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WHY CARTER LIFTED TRAVEL BAN TO CUBA



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NEWS ANALYSIS

Why Carter Lifted Travel Ban to Cuba

By Barry Sheppard

At a March 9 news conference, President Carter announced the removal of travel restrictions on Americans wishing to go to Vietnam, North Korea, Cambodia, and Cuba.

The removal of the travel ban to Cuba comes in the context of moves by Washington in the direction of normalization of relations between the two countries. The administration is encouraging a visit to Cuba by an American baseball team, along the lines of the "ping-pong" diplomacy that preceded Nixon's visit to China. Washington has also expressed a desire to discuss fishing rights and other matters.

At the same time and in apparent contradiction, Carter has placed preposterous conditions on Cuba before he would agree to ending the U.S. trade embargo or establishing full relations.

Carter said in a March 5 broadcast that he "would like to insist, for instance, that they not interfere in the internal affairs of countries in this hemisphere and that they decrease their military involvement in Africa and that they reinforce a commitment to human rights. . . ."

Castro blasted earlier statements by Carter and Secretary of State Vance along the same lines, in an interview with *Washington Post* executive editor Benjamin Bradlee. Rejecting any limitation of Cuban sovereignty, he scored the hypocritical concern expressed about human rights in Cuba by a power that had mounted assassination plots against him, sponsored the Bay of Pigs invasion, blockaded the island in 1962, and maintained a total embargo on trade.

He also pointed to centuries of racial discrimination in the United States, corporate bribery of foreign officials, Watergate, and Washington's support to brutal dictatorships around the world.

Regarding Angola, Castro said that Cuban troops were there pursuant to a treaty and at the request of the Angolan government. While the White House objects to Cuban troops in Angola, it maintains American troops in countries across the globe.

The breaking of normal relations and the imposition of the trade embargo were criminal acts. Washington's aim was to crush the Cuban people for their audacity in standing up to the world's mightiest imperialist power and insisting on the right to take the destiny of their country into their own hands.

The trade embargo should be lifted immediately, and normal relations res-

tored with Cuba, with no conditions attached whatever. This has been the position of the Trotskyist movement in the United States and internationally from the beginning.

A few days after Cuba announced the sweeping nationalizations of October 1960, Washington imposed the trade embargo. In the midst of a hysterical press campaign and threats of invasion of the island, Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, issued a statement on October 26, 1960:

"With all my energy, I repeat what I have been saying from coast to coast throughout this campaign: Hands Off Cuba! Stop the Economic Aggression! Give Back the Guantanamo Naval Base! Preserve Peace in the Caribbean and restore Friendship with the Cuban People!"

Washington's attempt to isolate Cuba and strangle its economy failed. The trade embargo inflicted great harm on Cuba, and still does, but Cuba managed to survive, thanks largely to trade with the Soviet bloc.

Washington knows that its embargo and attempt at diplomatic isolation has failed. Moreover, it is aware of the political price it must pay for maintaining this policy, and is moving to break out of it.

An obstacle Carter has in moving too quickly is his right flank, conservatives of both parties who want to maintain the cold war stance. An editorial in the March 8 *Washington Post* took note of this, if

Carter Backpedals on U.S. Withdrawal From Korea

At the same March 9 news conference Carter was questioned about his campaign promise to withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea.

Referring to the pledge, a reporter asked, "Yet, after your revised budget went to Congress the Army has gone to Congress and asked in fiscal 1978 for a doubling of military construction funds for Korea and in the three ensuing years for more than \$110 million for similar construction. How does that square with your withdrawal plans?"

Carter did not directly refer to these funds, but his answer indicated how his plans do square with intensified American military construction in Korea.

He said that it would take a "four- or five-year time period" to withdraw the "American ground troops."

somewhat obliquely. Arguing for moving "by stages" towards normalization, the *Post* editors noted that "so much American emotion has been invested in Cuba . . . that normalization can't proceed simply on some cool calculation of the national interest."

In addition, Carter undoubtedly seeks to keep the pressure on the Cuban regime to not seek the extension of the revolution in Latin America. That's what Carter means by "insisting" that the Cubans "not interfere in the internal affairs of countries in this hemisphere."

In this regard, there has been a change in the policies of the Cuban leadership since the earlier days of the revolution. In those days the team around Castro and Guevara sought to extend the Cuban revolution, most immediately to the colonial and semicolonial countries, especially in Latin America. They sharply differentiated themselves from the Communist parties, and sought to bypass them through the practice of guerrilla warfare.

The schema of guerrilla warfare, however, proved to be a blind alley. The revolution was not extended to other countries. Instead, guerrilla warfare led to defeats and the demoralization of many revolutionists inspired by the Cuban revolution. After Guevara's defeat in Bolivia, the Cuban leadership did not move forward to an understanding of the Leninist strategy of party building, but retreated.

Not having a realistic strategy to extend the revolution, and under the pressure of the Kremlin's control of their trade lifeline in the face of the American embargo, the Cuban leadership now does not offer any alternative to the class collaborationism of the Stalinist parties, and more or less follows the Kremlin line in foreign policy. These facts too are noted by Washington, and enter into its "cool calculations." □

No date was set for beginning the withdrawal. Carter said the "schedule for withdrawal . . . would have to be worked out very carefully with the South Korean government. It would also have to be done with the full understanding and perhaps participation of Japan."

He added, "I would want to leave in place in South Korea adequate ground forces owned by, controlled by, the South Korean Government to protect themselves against any intrusion from North Korea."

"I would envision a continuation of American air cover for South Korea over a long period of time."

Even on paper Carter is not talking about a U.S. withdrawal from Korea. He proposes to keep ground troops there for at least another four or five years, replacing them with South Korean troops at that

time. Presumably, the South Korean military would continue to be armed and financed by Washington. American forces other than ground troops would remain, including the U.S. Air Force, for "a long period of time."

All this will be done in close consultation with the South Korean dictatorship. Finally, Japan is to be brought into the picture to help preserve the imperialist beachhead on the eastern Asian mainland.

Carter talked about the withdrawal of troops from Korea during his campaign because of the deep sentiment among the American people against any new war, above all in Asia. His proposal to maintain American ground troops there for another four or five years, and to keep a strong American military presence after that, runs directly counter to the interests of the people of the United States, Korea, and the whole world. □

And Covers for U.S. Role In Overthrow of Allende

Carter was also asked about comments made by the U.S. delegate to the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Brady Tyson had expressed regrets to the commission that the U.S. had been involved in the September 1973 coup in Chile that established the brutal right-wing dictatorship there.

Carter repeated his hypocritical concern "about the deprivation of human rights in many of the countries of the world. I think Chile would be one of those where concern has been expressed."

But he went on to say, "I think that the remarks made by the delegate concerning our past involvement in Chilean political affairs was inappropriate. I didn't know about it ahead of time. It was a personal expression of opinion by a delegate.

"I think that the Church committee in the Senate has not found any evidence that the United States was involved in the overthrow of the Allende Government in Chile.

"... I don't think there's been any proof of illegalities there. . . ."

Candidate Carter, however, sang a different tune. In one of his televised debates with Ford he himself accused the Nixon-Ford administration of having helped overthrow the Chilean government.

Tyson, chastised for speaking out of turn, nevertheless insisted that it was common knowledge that the Chilean coup was engineered in Washington.

That is indeed the case. But Carter's new coverup indicates that for all his talk about "human rights," Washington intends to maintain Chile-style CIA operations, including installing brutal dictatorships in Latin America and the rest of the capitalist world, when this seems to further its imperialist objectives. □

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Editor: Joseph Hansen.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Susan Wald, Steve Wattenmaker, Judy White.

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

Copy Editors: Jon Britton, Fred Murphy, Sally Rhett.

Technical Staff: Paul Devezé, Ellen Fischer, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, James M. Morgan.

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More Political Prisoners to Be Freed in Spain



SPANISH PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ

The Spanish government declared a new amnesty March 11. *New York Times* correspondent James M. Markham wrote that this measure was expected to free a large proportion of the approximately 170 remaining officially recognized political prisoners.

However, Markham noted, "The vague wording of tonight's announcement seemed unlikely to offset a growing mood of unease in some political circles stemming from signs that Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez is abandoning a role of neutral arbiter in what should be Spain's first free elections in 41 years."

In fact, Suárez's latest concession was a continuation of the policy of trickery he has followed ever since he took office.

The amnesty excluded prisoners "directly" involved in "acts of violence." Thus, it continued to penalize members of workers and left organizations who may have become involved in violence resulting from the Franco regime's murderous suppression of the democratic rights of the peoples of the Spanish state. These prisoners, moreover, were convicted by the courts of a brutal dictatorship.

In announcing the amnesty, the government said it hoped it would "serve the object of reaching an authentic reconciliation and overcoming current tensions." Markham interpreted this to refer to "clashes between the police and Basque

demonstrators that continued for the third day today in the coastal city of San Sebastián."

A week of amnesty demonstrations was called in the Basque country to commemorate the massacre of Vitoria on March 3, 1976, when police fired on a demonstration in support of strikers, killing four persons.

The attempts of the police to suppress all demonstrations infuriated the Basque people. In Vitoria, a march of more than 10,000 persons to the graves of the victims was broken up: "Of the thirty floral wreaths in honor of the dead, only a few bedraggled ones reached the cemetery," the Barcelona weekly magazine *El Mundo* reported. In Lequeitio, a young girl was badly wounded in a police attack on a demonstration. On March 8, a Guardia Civil unit killed two members of the nationalist organization Euzkadi ta Askatasuna (ETA—Basque Nation and Freedom).

The cops shot the two ETA members after having stopped their car. They claimed they fired in self-defense. But even the Catholic bishops in the San Sebastián region where the incident took place publicly expressed doubts about the policemen's story.

Facing rising mass pressure in the working-class centers of the Basque country, the Suárez government's decision to widen the amnesty represents another strategic retreat designed to keep the initiative in its hands. That has been its general tactic. It gives no concession willingly and maneuvers constantly to regain any ground given up.

The government has been able to maintain the initiative, doling out limited concessions, because of the attitude of the Communist and Social Democratic parties. These parties have tried to hold back mass mobilizations to prove to Suárez and the bourgeoisie he represents how "reasonable" they are. While the premier has offered them apparent concessions to encourage this policy, in fact he has always taken advantage of it to double-cross them.

The Communist party played a decisive role in holding back the mass strikes and demonstrations that developed after the murder of four labor lawyers in late January. The government then removed one legal barrier to recognition of the Communist party. But it has not actually legalized the CP or any of the Trotskyist, Maoist, or centrist organizations. When these groups tried to register, their applications were rejected and turned over to the courts for final ruling.

Suárez did grant legalization to the main

Social Democratic party, the PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—Spanish Socialist Workers party). But at the same time, he allowed a small right-wing split-off from the PSOE to register under this party's name, despite a law prohibiting parties from taking names similar enough to others to be likely to produce confusion. This right-wing splinter, the so-called "Históricos," is distinguished primarily by its anti-Communism.

The PSOE responded to Suárez's move by walking out of the committee that negotiates with the government for the Opposition and by threatening to boycott the elections expected in May.

The Madrid left weekly magazine *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* interpreted recognition of the "Históricos" as aimed at creating a "kept left" that could give a "progressive" veneer to a new "national-bloc" party around Suárez, something like the Mexican official party. In an editorial March 5, it said there was cause for worry because besides manipulating the registration of parties, Suárez had not dissolved the Francoist totalitarian apparatus. "Nor has he named provincial governors with the minimum of credibility needed to supervise honest elections. . . . The arbitrariness and sectarianism of the TV network . . . exceeds the limits of the tolerable. . . ."

"The government has to see that the democratic forces are not just sucking their thumbs. They have recognized that Premier Suárez's work is positive in many respects. No one can say that the democratic opposition has been irresponsible, maximalist, or negative. On the contrary, it has greatly helped the Suárez cabinet. But it is not going to let itself be cheated forever."

This pathetic tone, however, was a good indication that the "democratic opposition" is going to be "cheated" some more.

However, despite the big reformist workers parties playing into the hands of the government, the mass upsurge against Francoism continues to widen.

On February 21, a series of peasant strikes began in the area of La Rioja and the province of León, and spread quickly through the entire León-Castile region as well as other areas. *El Mundo* wrote:

"In an instant the theories about the hopeless passivity of the peasants were wiped away. . . . Some 30,000 tractors . . . blocked almost all highways in the region."

Resentment at state agency policies in buying agricultural products touched off the strikes. But underlying the rebellion was distrust of the fascist farmers organizations. In its March 12 issue, *El Mundo* quoted José Antonio Rodrigo, a leader of the Castilian peasants, as saying: "The first thing we have to do is get rid of the Official Boards and Brotherhoods. Then, we have to get our own union recognized. . . ." □

Catholic Bishops Protest Rule by Terror in Nicaragua

By Adolfo Esteva

On March 2 the *New York Times* rediscovered repression in Nicaragua. *Times* correspondent Alan Riding said: "Nicaragua's Roman Catholic bishops have accused government forces of resorting to widespread torture, rape and summary executions of civilians in their battle against leftist guerrillas in this impoverished Central American republic.

"Documents prepared by the church list the names of hundreds of peasants who have been killed or have simply disappeared—and are presumed dead—in the last two years in the provinces of Matagalpa and Zelaya."

Riding said that a pastoral letter concerning human rights was read during February in many churches in the country. The letter said that suspects are subjected to "humiliating and inhuman treatment ranging from torture and rape to summary execution," and that "many villages have been abandoned, with homes burned and inhabitants forced to flee." Publication of the pastoral letter has not been allowed in the censored Nicaraguan press.

Riding cited church sources who said that "police judges" belonging to a National Guard patrol with the code name "Hilario" killed forty-four persons, including eleven women and twenty-nine children. The "judges" then divided among themselves the land that belonged to their victims.

Riding reported that "some of the prisoners are taken to a small barracks at Waslala, forty-five miles northeast of Matagalpa, for questioning. There they are kept in a dark cave-like hole in the hillside between interrogation sessions at which torture is considered 'normal.'"

American Capuchin priests have prepared another document, according to Riding, which includes a list of 181 persons who have disappeared or have been executed in Zelaya province in an eleven-month period. He said that "the list, for example, does not include the 44 members of the Pérez, González, and Maldonado families who were reported executed late in January at a hamlet known as Varillal, 53 miles northeast of the town of Matagalpa."

Ironically, a half-page advertisement appeared in the business pages of the January 30 *New York Times*, paid for by the government of Nicaragua, entitled "How to Invest in Nicaragua." The ad said that "Nicaragua is a democracy run by a freely elected Government every six years." But the truth of the matter is that



Time
SOMOZA: Says Nicaragua is an ideal country for American investment.

the Somoza family has controlled the country for more than forty years, ever since the U.S. Army withdrew from the country in 1933, after failing to defeat the guerrilla struggle led by Augusto César Sandino. Anastasio Somoza was at that time the chief of the National Guard of Nicaragua, which was trained and equipped by the American imperialists. From that moment on, his family has maintained almost absolute control over the political and economic life of the country.

The regime unleashed a ferocious campaign of repression in late 1974. The pretext was the kidnapping of several politicians and businessmen by the FSLN.* The hostages were taken from a Christmas party for the American ambassador and later exchanged for \$1 million. Soon afterward, the government imposed a state of siege and highly restrictive press censorship. The trade unions, which had until then been on the offensive for several months demanding better working conditions, came under heavy attack.

The regime's offensive decimated the guerrilla forces. The government captured a number of central leaders of the FSLN,

*Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front). Guerrilla organization founded in 1962. For more information on its history and activities, see *Intercontinental Press*, June 21, 1976, p. 976.—IP

such as Tomás Borge. In testimony published in the daily *La Prensa* of Managua in October 1976, Borge revealed a split from the FSLN on the part of the urban apparatus of the organization. This opposition had insisted on the necessity of a policy directed more toward the struggles of the masses. Borge characterized the urban group as "petty-bourgeois theorists."

At the beginning of November 1976, Carlos Fonseca Amador, the top leader of the FSLN, and his principal aide, Eduardo Contreras Escobar, were murdered by the National Guard in the mountains in the north of the country.

Immediately after this, a military court was set up to try the numerous guerrillas detained by the regime. Riding reported that in the last week of February "36 guerrillas were given prison sentences ranging from 18 months to 129 years, while 74 others were tried in absentia and some 20 more have sought exile in Mexico in recent months."

It is clear from these and other reports that the government, utilizing scorched-earth tactics and indiscriminate murder among the peasant population, has been able to profoundly weaken the guerrillas.

One of the last remaining guerrilla groups in Latin America has been dealt a severe blow. But this in no way means that the repressive Somoza regime can contain the Nicaraguan masses indefinitely. This is a more complicated problem than destroying a guerrilla unit.

Right now, as before, the regime can advertise Nicaragua in the *New York Times* as the ideal country for American investment, with virtually no restrictions, and with repatriation of profits and capital when such is desired. The only question is: For how long? □

Argentine Stock Market Goes Through the Roof

The average price index of shares on the Buenos Aires stock market jumped 2,469 percent in 1976, according to the American Chamber of Commerce in Argentina. It has continued to rise in 1977, but at a slower pace.

The Chamber of Commerce credited inflation for part of the rise but contended that the biggest factor was "renewed investor confidence" since the military coup of March 1976.

The 'Mad Dictators' Washington Finds Acceptable

By Ernest Harsch

The major capitalist newspapers of the West have been conducting a sustained campaign picturing Idi Amin of Uganda as a particularly bloodthirsty dictator.

The *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *London Observer*, among others, have prominently and repeatedly featured articles on the death of Ugandan Archbishop Janani Luwum and the reports by Ugandan refugees that Amin is continuing to terrorize the Ugandan population.

Newsweek and *Time*, the two major newsmagazines in the United States, both ran cover stories on Amin in their March 7 issues. *Newsweek's* was entitled, "Idi Amin's Reign of Terror." The *Time* headline was "The Wild Man of Africa."

Under guise of concern for "human rights," American officials like President Carter and United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young have publicly denounced Amin's repression.

Since Amin's dictatorship is based on systematic use of terror against the Ugandan population and suppression of even the mildest dissent, many of the recent reports of atrocities there may well be based on fact. Estimates by Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists indicate that anywhere between 25,000 and 300,000 persons have disappeared or been killed during the six years of Amin's rule.

The uproar in imperialist circles over this brutal repression, however, has nothing to do with concern for human rights. One indication of this is the highly selective nature of the Carter administration's denunciations.

A brief look at a few other repressive regimes, particularly those that are propped up by Washington as bulwarks of the "Free World," reveals that Amin's methods of rule are standard practice among similar capitalist dictatorships.

In Africa itself, there is Vorster's racist white minority regime in South Africa, which is based on the total suppression of 22 million Blacks. Each year, one in every four Black adults is arrested. Torture of political prisoners is common and a number have been murdered in jail. Since the first mass protests began in Soweto last June, hundreds, if not thousands, of Blacks have been gunned down by Vorster's police.

Direct American investments in South Africa total about \$1.6 billion, and indirect investments, mostly in the form of bank loans, surpass \$2 billion. Millions of dollars worth of American aircraft and



AMIN: The exception.

other equipment suitable for military purposes have been sold to the Vorster regime.

In Latin America, four of the American-supported dictatorships—in Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil—are just as brutal as Amin's regime, if not more so.

According to church and legal sources in Chile, between 18,000 and 20,000 persons were butchered by the military junta led by Gen. Pinochet during the September 1973 coup and in the months that followed. More than 65,000 persons were jailed and more than 350,000 were fired from their jobs for political reasons. Many of the political prisoners were tortured or summarily executed. An estimated 4,000 to 7,000 persons remain in Pinochet's political jails.

In the May 23, 1976, *New York Times*, columnist Tom Wicker reported that the total economic aid package to the Pinochet junta from Washington and the international organizations it dominates stood at about \$1.8 billion.

In Uruguay, under the military regime now headed by Aparicio Mendez, nearly 6,000 persons are in jail for political reasons. That means one in every 450 citizens—the world's highest per capita

figure. Prisoners are subjected to beatings, electric shocks, and drugs, and at least twenty-two are known to have been tortured to death since 1972.

The Brazilian military, now headed by Gen. Ernesto Geisel, which has ruled that country since a coup backed by Washington in 1964, has been particularly thorough in stamping out all signs of overt opposition. Its interrogators are notorious for their use of torture against political prisoners. As in Amin's Uganda, religious figures, such as Father Rodolfo Lunkenbein and Father João Penido Burnier, have also fallen victim to the repression.

Since the March 1976 coup in Argentina, in which Gen. Jorge Videla seized power, hundreds of trade unionists and political activists have been kidnapped and killed or gunned down in the streets by the army, police, or ultrarightist murder bands. As of September 1976 there were an estimated 20,000 political prisoners in Argentine jails.

Although Secretary of State Cyrus Vance recently made a show of reducing U.S. military sales credits to Argentina for "human rights" reasons, they still stand at \$15 million for the current year. In addition, a group of twenty American banks have lent the Videla regime about \$500 million.

The rightist murder gangs that operate in a number of Latin American countries, such as the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) and the Brazilian Esquadrão da Morte (Death Squad), are quite similar to Amin's reported extermination units.

One of the most brutal dictatorships in Asia is that of Gen. Suharto in Indonesia, who is also supported by Washington. During the massive purge after the 1965 military coup, up to one million Indonesians are known to have been massacred by the army and rightist bands. More than half a million were arrested, between 55,000 and 100,000 of whom are still in prison camps.

Washington provides significant military aid to dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos in the Philippines and dictator Park Chung Hee in South Korea, both of whom employ massive repression against their populations. Washington maintains two air and naval bases in the Philippines and has 42,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea.

Speaking in Philadelphia February 17, Reza Baraheni, a noted Iranian poet and former political prisoner, described the

massive repression in his country. He said that "since the creation of SAVAK [the Iranian secret police] in 1957, 300,000 Iranians have been systematically incarcerated, tortured, interrogated under torture, and, in some cases, killed. One hundred twenty-six people were shot to death in the streets, or while 'trying to escape' in 1976."

SAVAK was set up and trained by the Central Intelligence Agency. Between 1972 and 1976, a total of \$10.4 billion worth of American arms were sold to the shah of Iran. By 1980, the shah is expected to buy another \$34 billion in American goods and services, including more weapons. There are already 24,000 Americans in Iran helping the shah operate and maintain his sophisticated arsenal.

The fact is that Amin's regime differs little from any of the dictatorships Washington supports around the globe. By singling him out for special censure, the imperialists have given a telling indication of their real aim—to prepare world public opinion for a move to replace his regime with a more reliable guardian of their political and economic interests. □

French Postal System Fails to Deliver

According to a report in the February 20-21 issue of *Le Monde*, the French postal system, once held up as a shining example of a government-owned public service, is losing its reputation.

First-class letters have been known to take five days to travel fifteen kilometers. Pensioners do not receive their checks on time. Valuable items never reach their destination. What is happening and who is to blame?

Post office officials claim the root of the problem is that French workers no longer take pride in their work.

"It used to be that no postal clerk would leave work without having sorted the last few letters. Today they do. And nobody works the hours they're supposed to anyway," the director of a large Paris post office said.

A different explanation was offered by a representative of the General Confederation of Labor. He explained that because of cutbacks, fewer workers are expected to handle a greater volume of mail than ever before, and that this is the reason for the low morale. "Should we be surprised by the fact that [postal workers] feel like giving up, when they see that the administration is streamlining the checking procedures? . . . In the name of making the system more profitable, they prefer to pay damage claims to the customers. This goes against the very concept of a public service.

"We do not condone moonlighting, but we have to understand the postal workers' point of view. Fifty-eight percent of them are paid less than 2,500 francs [about US\$500] a month."

Participants Score Zionism and Apartheid

Meaning of the Arab-African Conference

By Ernest Harsch

The conference of Arab and African representatives held in Cairo March 7-9 was a reflection, however much distorted, of the rising freedom struggles in the Middle East and throughout the African continent. It was the first time that delegations from fifty-nine African and Arab regimes, nearly half of them led by their heads of state, had gathered for such a summit meeting.

The issues raised at the conference underscored the pressures that these neocolonial regimes are under from both the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli state and that of the Black masses of southern Africa against the racist white minority regimes ruling South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Before the conference opened, a meeting of African and Arab foreign ministers adopted a resolution condemning "Zionism and apartheid and all forms of religious and racial discrimination, especially in the forms in which they appear in Africa, Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories."

The same theme was stressed by nearly all the speakers during the conference itself. On the opening day, Yasir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), denounced the "unholy alliance between South Africa, Rhodesia and Israel." He told the African delegates, "Our struggle is inseparable from your struggle."

The growing solidarity between the Palestinian and African freedom struggles comes at a time when the racist Israeli, South African, and Rhodesian regimes have begun to collaborate more closely. All three regimes are colonial-settler states, based on the suppression of the original inhabitants. The ultrareactionary relationship between the Israeli and South African regimes in particular was highlighted by Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976. Economic, political, and military collaboration between the two regimes has increased considerably over the past few years.

However, the only concrete measure taken during the conference to aid the freedom struggles against these racist regimes was the provision of \$6 million to the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, which disburses funds to some of the African liberation groups. In contrast, the representatives from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the Union of Arab Emirates pledged to give

more than \$1.4 billion in aid to help the Black capitalist regimes of Africa out of their economic difficulties.

None of the liberation groups in southern Africa, moreover, were invited to send official representatives to the conference.

Although the imperialist powers were not directly represented at the summit meeting, two of their staunchest supporters—the Egyptian and Saudi Arabian regimes—played prominent roles.

President Anwar el-Sadat, who just six weeks before the opening of the meeting crushed a series of massive protests against his regime, was a principal organizer of it. And referring to the Saudi Arabian economic aid program, *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner commented in a March 9 dispatch from Cairo, "For the first time on a major scale, Saudi Arabia extended to black Africa the role of political and financial leadership that it has been playing in the Arab world."

Despite the verbal denunciations of "imperialism, colonialism, Zionism [and] apartheid," one of the purposes of the conference was to help contain the Arab and African revolutions.

This effort was particularly evident in the case of the PLO. For the first time in seven years, Arafat met with King Hussein of Jordan, who expelled the PLO from Jordan in 1970 and presided over the massacre of as many as 10,000 Palestinians, most of them refugees, the same year. The meeting was seen by Cairo, and by its backers in Washington, as a prelude to a new round of Middle East negotiations in Geneva.

A statement was also adopted at the conference calling for full support to the African "front-line" states, a reference to the regimes in Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Botswana, and Mozambique. All five regimes have been involved in a major effort, supported by the imperialists, to avert a massive upsurge by the Black population in Zimbabwe.

Like the imperialists, the neocolonial rulers in Africa and the Middle East fear the power of the masses. They also fear the potential impact that successful struggles against the Israeli and white minority regimes could have on class relations within their own countries. □

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Split in Swedish CP Over 'De-Stalinization'

By Gerry Foley

On the eve of the "Euro-Communist summit" in Madrid, which began March 1, the old-line Stalinist faction of the Swedish Communist party carried out a split.

Two public factions had coexisted uneasily in the Swedish CP since 1968. The majority, led by C.H. Hermansson, and since the 1975 party congress, by Lars Werner, favored taking a certain distance from Stalinist repression and trying to appeal more to radicalizing youth.

After the Hermansson leadership condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the old-line Stalinist faction counterattacked against the "liberalizers," who were among the pioneers of the "Euro-Communist" turn. *Norrskensflamman*, the daily CP paper published in the old mining district of Norrbotten in the far north, the stronghold of the Stalinist traditionalists, began to publish open attacks on the majority line.

At the same time, representatives of the minority began writing books, published outside the party, attacking the Hermansson leadership. Lars Werner referred to one of these in a statement quoted in the March 7 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, in which he accused Hilding Hagberg, Hermansson's predecessor as party leader, of helping to prepare the split.

Reporter Ake Ekdahl noted: "Werner meant Hagberg's book, in which Hermansson is depicted as a Nazi."

The first announcement of the split was the declaration February 28 by a majority of the leaders of the party district committees in the southern industrial cities of Malmö and Göteborg, as well as of the Mälardal area to the west of Stockholm, that they were leaving the party. They were joined by most of the district leaders in Norrbotten, Västerbotten, and Väster-norrland in the north and in Halland outside Göteborg.

The splitters declared that they were forming a new organization called the Communist Workers party, which is also the name taken by the old-line Stalinist group led by Enrique Lister that split from the Spanish CP in the early 1970s.

The walkout was headed by the Göteborg leader Rolf Hagel, who ran against Werner for the general secretary's post in the 1975 congress, getting about one-third of the vote.

In a news conference March 1, Hagel made a sweeping condemnation of the party as "petty bourgeois." But when he was asked to explain his political differences with it, he could come up only with two



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WERNER: Leader of the "liberalizing" faction in Swedish Communist party.

clear points of disagreement. In domestic policy, he said:

The VPK [Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna—Left party of Communists, the name taken by the CP after its "Euro-Communist" turn] has had a weak position on the question of atomic energy. We have been against atomic power. We in the Communist Workers party do not want to reject atomic power altogether. But we do want real information about the energy supply and how the problem of radioactive waste is to be solved.

The difference on atomic energy was not fundamental. But it did indicate a narrow right-wing trade-unionist direction. The Social Democrats argue that the workers favor atomic power because it will create jobs. Moreover, they say, it is necessary to maintain Swedish economic independence.

On international line, the difference was clear:

The VPK has had an opportunist attitude toward international questions. An example is its attitude toward the Solzhenitsyn case. The VPK claimed he was a socialist. Of course, he was not. I would not condemn the Czech leadership, either, for their reaction to Charter 77. First I would talk with the workers at the Skoda plant and listen to their views on the question. We do not have the same attitude to the socialist countries as the one taken by the VPK.

Hagel said in conclusion: "What divides us directly and concretely is that we want

a strong party capable of action. The split was the natural result of the VPK's factiousness." Earlier, he had complained: "The VPK had too many theoretical discussions lasting long into the night."

In the March 5 *Dagens Nyheter*, Alf Lövenborg, one of the northern district leaders, was quoted as saying: "The party leadership took an indulgent attitude toward the superrevolutionary light from Lund, but it took an altogether different one toward the Norrbotten district."

Lövenborg continued: "We hope to get half the membership of the VPK, especially those with a proletarian consciousness. The party should be a workers party, not what it was before, which I call a 'political stew,' including everything that calls itself left."

On February 26, while the split preparations were in their final stages, the Lund branch of the VPK participated in a demonstration alongside Trotskyists, calling for democratic rights in the USSR and the East European workers states (see accompanying article). This was apparently what Lövenborg was referring to as "the superrevolutionary light from Lund."

Lund is a university town where the radical student movement is particularly strong and puts considerable pressure on the CP. The party leadership condemned the February 26 demonstration but did not mount a witch-hunt against the Lund branch, which is what Lövenborg apparently considered "indulgence."

It is noteworthy that the Stalinist opposition to the Lund demonstration was spearheaded by local affiliates of the Portuguese CP and the "exterior" faction of the Greek CP, the most servile lackeys of the Kremlin among the larger CPs. Their members handed out leaflets denouncing the demonstration as reactionary. The "exterior" tract ended on this note:

This anti-Communist offensive is aimed at distracting the attention of working people from the economic crisis and the advances of the socialist countries. It is aimed at obstructing détente and sabotaging the . . . Belgrade conference, the sequel to Helsinki. In this struggle, every means is being used to whip up anti-Communist hatred. The sovereignty of the socialist countries is being violated, "socialist oppositions" and "workers uprisings" are being created to achieve reactionary ends.

We believe this demonstration in Lund against the socialist countries is an attack on the international working class. Only the enemies of the working class can applaud such a demonstration. Therefore it serves only the interests of the reactionaries.

Groups of immigrant workers from southern Europe, where the CPs are the majority parties in the working class, have had a significant weight in the VPK.

Lövenborg and Hagel's complaints about too much discussion in the VPK and the leadership's indulgence toward "super-revolutionary lights" indicate that they intend to make no compromises with "de-

Stalinization." They are out to rebuild an old-line Stalinist party in the only possible way—by using workerist demagoguery to eliminate discussion of political issues and phony "tough" gestures and language to try to present themselves as more "militant" than the VPK. The aim is to appeal to the more uncritical and frustrated rebels against the capitalist system.

Such a formula has worked to some extent for the "exterior" faction of the Greek CP, as well as for the Portuguese CP. The experience of the latter, however, indicates some of the perils of such a stance, even when it succeeds in deluding the ranks. A determination to look "tough," no matter how right-wing and opportunist a line this image is designed to cover up, tends to lead to very sectarian practices.

Before the split, the Swedish CP was just big enough to be a significant minority in the working class. In such conditions, a sectarian binge by the splitters could quickly take them far out into the sectarian wilderness, where they would have to compete with Maoists scarcely less numerous than they.

The first reports after the split indicate that the Communist Workers party won some victories in the CP union fractions, winning a majority for example in the important Volvo plant in Göteborg. However, a study of the CP in the December-January issue of the Scandinavian "new-left" magazine *Zenit* indicates that the old-line Stalinists have been unable to win young workers even in their strongholds:

The VPK maintains a relatively strong hold on Norrbotten's working class. This is bound up with the historical loyalty many workers, especially the older ones, feel toward the party and particularly toward *Norrskensflamman* and its political line. But the faithful are thinning out, and those loyal to the majority line in the party are gaining. This is clearest in Lulea, where the loyal faction got 2,300 votes against the *Norrskensflamman* slate's 1,500. The Lulea example holds for all of Norrbotten, although the relationship of forces varies. The majority party line is gaining ground among working-class voters in the main towns and new housing developments . . . while *Norrskensflamman* gets its votes in the small towns around the centers. . . .

The paper has its strongest support in the small towns among the older party members and sympathizers. It was able to maintain its circulation only by making a major effort to get subscriptions in other districts. Obviously the younger workers and the workers in the largest plants in Norrbotten do not read it to any large extent.

It is not very likely that the Communist Workers party can build and maintain strong trade-union fractions on the basis of a right-wing workerist line in competition with a flexible Social Democratic party many times its size and also in opposition to the government. It seems even less likely to play an electoral role on the national level.

The leadership of the VPK claimed the old-line Stalinists split because they were

steadily losing ground, and because Hagel knew he would find himself in a minority at the Göteborg city congress scheduled for mid-March.

Majority representatives attributed the split entirely to "irresponsible" factionalism by the minority, denying that the "international Communist movement," i.e., the Kremlin, had a hand in it. However, it seems unlikely that veteran Stalinist leaders, who have distinguished themselves as unconditional defenders of subservience to Moscow, would carry out a split without a go-ahead from the Kremlin. Moreover, the timing of the break suggests that it was a calculated move in the Soviet bureaucracy's factional tug of war with the big Western CPs.

The Swedish split coincided not only with the Madrid "Euro-Communist" summit but with the meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, of Soviet and East European central committee secretaries for foreign affairs and propaganda. This meeting was apparently intended as a show of unity by the bureaucracies that face bolder dissent at home because of the attempts of the West European CPs to clear themselves of the Stalinist taint. The split also came at the same time the Kremlin escalated its attack

on the dissidents, trying to link them with the CIA through the confession of an ex-Zionist published in *Izvestia* March 5.

There was probably no place the Kremlin could have split a West European CP so easily, or at less cost from its point of view.

The Kremlin probably intended the Swedish split to serve as a warning to the other "Euro-Communist" parties. It remains to be seen, however, if it will have that effect.

Party leader Lars Werner responded to the split saying that it removed a "burden" since the presence of the old-line Stalinists "weakened the party's credibility," which presumably means belief in its ability to follow a line independent of Moscow. Thus, this split may impel the majority to carry its "de-Stalinization" further. It was evident before the split that there were forces pushing for that, and now the leadership seems likely to be less able to withstand such pressures.

Moreover, if Hagel, like Lister in Spain, fails to build a credible opposition party, the tendency of the European CPs to take their distance from the Kremlin will probably be reinforced, as it apparently was by the Spanish example. □

Members of Swedish CP Participate in Demonstration

300 in Lund Voice Solidarity With Dissidents

By Folke Tjerneld and Richard Frankel

LUND—More than 300 persons demonstrated here February 26 in defense of democratic rights in Eastern Europe. Sponsored by the Eastern Europe Socialist Committee, the action attracted support from a wide spectrum of the Swedish left.

In addition to the centrist Förbundet Kommunist (Communist League) and the Trotskyist Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (Communist Workers League), both the Communist and Socialist parties participated. The Social Democrats took part through their youth group, the SSU.*

While the Stalinist Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna (VPK—Left Party of Communists) has protested the most repugnant aspects of Stalinist rule in Eastern Europe, such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the VPK leadership condemned the demonstration in their newspaper *Ny Dag* (New Day) the day before it was to take place. Despite this, the Lund branch of the party decided to continue their support and to participate. This is one sign of the unfolding crisis in the VPK today.

*SSU—Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Ungdomsförbund (Social Democratic Youth League of Sweden).—IP

Among the officially approved slogans and signs at the march and rally were: "Socialist democracy—the right to organize and strike"; "Socialist democracy—freedom of speech"; "The right of national self-determination under socialism"; "No real democracy without socialism"; "Free the political prisoners in Eastern Europe"; "Free and rehire all arrested Polish workers"; "Stop the harassment of Charter 77 signers"; and "Give back Biermann's citizenship."

At the rally a resolution was approved, which concluded by stating:

We support the struggle for human and democratic rights in Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, the Soviet Union, and the other East European countries, and we are in solidarity with the East European socialist opposition.

Supporters of the pro-Moscow Portuguese Communist party and the "exterior" faction of the Greek CP distributed leaflets condemning the action as reactionary. The Maoist Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti (Swedish Communist party) also denounced the demonstration, because it failed to fight against "Soviet social imperialism." □

Mounting Cases of Torture of Irish Political Prisoners

By Gerry Foley

"Anglo-Irish relations . . . are considered by many observers to be heading towards their lowest ebb since the British Embassy in Dublin was burned down five years ago," Christopher Walker wrote in the February 18 *London Times*.

A number of reasons were listed for the increasing tensions between London and Dublin. The main one was the persistence of the Irish government in pressing its case in the European Court of Human Rights against British military forces for torturing suspected nationalists picked up in the mass internment raids in Northern Ireland that began August 9, 1971. Walker wrote:

There is no doubt that British pride has been hurt by the recent adverse decision from the European Court of Human Rights [that British methods amounted to torture] and there is a conviction that the Irish are pursuing the case vindictively.

Walker noted other "irritants," such as the Dublin government's refusal to sign a European agreement on extraditing "terrorists," and, on the Irish side, "repeated assertion by Scotland Yard that Ireland is still a haven for IRA bombers."

All these irritants, Walker wrote, were exacerbated by the approach of elections in the formally independent part of Ireland.

Genuinely perplexed by what they see as a new bout of nationalistic fervour against the traditional enemy [Britain], British sources see the forthcoming Irish general election as a reason why so much edge has crept into recent bilateral disagreements. "It is obviously a time when all Irish politicians feel that their manhood has to be asserted for electoral purposes," an official explained.

British authorities thus seem not to be very sympathetic to the problems of their allies in the Irish Free State. They apparently expect the neocolonial bourgeois forces to align themselves completely and openly with the British government's repressive campaign against the anti-imperialist movement, regardless of the political price these forces may have to pay.

In fact, indignation has been rising in Ireland against the treatment of anti-imperialist prisoners in both British and Free State prisons. This pressure is opening up the lines of cleavage between Dublin and London. Splits show up in a pattern of each party to the repression accusing the other of similar or worse outrages.

On February 3, the *London Times* published an account by a British prisoner of the way he and fellow inmates were mistreated following a rebellion last September in Hull prison. He and other prisoners pointed out that Irish republicans were special targets of brutality by the guards and prison administration.

On February 4, Amnesty International, the Howard League for Penal Reform, and the National Council of Civil Liberties submitted a report to the government describing brutal treatment of six republican prisoners in Albany prison on the Isle of Wight. These men had protested the treatment of another republican prisoner, who was being kept in solitary confinement.

In the February 5 issue of the *London Guardian*, Nikki Knewstubb wrote:

A letter to the *Guardian* from a prisoner [in Albany] said that although prisoners had very little sympathy for IRA terrorists, most had been outraged and alarmed by the treatment handed out. This, he said, included 20 prison warders in riot gear, supported by another 30 who "battered the demonstrators."

In the February 7 *London Times*, Peter Godfrey reported accounts of mind-disrupting drugs being used against prisoners at Gartree, a maximum security prison near Leicester. He wrote:

Prisoners' reports from Gartree that have reached *The Times* allege maltreatment by prison officers of inmates serving sentences for IRA activities.

One man writes: "Persistent acts of victimization are directed against IRA prisoners." Their treatment by some Gartree prison officers, he adds, "is so bad that even we who are in no way concerned with the IRA feel indignation at the way the wretches are suffering."

The prisoner said guards trumped up charges of assault against IRA prisoners and that rebellious inmates in general were given injections of tranquilizers that had destroyed some men. "It makes them look like zombies," the prisoner said.

Since reports of ill-treatment of the republican prisoners in British jails had already been accumulating, the early February revelations brought indignation in Ireland to the boiling point. In the Irish Dáil (parliament) February 16 Neil Blaney, an independent member, raised this issue in questioning John Kelly, parliamentary secretary to the foreign minister. The exchange was summarized in the February 17 *Irish Times*.

An allegation that Irish prisoners on the Isle

of Wight were not only in solitary confinement but were living as "half animals," unclothed and without bedding, was made by Mr. Neil Blaney. Mr. Blaney had asked for a statement from the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the alleged maltreatment of Irish people serving prison sentences in Britain and particularly those jailed in the Isle of Wight.

Kelly replied, as summarized:

. . . the treatment of 41 prisoners, including 11 in the jails in the Isle of Wight, had so far been discussed with the British authorities since August 1974. He expected to complete inquiries in the near future, and to be in contact at political level with the British authorities to ensure that all Irish prisoners were properly treated.

But Blaney kept up the pressure:

. . . it was useful that the Minister had been in contact with the British about this, but he wanted to know how long these contacts would go on without any real bite in the investigation. He would like to know if the Parliamentary Secretary was aware that there were prisoners in the Isle of Wight recovering in solitary confinement from multiple broken limbs. . . . He asked the Minister to urgently follow up the contacts, and not allow himself "to be led up the garden path," or wait until the sores and wounds of these prisoners had been healed beyond recognition.

It was a "bloody disgrace," he added.

The February 17 *London Times* reported that the exchange between Blaney and Kelly marked the emergence of "a new potential source of friction between the Irish and British governments." But at the end of the article, the British paper noted:

The exchanges over the jailed terrorists delayed question time, and helped to delay an answer by the Minister for Justice about complaints of brutality against members of the Garda Síochána [Civic Guard—the Irish police].

On February 15, the day before Blaney raised his questions in Parliament, the *Irish Times* published a front-page story exposing systematic use of torture against republican prisoners in the Irish Free State:

Legal safeguards for people in custody have been abused and ignored by the group of Garda interrogators known as the "heavy gang" since the introduction of the Emergency Powers Act last October. Despite the Minister for Justice's assurances in the Dáil debate on the new law and the emphasis placed on traditional rights by the Supreme Court [which needed special guarantees to justify ruling favorably on the bill's constitutionality], members of the "heavy gang" have used the new powers to expand and intensify their interrogation methods.

The Act increased the period of detention from two to seven days, allowing the "heavy gang" to use their techniques to greater effect. The marks of the beatings administered during the first days of detention can now be left to heal over the remainder of the week before the suspect has to be released.

The seven days' detention has also been used to psychological effect, according to the victims. Deprivation of sleep and of food can be extended over longer periods leading to disorientation and breakdown. Suspects have been warned that if they do not give in to the brutal methods at the beginning they will definitely crack towards the end of the detention period.

They have also been threatened by the "heavy gang" that if they do not give in after seven days they will be rearrested and detained for further periods of seven days.

In the same issue, the *Irish Times* ran a special feature reviewing the case of the members of the Irish Republican Socialist party arrested last April. Even though this episode occurred before passage of the Emergency Powers Act, it marked the first major scandal about systematic torture of republican activists to extort confessions to crimes.

When one of those arrested, Osgur Breathnach, editor of the party's paper, was brought to court on an appeal against repeated detention, he showed such obvious signs of beating that he was immediately sent to a hospital. He had a brain concussion and bruises on his back that the doctor said "were not consistent with falling backwards." Breathnach and three other IRSP members still face trial on a train robbery charge.

On the same page, the *Irish Times* published the story of a young Northern Irish woman living in a Dublin suburb. The police picked up a suspect who was staying in her apartment. As they drove away, someone threw a bottle at the car.

Five minutes later there was a knock at my door; I went to answer it. My ten-year-old son was behind me. . . . On opening the door, no words were spoken, one garda . . . grabbed me by the hair, swung me round the hall and punched me several times in the stomach. Two other gardai grabbed both my arms, pinning them to my sides and kned me in the lower parts of my body. They then bent me forward and several times punched me round the back of the head. One garda shouted into my face that I had thrown a milk bottle out the window. He spat in my face.

My young son became hysterical and attempted to come to my assistance. He was pushed to the ground. I was then dragged by the hair out into the landing. . . . The garda that had me by the hair held on to it while another garda held my arm up my back. One garda shouted "Mind you don't break her arm."

In the February 16 *Irish Times*, Timothy Henchy reported that after being questioned for some time by police, two plain-clothes cops he had never seen before came in and almost immediately began torturing him.

Suddenly one kicked the chair from under me and I fell on the ground. He said: "Get back on

that fucking chair" and when I did the other fellow hit me in the face.

The two of them then grabbed me and took me over to a table . . . and forced me to lean over the table. They held my arms behind my back and caught me by the hair and started banging my head on the table. One of them said: "We'll break you, you fucker, we'll turn you into a vegetable."

The cops made him stand against a wall while they kicked him and threatened him with a gun.

They then brought me to a large room which had a bed in one corner and a steel locker. . . .

In the room they made me take off all my clothes and started to beat and kick me, I was on the ground most of the time. They were shouting at me all the time and said: "Make a statement or we'll make a vegetable out of you." . . .

One of them went over to the locker and opened it. The other brought me over and said they would put me into it. I have claustrophobia and I told them this. . . .

They bound my hands behind my back. . . . Then they put me in the locker and closed the door. I went into hysterics. They started beating the locker.

In this same issue of the *Irish Times* and subsequent ones, many such stories were told. But the extent of police torture had already been coming to light before February 15. In the first week of February, Thomas Connors, a young worker, jumped from a third-story window in the police station in Cahir, a town in Tipperary. On February 5, the *Irish Times* reported:

Mr. Connors narrowly missed the iron railings around the Garda station and fell on concrete. He was taken to the County Hospital in Cashel, where he was held in the intensive care unit for three days.

Connors said that he was being interrogated by detectives who came from Dublin, far from Cahir, which is near the southern tip of the island. "They said they were professionals and that they had cracked the biggest cases in the country and that the likes of us were only chicken-feed for them." He said he had been questioned straight from 1 a.m. to 7 a.m. on February 2, when he jumped.

"I said to myself—it will last seven days and I'll never stand it."

The London press was quick to point out that victims of such interrogations by Irish police had described forms of treatment that the European Court of Human Rights had ruled to be torture when used by the British army.

Fine Gael member of Parliament Gerard Lynch saw a sinister convergence between "those engaged in anti-State activities" and "those quarters who for historical reasons had at least an antipathy, if not indeed hostility, toward our native police force." He said:

It is no coincidence that these charges get prominence in a section of the press that has been traditionally hostile to Irish institutions [the *Irish Times* was the paper of the Protestant settler caste before the Dublin government was established, but it has changed as this group declined] and who never cease to attack the

moral and political standards by which Irish people live. Neither is it a coincidence that such charges are levelled . . . at the very time when the nation from which such organs would have us take our standards [Britain] is on trial before the world for activities that more properly belong to Cromwellian days. . . .

The Official Unionist party in Northern Ireland issued a statement under the heading "Dublin hypocrisy," saying:

. . . the Government of the Republic has pursued allegations of torture against the British Government; this could do nothing but alienate law-abiding people in Northern Ireland and give support to the IRA. . . .

It would appear that the whiter-than-white sinless wonders and protectors of the rights of thugs may have been guilty of acts of despicable torture itself.

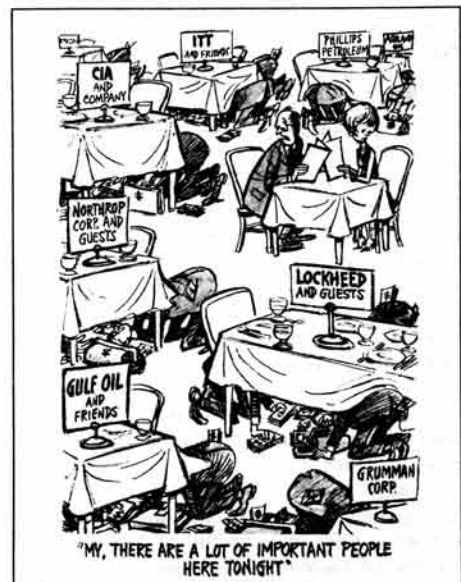
The pro-imperialist Protestant Loyalists were apparently so ready to seize any stick to beat a Catholic with that they failed to realize what this statement implied about the actions of the Northern Irish authorities themselves and of their British protectors. □

Flying Gravy Train

American Airlines has announced it made an estimated \$275,000 in illegal campaign contributions to scores of congressmen, former President Nixon, and other public officials between 1964 and 1972.

It is against the law for corporations to finance candidates seeking federal office, and American Airlines was convicted in 1973 for making an illegal contribution to Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign.

Among those helped by American's under-the-table payments were Gerald Ford while he was still serving as a congressman from Michigan, current House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, and Representative Peter Rodino, who chaired impeachment proceedings against Nixon.



Herblock/Washington Post

'Rotating' Strikes Called to Protest Austerity

By François Massion

[Pressure from the events described in the following article forced the Tindemans government to resign March 9, following loss of support from two ministers in the Rassemblement Walloon. Parliament has been dissolved and new elections are scheduled for April 17.]

* * *

GENT—Belgian unions began a series of twenty-four-hour rotating strikes February 25, and plan to continue them until March 25. These actions constitute an important event in the social and political life of the country. They mark the end of a wait-and-see period for the working class. The workers have begun to fight back against the offensive of the bourgeois Tindemans government.

Growing dissatisfaction among the workers in the face of ruthless attacks on their social gains and standard of living has culminated in this series of strikes, called by the Front Commun Syndical [FCS—Common Front of Trade Unions].

The union front includes the two principal trade-union federations—the FGTB [Fédération Générale des Travailleurs de Belgique—Belgian General Confederation of Workers], which has ties with the PSB-BSP [Parti Socialiste Belge-Belgische Socialistische Partij—Belgian Socialist party], and the CSC [Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens—Confederation of Christian Trade Unions], which has ties with the PSC-CVP [Parti Social Chrétien-Christelijke Volkspartij—Social Christian party].

The Tindemans government, which includes the principal bourgeois parties, has in fact shifted the main burden of the current economic crisis onto the backs of the workers. Unemployment stands at a record-breaking level. About 300,000 persons are out of work, which amounts to 10 percent of the active population, as against 3.7 percent in 1973. The first to be affected by this wave of layoffs have been women and young people.

Not only are the government and the bosses to blame for the growing unemployment; they are also following a policy of attacking the workers' social gains and buying power.

Official government agencies have admitted that workers' buying power dropped in 1976. This is a result of the various "economic recovery measures" applied, as well as of the rigging last year of the index on which automatic cost-of-living in-

creases are based. The latter operation was carried out with the complicity of the union leaderships. The new contracts, most of which were negotiated at the beginning of this year, did not bring much for the workers.

For several months, the conflicts have been shifting more and more into the political arena. The first stage was marked by the municipal elections in October 1976, where the fate of the government was clearly at stake. However, the outcome of the elections was far from a clear victory for the PSB (the largest workers party) nationwide.

In Flanders, the CVP, the main bourgeois party in the government, made significant gains, maintaining its dominance in this area.

In Brussels, the FDF [Front Démocratique des Francophones], the French-speaking bourgeois party, which is not in the government, made an impressive leap forward.

Because of these successes, the chief bourgeois forces rejected the idea of dissolving the government immediately, despite pressure from the PSB, which is anticipating a return to power.

Nonetheless, the Tindemans government was looked on as a lame-duck government. This precipitated a governmental crisis immediately following the elections. The incident that provoked this crisis was a split in the Rassemblement Wallon [RW—Party of Walloon Unity], a Walloon bourgeois party whose deputies give the Tindemans government its edge in Parliament. By withdrawing its support, the RW could have brought down the government. After negotiations among the ruling parties, it was finally agreed to extend the life of this government until 1977.

In exchange for its cooperation, the RW got an agreement that the government would set up a commission including representatives of the major parties to seek a solution to the "intercommunity problems" (the term used in the Belgian press to refer to the national question). But it is obvious to everyone that the government's reprieve depends on its ability to push through a new series of austerity measures. It is under pressure particularly to correct the balance of payments deficit, which amounts to sixty billion Belgian francs [US\$1.6 billion].

This was the background to the economic "summit meeting" that the government held on February 12 and 13. The financial sectors are all talking about the governmental plan that came out of this meeting

as a success, while complaining about the "excessive burden" that has to be borne by businesses.

On the other hand, the workers movement has observed that, once again, the effect of the government's measures has been to make the workers pay for the crisis. Indirect taxes were raised (on cigarettes, gasoline, alcohol, and so on), unemployment compensation was restricted, and there were attacks on the health insurance system, along with new taxes.

The major bourgeois parties closed ranks around the government, deciding to let it complete its term (until the legislative elections in 1978). Responding to the growing dissatisfaction among their ranks, the union leaderships issued a call for twenty-four-hour rotating strikes beginning February 25.

It should be noted that the call for rotating strikes did not come out of the blue. A consensus was first of all reached by the two major trade-union federations, the FGTB and the CSC. This was as follows: on February 25 there was to be a four-hour national general strike, followed by twenty-four-hour regional strikes.

Meanwhile, trade-union assemblies were held, in which the FGTB and the CSC leaderships were able to gauge the degree of enthusiasm among the rank-and-file activists. In the FGTB meetings, it was not uncommon to hear people evoke the insurrectional strikes of 1960-61. As the rank and file saw it, what was needed was not just a fight against the government's measures, but above all, against the Tindemans government itself.

The union leaderships then went back on their tacit agreement, with the FGTB telling its membership that the CSC was to blame for this retreat. So, they rejected a general strike in favor of a series of rotating strikes on a regional basis, effectively dissipating the forces of the working class. It is true that the CSC, because of its ties to the premier's party, generally takes more right-wing positions than the FGTB. But this fact alone is not enough to explain the unions' retreat. This step backward is essentially a result of the leaderships' fear of losing control over the ranks.

In the Liège area, a general strike had already been held February 25, although it was not planned by the national leaderships of the two unions. In any case, the harmful effects of the union leaderships' timid and conciliatory attitude have to be pointed out since this makes the battle that much harder to fight. When Tindemans characterized the strikes as "political strikes," the union leaders tried to reassure him. They declared in a television broadcast: "We have only acted in response to the government's actions, not against the government." This was a warning to those elements in the rank and file who want a different government since they do not believe that a capitalist one

can conduct a policy that will benefit the workers.

What is next on the agenda? This series of strikes has increasingly focused the workers' attention on politics. The central question today is the Tindemans government, which could be described as the most reactionary government in the last twenty-five years.

The question of the government has arisen most acutely, first of all, in the CSC. The CSC is the largest Belgian trade union, having more than a million members, and is tied to the main government party, the PSC-CVP. Increasingly, left trade-union activists feel uneasy about their organization's links with a party that is leading the attacks on the workers' standard of living.

Many voices are being heard within the CSC and the MOC*, calling for a break by the CSC from the PSC-CVP, and for the formation of an independent workers party. The Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs [LRT—Revolutionary Workers League], Belgian section of the Fourth International, supports this demand and offers its solidarity to those who are struggling for this goal within the CSC and the MOC.

Opposition to the government has taken a different form in the PSB. What this party is fighting for is a place in a coalition government with the PSC-CVP. To combat the crisis it has proposed carrying out a series of "structural reforms" that do not challenge the profit system. Its aim is to put an end to the "antisocialist experiment" represented by the Tindemans government. To achieve this, the PSB envisions exerting a certain "pressure" on the government through the FGTB, which it controls.

The LRT is strongly opposed to the PSB entering the government in combination with bourgeois forces. It supports those elements in the PSB who are opposed to such a coalition. Tying the workers movement to a capitalist government and putting a brake on its independent action could only result in severe setbacks.

The PCB [Parti Communiste Belge—Belgian Communist party], which is supported by a minority in the workers movement, has sharply condemned the government's measures. Nevertheless, its perspective is still to "unite the progressive forces" in order to install a "progressive" government, including "understanding" capitalists.

*The MOC (Mouvement Ouvrier Chrétien—Christian Workers Movement), is a kind of united front of the Christian workers organizations. Among the organizations included in it are the CSC, the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne (Christian Worker Youth), and the Christian cooperative associations. The MOC embraces these organizations and represents them within the PSC-CVP. Thus, the CSC is connected to the premier's party by way of the MOC.

The February 19-20 *Drapeau Rouge* [newspaper of the PCB] ran this headline: "All political forces on the left should make clear what choices can lead to real change." The content of the article shows that, instead of seeking to ally itself with the PSC-CVP as such, as the PSB does, the PCB is orienting toward "progressive" elements in the PSC and toward other bourgeois forces.

In this situation, the LRT is putting forward proposals designed to encourage a united response by the workers movement. The objective of our campaign is to unite working-class forces to bring down the Tindemans government, the bosses' representative today. As an alternative to this bourgeois government, we propose a government of working-class organizations.

February 25, 1977

Wide Support for Walkout of Skilled Workers

Wage Controls Key Issue in British Leyland Strike

By Tim Wohlforth

Production at British Leyland's mammoth auto manufacturing complex has come almost to a complete halt due to unauthorized strikes that began February 19. Some 30,000 out of 165,000 workers have been idled, and only four of Leyland's eighteen models are still being produced.

The company claims to be losing some \$85 million a week, and there is talk of the entire combine, the only British-owned auto manufacturer and now 95 percent government owned, going into bankruptcy.

The main strike at Leyland is an unauthorized walkout of 3,000 skilled toolroom workers who belong to the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW). The AUEW, headed by Hugh Scanlon, has 1.2 million members and is second in size only to the Transport & General Workers Union (T&GWU), which is the largest union in England and represents the bulk of the British Leyland workers.

The skilled workers have set up their own unofficial committee and are demanding the right to bargain directly with the company. They are insisting on uniform pay rates throughout British Leyland and a significant differential from assembly-line workers. Their pay rate at present is the lowest in Europe for their type of work.

This demand stands in clear violation of the Social Contract negotiated between the government and the union leaderships in the interests of the capitalists. If the government gives in, it could undermine the whole social contract right at the point when they are seeking to negotiate its third phase, to take effect August 1.

Even though tens of thousands of workers are being laid off because of this minority strike, there is widespread sympathy among workers for the toolroom action. They too feel the effects of a 15 percent inflation rate while the union tops are insisting on fulfilling the agreement with the government to keep wage increases to 5 percent.

A series of other strikes are also going on in different British Leyland plants.

Some 1,000 workers have walked out of the machine shops at Longbridge over the issue of job security. At the Triumph plant in Coventry, 3,500 workers have been laid off because of a strike of 350 paint shop workers who objected to preparations for speedup.

The official union leadership is doing its best to aid management against these efforts to counteract falling living standards. Many so-called lefts among the secondary leadership, such as convenors, aid the union tops in this, refusing to openly oppose the Social Contract. This has particularly been the role of the Communist party, which has many militants in the unions.

For instance, recently 6,000 workers at Longbridge had to defy their convenor, Derek Robinson, to down tools and march to where the two most powerful union leaders, Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, were meeting with the management. The workers wanted to know why Jones and Scanlon were continuing their support of the Social Contract. Robinson is a member of the Executive Committee of the British Communist party.

In contrast, Alan Thornett, a Trotskyist who is president of T&GWU Local 5/293 at Leyland's Cowley plant, urges support for the current wave of strikes at Leyland and calls for an end to wage controls now. Thornett, who is running for general secretary of the T&GWU, has made the fight against wage controls the major issue of his campaign. □

West Bank Students Support Prisoners on Hunger Strike

Israeli soldiers used tear gas to break up a March 6 demonstration by students in Ramallah in the occupied West Bank of Jordan, the Associated Press reported. The students were supporting 250 Arab prisoners in Israel's Ashkelon prison who are on a hunger strike to protest prison conditions.

Bureaucrats' Scheme for 'Industrial Democracy'

By John Roberts

LONDON—The publication of the Bullock report on industrial democracy January 26 provoked well-rehearsed and vitriolic protests from both industry and the financiers of the City. The key employers organisation—the Confederation of British Industries (CBI)—threatened to withdraw its support from the government's industrial strategy if the report's proposals were implemented in full.

The Bullock Committee, under the leadership of Lord Bullock, was set up by the Labour government in 1975 to consider how "a radical extension of industrial democracy . . . can best be achieved."

The proposals of the majority of the committee were based largely on the 1974 Trades Union Congress (TUC) decisions: In companies with over 2,000 employees, any trade union representing over 20 percent of the work force may "trigger" a secret ballot of all full-time workers to determine whether they wish to have worker representation on the board of directors. If the majority agree, the board would then consist of equal numbers of representatives of the workers and shareholders, with a third, smaller group of mutually agreed "independent" members. The worker representatives would be chosen through the trade-union structures.

Several important points in the original trade-union resolution are not included in the Bullock report's proposals, however. Gone, for example, is the demand for free disclosure of information; gone also is the demand that no decision go ahead without a majority of the worker representatives in agreement.

The opposition of the employers was voiced initially by a minority of the Bullock Committee who consider that industry is not ready for such radical changes, that the Bullock proposals concede too much unnecessarily, and indeed that there is no need for workers to participate directly on the boards. Instead, a "supervisory board" with no real powers, capable of acting in an advisory capacity only, is proposed.

The main venom of the employers is saved for the trade-union organisations. They fear that if the unions organise and decide the worker representatives, then board meetings could be paralysed by union militants, confidential information and business secrets could be leaked, reorganisations involving closures, redundancies, and redeployment might prove impossible, and generally a process that

they might not be able to directly control could be set in motion.

So bilious has been the employers' response that supporters of "industrial democracy" have had to be more outspoken than usual. Peregrine Worsthorne, deputy editor of the ultraconservative *Sunday Telegraph* spelled it out for his backwoodsmen: "The basic purpose behind the Bullock proposals is to strengthen management; to restore authority to the boss. That is what talk about industrial democracy is really about: the creation of a new industrial framework wherein workers will once again be willing to do what they are told. It is not about freedom at all but about order.

"No sensible discussion of the Bullock report can afford to lose sight of this central theme: that it is about ways and means of making workers more malleable and less rebellious, more disciplined and less free, by grafting the waxing authority of Socialist trade unionism onto the waning authority of capitalist management. The aim, very simply, is to find a new way of rendering the inevitable disciplines of technological society acceptable to those whose fate it is to bear their brunt."

Naturally Mr. Worsthorne has reservations about the unions. But his reservations are not those of the CBI. His concern is whether the trade unions will be able to control their members and deliver the goods. It is for this reason that he wants the designation of worker directors to be by all the workers and not only by the unions.

The debate, heated though it might be, is not about principles but about the tactics and strategy of reaching a commonly agreed goal. Thus the Conservative party is lying low and saying little more than that industry must "put forward positive and sensible proposals."

The Labour government has more immediate pressures upon it. As the *Times* cynically commented, "more immediately [the Bullock report] is the substantial bargaining counter in the social contract and will be used to secure some form of incomes policy beyond July. For ministers it has the added advantage of costing nothing."

Under the conflicting pressures from employers and trade unions, the Labour cabinet has been strictly noncommittal on the contentious issues, restricting official statements to support for the generally

agreed aims of some form of worker participation and a legal framework for achieving this. In the meantime Prime Minister Callaghan hopes for a consensus to emerge from the present debate, while placating the employers and assuring them that nothing will be done against their basic interests.

As Trotsky clearly saw, with the deepening and extension of the crisis of capitalism the bourgeoisie are increasingly forced to rely on the trade-union leaders themselves to discipline the workers. Far from winning general reforms that benefit workers, these bureaucrats become strike-breakers, initiators of wage cuts, proposers of speedups and redundancies. Participation schemes help them play this role, and a policy of stifling the independence of the workers and their organisations is represented as a real reform. And the more heated the opposition, even if on essentially secondary questions, the more the bureaucrats can appear as class struggle leaders.

As the Trotskyist paper *Red Weekly* commented on February 3, "A really effective representation of workers' interests can only arise if it is rooted in a fully-fledged system of workers' control, in which the workers are organised at all levels of the firm to collect information for their delegates, check on management claims, and supervise the implementation of policy decisions."

"An effective, fighting programme for the defence of living standards is thus a necessary pre-requisite for real 'industrial democracy.' But the only way such a programme can be realised is if the workers movement is prepared to take the running of the economy out of the hands of the capitalists.

"This would make the defence of living standards a real possibility and, equally, lay the ground for turning the defensive battles into a coordinated fight for socialism.

"The left, then, should be working out and advancing its own long-term programme in response to the challenge of the Bullock report and the CBI." □

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White House Tests Reaction to Reviving the Draft

By Steve Wattenmaker

After a four-year pause in the military draft, adopted under the pressure of mass mobilizations against the Vietnam war, Washington is again discussing conscription to fill army ranks.

In view of the sensitive nature of such a proposal while the memory of Vietnam is still fresh, this discussion has tended to be couched in vague terms, referring to plans for an unspecified period in the future.

This is standard procedure in preparing public opinion for major policy shifts. In the case of the draft, the point is to test public reaction, so as to gauge the tempo at which the Pentagon can safely rebuild an army capable of enforcing Washington's imperialist aims anywhere around the globe.

Carter himself took the initiative March 1. Saying "a decision has not yet been made" on the future of the current all-volunteer army, he told a meeting of Defense Department employees that he and Defense Secretary Harold Brown "have a constant concern about the weakness of [voluntary] recruitments, particularly for the reserve forces."

Nonetheless, he said he had no intention of asking Congress to reinstitute compulsory service "at the present time."

The guarded tone of Carter's remarks was in line with earlier statements by other administration officials. Washington policy planners recall very well that as early as 1968, opposition to the Vietnam War draft was sufficiently widespread for Richard Nixon to promise he would adopt an all-volunteer army if elected to the presidency. He took this step in hopes of partially diffusing the growing sentiment behind antiwar and antidraft demonstrations.

In fact, the draft was essential throughout the war to assure a constant supply of combat GIs. Although by 1972 U.S. troop levels in Vietnam had been reduced somewhat, America's rulers maintained the draft until January 1973.

On January 23, Nixon announced the signing of the Paris Peace Accords; four days later the Pentagon announced that no more draftees would be inducted.

Government officials are now saying that the all-volunteer force has not worked out quite as well as they had hoped. Low enlistments, high personnel costs, and the reduced "quality" of recruits are cited as stubborn problems.

The military services have done well meeting their enlistment quotas so far, but the brass are predicting that recruiting



CARTER: Wants a new draft with "no exceptions."

will become more difficult if the nation's unemployment decreases.

Army chief of staff Gen. Bernard Rogers told the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 8 that dwindling army reserve strength is becoming a serious problem. Last September 30 military reserves were calculated to be under authorized levels by 80,424 persons.

The unwelcome prospect of having to pay higher wages to attract volunteers rankles Congress and the Pentagon brass. Senate Armed Services Committee chairman John Stennis complained last December, "we're now having to spend 58 to 60 per cent of the military dollar on personnel, and that doesn't leave too much out of that dollar to buy all of the expensive weapons. . . ."

At his March 1 meeting with Pentagon employees, Carter said he planned to name a "blue ribbon commission" to study ways to curb the rising and "almost uncontrollable costs" of personnel in the defense establishment.

Without reductions in these costs, including retirement benefits, "our ability to defend ourselves might very well be sapped away," the president said.

But military officials appear more worried about the growing percentage of Black enlistees in the army. With unemployment

running 64 percent or higher among Black teenagers, enlisting in the armed forces has been for many the only hope for leaving the rolls of the jobless and learning a skill.

A January 26 editorial in the *New York Times* pinpointed the Pentagon's concern with this development.

The Pentagon background papers prepared for the Carter administration also warn of public and Congressional concern that the Volunteer Army "may eventually be composed of low socioeconomic levels of minority groups." The drift toward a heavily black Army, officered mostly by whites, is documented in one paper. In a population 12 percent black, only 5.3 percent of the officer corps is black, while the proportion of blacks in the Army as a whole has risen by half since 1971 to 21.9 percent.

The likelihood of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities resisting the flagrant official and unofficial racism they encounter in the military is causing great concern.

The recent attempt by Black Marines to break up a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan at Camp Pendleton, California, and earlier protests by Black sailors on the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* are actions that send shivers down the Pentagon's spine.

An even more grave obstacle for imperialism's strategists was mentioned in a report by Dana Adams Schmidt in the January 27, 1977, *Christian Science Monitor*.

Army officers worry that if nonhigh school blacks concentrate in combat service there is a danger that, as in Vietnam, blacks may complain that they are "fighting the white man's war." The Army is consequently making an effort to fit black recruits into skilled specialties and to attract whites to the combat services.

How would Black troops react if sent to fight in Africa or to crush protests in America's Black communities? Washington is hoping a refurbished draft will put more whites on the front lines before they have to find out.

In pushing the idea of a new draft, the government will have to contend not only with antiwar sentiment, but with the widespread knowledge that the draft has traditionally been filled with loopholes to allow the sons of the rich to escape service.

Carter has promised that any new system would be "all-inclusive," with no "exceptions for those who are wealthy or are college students." The *New York Times* proposed "a form of universal service, civilian and military, without exemptions," and cited a Gallup poll showing

two-thirds of Americans would favor such an idea.

More particulars on this poll would be highly welcome. Were those questioned also asked whether they favored another bloodbath like the one Washington inflicted in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos? Were they asked their views on whether American troops should be sent to South Africa,

Rhodesia, the Middle East, or anywhere else America's rulers feel their interests may be threatened?

Most likely those polled were not asked these questions or any remotely resembling them. But they are the real considerations behind Carter's move to test reaction to reinstatement of conscription. □

On Eve of Elections

Survey Shows Steep Erosion in Support for Gandhi

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—It is clear from a pre-election survey conducted all over India by correspondents of the *Indian Express* that working-class voters are angry with the Congress party.

The results, published February 26, showed that the average worker is "sullen" or "cynical," "defiant," or just plain "angry." Reporters stressed the workers' bitterness over such issues as trade-union rights, bonuses, the cost of living, and layoffs.

Jadu Mandal of Hoogly, near Calcutta, was quoted as saying, "During the emergency we raised production. Did we share the benefit?" A Haryana worker asserted, "We are the backbone of the economy." But as Halim, a Bengali jute worker, pointed out, "We got the burdens, not the gains of the emergency."

The average worker views the emergency as the suppression of working-class rights won through decades of struggle. Workers have seen how managements continue to lay off and retrench. A million workers were laid off or retrenched [fired] nationwide in the first year of the emergency.

"Left-leaning" union leaders who supported the emergency and obliged workers to support the Gandhi regime are finding that they are not believed when they say that cuts in bonuses are necessary to curb inflation. Somasekharan of Trivendrum in Kerala state, for example, feels that the Communists have forsaken their principles in order to capture power.

While the *Indian Express* survey shows that workers are growing increasingly disenchanted with the ruling Congress party, it is also apparent that the different faces of the Janata party are confusing.¹ In this situation, the working-class voter tries to judge alternatives in terms of

whether they will be pro-labor or pro-management.

Indian Express correspondents reporting from rural areas say that just two weeks before the polls open, there is not much election fever among the voters. Where people have been subjected to the most thoughtless brutality, as in the sterilization programme, their good will has been lost to the regime. This has been particularly true in the northern states.

Other factors have to be taken into account, such as the ruling Congress party's ample resources, control of governmental machinery, and an edge over its rivals in terms of some of the benefits of the twenty-point programme.² But the farmers are not impressed by concessions announced by the Gandhi regime on the eve of the election. They know that these promises will be withdrawn at the end of June.

Under pressure of protests, the Gandhi regime is promising to rectify excesses committed in the sterilization campaign during the emergency.

At the same time, ruling Congress politicians of both the centre and the states are vying with one another in announcing concessions to all strata of society, in an effort to lure their votes away from the Janata party.

Even former feudal princes have been offered places on tickets in hopes that they can influence the votes of rural people in their former princely states. Overnight their ratings as desirable ruling Congress candidates have shot up. Certainly, the task of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India to ascertain the "progressive, antifeudal character" of the ruling Congress party has become all the more difficult in these elections.



GANDHI: Admits "excesses" in forced sterilization campaign.

Although nineteen months of emergency have clearly contributed to the erosion of confidence in Gandhi and her party, the need for independent working-class politics based on revolutionary Marxism has never been more imperative. It is around this axis that the Trotskyists of the Communist League (CL), Indian section of the Fourth International, are approaching these elections.

As its major plank, the CL calls for complete independence from the political, ideological, and organisational spell of the Indian bourgeoisie and its parties as well as its reformist agencies in the Indian working-class movement. In its election manifesto, it has emphasized the class limitations of bourgeois democracy in India and the need for socialist revolution as the only alternative for establishing a real socialist democracy. It views these elections as only one of the arenas of the class struggle.

With this perspective, the Communist League has fielded Thakor Shah as its candidate from Baroda. Shah is the editor of the Gujarati fortnightly *Prajasattak* (Republic) and an active trade-union organiser of factory committees in various industrial units of the Baroda region.³

The Trotskyist argument that the elec-

3. For the text of the Communist League's election manifesto and a biography of Thakor

1. The Janata party is composed of the conservative Organisation Congress, the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (Indian People's party), the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh, and the Socialist party.—IP

2. Indira Gandhi demagogically announced a twenty-point economic program shortly after the declaration of the state of emergency. The program promised to distribute surplus land to landless peasants, abolish bonded labor, make income tax reforms, and bring down prices.—IP

tions will not deliver the goods is echoed by a Karnatak farmer who is quoted in the

Shah, see *Intercontinental Press*, March 14, 1977, pp. 278-79.—IP

Indian Express survey as saying: "Whoever comes to power, our lot will remain the same."

March 1, 1977

CPI Members Confused Over Party's Election Strategy

Indian Stalinists Search for 'Progressive' Bourgeoisie

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—"The criticisms of the government's misdeeds must be made from a clear democratic standpoint and above all, for strengthening democracy," an editorial in *New Age*, the central organ of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI), said February 13.

This comment sums up the approach of the CPI to the central issue of the Indian elections—Gandhi's state of emergency, which it supported unconditionally until recently.

The increasing demands for the lifting of the emergency—as well as the opposition's daily denunciations of repression and the "misuse" of the emergency and the formation of the Congress for Democracy (CFD) by Jagjivan Ram and other "progressives" from Gandhi's Congress party—have placed the CPI in an awkward position before the country's electorate. The CPI is the only party—besides the Congress party itself—that still persists in justifying the imposition of the emergency in June 1975 on the grounds of a fight against "right reaction." It even tries to outdo the Congress party in listing the "gains" of the emergency.

In the February 13 *New Age*, Mohit Sen, a leading ideologue of the CPI, describes the election manifesto of the rival Communist party of India (Marxist) as "barren analysis, dangerous line." According to Sen, the CPI(M) "is acting as the agency of reaction outside the Congress to disrupt and divide the patriotic and democratic and left forces inside and outside the ruling party."

The CPI contends that the newly formed four-party amalgam, the Janata party, represents the reactionary wing of the Indian bourgeoisie. At a February 9 news conference, CPI General Secretary C. Rajeshwar Rao announced that the CPI would not seek any electoral agreements with the Janata party.

The CPI, however, has more difficulty explaining Jagjivan Ram's formation of the Congress for Democracy on a plank that essentially contains the same criticisms of the emergency now made by the CPI. According to Rao, the CFD is a revolt against extra-constitutional authority and

the open violation of democratic rights. The CPI terms it a "democratic party." As for the Congress party itself, Rao said that the CPI's support for it "will be on the basis of merit."

The formation of the CFD has made the CPI's search for a "progressive" or "democratic" wing of the Indian bourgeoisie more difficult. For the purpose of the elections, rank opportunism seems to be the decisive factor in deciding the respective characters of the Congress party and the CFD. In West Bengal, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu, the CPI has sided with the Congress party, while in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Orissa it has joined hands with the CFD. In the rest of the states it will contest the elections alone.

Explaining the rationale behind this election strategy, Rao said that in West Bengal the CPI has made electoral adjustments with the Congress because in that state the Congress party fought for democracy against extra-constitutional authority and won. He was referring to the alleged attempt by the Youth Congress, led by Gandhi's son Sanjay, to oust the West Bengal Congress ministry of S.S. Ray. In Kerala, Rao said, the CPI wanted to continue its coalition with the Congress party and the Muslim League. The case was similar for Tamil Nadu.

Rao singled out Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, and Bihar for special treatment. According to him, the Congress party in those states is dominated by anti-Communists, so there is no question of the CPI supporting it. It would instead support the CFD.

Commenting on this strategy, Kuldip Nayar reported in the February 18 *Indian Express* that the rank and file of the CPI is unhappy with the party's attitude towards the ruling Congress party. He said that most members fail to understand the motivations that led the CPI to side with the Congress in some states, the CFD in others, and to go it alone in still others.

Nayar reported that there were differences on this question between CPI Chairman S.A. Dange and foreign affairs expert N.K. Krishnan on one hand and *New Age* editor Bhupesh Gupta and Central Secretariat member Inderjit Gupta on the other.

Nayar said that if Dange had been successful in his efforts to forge an alliance with the Congress party throughout the country, there would probably have been a split in the CPI.

Meanwhile, the February 3 statement by the CPI on Jagjivan Ram's split from the Congress party has created consternation in Congress party circles. According to Nayar, the Congress has hastened to assure CPI leaders that its recent public attacks on the CPI for its alleged betrayal of the 1942 Quit India Movement was actually aimed at the CPI(M). In another context, Nayar reported, New Delhi had assured Moscow that whatever it said about the CPI within India, the government's attitude towards the CPI would not change.

Nayar reported that these explanations have failed to soothe many CPI leaders and rank-and-file members, with the result that some of them have joined hands with the CPI(M) and in some cases even with the conservative Organisation Congress.

The CPI's election manifesto calls for a decisive majority for the "democratic forces." It is seeking a mandate from the electorate "to defend and extend democracy, to safeguard and improve the living conditions of the people and to create stable conditions for national economic development."

Unlike the Janata party, the CPI does not call for the abolition of the right to private property as a fundamental right in the constitution. Nor does it call for the repeal of the antidemocratic 42nd Constitutional Amendments Act. While it now demands the lifting of the emergency, it does not call for the scrapping of the emergency provisions in the constitution. On these points, the CPI stands to the right of the Janata party.

The CPI says that the country is poised for a big advance, thus providing a left cover for Gandhi's policies as it has since the imposition of the emergency.

Although it calls the election a major fight between the forces of "democracy, patriotism and progress on the one hand and that of the reaction on the other," with the outcome decisive for the country's future, for obvious reasons it cannot clearly state which side represents "reaction" and which "progress." □

Prisoners in Gandhi's Jails Plan 24-Hour Hunger Strike

Indian opposition leader Jaya Prakash Narayan announced March 5 that more than 15,000 political prisoners will go on a twenty-four hour hunger strike March 10. The statement, released by India's Janata party, said the prisoners were resorting to the hunger strike to focus public attention on their "indefinite detention without trial." Narayan called for a nationwide hunger strike in sympathy with the prisoners, to be held on the same day.

Peking Accuses 'Gang of Four' of 'Trotskyism'

By Les Evans

A new twist appeared in the Peking government's campaign against the four jailed members of the Chinese Communist party Politburo in late January: an effort to link the fallen Maoists with "Trotskyism."

On January 27, the Peking *People's Daily* carried on its front page an article entitled "The 'Gang of Four' and the Trotskyites." This was translated into English and released for world distribution by the government news agency Hsinhua on January 29. Then, to give it even more prominence, it was republished in a more polished translation in the February 11 issue of *Peking Review*.

In the United States, the Hsinhua version of this article, signed by one Chung Lien, was picked up and reprinted by the Maoist October League (Marxist-Leninist) in the February 21 number of its newspaper, the *Call*.

What possible similarity can there be between Chiang Ch'ing and her associates, and "Trotskyism"? They served as Mao's most trusted lieutenants. They presided over a government that outlawed the works of Trotsky and held Trotskyists in prison for their views. They themselves used the charge of "Trotskyism" against their political opponents within the bureaucracy, including against many of the members of the present regime who were themselves purged during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and later "rehabilitated."

The article itself sheds little light. It is a hodgepodge of accusations against Trotsky stripped of any historical reference point by which the reader could form an opinion of when these things were supposed to have happened or what the arguments of fifty or sixty years ago were about. To this mystifying performance is added a string of parallel assertions about the "gang of four." A few examples should serve to give a flavor of the method of the Stalinist author.

Trotsky who slandered Leninism as "old" and "useless" raved that "the entire edifice of Leninism at the present time is built on lies and falsification." Adding insult to calumny, he tried to replace Leninism with an ism of his own. Chang Chun-chiao vilified [sic] that after reading Chairman Mao's work *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, he was "still not clear about the classes in Chinese society." He flagrantly declared that Mao Tsetung Thought was "outdated," and his cohorts spoke of so-called "Chang Chun-chiao thought" and shamelessly described it as "the fourth milestone in the history of the development of Marxism."

This is a piece of outright literary forgery. The "quotations" adduced from

Trotsky are fraudulent. No source for them is given. Trotsky's works are in print in many languages in the world. Let the Peking government step out from behind the screen of censorship that denies the Chinese workers the right to read Trotsky's writings for themselves and say where it claims to have found these manufactured "quotations."

The article likewise repeats the tired old slander that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution "opposed Lenin's theory that socialism could be victorious in one country alone, maintaining that victory could be won only simultaneously in the major European countries." How to explain, then, the fact that Trotsky was the organizer of the October insurrection in Russia in 1917, one of the founding leaders with Lenin of the Soviet state, and the commander of the Soviet Red Army in the civil war that secured Soviet power? Trotsky many times refuted the caricature of his position that equated internationalism and the perspective of spreading the revolution to the advanced countries with "simultaneous" revolutions in several countries at once.

To repeat these lies today shows only the contempt the author holds for his readers and his reliance on their ignorance and lack of historical materials to verify the claims of the official press.

One further example:

An old-timer in forming an anti-Party bloc, Trotsky set himself against the Party Central Committee and tried to place himself over and above it. He was denounced by Lenin who pointed out: "Trotsky behaves like a despicable careerist and factionalist"; "he pays lip service to the Party and behaves worse than any other of the factionalists." (To G.Y. Zinoviev.) The Trotskyites openly created a split in the Party and tried to undermine the Party apparatus by setting up their own central and local organs working underground. With Petrograd, then the biggest city in Russia, as the centre of their counter-revolutionary activities, they distributed inside the Party anti-Party documents signed in their own names. [Emphasis in original.]

We must ask our Stalinist "historian" just what period his "then" refers to. The distribution of "documents signed in their own names" refers plainly to the period after the seizure of power. In fact it is a reference to the formation of the Left Opposition in 1923. The intended effect of the above paragraph is that in his last years Lenin considered Trotsky a "despicable careerist." The author carefully avoids providing a date for his citation from Lenin's letter to Zinoviev. The letter quoted was written not in 1922 or 1923, but in 1909.

It can be found on page 399 of volume 34 of the English language edition of Lenin's *Collected Works*.

In 1917 Lenin proposed Trotsky's election to the Bolshevik Central Committee, assigned him to head the insurrection in Petrograd, and approved his appointment as head of the Red Army. Lenin's views of Trotsky—and of Stalin—in his last year are available for anyone to read in his *Collected Works*.^{*} Far from opposing Trotsky, Lenin formed a common faction with him to defeat Stalin on a whole series of central questions for the Russian revolution.

More to the point, however, is the question of why this article was written now and what it was intended to accomplish. Both the Moscow and Peking Stalinists do write articles with the aim of vilifying Trotsky and world Trotskyism. That is not the main aim of this piece. Trotsky figures here only as a scarecrow.

Peking's fictitious "Trotsky" is summoned up to plug two gaping holes in the case made by Hua Kuo-feng and the current Peking leadership against the "gang of four." The first and most obvious is the difficulty of separating Mao's wife and closest collaborators from Mao himself. Many people in China must be asking if Mao is not equally guilty for the crimes of the "gang of four."

A precedent must be found in which, after the death of a communist leader, his closest co-workers were accused of "conspiring" against him and were driven from the party ranks. In the "history" bequeathed by Stalin to his heirs, Trotsky is assigned this role.

The second hole in the case against Chiang Ch'ing and the Mao faction stems from Mao's use of "Trotsky" in the party purges in China during the Cultural Revolution. Again, this did not refer to the actual historical Trotsky, but to an invention invoked by the totalitarian regime as the embodiment of whatever it chose at the moment to brand as consummate evil.

The inner-party dispute of the 1960s hinged on two alternate bureaucratic strategies for building "socialism in one country." Mao's stressed "moral incentives" and strict party ideological control over the masses, under the slogan "politics in command." The other position, denounced as procapitalist revisionism, stressed bonuses, material incentives, and production efficiency over Mao's loyalty campaigns.

Mao, like his successors, used the all-

^{*}See in particular Vol. 45, pp. 607-608.

purpose epithet "Trotskyite" to frame up his opponents in the CCP leadership. Not surprisingly, Mao's "Trotsky" of the 1960s was a proponent of the views of Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Many of the present party leaders were branded "Trotskyites" by Mao because they disparaged the "politics in command" line and sought to place priority on economic construction.

Now that Hua Kuo-feng has discarded many of Mao's economically disastrous nostrums, the CCP high command is vulnerable to the charge of "Trotskyism," according to the peculiar definition this word has received in China over the last decade. To escape the charge of breaking with "Maoism," they are compelled to fabricate yet another "Trotsky," remolded to resemble Mao and the "gang of four."

Mao's "Trotsky" was a champion of industrialization. In an article entitled "A Great Historic Document" in the May 19, 1967, *Peking Review*, Trotsky was lashed because he "put forward a so-called ultra-industrial plan, which would increase taxation on the peasants in an attempt to shatter the worker-peasant alliance. . . ."

Mao's most ambitious generalization of this theme came in 1967, when he and his lieutenants—the same "gang of four"—invented the "theory of productive forces," which they foisted jointly onto Eduard Bernstein, Leon Trotsky, and Liu Shao-ch'i. The principal heresy of this alleged "Trotskyist" theory was the position attributed to Liu Shao-ch'i, that "the main task of the Chinese people and our Party is to develop the productive forces as rapidly as possible" (*Peking Review*, September 19, 1969).

This, however, is precisely what the present Chinese government is saying, while denouncing Mao's followers for spouting "empty revolutionary rhetoric" in place of serious economic construction.

While not calling Mao a liar, Hua Kuo-feng quietly puts the "super-industrializer Trotsky" away in a trunk and produces from his hat a "Trotsky" who holds the opposite position. According to Peking's new version, the "Trotskyites. . . made no suggestions whatsoever as to how to boost industrial and agricultural production and improve the life of the working people, since they had no interest in all this. . . . The 'gang of four' did things in the same way."

Of the conclusions that could be drawn from this "polemic," perhaps the most charitable is that we are dealing here not with debate over Marxist principles or the history of the communist movement but with witch doctors for a state religion. □

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50

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Four Deaths Linked to Secret Germ Warfare Tests

Pentagon Reveals 'Simulated Assassination' Program



Ib Ohisson/New York Times

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the Army conducted 239 secret germ warfare tests involving unsuspecting military personnel and civilians.

Locations for "simulated" biological attacks included tunnels on the Pennsylvania turnpike, a Greyhound bus terminal, and National Airport in Washington, D.C., according to a two-volume report the Army turned over to the Senate health subcommittee on March 8.

Among the civilians targeted for "assassination" by "mock killer chemicals" were former President Richard Nixon and the entire U.S. Congress, Associated Press reported March 11. The AP, citing a scientist who had formerly conducted research for a Washington think tank connected with the Pentagon, said the simulated assassinations were "successful" in both cases.

More than "simulation" may have occurred in other efforts. The army report acknowledges that at least four deaths and several outbreaks of pneumonia were associated with the program. It had previously claimed that only "nondisease causing biological substances" were used.

Germ warfare research was begun by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1942 and successfully used against at least one Nazi official, the army report said. The testing of biological agents continued after the war but picked up steam in 1961 when Defense Secretary Robert McNamara ordered the military to "evaluate the potentialities" of all chemical and biological applications to warfare.

The Pentagon's research director at the time, Harold Brown, "strongly concurred in the JCS [Joint Chiefs of Staff] view that these weapons had great potential," the study said. Brown is now Carter's secretary of defense.

Evidence of Washington's vast germ warfare program first came to light in 1975 when Senate intelligence committee hearings disclosed that twenty CIA agents conducted a mock poison gas attack on the New York City subway system in 1966. Three years later the CIA simulated poisoning the drinking water in a government building in the Capitol, the intelligence committee said.

According to the new revelations, Army efforts primarily involved releasing the supposedly harmless bacteria *seriatta marcescens* on military bases around the country and in San Francisco, New York, Washington, D.C., and Key West and Panama City, Florida.

However, the Pentagon admits that three persons died after coming in contact with deadly diseases at Ft. Detrick, Maryland. *Newsday* recently reported that medical researchers found eleven cases of pneumonia and one death associated with Army tests in the San Francisco Bay area. After another test at Ft. McClellan, Alabama, in 1952, pneumonia cases in the surrounding county more than doubled. □

Irreverence

The entire population of the town of Vascual, Colombia, has been excommunicated from the Catholic church by Bishop Alfonso Arteaga Yopez. The bishop acted after the 2,500 townspeople decided to use \$1,600 raised in a church building fund for local welfare improvements instead.

They were charged with irreverence toward Saint Sebastian, the church's patron. An appeal to Pope Paul VI is being planned.

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Timpanaro's Defense of Materialism

Reviewed by George Novack

After an earthquake shakes a building to its foundations, much time and effort are required to put everything back in its proper place. So those Communist thinkers who were jolted loose from Stalinist orthodoxy by the political upheavals of the past two decades have, after casting off their former beliefs, found it difficult to reorient their ideas in accord with authentic Marxist criteria.

Two contemporary Italian Marxist philosophers, Sebastiano Timpanaro and Lucio Colletti, have intervened in this painful process of readjustment in Western Europe. Their contributions have been translated into English by *New Left Review*, the London bimonthly, and its publishing firm, which have taken the lead in publicizing the views of "Western Marxism."

This category comprises an extremely heterogeneous band of ideologues, who are linked together not so much by common positions as by their opposition to the official doctrines emanating from Moscow and by their abandonment of essential elements of dialectical materialism. According to Timpanaro: "the common denominator of all these philosophical pastiches is anti-materialism." (P. 230.)

Timpanaro and Colletti are, each in his own way, sharply critical of these aberrations and have set about to correct them. Timpanaro is a classical philologist of international repute and a student of eighteenth and nineteenth century European culture.

On Materialism, by Sebastiano Timpanaro. London: New Left Books, 1975. 260 pp.

He has also written a critique of Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*. From 1945 to the present he has belonged to a series of left socialist organizations, evidently escaping the ill effects of Stalinism that have mangled the minds of so many of his contemporaries. The emancipated mentality that irradiates his writings enables him to cope more effectively with the complex theoretical problems posed to Marxists since the Second World War.

He is, above all, a stalwart materialist. As such, he stands in refreshing contrast to the horde of fugitives from philosophical materialism among the Western reinterpreters of Marxism and their East European counterparts. His fidelity to the foundations of scientific socialism is rare enough to merit special commendation.

The essays in his book are a sustained polemic against the more prominent antimaterialists who profess allegiance to Marxism but sacrifice some of its principles in their writings. These include such figures as Althusser; the early Lukács; Korsch; Marcuse, Alfred Schmidt, and other luminaries of the Frankfurt School; and Sartre. In connection with them he takes up the positions of Lévi-Strauss and Chomsky.*

He states his own intellectual affinities in this way: "Hence the

*These and other names and terms are included in a glossary at the end of this article. For an informative, though on some points inconclusive, appraisal of these thinkers, consult *Considerations on Western Marxism* by Perry Anderson (London: New Left Books, 1976). Anderson himself believes that Marxism is restricted to historical materialism.

author's unconcealed sympathy for Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, who do not receive a very good press these days from the revolutionary left in the West, which prefers to go back to the early Lukács, Korsch or Rosa Luxemburg (interpreted in a voluntarist sense which does not correspond to her real thought)." (P. 22.)

Timpanaro sets his criticism of the current adulterators of Marxist theory in the broad historical context of intellectual development over the past century. Marxism, as the scientific outlook of the revolutionary working class, has had to make its way through a cultural and political terrain occupied by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces and ideas that have exerted unremitting pressures upon its adherents. Consequently, from one generation to the next, the propagators and defenders of dialectical materialism have been obliged to counter attempts to introduce incongruous ideas, derived from alien class sources, into its structure.

The deviators have been most strongly influenced by two opposing trends of bourgeois thought. One has been neoidealism; the other neopositivism. Despite their very different standpoints and methods, they have in common a hostility to modern materialism as elucidated by the creators of Marxism and their most qualified disciples. Most of the Western Marxists have gone astray by succumbing to certain attractive tenets of one or the other of these types of thought.

Just as Lenin took up the cudgels against empiriocriticism in 1908, so his true followers must nowadays ward off the encroachments of a comparable eclecticism. They have to conduct a two-front campaign: against a relapse into semi-Hegelianism by exponents of the "praxis" school on one side, and against the formalistic structuralists on the other. Timpanaro subjects both of these fashionable currents of thought to searching examination.

Their three-sided controversy revolves around the question: how is the relation between objective reality and social life to be conceived? The mechanical materialists who espouse behaviorism or biologism try to slur over or obliterate the qualitative distinction between animal and human behavior. The praxologists, on the other hand, assert or imply that the "second nature," the artificial environment created by humanity in the historical development of social life, has entirely absorbed primordial nature into itself. They thereby head toward some form of a voluntaristic spiritualism.

Timpanaro steers clear of both errors. He writes: "... to reduce man to what is specific about him with respect to other animals is just as one-sided as to reduce him (as vulgar materialists do) to what he has in common with them." (P. 16.) This is his definition of a genuine materialism: "By materialism we understand above all acknowledgement of the priority of nature over 'mind,' or if you like, of the physical level over the biological level, and of the biological level over the socio-economic and cultural level; both in the sense of chronological priority (the very long time which supervened before life appeared on earth, and between the origin of life and the origin of man), and in the sense of the conditioning which nature *still* exercises on man and will continue to exercise at least for the foreseeable future. Cognitively, therefore, the materialist maintains that experience cannot be reduced either to a production of reality by a subject (however such production is

conceived) or to a reciprocal implication of subject and object. We cannot, in other words, deny or evade the element of passivity in experience: the external situation which we do not create but which imposes itself on us. Nor can we in any way reabsorb this external datum by making it a mere negative moment in the activity of the subject, or by making both the subject and the object mere moments, distinguishable only in abstraction, of a single effective reality constituted by experience." (P. 34.) (Objectivity would be a better term than passivity for designating the active role of the external world in human experience.—G.N.)

The praxis theoreticians, from the Lukács of *History and Class Consciousness* to Gramsci and Sartre, commit the unpardonable transgression of shuffling away the existence of nature independent of humanity by insisting that the object is inseparable from the subject. However, humanity's action and effect upon nature does not eliminate the priority of nature's action and effect upon humanity. For all materialists, pre-Marxist and Marxist alike, the objective world antedates humanity and underlies its history. Any indecisiveness on this cardinal proposition inexorably pulls the wobblers toward antimaterialist conclusions of one sort or another.

Such a breakaway from the first premise of materialism is the impetus behind the attacks upon the philosophical traditions upheld by Engels, Plekhanov, and Lenin. The negative evaluations made of Engels by various thinkers from Lukács to Colletti have a logical outcome. It is no matter of chance, Timpanaro says, that "those who have embarked on a 'Marxism without Engels' have arrived, coherently enough, at a 'Marxism without Marx.'" (P. 132.) The theoretical views of the cocreators of dialectical materialism are so firmly welded together that the positions of the one cannot be disavowed without discarding those of the other.

One line of argument invoked by the praxis and pragmatic indictors of Engels is that Marxism is purely and simply a method of inquiry that would retain its value and validity regardless of the sum and substance of its specific doctrines. It is, so to speak, a kind of intellectual activity, a technique of criticism, detachable from the body of its principles and conclusions. This approach fails to distinguish between what is absolutely essential to a particular philosophy and what is dispensable and episodic in its expressions. To reject the primacy of nature in particular, and objective conditions in general, is to cut the heart out of Marxist philosophy. Timpanaro protests against reducing Marxism to a revolutionary sociology by purging it of all aspects of a general conception of reality.

Such an abridgment enables its practitioners to discard whatever elements of dialectical materialism are uncongenial to them or unsuited to their purposes. Timpanaro emphasizes that scientific socialism can no more be reduced to its methodology alone than can science in general. Its adherents must attend to the results of its researches which reflect objective realities, since its verified conclusions about the nature of things exist in organic unity with its postulates and procedures.

As a rule the antimaterialists are repelled by science, which some even regard as a form of "bourgeois false objectivity," just as existentialists dismiss it as an unauthentic perversion of real being. Timpanaro scorns such irrationalism as obscurantist. He asserts the need for a philosophy that is a vision of the world based on the results of the sciences. He is keenly aware that Marxism must keep in step with all advances of the natural and social sciences and integrate their acquisitions of knowledge into its system—without, however, forsaking its own dialectical and materialist standpoint.

While nature, and humanity as a biological being, can be treated as constants in respect to the more rapid transformations of society, this does not negate humankind's dependence on nature and its ever-present activity. To deny this is to give a finger to the idealists and subjectivists. "To maintain that, since the 'biological' is always presented to us as mediated by the 'social,' the 'biological' is nothing and the 'social' is everything, would once again be idealist sophistry," Timpanaro points out. "If we make it ours, how are we to defend ourselves from those who will in turn maintain that, since all reality (including economic

and social reality) is knowable only through language (or through the thinking mind), language (or the thinking mind) is the sole reality, and all the rest is abstraction?" (P. 45.)

Timpanaro evaluates the impact of structuralism, with its blending of linguistics, psychoanalysis, and metaphysical idealism, upon Marxism as perspicaciously as he refutes attempts to sever historical materialism from its roots in physical and biological phenomena. His extensive discussion article on "Structuralism and Its Successors" is the most concise and cogent treatment of this antimaterialist and unhistorical methodology by a Marxist scholar.

As a philologist by profession, Timpanaro is especially qualified to discuss the achievements and shortcomings of the diverse tendencies in the development of linguistics as an autonomous historical science during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He pays tribute to the merits while recognizing the ambiguities of the celebrated Swiss linguist Saussure, who introduced the sharp distinctions between speech and language and between synchrony and diachrony that form the theoretical pillars of the structural method. However, he absolves Saussure himself from the rigid mathematical-Platonist idealism of his disciples in this field who have subordinated the changing empirical data of language to the system of abstract concepts derived from or imposed upon it. What were flexible dichotomies in Saussure's thought have hardened into a one-sided system of timeless polarities in the more formalist currents of structural linguistics. Timpanaro insists that while language functions synchronically it evolves diachronically. These two interactive aspects cannot be separated from or counterposed to each other in the study of language. He holds that there is "a great ideological distance between Marxism and structural linguistics." (P. 169.)

Timpanaro praises the noted linguist Noam Chomsky for his courageous anti-imperialist stands and crusades for civil liberties at home and abroad. And he acknowledges the worth of his researches in transformational grammar. At the same time he censures the MIT professor for reverting to the device of "innate ideas" (inherent structures of the mind) as the source of language. This kind of explanation was long ago discredited by empiricism and is by now too antiquated even for bourgeois thought, he says. Its Cartesian philosophy is antiempirical, antimaterialistic, and nonevolutionary. Its dualism introduces a hiatus between the human and other animals that no intermediate steps can bridge. Chomsky's effort to overcome this gap by turning innate ideas into hereditary predispositions "wavers between an antediluvian spiritualism and a genuinely 'vulgar' materialism. . . ." (P. 208.)

In any case, Chomsky does not claim to be a Marxist; he is a libertarian. Timpanaro draws a clear line between the scientific gains made by the leading structural linguists in their specialty, from Saussure to Chomsky, and their French extralinguistic imitators, who have extrapolated their conceptions in an illegitimate manner. He reserves the most scathing criticism for "that mélange of linguistics, ethnology and psychoanalysis which began to take shape in French culture during the nineteen fifties and sixties, and which has increasingly shown, in the works of Lévi-Strauss, Foucault and Lacan, an ambition to elevate itself to the status of philosophy, of a 'science of man in general.'" (P. 171.) He charges them with charlatany.

Though Lévi-Strauss rules like an emperor over Western anthropology today, Timpanaro reveals the shoddiness of the theoretical garments he sports. While Lévi-Strauss tips his hat in the direction of Marxism, his method of investigation and exposition turns historical materialism on its head. It is a primary postulate of Marxism that social being determines social consciousness; Lévi-Strauss makes out social life to be a product of the collective consciousness, albeit a special sort of hidden, unconscious, and invariant universal mind.

His major work, apart from his later analysis of myths, is *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. This is built around the thesis that the most primitive and fundamental form of kinship groupings comes from the reciprocal exchange of women by men to cement social solidarity. This explanation takes for granted the predominant role of the male sex in primitive society.

Lévi-Strauss's male bias is woven into a highly idealistic method of procedure. It is of course necessary to search for the elementary forms of things, as physicists have looked for atoms and nuclear particles and biologists for genes. Similarly, Marx singled out the commodity form as the nuclear unit of capitalist relations. However, complex and multifarious phenomena can be reduced to the essential structural elements that underlie and cause them along two different paths that give very different results.

One relates surface appearances to real though univalent components and forces, as chemists reduce molecular compounds to combinations of elements. The other way is to construe the outward show of events as the incarnation of universals that are in principle unverifiable by empirical means. The first is a genuinely scientific and materialistic practice; the second method gravitates toward Platonic idealism.

Thus Lévi-Strauss attributes the basic unit of kinship he claims to have discovered to invariant structures ingrained in the human mind, which has a propensity to construct logical categories by means of binary contrasts. These polarities are responsible for the forms of reciprocity found in primitive society. His structures emanate not from the material conditions of savage life but from mental predispositions and universal logical categories. Like Chomsky, Lévi-Strauss ultimately relies upon the untenable doctrine of innate ideas for the explanation of language and other social phenomena.

The notions of the linguistic structuralists and Lévi-Strauss have heavily influenced the French Communist philosopher Althusser, of whom Timpanaro has a low opinion. "... his terminological acquisitions were far more numerous than his actual conceptual advances," he says. (P. 193.) And his structuralism "emerges most prominently in his concept of science (anti-empiricist . . .), in his low estimation of diachrony, and in his expulsion of man from the human sciences." (P. 193.)

Althusser's antipathy to dialectics strikes at the historical-mindedness that is essential to scientific socialism. The distortion of Marxism resides in his structuralist procedure of analyzing capitalism, which is a transitory and contradictory socioeconomic formation undergoing continual change, in a purely synchronic and static manner, whereas Marx sought to explain its laws of motion and the dynamics of its development from birth to death.

Timpanaro does not touch upon Althusser's peculiar conception of dialectical materialism as the theory of successive stages in the production of scientific thought. While Marxist philosophy aims to base itself upon a strictly scientific explanation of the changing world, it has its own specific content and orientation that transcends the limits of the specialized sciences and answers questions about the nature of reality and its knowability beyond their terms of reference. Marxism propounds not only a theory of knowledge but a theory of being. The substance of its philosophy comprises the most general laws of the development of nature, society, and thought and its method of inquiry is guided by them. Althusser's definition severs the science of thinking and the thinking of science from the study of the nature of reality.

The Western Marxists can be classified into two camps: the champions of "humanism" and the advocates of "scientism." In France today Sartre exemplifies the first and Althusser the second. However much they contend with one another, they represent equally one-sided deformations of socialist theory. Marxism is both humanistic and scientific; it does not recognize any insurmountable opposition between human activities and aspirations and the researches into reality that are indispensable to their realization.

Timpanaro judges the flawed ideas of many reigning idols among the left intellectuals by strict Marxist standards. Any one of his essays is worth dozens of the exegetical treatises rolling from the academic presses on Sartre, Adorno, and the like. Nonetheless several of the ideas he advances seem open to question.

While staunchly upholding one of the two main pillars of the Marxist world view, its materialist foundation, he displays a more ambiguous attitude toward its dialectical conception of reality. In

defending Engels against Colletti's unfounded criticism, for example, he states: "The intrinsically idealist character of the dialectic was not clearly recognized by either of them [Marx and Engels]." (P. 89.) More specifically, he recommends that "the Hegelian residues in *Dialectics of Nature*" (p. 132) be screened out, although he acknowledges the importance of the attempt to unite the natural with the social. He proposes that the heritage of Marxism be updated and reformulated in more precise scientific concepts.

Marxists have to tread a narrow line between assimilating the valid achievements of modern science and becoming swamped by some unassimilable ideology that exploits them. It is unclear from Timpanaro's remarks whether he is simply urging that Marxist thought keep abreast of all major advances in science and knowledge, to which no exception can be taken, or whether he seeks to narrow the scope of dialectics and deny that its laws apply to natural phenomena. His assertion that the dialectic is essentially idealistic conflicts with the oft-stated opinion of Marx and Engels that the dialectical conception of reality has historically taken two very different philosophical forms and that its materialist version is not only compatible with but necessary to a fully scientific interpretation of the universal laws of development.

The rigid antithesis between nature and a changing human history, which even Hegel shared, was transcended when Lyell, Darwin, and others historicized the understanding of nature in the nineteenth century. Thereupon the question was posed: what laws and categories are operative in the incessant movement and transformations of the universe that are reflected in the mind and can be formulated in logical terms? Marx and Engels alike agreed that only the laws of dialectical development, materialistically understood, can satisfy this demand of modern scientific thought. Otherwise it is not possible to arrive at a unified and integrated world outlook with its proper logic. When Timpanaro says that "attempts to salvage a materialist dialectic are of rather doubtful utility in relation to the tasks facing Marxists today" (p. 129n), he is making unwarranted concessions to the standpoints of Althusser and Colletti on this controversial matter.

Further, in the area of historical materialism, Timpanaro retreats too much before the attacks of the Gramscians in the dispute over the relationship between the material basis of society and its superstructure. This "is still largely an open question within Marxism," he says. (P. 113.) Again it is uncertain what this remark is intended to imply. When the antideterminists refer to the unsettled relation between the base and superstructure, they mean that there are no coercive laws of socioeconomic development, and the generalization that the mode of production of the means of life fundamentally shapes and limits all other social-cultural phenomena and processes has no categorical character. Since Timpanaro obviously would not go along with this, it is difficult to tell what to his mind is in principle left indeterminate in regard to this question.

Apart from considerations of abstract analysis, one concrete way of refuting unjustifiable complaints about the alleged doctrinaire, one-sided, and mechanical character of the method expounded by Engels is to refer to the best productions of the most qualified practitioners of historical materialism extending from Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* to Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. "By their fruits shall ye know" what the method really is and can accomplish in skillful hands.

In regard to Trotsky's masterwork of historiography we should challenge the critics: what essential aspects of that world-transforming event were ignored or slighted? What mainsprings of its development from the international framework to its national background were left unexplained? Was the role of ideas or the influence of the individual omitted? What other work is superior to its insights into the operations of twentieth century history?

Trotsky had something else to his credit. In his *History of the Russian Revolution*, he employed the same Marxist method in analyzing the actual course of events after the fact as he did in predicting the main line of their development beforehand through

his theory of permanent revolution. What historian of our time has harmonized theory and practice in so decisive a fashion? Agnosticism about the correctness of historical materialism can be dispelled and its scientific adequacy weighed in the light of such literary works and political deeds.

Timpanaro is suspicious of any embrace of humanism, which he attributes to an aversion to the theories of technological conformity. He opposes the humanists in too sweeping a manner by identifying all expressions of the humanistic outlook with its nonscientific and petty-bourgeois versions. He thus falls in behind the sectarian attitudes of the Maoists and Althusser toward the humanistic element in Marxism.

It is as wrong to condemn humanism *en bloc* and surrender its designation and valid content to the adversaries of Marxism as it is to hand over democracy *per se* to these forces because of their deceitful abuse of the term. The revolutionary materialism of scientific socialism has to realize the fullest and finest promises of a genuine humanism. This viewpoint has been formulated as follows in my book on *Humanism and Socialism*: "Scientific socialism is *retrospectively* humanistic because it views humanity as the author and re-creator of itself without assistance from any supernatural being. It is *presently* humanistic because the movement for a better world it speaks for is the only one capable of lifting humanity out of poverty and inequality and safeguarding its further existence. It is *prospectively* humanistic in the highest sense because it aims to eradicate all the oppressive institutions and alienating relations bound up with class society, which have prevented the bulk of humankind from fulfilling its potential for creative practice." (P. 123.)

Timpanaro has nothing to do with the ultraleft stupidities of Maoist-influenced theorists like Bettelheim, Sweezy, and Nicolaus who regard the Soviet Union as a capitalist economy and an imperialist state. He explicitly condemns the "typically Stalinist" (P. 24) techniques of Maoist domestic policy (the cult of the individual, the suppression of dissident views, and the accusations of being "capitalist-roaders" hurled at Mao's former associates in the leadership).

At the same time he appears overindulgent toward the Peking regime. He says that because of its reactionary immobility, Moscow no longer constitutes a point of reference for the revolutionary forces of the world. While this is correct, he claims that in a certain measure the People's Republic does constitute such a point of reference, because "China is a reality still in movement" (p. 23) and, despite the authoritarianism at the top, Mao's regime desired "to create a communist democracy at the base." Possibly Peking's recent alignment with the most bellicose imperialist forces in the West would lead him to revise this judgment.

Timpanaro believes that Marxism remains underdeveloped in certain areas, and he discusses three of its supposed deficiencies. One concerns the materialist theory of the role of the individual in history, a subject that has been thrust to the fore by the combined impact of technological conformism under capitalism and the totalitarian steamroller of Stalinism. This problem has been treated by the French writer Lucien Sève in *Marxism and the Theory of Personality* and by the Polish philosopher Adam Schaff in *Marxism and the Human Individual*. Timpanaro decries the tendency to subordinate the ever-present biological constitution of humankind to the social aspects of the human condition in such a way as to compromise materialism.

He suggests two further improvements in Marxism with pleas for a larger place for hedonism and pessimism. Both proposals seem of dubious value.

He maintains that the pleasure-giving experiences and enjoyment of life that should accompany a materialist outlook have been scanted, not only by the distorters of Marxism, but by its founders. It is indubitable that, because of their backwardnesses and bureaucratic rulerships, all the postcapitalist regimes to date have frowned upon hedonism in principle and in practice (except for their own circles). They are repressive on many levels. What needless suffering is caused by the restrictive sexual code imposed



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upon the Chinese youth today and how little it accords with "democracy down below"!

The teachings of Marx and Engels can scarcely be held liable for that. They early learned from direct experience and from Rousseau, Diderot, Fourier, and others the malign consequences of religious morality and the positive good in satisfying the natural needs of human beings, their instinctual drives, emotional urges, and need of love. Marxism is opposed to asceticism as a pattern of moral life. It envisages the cultured fulfillment of the needs of every individual, whether these are sexual, gustatory, or sportive. It aims to abolish class relations because, among other evils, their repressive domination inhibits or prevents the satisfaction of the imperious desires and demands of normal human beings. The conditions of life under socialism will foster the rounded development of each person's potential, from biological impulses to intellectual, artistic, and inventive capacities.

Despite this historical perspective, Timpanaro urges contemporary Marxists to "reconsider an entire tradition of hedonist-materialist thought which culminates in Leopardi." (P. 217.)

Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837), the tormented Italian philosophical poet, himself bemoaned "the inevitable unhappiness of all mortals" and complained that "I am nothing in this globe, which is nothing in the world." He wanted to liberate humanity by demolishing its illusions.

Marxism, in contrast to Christianity or existentialism, is an optimistic credo based upon the vista of a qualitatively accelerated and illimitable progress once the impediments of class society and the inadequate powers of production are removed. Is it really necessary to inject a dose of pessimism into its outlook as an inoculation against a too facile optimism or a superficial conception of progress?

Apparently Timpanaro's brief for the importation of pessimism does not have a social-political motivation. He is not defeatist in respect to the proletariat's capacity to triumph over capitalism and go forward to create egalitarian social relations. His pessimism has not a short-term but a long-range basis. He doubts the possibility of overcoming the ills that people are naturally heir to, such as sickness, death, disappointment in love, frustrated ambitions.

Futurology is a nascent offshoot of social science and the

problem Timpanaro poses comes under its jurisdiction. To what extent can the limitations nature imposes on us be overcome in the far future? Thomas Huxley asked this same question in the last century: "What are the limits of the powers of man over nature and nature over man?"

Presuming the survival of our species and establishment of a planned world economy, it would indeed be foolhardy at the present state of our knowledge and powers to say what will be insurmountable for posterity. The soaring of our imaginations is as historically restricted as more physical flights. Aristotle, the greatest mind of antiquity, believed that civilized peoples could not get along without social servitude. Most Americans today consider the coming of socialism to their country, which we envisage as a realistic prospect, to be an absurd eventuality.

The fantasies of one generation, like landing on the moon, may become the realities of the next. Most of the inventions that have revolutionized technology in the twentieth century were not only unattainable but unimaginable a hundred years ago. The search for the presence of life on distant planets, which was formerly the province of science fiction, is now pursued by sober government agencies. The gene, the building unit of the cell, which was not thought of until this century, has just been completely synthesized—a triumphant vindication of the materialist conception of living organisms that Timpanaro espouses.

This indicates that the biological characteristics and capacities of human beings are no more fixed and finalized than their social behavior and cultural traits. Genetics can become as potent an instrumentality of change as nuclear physics, holding out the same tremendous promise—and perils. Scientific medicine and knowledge of psychic disorders are still in their infancy.

Of course, a realistic revolutionist must face the facts as they are and not indulge in cheap optimism about a smooth, uninterrupted pathway of progress without setbacks, detours, and disasters. However, this is scarcely a temptation for generations that have gone through two world wars, fascism, the terrible retrogression of Stalinism, the counterrevolutionary resistance of monopoly capitalism, and the defaults of the leaderships of the major working-class parties. The evolution of the Soviet Union shows what difficult and unexpected pitfalls can beset the world socialist movement.

Marx and Engels stressed the contradictory nature of all progress and the price that must be paid for every historical advance. Certainly twentieth-century experience has confirmed that truth to the hilt. The course of development is bound to be contradictory all along the way.

Current conditions provide more than enough reasons for pessimism and defeatism. The progressive outlook of the revolutionary proletariat bends the stick in the opposite direction. Marxists are the partisans of the victory not only of the working masses over all exploiters and bureaucrats but of associated humanity over further obstacles, near and far.

The existentialists, infected with the sense of fatalism pervading bourgeois circles, allege that the human situation on earth is inherently senseless and that all collective and individual projects end in failure and disappointment. Marxists take exception to any such philosophy of gloom and doom. The present state of affairs as well as our previous history can be rationally explained and a way out of our agonizing predicaments be shown. What humanity unconsciously created can be consciously reconstructed to come

closer to satisfying our needs and aspirations.

Our forerunners refused to submit to nature's tyranny, and we have far less reason to do so. Having overcome the sources of social oppression, our socialist successors will tackle with renewed vigor and success such causes of nature's oppression as sickness and premature death.

Timpanaro is skeptical about the long-run possibilities of alleviating and eradicating the pains of these biological afflictions. His pessimism flows from a tacit assumption that the biological makeup and destiny of our species will forever remain the same and nothing can be done about it.

Since humans are not immortal, nature wins out over all individuals in the end. As Leopardi wrote in his *Dialogue Between Nature and an Icelander*: "The life of the universe is a perpetual circle of production and destruction, each of which is linked to the other in such a way that each constantly serves the other." But humans do not passively submit to this circular process; they seek to gain more and more control over it for their own purposes.

We could append the following argument to the Leopardian dialogue between the two antagonists.

Nature: "Vain creature! You can command me only by obeying me."

Humanity: "To be sure, but we have the better part of the bargain. We shall continue to trick you and turn you into an obedient servant through science and technology. We'll see whether blind nature or conscious collective humanity gets the upper hand. Up to now, despite everything, we've come a long way from the primate condition. That's not vainglorious boasting but the plain truth. And our journey into the future has barely begun!"

Natural selection favors successful reproduction of the plant or animal population and not necessarily of any or all particular individuals within it. Until now social selection has largely operated in a similar natural-historical manner. It has favored the most productive and thereby the most amply reproductive groupings. Individuals have been cruelly treated and sacrificed as history has proceeded at their expense. With the raising up and leveling out of the powers of production of the entire global population made possible by socialism, this animal-like mode of development can be reduced and eliminated so that every person will have an equal chance and the least favored be given the utmost aid to overcome their handicaps.

Timpanaro's proposed philosophical pessimism is closer in spirit to existentialism than to the perspectives of modern materialism. It is out of phase with the psychology and outlook of an ascending class which has the mission of remaking the world and changing the course of human development.

* * *

I have taken up these more debatable themes in Timpanaro's book at some length because in the main its positions are so convincing and correct. This collection of essays admirably fulfills the goal Timpanaro set himself of being a stimulus to rethinking Marxism in the light of everything new that has occurred since World War II in the capitalist world, in China, and elsewhere. Every page of his book testifies that the critical spirit of genuine Marxism is very much alive in the Italian left.

January 26, 1977

Glossary

Althusser, Louis (1918-)—professor of philosophy at Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris and member of French Communist party from 1948. Rejects both dialectics and humanism, seeking to adapt Marxism to the antievolutionary structuralist school, which examines society primarily on the basis of its existing parts and

not as an evolutionary process containing intrinsically contradictory forces. Leans toward Maoism.

behaviorism—doctrine that psychological science can be reduced to measurable physical behavior of an organism.

biologism—belief that social behavior can be explained primarily by biological conditioning and causes.

Cartesianism—philosophical school founded by René Descartes (1596-1650); held that only

mind was knowable while qualities of matter remained unverifiable. Stressed abstract reason based on model of mathematical thought.

Chomsky, Noam (1928-)—American linguist and radical social activist. Developed system of transformational grammar (see entry) in his book *Syntactic Structures* (1957). Also known for his theory that underlying logical structure of language stems from biological patterns of perception innate in the brain.

diachrony—analysis of an object through

examination of change over time.

dialectical materialism—philosophical world view of Marx and Engels, encompassing both nature and society. Materialist in that it postulates the priority of matter as underlying cause and determinant of society and mind; dialectical in that it postulates study of matter in motion and transformation by way of contradiction from one form or state to another.

dualism—philosophical view that world is composed of two mutually exclusive types of phenomena: mind and matter, neither of which is cause or basis of the other.

empiricism—philosophical school founded by John Locke (1632-1704) standing midway between materialism and idealism. Holds that all knowledge originates in experience. Empiricism generally rejects supernatural explanations of phenomena, but its agnosticism as to source of sensations (experience) makes it hostile to general theories of causation.

empiriocriticism—philosophical school founded by physicist Ernst Mach (1838-1916) that sought to reduce all knowledge to analysis of physical sensations.

existentialism—a humanistic and pessimistic philosophy that holds human existence cannot be understood through either reason or material causation. Conceives of nature and society as dominated by accident and chance and stresses acts of will to recapture human freedom. Popularized in twentieth century by French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre.

Frankfurt School—popular name for Institute of Social Research founded in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1923. Developed a Hegelian form of Marxism stressing dialectics, psychology, and dehumanizing effects of bourgeois mass culture. Rejected application of dialectics to nature, and downgraded importance of materialism and economic relations in society. Sought to substitute reason and revolutionary will for material interests and class struggle as motors of social change. Prominent members included Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and Erich Fromm.

Gramsci, Antonio (1891-1937)—a founder and central leader of Italian Communist party until his arrest by Mussolini in 1926. Wrote voluminously until his death in prison, developing a subjective Marxism emphasizing the role of praxis (see entry), changing of mass consciousness through training of proletarian intellectuals, creation of proletarian culture to contend with bourgeois culture, and organization of workers committees and councils as a central tactic of class struggle.

Hegelianism—within Marxist movement, a current that seeks to minimize or discard Marx's materialism and to place human reason and activity at center of its analysis of society in the manner of pre-Marxist Young Hegelians. Prominent representatives of this tendency include the young Georg Lukács, Karl Korsch, Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse.

historical materialism—the application of dialectical materialist method to study of the development of society. Holds that ideas and institutions are the product of a definite material and technological base and that the motive force of historical change, after the appearance of governments, is struggle of contending classes with opposed material interests.

historicity—general view that societies can be understood only as product of definite laws of historical development and should be studied from standpoint of process of change over time, leading into the future. (This is contrasted with view that societies should be seen as a fixed structure or organism in which only the relation

of parts to the whole need be considered.) The evolutionary outlook of Marxism places it squarely in the historicist camp.

idealism—in philosophy, the view that mind,



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spirit, or God is dominant feature of reality and that matter is either caused by these spiritual forces or that its nature is inherently unknowable.

Korsch, Karl (1886-1961)—a founder, with Georg Lukács, of Hegelian current in twentieth-century Marxism, stressing revolutionary will over objective conditions. Member of German Communist party until 1926. Best known for his book *Marxism and Philosophy* (1923). In exile in United States after 1936, Korsch renounced Marxism.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1908-)—a founder of structuralist school of anthropology and director of studies at the Ecole pratique des hautes études in Paris. Rejected historical and evolutionary approach to study of social development, resting his analysis on function of existing structures and role of psychological factors, particularly in formation of primitive myths.

Lukács, Georg (1885-1971)—Hungarian Communist philosopher, best known for his book *History and Class Consciousness* (1923). Principal originator of Hegelian current in twentieth-century Marxism, stressing revolutionary will over objective conditions. The young Lukács rejected dialectical materialism as a general theory of reality, while in social analysis he placed major emphasis on alienation and cultural phenomena at the expense of productive relations as determinants of social change. Renounced his views in 1933 and conformed to Stalinism. In his later years became a dissident in Stalinist circles in Hungary and returned partially to orthodox Marxist positions.

Marcuse, Herbert (1898-)—German Marxist philosopher and long-time staff member of Frankfurt School (1933-49). Best known for his book *One-Dimensional Man* (1964) written after his break with Frankfurt School when he moved to incorporate elements of anarchism and existentialism with his previous views. An ideologue of the "New Left" in 1960s.

materialism—philosophically, view that all of reality is composed of matter in motion, including mind, which is product of the physical brain. Materialism rejects all supernatural explanations of phenomena. In contrast to vulgar materialism, Marxism does not reduce phenomena to mechanical motion but postulates distinct sets of laws for nature, society, and thought. It holds, nevertheless, that nature and matter in

general have causative priority in explaining development of society and thought.

metaphysics—philosophical system or method based on deducing characteristics of nature or phenomena from a set of preexisting hypotheses unverified by empirical fact and not subject to historical change.

object—something that exists independently of mind, as the world of nature or society in relation to the will of its individual members.

Platonic idealism—after the Greek philosopher Plato (427?-347 B.C.), an idealist school that holds that material phenomena are the reflection of eternally existing nonmaterial forms and qualities (ideas) that predate the material universe and whose combinations make up the perceptions available to the senses.

positivism—philosophical school founded by Auguste Comte (1798-1857), an offshoot of empiricism, which holds that the only valid knowledge is "positive," i.e., immediately empirically verifiable. Comte envisaged discovery of laws of social development based on projecting existing trends mechanically into the future. His followers, the neopositivists, reject any general social theories or "value judgments" beyond simple description of actual events and social institutions.

praxis—term popularized by Hegelianized Marxists to designate social action based on and integrated with theoretical understanding. As generally used, term implies ability of "revolutionary will" to substitute for a lack of propitious objective opportunities.

Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905-)—best-known twentieth century philosopher of nonreligious existentialism (see entry). Proposed doctrine of personal responsibility for human action in a universe without purpose. Originally considered existentialism and Marxism incompatible, but in his *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960) sought to reconcile the two world views.

scientism—belief that methods of natural sciences are directly applicable to solution of social and philosophical problems.

Schmidt, Alfred (1931-) succeeded Theodor Adorno in 1971 as director of Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany (the Frankfurt School). Author of *The Concept of Nature in Marx* (English edition, 1972), a polemic against position that laws of nature are dialectical.

spiritualism—doctrine that spirit and not matter is actual substructure of perceivable universe.

structuralism—view that in social analysis the question of historical evolution is greatly subordinate to examination of existing interrelationship between various institutions and social structures.

structural linguistics—tendency in language analysis founded by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) that rejected study of evolutionary origins and development of language in favor of examination of different elements within a given linguistic system.

subject—philosophically, that which is capable of conscious thought or action, as contrasted to *object* (see entry).

synchrony—concern with events at a given time only, ignoring their historical development.

transformational grammar—a system in linguistics developed by Noam Chomsky (1928-) that seeks to extract from surface patterns of speech the underlying logical structures of language, and to generate mathematical rules that can describe transformations of logical "deep structures" into varied surface speech forms.

voluntarism—view that human will is dominant factor in social change.

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



New Yorkers Temporarily Stall World's Noisiest Plane

The Concorde, a supersonic transport aircraft (SST) jointly financed by the British and French governments, has become a point of contention between Paris and London on the one hand and Washington on the other.

The latest round in the international controversy began March 3 when French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing placed a transatlantic phone call to Jimmy Carter, urging him to pressure the New York Port Authority to make a favorable decision on Concorde flights into Kennedy International Airport in New York City. Giscard warned Carter that a "wave of anti-Americanism" could sweep France if the flights to New York are not allowed.

The 1,350-mile-an-hour jet has been a consistent money loser for Air France and the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) since commercial flights began last January. Air France put its 1976 deficit on the Concorde at \$53 million, and BOAC is reported to have lost \$10 to \$18 million in the same period. The British Aircraft Corporation has five planes almost finished that they have been unable to sell. The company threatens to lay off 1,560 workers if more orders are not forthcoming.

When the British and French capitalists first initiated the SST project fourteen years ago, they did not foresee that mass

opposition to pollution of the environment by noise and fumes from aircraft engines would become a strong movement.

The airline companies counted on making the Concorde profitable through flights between Europe and New York City. But antinoise sentiment among residents of communities near Kennedy International Airport has put enough pressure on the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which operates the airport, to force it to delay approval of landing rights for the Concorde.

In February 1976, Ford's secretary of transportation, William T. Coleman, ruled that BOAC and Air France could begin trial commercial flights of the Concorde to Kennedy and to Dulles Airport near Washington, D.C. Since Dulles is controlled directly by the federal government, flights began there immediately. But in New York the Port Authority decided to withhold approval for at least six months. A poll conducted by the New York *Daily News* in mid-January 1976 showed that 63 percent of New Yorkers questioned opposed allowing the Concorde to land.

The protests of persons living near Kennedy have certainly been justified. The noise produced by the Concorde on takeoff is two to four times the intensity of most subsonic commercial jets, including the noisiest, the Boeing 747. In addition, the noise is spread over a considerably wider area than that polluted by conventional jets. New York Congressman James Scheuer, a former commercial pilot, said: "Never in my life have I heard a noise like the Concorde taking off from Dulles."

Bishop Hugh Montifiore, a representative of groups opposed to noise pollution in communities near London's Heathrow Airport, said that "the noise is not hell because hell goes on forever. It is more like a secular form of purgatory."

New York residents fear that once a few "trial" flights are allowed, the way will be opened to permanent SST flights at Kennedy (Coleman has said that up to twenty-five flights a day might be allowed eventually).

"I remember when they told us the jets wouldn't make too much noise," said Harold Stanton, a resident of Howard Beach, a community near the airport.

"From experience I also know that once they get their foot in the door with a trial period, we'll be stuck with the plane."

Besides the noise problem, environmentalists have also opposed the Concorde because it would raise pollution near airports to dangerous levels. Moreover, there is fear that the high-flying aircraft could damage the atmosphere's thin layer of ozone, which screens out cancer-inducing ultraviolet radiation from the sun.

But the French and British capitalists are determined to ride roughshod over these concerns. Jacques Maillet, president of the French Aerospace Industries Group, has warned that rejection of the Concorde "would be a flagrant denial of justice—the product, on the one hand, of the action of powerful American pressure groups, and on the other, of widespread sentiment in the U.S. that it would be an unthinkable sacrilege that significant technological progress in the history of humanity would not be the work of Americans."

In addition to this kind of talk from the owners of the aerospace industry, Giscard is under particular pressure to do something about the Concorde because of the upcoming municipal elections in France. His governing bourgeois coalition is under attack from the recently reorganized Gaullist party, led by former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, on this issue.

The French Communist party is also a strong supporter of the Concorde as part of its continuing efforts to gain favor with the French bourgeoisie. The Stalinists have also been particularly receptive to demagogic arguments from employers in the aircraft industry that the jobs of thousands of French workers are threatened if the Concorde does not fly to New York. They have lined up with the bosses and are pressing for a boycott of American goods if approval of the flights is denied. CP General Secretary Georges Marchais said: "If a plane built in France cannot land in the U.S., the French have a right to demand why American planes should land in France."

So far Carter has taken a "hands-off" approach to the New York Port Authority. At the same time he has shown no



"Don't worry . . . when you get up to twice the speed of sound, you can't even hear the environmentalists."

inclination to halt the flights of the Concorde into Dulles Airport in Washington, even though he said during his campaign that approval of such flights by the Ford administration was "a mistake."

On March 7 the New York Port Authority again postponed making a decision on the Concorde that had been scheduled for March 10, the same day British Prime Minister James Callaghan was to arrive in Washington—via a BOAC Concorde—for talks with Carter. Callaghan was expected to press Carter for favorable action on the New York flights, and a Port Authority rejection on that day would have been embarrassing.

Giscard said Britain and France would use the new delay to press for an affirmative reply with "every means" at their disposal. French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud warned that Paris might take a harder line in upcoming tariff negotiations, and his predecessor, Michel Jobert, suggested that France should pull out of NATO if the Concorde is rejected.

Meanwhile the immediate confrontation between London and Paris and the Port Authority has shifted to the Federal District Court in New York, where BOAC and Air France have filed a suit challenging the Port Authority's right to keep the Concorde out of Kennedy Airport. The first hearing in this case is scheduled for March 15.

The French and British capitalists clearly face no easy way out. This was recognized by the editors of the London *Daily Telegraph*, who wrote in the March 8 issue:

"Commercial retaliation against an adverse judgment . . . would inevitably lead to full-scale disruption of aerial communications between Britain, France and the United States—disruption from which the two European nations would suffer more than America. To embark on such a lopsided conflict in defense of an aircraft which is costing our taxpayers a small fortune every time it leaves the ground, would make us, deservedly, an international laughing stock." □

Mysterious Beaching of Pilot Whales

About 100 pilot whales that beached themselves near Mayport, Florida, died by February 7 despite efforts to keep them alive and return them to the sea.

Blair Irvine, a marine biologist at the University of Florida, theorized that parasites in the inner ears of the animals may have disoriented them. Others thought that the whales could no longer endure the pollution of the sea.

Still another theory was indicated in the following dispatch, which was published in the February 10 issue of the *New York Times*:

"Friends of Animals, Inc., has offered \$1,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone who captures baby whales, United Press Inter-

national says. The organization's president, Alice Herrington, said Tuesday that the recent deaths of more than 100 pilot whales that beached at Mayport, Fla., was probably the result of their following 'some boat which contained or was towing a captured baby whale.'"

More Cops for Atom Plants

American consumers of electrical power generated by nuclear reactors can probably expect an increase in their rates before long. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) announced on February 22 a series of new security requirements for atomic power plants that will double or triple security costs.

A minimum of ten guards armed with semiautomatic rifles will now be required for every shift at each plant. The guards are paid for by the utility companies, which will no doubt pass the increased expenses on to their customers.

A spokesman for the NRC said the security step-up was due to "the worldwide increase in terrorist activities."

Smog Threatens Food Supplies

Smog, a type of urban air pollution caused by the action of sunlight on automobile exhaust, has a drastic effect on many food crops. In a report given at a recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, J. Bryan Mudd, a professor at the University of California at Riverside, said that the yield of such fruits as oranges and grapes can be cut as much as 50 percent when orchards and farms are exposed to smog spreading from urban areas.

Oats, spinach, and potatoes suffer after only one hour's exposure to as little as one part per million of smog in the air.

Pollution also makes plants less nutritious, Mudd said. Fruits and vegetables grown under smog conditions often contain less vitamin A and vitamin C than they would normally.

And Children's Noses, Too

Riichi Yokomichi of Nishinomiya, Japan, was shocked last summer when he saw a five-year-old boy suffering from nasal bleeding. Upon checking other children in the vicinity, he found that forty-four out of fifty-four youngsters living within thirty meters of two super-highways also had chronic nosebleeds.

A report published in the January 22 *Mainichi Daily News* said Yokomichi was positive the nosebleeds were caused by automobile pollution but that local health authorities were doing nothing about it.

Yokomichi is a leader of a group of 152 families who live near National Route No. 43 and the Hanshin Expressway which runs on top of it. They are suing the state and the Hanshin Super-Highway Corporation in Kobe District Court to demand compensation for the problems caused by



Herblock/Washington Post

the highways. They are also seeking to block construction of another expressway section from Osaka to Nishinomiya.

No Significant Health Hazard

When a toxic chemical accidentally mixed with livestock feed began killing Michigan's cattle and poultry in 1973, state officials told anxious residents that the effects of the poison, polybrominated biphenyls (PBB), were confined to farms in the northern part of the state.

Five hundred dairy farms were quarantined and the Michigan Health Department tested some of the families most directly exposed to the chemical. The tests reportedly concluded there was no significant health hazard to humans.

However, an independent study completed last month by New York's Mt. Sinai Medical Center sharply contradicted the state's findings. Of the 1,000 Michigan residents exposed to PBB examined by the medical team, one-third were suffering from the effects of PBB—nervous disorders, headaches, muscular weakness and swollen joints, heavy skin rashes, and memory losses.

Another study released this month found that traces of PBB are still showing up in the state's food supply.

The new findings have unleashed a storm of protest in Michigan and residents are charging Governor William G. Milliken and state agencies with covering up the health threat to protect agribusiness interests in the state.

"They are all a bunch of cheap politicians," said Lewis Trombley, a dairy farmer whose herd was wiped out by the toxic chemical. "The Department of Agriculture was up here encouraging us to sell our sick and dying cows [for food]. They told me I could sell mine even though my own kids were getting sick."

Selections From the Left

la verdad

"Truth," published six times a year in Río Piedras, Puerto Rico. Presents the views of the Internationalist Workers League.

The February-March issue reviews the case of the five Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners—"the longest-held political prisoners in the hemisphere."

The article reports that the National Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners has gathered thousands of signatures demanding that Washington grant immediate, unconditional release to Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Andrés Figueroa Cordero. Moreover, the committee has organized many meetings to explain the need for a campaign to win the release of the five.

"The federal government has deliberately ignored these expressions of support for the release of the nationalists," the article points out. "What sort of humanist is President Jimmy Carter, to keep human beings in jail for more than twenty years?"

What sort of government is it, the article asks, that allows the chief architect of Watergate—Richard Nixon—and the killer of dozens of Vietnamese—William Calley—to remain free while it imposes inhuman treatment on five fighters for Puerto Rican independence?

"The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores calls on all Puerto Ricans to support the National Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners," the article concludes. "Participation by broad sectors of our people in its activities would help assure our winning freedom for the five nationalist prisoners."

CINA

"Struggle," organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Latvia, of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, and of the Council of Ministers. Published daily in Riga.

At the level of the USSR as a whole, a pretense is made that there is a distinction between the state and the Communist party. Thus, *Pravda* is officially the organ of the party and *Izvestia* of the state. This formal distinction is a survival from the practice in the time of Lenin and Trotsky.

In Latvia, which was incorporated into the USSR after the country was occupied by Soviet troops during World War II, no such pretense, apparently, is attempted. The local paper is the organ at once of the

party and of the state leadership—which, of course, are the same.

About two-thirds of the front page of the February 27 issue of *Cina* is taken up by a report on a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) entitled: "The Organization and Political Work of the Krasnodar District Committee of the CPSU in Carrying Out the Resolutions of the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the CPSU."

The article begins: "In this resolution, it is noted that the Krasnodar District Committee of the party is doing important work in applying the decisions of the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the CPSU and the proposals and tasks raised by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev in his report to the congress and in his speech at the October 1976 plenum of the Central Committee."

The article continues in this vein, noting about halfway through: "The proposals and conclusions in Comrade Brezhnev's speech at the October plenum should be a fighting program of action for the District Committee, the Adegiski Oblast Committee, the City Committees, and the Area Committees of the CPSU, for all Communists in the district, in carrying out the resolutions of the Twenty-Fifth Congress."

The second largest article on the front page reports lags in the building industry plan for Latvia. A small article on two Russian astronauts is featured, along with a picture.

The international coverage may reflect a certain sensibility to specific Latvian interests. It includes a TASS dispatch not carried in *Pravda* about the defeat of a motion in the British parliament to stop a filibuster against a bill calling for local assemblies for Wales and Scotland. In this article, it is noted: "As a representative of the Scottish District Committee of the Communist party of Great Britain, J. Ashton said that the acute and vital economic and social problems of the Scottish people cannot be effectively solved in the Westminster parliament."

Presumably Latvians were pleased to hear that the British CP favors self-government for a small nationality included in the British state. The contents of *Cina* indicate that Latvians have a lot of experience with being a small nationality dominated by an undemocratically centralized state.

la gauche

"The Left," French weekly paper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International.

The March 2 issue reports that 3,000 persons demonstrated against the apartheid regime in South Africa February 26.

The demonstration, held in the Flemish city of Anvers, was called by the Belgian Communist party, the Revolutionary Workers League, the Young Socialists, the youth organization of the Belgian Socialist party, and other organizations.

Later that day, 1,500 persons attended an evening of solidarity with the struggle against apartheid.

A similar demonstration is planned for March 19 in the French-speaking city of Charleroi.

COMBAT SOCIALISTE

"Socialist Fight," twice-monthly publication of the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire of Québec, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Published in Montréal.

An article in the February 15 issue analyzes the nationalist party of René Lévesque, which won the Québec elections at the end of 1976:

"The Parti Québécois is a bourgeois party in its program, its leadership, and its political objective. But the PQ is not an ordinary bourgeois party. . . . Far from it. It is a real mass party with almost 140,000 members. In proportion to the population of Québec, the PQ represents one of the largest mass parties outside the so-called socialist countries.

"Contrary to the classical bourgeois parties, the PQ does not enjoy any real support from any sector of the private-sector bourgeoisie in Québec or elsewhere. Its bourgeois nature derives from its aim of basing itself on an independent Québécois bourgeois state to create a Québécois capitalist sector. . . .

"Despite the attempts of the Maoists and some union bureaucrats . . . to pin the label 'Social Democratic' on the PQ, it does not have the same kind of relations with the union leadership and apparatus as the big reformist workers parties such as the New Democratic party in English Canada, for example. During election campaigns, the NDP can count not only on the money of the Canadian Labour Congress but also on the active participation of a veritable army of union employees. . . .

"It is because of its special weakness by comparison with the bureaucratic apparatuses of the fundamental classes that the high state functionaries, professors, and other leaders of the PQ have tried to build not only an electoral base but also an active rank and file in a mass party. It is not out of any moral purity or profound belief in democracy that these bourgeois leaders built a party with such a democratic structure and with relatively 'honest' accounting of election funds. They had no

other choice if they wanted to win elections. . . .

"While the PQ was in the opposition and grossly underrepresented in the National Assembly, the latent conflict between its bourgeois political objective and its character as a mass party whose electoral support is based on the working class did not become very clear. But now the PQ has to run a capitalist system, in a period of economic crisis. And it is impossible to manage a capitalist system in other than a profoundly antidemocratic way."

НИН

"Nedeljne Informativne Novine" (The Week's News), published in Belgrade by "Politika" enterprise.

The February 27 issue has an article on the question of pornography. It begins as follows:

"There are two areas of life about which everyone in Yugoslavia is an expert. One is football, and the other is pornography. There is more interest in this than in real national problems such as inflation and eliminating illiteracy. On the level of football and pornography, we are ready to mobilize to the last person."

The article continues: "For some years there has been not an academic debate but an entirely concrete political discussion of whether the public prosecutor should step in and ban the film *Last Tango in Paris*, which, it is said, could have an uneducational and disturbing effect on the Yugoslav public. . . .

"Imagine the effect on our socialist citizens of seeing on the screen what they do within four walls. Dreadful! . . .

"The worst thing in this whole affair is not that there is a difference of opinion. The problem is that the discussion is not open enough and not scientific enough. We cannot live with socialism and self-management in the twenty-first century, striving for the total liberation of the human personality, and at the same time believe in some Vatican-type norms in the area of emotional life."

Although political censorship of the Yugoslav press is very heavy, a certain amount of debate on some questions is permitted, and this is one of the features of *Nin*. Such "liberalism" apparently does not extend to raising the question publicly whether the income from tourists inspires a more tolerant attitude on the government's part toward freedom of expression in the "area of emotional life" than in the area of politics.

ИЗВЕСТИЯ

"Izvestia" (News), organ of the Soviets of Workers Deputies of the USSR. Published daily in Moscow.

The Soviet press has reported little news

about the protests against violations of democratic rights in the East European countries. In general, it has referred to only a few incidents, and always in the context of replies to the "capitalist propaganda offensive."

The Soviet press has, however, carried reports about the renewed protests in Yugoslavia. It previously had expressed its approval several times of the repressive course Belgrade set out on in 1971. It is obviously intent now on showing that the Tito regime, seen as a model of a more democratic society by Communist party reformers and dissidents in other East European countries, is in the same boat as the Kremlin. For example, in its February 20 issue, under the headline "Anti-Yugoslav Provocation," *Izvestia* reports:

"Yugoslav authorities have decided to deport three West German tourists for interfering in the internal affairs of this country and for political activity not in harmony with the accord between the Yugoslav Federation and the German Federal Republic. Explaining the essence of the case, the official representative of the Federation Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, M. Kalepic, declared that these tourists tried to give the Yugoslav authorities a 'petition' demanding the release of a certain M. Mikhailov. He was sentenced to prison some time ago for propaganda slandering the socialist conquests of the workers of Yugoslavia. In response to the decisive rejection of this petition, these individuals held a 'press conference,' inviting Western correspondents, who raised an anti-Yugoslav hullabaloo in their papers.

"Yugoslav papers characterized this incident . . . as one of the political provocations of reactionary Western circles against socialist Yugoslavia."

An Phoblacht

"The Republic," weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the Provisional republican movement. Published in Dublin.

The front-page of the February 22 issue commemorates the death of Frank [Proinsias] Stagg, who died in an English prison February 12, 1976, following a two-month hunger strike. Stagg, a republican political prisoner, had been protesting ill-treatment and demanding transferral to a prison in Northern Ireland.

When Stagg's body was returned to his own country for burial, Free State police seized it and carried out elaborate maneuvers to prevent any display of sympathy for the cause for which he died.

An Phoblacht published excerpts from the commemoration address by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, president of Sinn Féin:

"Proinsias was imprisoned on a trumped up conspiracy charge. He did not accept criminal status. He went on a hunger

strike along with Michael Gaughan. He came off his hunger strike after Michael's death, when ordered to do so. Such was his discipline. He went on further hunger strikes and received false promises. He went on a final hunger strike with iron resolve, pitting himself against the British Government. Although his body was weak his mind was clear and strong until the end.

"Last year we witnessed the hijacking of Proinsias Stagg's body by the Dublin Government. The body was taken to the mortuary in Shannon Airport where illegal tests were carried out on it. The next day the body was taken by violence to Roibin Church. We define violence as the illegal and excessive use of force. The next day a sham funeral took place. The coffin was carried on the shoulders of Special Branch [political] policemen and buried in a grave dug by the Special Branch. . . .

"Only now are people learning of the brutal deeds done in Prisons and Police Stations around the country. And it is the memory of Proinsias Stagg which has helped the young men to endure the terrible tortures they have suffered. . . ."

Internationalen

"The International," central organ of the Communist Workers League (Swedish section of the Fourth International). Published weekly in Stockholm.

The March 11 issue has an article commenting on the violent factionalism that has just exploded in the Swedish Communist party (see article elsewhere in this issue).

"Can internal democracy be assured without ongoing internal discussion, organized on the basis of regular internal discussion bulletins and frequent reports on all aspects of the organization's work? . . .

"Can internal differences be resolved without giving minorities a chance to present their views frequently to the entire organization? . . .

"Can internal disputes be resolved by . . . setting up rival organizations?

"Our answer is no to all these questions. Democratic centralism cannot be achieved except through democratic debate. . . .

"The way the Communist party is organized today, it is impossible to assemble the conditions for a genuine internal debate.

"So, it was not only the *Norrskensflaman* group's open factionalism that made the internal struggle destructive. It was also the inability of the party to guarantee ongoing democratic discussion.

"The violations on both sides can be traced back to a theory of the party that is neither Marxist nor Leninist. . . . It is rooted in the bureaucratic conception that became dominant with the Stalinization of the Soviet Union in the 1920s and later."

AROUND THE WORLD



State of Siege Imposed in El Salvador

Army troops with gas masks and machetes attacked 6,000 peaceful demonstrators in San Salvador's Plaza Libertad at 1 a.m. February 28, killing at least six persons.

These protesters remained from a demonstration of 100,000 persons who had gathered in the square the evening of February 24. They had occupied it to protest the vote fraud carried out against the candidate of the Unión Nacional Opositora (UNO—National Opposition Union), retired Colonel Ernesto Claramount, in the February 20 presidential elections.

Official results gave a 2 to 1 victory to General Humberto Romero, candidate of the ruling Partido de Conciliación Nacional (PCN—National Conciliation party).

Numerous "irregularities" occurred in the election. The ballots did not bear the seal of the Central Election Board as provided in the constitution. Voter lists included a huge number of names that appeared more than once. Some lists included names of dead persons. In many polling places, UNO poll watchers were prevented from overseeing the voting. In many of the country's municipalities armed security forces coerced voters into casting their ballots without the benefit of privacy.

Stuffing of ballot boxes and changing of the voting records were also said to be widespread. In some places, ballots ran out while people were still lining up to vote.

In the ensuing protests, Claramount said, more than seventy-five of his supporters were arrested.

An appeal for nullification of the elections was presented February 25. According to the law, the UNO had four more days to submit additional evidence to support it.

However, on February 28 the troops attacked the crowd in the plaza, Claramount was deported to Costa Rica, and the government imposed a thirty-day state of siege.

The state of siege placed control of all news reporting in the hands of the government. It barred all Salvadorians from entering or leaving the country and placed the courts under military control. Meetings of more than three persons are forbidden and arrests can be made without a warrant.

Sadat Says Soviets to Return MIGs

Egypt's President Anwar el-Sadat said

February 27 that his country was expecting the return of Soviet MIG-21 fighter planes that Egypt sent back to the Soviet Union two years ago for an overhaul. Sadat told an interviewer on the ABC-TV program "Issues and Answers" that the first shipment of 50, out of a total of 150, is expected shortly.

Sadat, who is seeking weapons from the United States, said the return of the MIGs was the first assistance Egypt has gotten from the Soviet Union since 1972, when Russian advisers were told to leave the country.

Carter Trying to Scuttle South Korean Bribe Inquiry?

Shortly after taking office as Carter's attorney general, Griffin Bell told Justice Department lawyers investigating bribes handed out on Capitol Hill by the South Korean government that they had better start asking for indictments soon or he might call off the probe.

Because Bell is a Democrat and most of the politicians so far linked to the Korean payoffs are Democrats, Republicans began hinting they would charge a cover-up if the investigations ended prematurely.

On March 3 Bell released a statement in which he said that all "substantial leads" were being followed, and he intended to prosecute wherever proof of criminal conduct was found. No specifics were provided, although it is well known that South Korean agents have distributed millions of dollars in payoffs to "friendly" American legislators over the past six years.

Another 'Victory' in War on Poverty

Congress has a well-deserved reputation among the American people as a do-nothing talk-shop, except when it comes to approving military spending or special legislation designed to benefit the legislators' corporate employers. On January 15, however, the Congressional Budget Office acted to cut the number of poverty-stricken Americans by 50 percent in a single stroke.

The congressional bureau did this by releasing a report claiming that only 5.4 million families and individuals in the United States are living below the officially defined poverty level, compared to the Census Bureau's estimate of 10.5 million.

"Our study indicates that social welfare programs have been more successful in

reducing the number of families in poverty than has previously been assumed," Alice Rivlin, the director of the congressional agency, said.

Rivlin's study found that some 20.2 million families and individuals—more than one-quarter of the entire American population—would fall below the poverty line were it not for the government assistance that they receive. But in calculating the value of government aid, the congressional researchers counted such things as Medicaid and Medicare assistance as income.

This accounting method enabled fees paid by government agencies to doctors, druggists, and hospitals to be calculated as part of the income of those living in poverty. Thus, somebody without enough money to buy proper food can be counted among the well-off if their infirmities require sufficiently costly medical care. Similarly, those receiving housing assistance from the government—meaning money that goes directly to the landlord—have this counted as part of their income, regardless of their real circumstances.

However, having declared war on poverty, Congress needed a victory.

150,000 Women in Mexico Die From Illegal Abortions

An average of 150,000 Mexican women perish each year as a result of illegal abortions. This is the estimate released by Carlos Heredia Jasso, secretary of the Mexican Bar Association, and reported in the February 14-28 issue of the Mexican Trotskyist fortnightly *Clave*.

An additional 500,000 women are injured each year by butcher abortionists, he added.

UN Condemns Torture in Chile

A February 22 report from the United Nations Human Rights Commission said that the Chilean military junta is still regularly torturing those who are arrested.

The report, covering the period since September 30, 1976, said that although there had been a decrease in the number of persons detained in the last several months, new, "more subtle" forms of torture were now being used.

The Human Rights Commission also stated that "the rate of disappearance has considerably increased" and that "persons reported missing frequently turn up dead under suspicious circumstances."

Interview With a Leader of Spanish LC

[The following interview with a leader of the Liga Comunista (Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, was obtained in Barcelona January 22. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. How do you view the present situation in the Spanish state?

Answer. We view the present situation as one characterized by a profound crisis of the capitalist system, and by the development of a powerful revolutionary mass movement heading toward the third Spanish revolution.

Since Franco's death, the decomposition of the dictatorship installed in 1939 has accelerated. This decomposition affects all the state institutions molded by Francoism: the fascist Sindicato (CNS-OSE),¹ the repressive apparatus, the local administrations, the academic structure, the judicial system, and so on. It is also seen in the fragmentation and disputes among the various Francoist clans that made up the old Movimiento Nacional,² and in the weakness of the successive governments of the dictatorship. We are also witnessing the historic failure of the fascist military dictatorship with which the ruling classes tried to stifle all social and political conflicts. Today, these conflicts are coming to the surface with greater virulence than before.

The political crisis of the Spanish capitalist regime coincides with a profound deterioration in the economic situation—galloping inflation, stagnation of industrial production, growing unemployment (800,000), and increasing deficits in the balance of payments and the balance of foreign trade. In this situation, the ruling classes find that they cannot operate as they did in the more stable period of Francoism. They can't solve the economic crisis by using the fascist Sindicato apparatus, because more and more it is being pushed aside by the workers; nor can they rely on the absence of independent workers organizations, because the

workers are forcing acceptance of their own unions and political parties. The political and economic crises are thus totally intertwined.

In these conditions a powerful mass movement is developing rapidly, one with a depth comparable to that of the 1930s. This mass movement is creating a crisis for Francoism. The masses are unwilling to continue tolerating the dictatorship, and they do not want to bear the consequences of the economic crisis provoked by capitalist irrationality and greed. The mass movement encompasses the bulk of the working class—with the metalworkers in the lead—and other oppressed sectors such as the peasantry, women, youth, the new middle classes (professors, health workers, doctors, etc.), and the oppressed nationalities. It is characterized by its massive growth and politicization, and by its readiness to utilize methods of direct action, such as pickets, strikes, and assemblies where action committees are elected. Euzkadi [the Basque country], recently the scene of several general strikes, is where this process has gone the farthest. This movement has led to a de facto recognition of the legality of trade-union organizations and working-class political parties, despite the reactionary laws.

Q. What is your position on the coming elections?

A. First let me explain briefly what these elections will consist of. The elections are to the two chambers of the Cortes [parliament], the Congress of Deputies and the Senate. They constitute a key part of what is called the "reform" of Francoism. This reform is an attempt to alleviate the current crisis of the dictatorship—to stave off further decomposition of its institutions, to stop the mass movement from imposing its own organizations, and to try to counteract these organizations by channeling them into a reformed Francoist legality.

This can be illustrated by the decrees promulgated a few months ago concerning association, meetings, and demonstrations. These decrees were an attempt to co-opt and limit what the masses were imposing in action in the factories and in the streets. What has occurred since then shows the difficulties of a viable "reform" under the present conditions. The mass movement has rejected these decrees. Meetings and demonstrations have been held by the thousands in total disregard of the legislation. The working class has imposed its parties in action, even though

the law on associations prohibits them.

Up to now they have not been able to consolidate a single step of the reform. The masses have immediately gone beyond them. But the ruling classes are still committed to the reform. They consider, with good reason, that exchanging the dictatorship for a regime of limited freedom—a semiconstitutional monarchy, for example—carries the risk that the present upsurge in the mass movement might destroy the fundamental mechanisms of the bourgeois state and seriously threaten capitalist private property. Spanish capitalism, the poor cousin of imperialism, can't rely on its financial resources to maintain domination through bourgeois parliamentary democracy. This historic weakness looms larger today because of deepening social and political contradictions and the development of a powerful mass movement. For the moment the ruling classes' initiative is limited to trying to preserve as much of the dictatorship as possible, even injecting it with a few doses of parliamentarism.

The next dose will be the elections to the Cortes in May. The bourgeoisie wants to impose a Cortes of Francoist continuity, having a clear Francoist majority but embellished with some personalities from the so-called democratic opposition. It hopes to assure this with reactionary electoral provisions, the absence of full democratic rights, and the vigilance of its draconian repressive apparatus.

In the present circumstances, the mass movement is systematically going beyond each one of the frauds of the reform. Given the current relationship of class forces, we believe revolutionists should take a position in favor of boycotting the elections to the Francoist Cortes, Suárez's fictitious parliament. This should be an active boycott calling for a freely elected Constituent Cortes, insisting specifically on the conditions necessary to make this possible: full electoral rights, political liberties, total amnesty, dissolution of the repressive bodies, and so forth.

The most probable outcome is that Suárez's Cortes, if it is actually elected, will be swept aside by the masses. Because of this, the boycott position and the demand for a free Constituent Cortes are extremely important. The demand for such a Cortes is being dropped by the so-called democratic bourgeoisie and the reformist and centrist parties of the working class.

Q. What are the key demands?

A. Against the dictatorship and the attempt to keep it afloat with the reform, the main demands we raise are democratic ones: a Constituent Cortes, the right to self-determination for the oppressed nationalities, full political liberties, trade-union freedom, total amnesty, dissolution of the repressive bodies, and the indictment of those responsible for the crimes of

1. Federación Nacional Sindicalista—Organización Sindical Española (National Federation of Syndicates-Spanish Syndicate Organization), often referred to as the Sindicato (syndicate), the Francoist "trade union."

2. National Movement, the Francoist single-party apparatus which included the "mass organizations."

Francoism. These demands all point to a fundamental necessity—overthrowing the dictatorship by means of a general strike throughout the Spanish state—without which none of them can be realized. And we propose a provisional government that could guarantee free elections to the Cortes, and all the democratic conditions such elections would require. This government must be a workers government, a government of the majority workers parties—the PCE and the PSOE.³ In order to meet such demands, this government would have to base itself on the revolutionary mobilization of the masses and their representative organs.

But democratic demands must be combined today with economic and social ones that take up the problem of unemployment and the effects of inflation on the workers, the situation in the countryside, and the lack of social services—education, health care, and housing.

Q. What position do you take on the call for a republic?

A. Raising the slogan of a “democratic republic” as the central demand today against the enthroned dictatorship (or the Francoist monarchy, whichever you prefer), seems to us a grave error for a number of reasons.

It means defending the position that a bourgeois republican regime can satisfy the democratic and social demands of the masses.

It means making the assumption that there will be a democratic stage in the Spanish revolution.

The slogan would serve to replace the call for a provisional workers government as a guarantee for meeting democratic and social demands. Meeting such demands will require the installation of the only kind of republic workers should struggle for and revolutionists should defend—a workers republic, a socialist republic of workers councils.

Q. What is your trade-union policy?

A. We think that the main trade-union problem for workers in Spain is the absence of freedom and the continuing existence of the fascist Sindicato. These questions are intimately connected—the need to secure freedom for their own trade-union organizations, together with full trade-union rights. For these reasons we think it is vital today to call for trade-union liberty and “Down with the CNS!” Linked to these are demands for the resignation of the honest *enlaces* and *jurados*,⁴ and for an end to payment of the obligatory dues to the Sindicato. Parallel

3. Partido Comunista de España (Spanish Communist party), Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers party, the main Social Democratic party).



KING JUAN CARLOS

with this, independent trade-union organizations must develop, so we call on the workers to join the UGT and CNT.⁵ Right now we work in the UGT, which is the biggest union with the best possibilities of growth.

This battle for trade-union freedom and the development of independent unions has to be carried out in open opposition to the Stalinists and the various centrist organizations that back them up. They continue to function inside the CNS, and give it life that it would no longer have without their presence. On the basis of their privileged position in the Sindicato, and utilizing the prestige of the Workers Commissions,⁶ they hope in the future to impose a totally bureaucratized trade union on the workers. Meanwhile, they block the independent trade-union organization of the workers.

For us, liberty is the indispensable condition for attaining trade-union unity. That is why we make this demand central. We also propose a UGT-CNT alliance as a step toward a congress that would unify the two federations.

Q. What is your attitude toward inter-class agreements?

A. We are openly opposed to the Plataforma de Organismos Democráticos, Coordinación Democrática, Asamblea de Cata-

4. The two lowest levels of officials in the fascist unions, and the only ones elected by the workers.

5. Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union, trade-union federation led by the PSOE), Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (National Confederation of Workers, a smaller union federation with an anarchist background).

6. Underground trade-union formations usually controlled by the Communist party.

lunya,⁷ and the other class-collaborationist formations of the popular-front type that exist among the various nationalities and regions of Spain. These formations feed off the desire for unity on the part of the workers and the oppressed. They divert it toward collaboration with the bourgeoisie, utilizing the banner of unity to divide the working class and the rest of the oppressed, and to put the brakes on their struggle. The programs of such organizations are a betrayal of the democratic aspirations of the masses and their social demands. They oppose head-on the direct action of the masses, the only source of victories. They definitely play a role as a support for the dictatorship today and prepare a betrayal of the aspirations of the masses for tomorrow.

We call for independence and unity of the working class against the “democratic” agents of big capital. We struggle for the workers united front and an alliance with the rest of the oppressed—nationalities, women, the peasantry.

We concretize this today in the proposal for workers alliances, the highest form of the united front achieved by the Spanish workers. We call for a workers alliance to overthrow the dictatorship, one that would break with the bourgeois formations and the fascist unions—the fundamental obstacles to the independent mobilization of the workers. Such a workers alliance should be headed by the principal parties of the working class, the PCE and the PSOE, but not subordinate itself to their will. It should begin to put into motion all the forces at its disposal. We would propose setting up this alliance on territorial bases—state, nationality, region, locality, zone, neighborhood. We think the objective and subjective conditions are quite favorable to begin building it. The Valencia regional CNT has answered our proposals favorably, and some UGT federations and socialist militants are well disposed to them also.

Q. What is your position on the national question?

A. We defend the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination against Francoist supercentralism, the right to separate and form a state. We call for the exercise of this right through national constituent assemblies. This is the key question today. We obviously don’t favor separation by the distinct nationalities, but we intransigently defend their right to do so now, while we advocate future unity within a single state on the basis of full liberty.

The demand for the right to self-determination, like the rest of the democratic demands, has been abandoned by the “democratic” bourgeoisie and the reformist workers parties allied to it. □

7. Platform of Democratic Organizations, Democratic Coalition, Assembly of Catalonia.