas las organizaciones de izquierda y el incremento de todos los sectores sindicales.

Es por esto que Costa Rica puede convertirse en los años que vienen en un volcán revolucionario altamente explosivo. Su actual democracia ha creado suficientes reflejos en las masas como para que las consignas de defensa y extensión de las libertades democráticas adquieran una dinámica revolucionaria. □

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## La Falsa Acusación Contra Joseph Hansen y George Novack

[La siguiente es una declaración de los redactores de *Red Weekly*, el periódico del International Marxist Group (IMG—Grupo Marxista Internacionalista), sección británica de la Cuarta Internacional. Apareció en el número del 29 de enero de *Red Weekly*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El 5 de enero de 1975, *Workers Press*, el "órgano diario del Comité Central del Workers Revolutionary Party [WRP—Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores]," acusó a Joseph Hansen y George Novack—trotskistas norteamericanos muy conocidos, viejos miembros del Socialist Workers Party [SWP—Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores] y entre los colaboradores más íntimos de Trotsky durante su último exilio en México—de ser "cómplices de la GPU" (la policía secreta stalinista).

Por lo regular no nos molestaríamos siquiera con semejantes desvaríos. Cuando José Stalin usó los recursos del Estado soviético para fabricar una gigantesca mentira, los trotskistas se vieron obligados a contestar cargo por cargo; cuando Gerry Healy usa su conocimiento detallado de los procesos de Moscú para imitar los métodos de los acusadores, podemos abandonar este asunto tranquilamente, no a una refutación política y objetiva, sino a un estudio médico de la degeneración mental en la época de la decadencia capitalista.

Esto es particularmente cierto cuando la única "evidencia" que produce Healy es la del estado capitalista, declarados agentes de la GPU y sinvergüenzas similares, ex trotskistas quienes desafortunadamente han degenerado al punto que no diferencian entre agentes de la GPU, comandos palestinos y luchadores del IRA, y elementos tales como Vereecken—recientemente elevado por Healy al rango de "trotskista veterano"—quienes fueron descritos por el propio Trotsky como haberse "colocado fuera de la realidad política" y caracterizados por el congreso de fundación de la Cuarta Internacional de haber "utilizado su pertenencia formal en el movimiento de la Cuarta Internacional para mofarse de sus principios, sabotear su disciplina y dar ayuda y consuelos a sus enemigos."

Sobre el método de Healy, por supuesto, es un "cómplice" de todos estos elementos. Afortunadamente para él, no es "cómplice," ni "agente"—simplemente demuestra la regla de que si escarbas entre la basura sólo encontrarás mugre.

El récord de Healy está completamente abierto al público. Está sentado entre las

ruinas de una organización aplastada y destrozada. El Comité Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional ha atravesado por los métodos viles usados contra los espartaquistas, la escisión con los lambertistas, la vulgar expulsión de Alan Thorne, la persecución de Tim Wohlforth, y ahora está cosechando lo que ha sembrado. La explosión de sus organizaciones en Australia y el colapso de sus fuerzas en los Estados Unidos son simples presagios de la destrucción de su sociedad de culto en Gran Bretaña. Cuando Healy recuerda su vida puede en toda sinceridad registrar, "todo lo que construí se ha convertido en polvo."

Pero el descenso político ha conducido ahora a una degeneración moral y personal también. Ya no tenemos simple posiciones sectarias, errores social demócratas y métodos violentos—ahora tenemos mentiras concientes y organizadas al grado más alto que permitirán los recursos de Healy.

Los antecedentes históricos son obvios. Primero el "Comité Internacional" utilizó pequeñas mentiras para ayudar un poco los argumentos—después de todo, ya que los "pablistas" de la Cuarta Internacional son objetivamente agentes del capitalismo, entonces si la SLL/WRP no puede encontrar la evidencia, puede "servir los intereses de la clase obrera" inventándola. Desafortunadamente, las mentiras de Healy fueron desenmascaradas así y él no pudo contestar. La respuesta era clara—simplemente censurar un poco a los miembros e incrementar las mentiras.

Pero una vez que Healy había abierto la puerta tan sólo una pulgada a las mentiras y el abandono de los principios, se lanzó con una lógica férrea por el camino hacia el basurero político.

En cuanto al planteamiento en *Workers Press* de una investigación mundial de este asunto, es completamente despreciable tan siquiera discutir seriamente si Joe Hansen es cómplice de la GPU. Healy aprendió ese truco del libro de texto de cualquier abogado burgués de baja categoría, de los métodos stalinistas en el Comintern, y del arsenal de Joseph McCarthy. La técnica es sencilla—hacer la acusación más absurda, que nadie creería, pero entonces si se puede establecer un organismo que lo "investigue," adquiere cierta respetabilidad la mentira y tal vez la gente pensará que tiene algo de fondo.

No tenemos la más mínima intención de darle respetabilidad a una acusación que sólo saldrá en la historia como una nota sucia y miserable en las crónicas de la patología. La única "investigación" que sugerimos para cualquier estudiante de los

aspectos desconocidos de la historia es la de describir en detalle, si acaso hay alguien a quien no le enferma hacerlo, cuánto una organización como la SLL/WRP, que empezó como un enemigo del sistema capitalista, prostituyó la causa más noble en el mundo con los métodos del basurero, y al hacerlo condujo a sus dirigentes a la completa degeneración política y moral. Ese es el único interés que tienen las "acusaciones" de *Workers Press* para el movimiento obrero.

En cuanto a Joseph Hansen, no necesita que nadie lo vindique—la historia ya lo ha hecho. Durante cuatro décadas y más Joe Hansen ha servido la única causa que vale la pena servir—los intereses de la clase obrera. Durante esas mismas décadas ha intentado defender las únicas ideas que vale la pena defender—las ideas del marxismo revolucionario. Lo hizo como el secretario de Trotsky y durante los largos años de represión, cacería de brujas y el aislamiento de las décadas de los años cuarenta y cincuenta.

Si la historia lo juzgue bien o mal sobre determinado problema, intentó defender el socialismo revolucionario y la causa de la clase obrera de la única forma posible—a través de una atención escrupulosa a la verdad, el estudio y esfuerzo serios y a través de una lucha consistente por lo que uno cree. Su carácter de revolucionario y luchador político es irreprochable.

En cuanto a Healy y su grupo de mentirosos, no les era nada desagradable, en tiempos más sanos, tener el apoyo de Joe Hansen durante los años cincuenta—incluso citando orgullosamente al "cómplice de la GPU" elogiando a su organización. Y en cuanto al otro "elemento culpable," George Novack, no sólo estuvo trabajando personalmente durante años en colaboración cotidiana con tu dirección, sino que tú, S. Healy, firmaste artículos públicos que en realidad fueron escritos por este "cómplice de la GPU."

La publicación de ataque de Healy en un periódico que pretende ser marxista, sin embargo, no representa la paranoia de un solo individuo, no importa qué tan poderoso sea él o ella dentro del WRP. Representa algo mucho más grave. Marca la completa degeneración política de una secta que afirma su adherencia al trotskismo. Es la lógica extrema de la política sectaria, y debería ser un recordatorio terrible para otros grupos en la izquierda de lo que puede suceder cuando se empiezan los debates políticos distorcionando las posiciones de los oponentes y calumniándolos personal-

mente de una forma tajante.

Siempre hubo rasgos de esto en el predecesor del WRP, el Socialist Labor League [SLL—Liga Obrera Socialista], pero en la década de los años cincuenta y a principios de los sesenta, las calumnias eran menos duras, las distorsiones menos escandalosas y un régimen de organización interna un poco más flexible. Las raíces de la actual degeneración surgen de los eventos en torno a una gran escisión en la Cuarta Internacional en 1953, el surgimiento posterior de dos corrientes, el Secretariado Internacional y el Comité Internacional, y la falta de participación por parte de Healy en la reunificación de las dos corrientes en 1963.

La explicación que da Healy de estos acontecimientos siempre ha sido en términos de una supuesta revisión del marxismo—y por ende su traslado al campo del enemigo de clase—que se realizó a principios de la década de los años cincuenta por Michel Raptis (Pablo). Esto se concretizó supuestamente en una completa serie de traiciones históricas llevadas a cabo por el Secretariado Internacional de la Cuarta Internacional—y, después de 1963, también llevado a cabo por el SWP. Se había establecido un lema vacío, y la SLL iba a pasar mucho tiempo, energía y recursos posteriormente explicando a la clase obrera británica lo funesto del “revisiónismo pablista.”

El hecho de que los puntos de vista de Pablo no fueran aquéllos de la mayoría del Secretariado Internacional, y aunque lo fueran, estas diferencias *teóricas* no justificaban una escisión, no tenía ninguna importancia. Se habían trazado las líneas de batalla, identificado al principal enemigo, y se tenía que llevar a cabo la batalla. No importaba que el Secretariado Internacional hubiese negado la mayoría de las calumnias; no importaba que los oponentes de Healy fuesen hombres de paja; no importaba que los trotskistas hubiesen estado atacando estos métodos de debate en el movimiento obrero durante décadas.

El sectarismo político se intensificó cuando la victoria de la revolución cubana y una actitud común hacia ella ayudó a reunificar la corriente principal del trotskismo mundial. El SWP, prohibido por la legislación reaccionaria de afiliarse a la Cuarta Internacional, declaró su apoyo a la reunificación. Pero Healy se mantuvo aparte. El SWP había capitulado claramente al “revisiónismo pablista.” De ninguna manera se podía permitir que la enfermedad se extendiera. Sus propias filas tenían que ser inoculadas en contra de ella. Y así fue.

Habiéndose lanzado sobre una trayectoria sectaria, Healy empezó a pagar el precio. En la completa obsesión de su corriente con sí misma, ahora negaron que se hubiese realizado la revolución cubana. Castro no era cualitativamente diferente de Batista.

Aquí tenemos un perfecto ejemplo del subjetivismo sectario. Ya que la victoria de la revolución cubana va en contra de nuestros intereses sectarios inmediatos, no admitamos siquiera que se haya efectuado. En todo caso, se encuentra en América Latina, y ninguno de nuestros miembros sabrá lo suficiente como para desafiar seriamente la suposición.

El que los revolucionarios auto-proclamados en un país capitalista avanzado hayan negado la realidad de una revolución socialista—no obstante en una pequeña isla lejana—porque el hacerlo debilitaría sus argumentos fraccionales contra sus oponentes, fue realmente una innovación en el movimiento trotskista. Stalin había aplicado un criterio similar a Yugoslavia después de que Tito se negó a aceptar el dominio de Stalin sobre el partido yugoslavo y el aparato de estado. Stalin también había recurrido a lanzarle todos los insultos existentes y fue imitado lealmente por Thorez en París y Togliatti en Roma. Las purgas en los partidos de Europa Oriental habían liquidado a todos los supuestos “desviacionistas titoistas.”

Healy ha tomado su tiempo, pero actualmente usa métodos similares contra sus oponentes dentro de su propio “partido” así como sus oponentes fraccionales en otros grupos. Este tipo de degeneración es política. Si se tiene una línea política sectaria, se tiene que construir una organización donde no se desafía nunca seriamente esta línea. La política sectaria requiere forzosamente una organización monolítica. El entrenamiento sectario de los miembros en la violencia verbal abre el camino a la violencia física contra los oponentes.

Si se les dice a los miembros que los espantosos revisionistas pablistas son los agentes de la pequeña burguesía en el movimiento obrero que tratan de pasar por trotskistas, o que son agentes de la policía o agentes de la burocracia soviética, se deja abierta la puerta a ataques físicos contra todos los oponentes políticos dentro y fuera de la propia secta. Esto ha ocurrido también en la secta dirigida actualmente por Gerry Healy, Mike Banda y *cía.*

Cuando se degenera un estado obrero llamamos a la revolución socialista. Cuando se degenera una organización de la clase obrera llamamos a sus miembros a luchar contra esta degeneración.

Por lo tanto apelamos a los miembros del WRP: camaradas, estudien la historia del movimiento al cual afirman pertenecer. Estudien los escritos de Trotsky, los documentos de la Oposición de Izquierda, los documentos (todos) relacionados a las polémicas en la Cuarta Internacional, y preguntense si los métodos utilizados por sus dirigentes se asemejan más al stalinismo o al trotskismo. Pregúntense si hubo algo incorrecto en la forma en que Alan Thornett

y sus camaradas fueron expulsados de sus filas.

Sigan los consejos de Marx a su hija—“duda de todo.” En particular, duden de todo lo que les mande hacer su dirección sin estudiar el caso de sus oponentes. Pregúntense por qué le tomó a Healy casi cuatro décadas descubrir que Hansen y Novack eran “cómplices de la GPU.” Nosotros dudamos si podrán salvar su organización, pero es definitivamente la única forma en que podrán salvarse como militantes revolucionarios! □

### Tito Acude en Ayuda de Pinochet

Tres federaciones sindicales en Italia han votado por boicotear los productos que entran y salen de Chile, según un informe en el número del 31 de enero de *Le Monde*. Pero cuando los portuarios en Trieste aplicaron esta medida y se negaron a descargar el barco chileno *Lago-Pujehue*, llegó ayuda de una fuente inesperada.

El Comité Europeo por la Liberación de Chile, un grupo basado en Roma, informa que el barco “salía entonces para Capodistria, en Yugoslavia, donde fue descargado, haciendo inefectiva la acción de los trabajadores italianos.”



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# Bolivia: Ascenso Obrero Más Grande en Cinco Años

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Bolivia: Biggest Working-Class Upsurge in Five Years" que apareció en el número del 9 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

El despido de 820 obreros de una fábrica de calzado ha causado la crisis más grave para la dictadura militar boliviana desde que subió al poder en agosto de 1971.

El 26 de enero, declarando su acción "un deber elemental de solidaridad de clase," 36,000 mineros se lanzaron a la huelga para apoyar a los obreros de la fábrica de calzado. Los mineros fueron seguidos por estudiantes universitarios, que se lanzaron a la huelga el día siguiente. Los trabajadores en otra fábrica de calzado amenazaron con declararse en huelga también.

El conflicto empezó en la fábrica de calzado Manaco en Quillacolla, a cerca de 275 millas al sureste de La Paz. Manaco, la fábrica de calzado más grande en Bolivia, es de dueños canadienses. Los 820 empleados realizaron la huelga por un aumento salarial y mejores condiciones el 14 de enero, pero el gobierno exigió una reanudación de labores el 22 de enero.

El Ministro del Interior Juan Pereda denunció la huelga, declarando que la fábrica de calzado era uno de los objetivos de un plan "subversivo" contra el gobierno.

La dictadura militar del Gen. Hugo Bánzer anunció el 24 de enero que los huelguistas habían sido despedidos. La huelga de los mineros fue realizada en abierto desafío al régimen derechista.

En una declaración a la prensa citada en el número del 27 de enero del diario *Excelsior* de la ciudad de México, la Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia denunció "la medida arbitraria e inhumana del monopolio extranjero Manaco y la actitud complaciente y parcial de las autoridades del gobierno."

Además, *Excelsior* reportó, "Los mineros del sector estatal, el grupo sindical más combativo del país, advierten que si el conflicto no se resuelve en forma justa, se boicotará la venta de calzado Manaco en todos los distritos mineros, y las tiendas que los ofrezcan al público serán intervenidas por comités obreros."

La huelga de los mineros fue iniciada por el sindicato en la mina Siglo XX, que también exigió la libertad de los presos

políticos y la plena legalidad para los sindicatos.

Aunque la huelga minera nacional fue declarada para un período de veinticuatro horas, un despacho del 27 de enero de Reuters proveniente de La Paz publicado en *Excelsior* informó que la huelga podría continuar hasta llegar a un acuerdo en Manaco. Según el mismo despacho, casi todos los trabajadores de Manaco habían reanudado sus labores el 26 de enero; y después reiniciaron la huelga cuando la compañía se negó a reincorporar a trece dirigentes acusados de "extremistas."

En Cochabamba, no muy lejos de la fábrica de Manaco, los trabajadores de la fábrica de calzado de segunda importancia en el país amenazaron con paralizar sus labores el 27 de enero para protestar la detención de varios dirigentes sindicales. El régimen militar ya había declarado un estado de emergencia en esa ciudad en respuesta al paro de Manaco y la huelga minera.

Mientras tanto, según *Excelsior* el 27 de enero, "... mineros y universitarios iniciaron campañas de recaudación de fondos, medicinas y víveres para los cesantes." □

## 'Excelsior' Señala 'Posible Provocación Policiaca'

# Policías Dispersan a la Fuerza Acto en México

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Club-Swinging Cops Break Up Concert in Mexico City" que apareció en el número del 9 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Un grupo de motociclistas de tránsito y granaderos dispersaron un acto del Centro Libre de Experimentación Teatral y Artística (CLETA) en la Plaza de las Tres Culturas en la ciudad de México el 25 de enero. El acto fue organizado en conmemoración de la masacre de cientos de estudiantes que manifestaban en la misma plaza de Tlatelolco en octubre de 1968.

Usando macanas y técnicas de karate, los policías se lanzaron contra la multitud de 1,000 personas que participaban en los sucesos. Por lo menos doce personas fueron detenidas y una cantidad desconocida resultó herida debido al ataque policiaco.

La policía lanzó el ataque en base a que el programa de CLETA estaba interrumpiendo otro acto que se realizaba en la misma plaza al mismo tiempo. Era una presentación de acrobacia por el Batallón Acrobático de Motociclistas, acompañada por la música de tres bandas locales, incluyendo una banda de la policía. La policía también afirmó que CLETA estaba insultando a las autoridades e incitando al desorden público.

CLETA explicó lo ocurrido en un volante mimeografiado, resumido en el número del 28 de enero del diario de la ciudad de México *Excelsior*. El programa del grupo teatral había sido planeado y anunciado con más de un mes de anticipo. Cuando supieron que otra organización, patrocinada por el gobierno, también usaría el lugar, empezaron su acto al otro lado de la plaza para no interferir o proveer cualquier pretexto para un enfrentamiento. De repente, la policía paró su festival y se lanzó contra el acto de CLETA. Arrebataron las mantas de CLETA y empezaron a golpear a

hombres, mujeres y niños despiadadamente.

Un mujer que presenció el ataque declaró a *Excelsior* que había visto a un funcionario del gobierno instar a miembros de la Asociación Unica de la Juventud Tlatelolca para que desalojaran a los miembros de CLETA del estrado. La Asociación Unica de la Juventud Tlatelolca fue la principal organizadora del otro evento.

Según un informe en *Excelsior* el 26 de enero, aquéllos que huyeron fueron perseguidos hacia callejones cercanos y pasillos por los motociclistas y granaderos con caretas antimotines y escudos.

Los oradores comenzaron el acto de CLETA reviviendo los eventos de la masacre de 1968 y protestando contra la quema de la colonia de paracaidistas Dos de Octubre. Cantaban canciones de protesta cuando se dio el ataque.

Entre los seriamente heridos se encontraba un miembro de la Liga Socialista (una

organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en México) y un reportero de *Excelsior*. El reportero fue golpeado por el jefe del batallón de motociclistas cuando intentaba entrevistar a Enrique Salgado Cordero, el subdirector de la policía y tránsito.

Las doce personas detenidas fueron Laura Trejo Moreno, Rosalina y Eduardo Hernández Vargas, Jenaro Gómez Chávez, René Castañeda Dimayuga, Fernando Fuentes Luna, Víctor Cruz Jiménez, Samuel Días Rueda, Alejandro Gómez de la Rosa, Sergio Balcázar Minerero, Juan Martínez Ramos y Víctor Manuel Angeles Soto.

Es posible que sean acusados de alteración al orden público, incitación al desorden, daño intencional en propiedad ajena y lesiones a agentes de la autoridad.

El ataque policiaco fue tan obviamente injustificado que incluso los redactores de *Excelsior* hicieron comentarios al respecto. En el número del 28 de enero declararon:

“... tanto los actores cuya reunión fue disuelta, varios de los cuales fueron detenidos, como dirigentes de una agrupación de residentes en el conjunto habitacional erigido en torno de aquel lugar, coinciden—sin que al aparecer haya entre unos y otros nexos alguno—en denunciar una eventual provocación por parte de miembros de la policía. Tal actitud consistiría en haber prolongado deliberadamente un festival que en circunstancias normales no dura tanto tiempo como el domingo, y en haber incluido en el programa un grupo de motociclistas de tránsito, que participó en el acto de dispersión y aprehensión de los artistas.

“Tales extremos indicarían una actitud que no puede ser vista con tranquilidad. La policía está en el deber de impedir que vulneren la paz pública, pero no puede extralimitarse en sus atribuciones hasta el grado de evitar la manifestación libre de las ideas, a tono con la legislación vigente.” □

puerto para impedir cualquier intento de subirse a los aviones sin boletos.”

Indudablemente, se tratará a las personas casi muertas de hambre de la misma manera que en Managua, Nicaragua después del terremoto devastador de diciembre de 1972. Ahí, los soldados recibieron órdenes de disparar contra los “saqueadores.”

Alan Riding informó el 6 de febrero, “Surje una dificultad de la negativa del comandante militar local a permitir que las agencias internacionales de socorro repartan sus propios alimentos.

“‘El ejército dice que recibirá todos los alimentos y otros abastecimientos y hará su propio reparto,’ dijo un oficial de socorro, ‘pero obviamente esto podría facilitar que algunos soldados los acaparasen.’”

Un indicio de que los oficiales en el ejército están esperando que suba aún más el precio de los alimentos fue proporcionado por Riding el día siguiente. Informó que “una fuente diplomática bien informada dijo que ‘desconocía’ que estuviese distribuyendo alimentos el ejército guatemalteco afuera de la capital, aunque un oficial gubernamental aquí dijo que habían suficientes provisiones en el país para cubrir la crisis inmediata.”

Mientras que los oficiales en Guatemala hacen planes para hacerse ricos con la miseria que les rodea de acuerdo con las virtudes capitalistas tradicionales, los imperialistas estadounidenses han estado jugando el juego de la ayuda humanitaria. Washington anunció el 6 de febrero que la situación en Guatemala andaba tan mal que incrementaría su ayuda a un millón de dólares—menos de un trigésimo de lo que ha otorgado para echarle carbón a los fuegos de la guerra civil en Angola.

Los 300,000 que se quedaron sin casa en Guatemala seguramente estuvieron llenos de alegría al oír que el gobierno de Ford les había enviado 500 carpas grandes a su destrozado país. No fueron olvidadas tampoco las docenas de miles de personas aisladas de sus fuentes de alimentos y asistencia médica por la destrucción de los puentes y los derrumbes que cubren los caminos. Washington anunció que estaba enviando ocho helicópteros. En comparación, dejó 625 en Vietnam cuando se retiraron las fuerzas estadounidenses.

Es sólo cuestión de tiempo para que los científicos aprendan a predecir los desastres como el terremoto de Guatemala. Probablemente ya lo podrían hacer si los gobernantes norteamericanos gastaran incluso una pequeña parte de su presupuesto militar anual en estudios científicos útiles en vez de nuevas maneras de proliferar la muerte.

En vista de su récord pasado y sus capacidades actuales, la ayuda “humanitaria” enviada a Guatemala por los gobernantes imperialistas en Washington es comparable a una cobra ofreciéndole a una de sus víctimas un parche curita. □

## ‘Ayuda Humanitaria’ de Washington a Guatemala

Por David Frankel

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo “Washington’s ‘Humanitarian Aid’ for Guatemala” que apareció en el número del 16 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Guatemala fue sacudido por un terremoto poderoso el 4 de febrero. Durante los días siguientes, nuevos temblores se sumaron a la devastación original. Según cálculos oficiales desde el 8 de febrero, hubo 15,000 muertos y más de 40,000 heridos. Tanto como 300,000 personas se han quedado sin hogar.

En la ciudad de Guatemala barrios enteros fueron destrozados. El hospital más grande del país, el Hospital San Juan de Dios que se construyó hace 197 años, fue inutilizado por los daños que le causó el terremoto. “El depósito de cadáveres está lleno. Por favor no nos manden más,” fue la súplica de una emisión de radio citada en un despacho de Associated Press.

Pero la devastación fue aún peor afuera de la capital. El Gen. Kjell Laugured García, el Presidente de Guatemala, dijo el 5 de febrero que “es evidente que las provincias han sido peor golpeadas y tienen las necesidades más urgentes.”

Un despacho de Associated Press el 6 de febrero informó: “Los reporteros que volaron sobre el interior informaron haber visto derrumbes en todos los caminos principales. Dijeron que hojalata y paredes de adobe

desparramadas marcaron los lugares donde habían existido pueblos.

“Patzicia, con una población de 11,000, fue arrasada, dijeron. Manzanas enteras en Chilmaltenango fueron aplastadas y Zumpango quedó en ruinas.”

Los terremotos, como cualquier otra tragedia en la sociedad capitalista, golpean más duro a los pobres. “El gran número de víctimas en Guatemala se puede atribuir tanto a la construcción vulnerable de casas en los barrios pobres del país como a la intensidad del terremoto,” señaló Walter Sullivan en el *New York Times* el 7 de febrero.

Otro despacho en el mismo número del *Times* explica que “en El Progreso, donde murieron más de 600 personas . . . sólo los edificios de ladrillos y cemento permanecen de pie.”

Se observó lo mismo en la capital. Alan Riding dijo en el *Times* el 5 de febrero que el terremoto “parece haber golpeado más duro los barrios pobres en la parte vieja de la ciudad de Guatemala. Los escombros de las casas de adobe cubrieron las calles y bloquearon los vehículos de rescate.”

En contraposición a esto, “La región residencial de los ricos en la parte sur de la ciudad se salvó en gran medida, aunque algunos condominios se rajaron.”

El régimen pudo responder favorablemente a algunos aspectos de la emergencia. Por ejemplo, informa un despacho, “Se colocaron guardias armados alrededor del aero-

## Los Campos de Tortura de Suharto

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Firsthand Accounts of Suharto's Torture Camps" que apareció en el número del 2 de febrero de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Un informe de Philip Jacobson en el *Sunday Times* de Londres el 11 de enero provee dos informes de primera mano acerca de las condiciones que encaran los docenas de miles de presos políticos indonesios.

"Permanentemente malnutridos hasta el punto de muertes esporádicas de hambre," dice Jacobson, "constantemente enfermos sin cuidado médico, arrendados para llevar a cabo trabajos físicos durísimos según el capricho de sus captores, los tapoles—una contracción de *tahanan politik*, preso político—indonesios pasan sus días en lo que un informe de primera mano denuncia como 'un infierno inhumano, bárbaro e inhumano.' El uso de la tortura es supuestamente tan amplio que no se puede descartar como simples excesos aislados."

La mayoría de estos presos son del período en que el General Suharto tomó el poder en 1965, el cual fue acompañado por arrestos masivos y la masacre de cientos de miles de indonesios. Las estadísticas del propio Suharto sobre las detenciones son un indicio de la extensión de la represión: El gobierno dice que ha liberado a 540,000 presos políticos desde 1965.

El periodista francés Jacques Decornoy calculó el otoño pasado que entre 55,000 y 100,000 personas permanecen en las cárceles o campos de concentración. (*Le Monde*, 1 de octubre.)

Jacobson señala que el régimen de Suharto ha negado el uso de la tortura, pero él rechaza esa afirmación. "... existe una cantidad impresionante de evidencia, gran parte de fuentes independientes, que sostiene las acusaciones, dijo, señalando los informes por parte de periodistas extranjeros, anteriores detenidos y grupos de derechos humanos tal como Amnesty International.

Jacobson cita en detalle un relato del terror de Suharto por parte de Tjiou, una joven que en 1968 fue arrestada en relación con su pertenencia a una juventud comunista durante el golpe de Suharto. Pasó varios años en diversos campos de tapoles antes de abandonar Indonesia en 1975.

Cuando fue detenida, Tjiou dijo al *Sunday Times*, fue desnudada y golpeada. Dijo que un oficial de informaciones del ejército

"empezó a quemarme el pelo... no te puedes imaginar el dolor que me causó el que me quemaran el pelo. Entonces me colocaron sobre una mesa y me abrieron las piernas. Tomaron un palo y me lo metieron en la vagina. Me quemaron los pelos púbicos. No podía creer que aún estaba viva."

Tjiou describió otros horrores que presenció: la muerte de un dirigente de pueblo debido a toques eléctricos; una mujer cuya cabeza fue mojada con agua hirviendo, y otra cuyos pezones le fueron cortados; víctimas de tortura cubiertas de sangre, amontonadas en un puesto militar.

Jacobson también cita de un relato recientemente obtenido clandestinamente de un campo de concentración en Java del Este. El informe describe las tácticas de interrogación presenciadas por su autor. "Con la primera pregunta son pateados y

golpeados y las cosas empeoran rápidamente... se administran toques eléctricos a las orejas, nariz y órganos genitales para extraer confesiones forzadas."

El informe continúa: "Para impedir que se oigan los gritos, se tocan canciones a todo volumen en una grabadora."

Otro tapol fue golpeado y arrastrado por una zanja hasta que estuvo cubierto de lodo y sangre, como castigo por haberse resistido a las torturas. Entonces, le encadenaron un brazo a una pierna de tal forma que no podía ni pararse ni acostarse. Permaneció en esta posición durante once meses y eventualmente se volvió loco.

Aparentemente avergonzado por la atención que se le ha puesto a nivel internacional a la situación lamentable de los tapoles, el régimen indonesio anunció el octubre pasado que pronto comenzaría a liberar a algunos de los presos que permanecen desde las detenciones de 1965 al ritmo de 2,500 al año. Aún si este compromiso fuera cumplido, proveería poco alivio para las docenas de miles de tapoles que bajo semejante plan podrían permanecer detenidos durante décadas o más. □

## NAACP Publica Reporte Sobre el Desempleo

### 'Reveses' Comparables a la Gran Depresión

Pese a las conquistas obtenidas en la lucha durante los últimos veinticinco años, los trabajadores negros en los Estados Unidos están experimentando reveses "en cada categoría de medida—en el nivel de desempleo, la duración del período sin empleo, en los sueldos y en la cantidad de trabajadores jóvenes que entran a la fuerza laboral..."

En resumen, "a la comunidad negra se le está obligando a volver a los patrones que antes eran tan comunes durante la Gran Depresión de los años treinta."

Esta es la conclusión de la sección sobre el empleo en el reporte anual del National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP—Asociación Nacional para el Avance de la Raza Negra) publicado a mediados de enero.

Estas condiciones, dice el reporte, aunque se deben en parte a la depresión económica general, son "también el resultado directo de la inhabilidad del Gobierno Federal de poner en vigor las extensas prohibiciones contra la discriminación en los empleos."

Las cifras oficiales esconden la triste realidad del desempleo en la comunidad negra. Según el gobierno, el nivel de desempleo es del 7.6 por ciento para los blancos y del 14.1 por ciento para los negros.

El informe señala, sin embargo, que si el "desempleo escondido" y los trabajadores "desanimados"—o sea, los trabajadores de tiempo incompleto y aquéllos que ya no forman parte de las fuerzas laborales—se toman en cuenta, una cifra más correcta sería el 13.6 por ciento para los blancos y el 25.5 por ciento para los negros.

Además, dice el reporte, información proveniente de veinticinco regiones urbanas con grandes poblaciones negras demuestra que el desempleo entre los negros es del 30 por ciento, y el desempleo de los menores negros es del 40 por ciento. □

### José Páez Arrestado en Argentina

José Francisco Páez, el candidato vicepresidente del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores Argentino en las elecciones de 1973, fue arrestado el 28 de enero en Córdoba.

Un breve artículo en el número del 30 de enero del diario bonaerense *La Opinión* dice que Páez ha sido detenido por la policía provincial por supuestas "actividades subversivas."

Páez, quien es residente de Córdoba, es muy conocido como dirigente del sindicato automotor de esa ciudad.