

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 15, No. 42

© 1977 by Intercontinental Press

November 14, 1977

75¢



Hugh Butler/Socialist Action

WELLINGTON, October 14: Demonstration of 20,000, one of largest in New Zealand history. Unions

mobilized for action, called to oppose government's effort to beef up powers of secret police. See p. 1244.

Unions in New Zealand Say 'No' to Government Spying

NEWS ANALYSIS

Spain—Why CP and SP Caved In on Wage Freeze

By Gerry Foley

On October 21, the Spanish Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders signed a social pact with the Suárez government. The package included some minor fiscal reforms and promises that the government would create new jobs for youth and expand education. However, the predominant feature was a wage freeze.

In its October 26 issue, *Combate*, the weekly paper of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), pointed out:

"In 1977 alone, inflation cut the buying power of wages by 30%. The pact sets a ceiling of 22% on wage increases, and this is to hold until the end of 1978. This means that not only will there be no adjustment in wages to meet the increase in the cost of living in 1977 but the workers buying power will continue to deteriorate throughout 1978."

The pact does contain promises of wage adjustments, if the cost of living increases beyond a certain rate. But *Combate* noted that these pledges are so heavily qualified as to be, in fact, meaningless:

"The promised adjustment of wages if inflation rises more than 11.5% in the first half of 1978 is 'not to be applied if the increase is due to higher prices for energy, devaluation, or disasters in agriculture.'"

In addition, the pact permits employers to cut their work forces by 5%.

The Spanish social pact parallels the implicit and explicit deals the Communist and Socialist parties have made with their respective bourgeoisies in a number of European countries to try to hold the workers back from fighting the effects of the international economic crisis.

In France, this has taken the form of scuttling the Union of the Left under various pretexts in order to avoid a left victory in the coming parliamentary elections.

In Italy, it has taken the form of the Italian CP trading its chance of victory in the elections for a "popular front in the corridors" with the Christian Democratic government.

In both France and Italy, the big reformist workers parties want to look too weak to be able to do anything about the cuts in employment and in the workers' buying power. But in Spain, it is much harder for them to plead helplessness.

In the October 25 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, Michel Rovère pointed out:

"In the June 15 elections, the workers parties together got 14% more votes than Suárez's ruling coalition. And the relationship of forces has steadily worsened for the bourgeoisie. The most recent polls show that support for the Democratic Center Union [Suárez's coalition] has dropped from the 31% it got in the June elections to 17% today. At the same time, support for the neo-Francoist People's Alliance has dropped from 8% to 4%. There is scarcely any doubt that, despite the absence of a policy of unity between the CP and the SP, the coming municipal elections are going to be a landslide for the workers parties."

What the Communist and Socialist party leaders had done in fact in the negotiations in the presidential palace of Moncloa, *Combate* pointed out, was accept the program of the Democratic Center Union.

The capitulation of the CP and SP leaders contrasted starkly not only with the electoral strength of these parties but even more with the combativity shown by the masses in the streets. Only two weeks before the new "Treaty of Moncloa" was signed, more than half a million persons marched through the streets of Madrid to protest against rising prices and increasing unemployment.

Brezhnev's Offer to End Nuclear Tests

By Fred Murphy

Speaking to a top-level gathering in Moscow marking the sixtieth anniversary of the October Revolution, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev made an announcement November 2 that captured world headlines.

"We are prepared to reach agreement on a moratorium covering nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes along with a ban on all nuclear weapon tests for a definite period," Brezhnev said.

This offer should be welcomed by all opponents of nuclear testing and radioactive pollution. The history of underground weapons tests shows that such explosions are dangerously susceptible to "venting," or release of radioactive debris into the environment. In the first eight years of such testing, 30 percent of U.S. tests vented accidentally.

As for "peaceful" nuclear explosions for such purposes as excavation, diversion of rivers, or releasing natural gas deposits, they would also be accompanied by so

The demonstration, held October 6, was called by the trade unions dominated by the CP and SP, but the marchers tended to raise slogans going beyond the limits the reformist parties have sought to impose. Large sections of the crowd started to call for the ouster of the monarchy and for a workers government.

In the November 5 issue of *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, a Madrid weekly close to the SP, Luis Carandell commented that in the Moncloa agreement, the CP and SP had given the government a blank check all right but now people were saying that they had better make sure they had the "funds to cover it," that is, that they could make the workers accept the agreement. Carandell, along with the other commentators writing in the issue, thought that this was dubious. There was plenty of evidence to justify their doubts.

On October 17, the Navarra Province Secretariat of the Workers Commissions, the union dominated by the CP, announced its refusal to be bound by any such pact. The Madrid District Council of the Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union), the union dominated by the SP, announced:

"We cannot accept any social pact such as the Moncloa agreement that cuts our buying power. No workers organization can accept it."

On October 15, a general assembly of a thousand workers in one section of the large SEAT automobile factory in Barcelona denounced the pact as a "sellout." Other sections of the plant began to follow suit, and the SP organization in SEAT itself was forced to echo these protests. □

much contamination as to be totally impracticable. U.S. government experiments with such projects were discontinued in 1970, and Soviet scientists have apparently reached similar conclusions.

Washington reacted cautiously to Brezhnev's proposal. Secretary of State Vance called it "a major step forward," but added that he wanted "to take a look at the details . . . before I can comment further."

Secret negotiations between Washington and Moscow for a comprehensive nuclear test ban have been going on for a long time. Agreement has been thwarted in the past by U.S. demands for on-site inspection, and the *New York Times* reported October 30 that U.S. negotiators are still "pushing Moscow to accept a system for verification that would allow outside inspectors free access to testing facilities."

Jimmy Carter said last year that the Pentagon's "verification capabilities . . . have advanced to the point where we no

longer have to rely on on-site inspection to distinguish between earthquakes and even very small weapons tests." So continued demands by Washington for on-site inspection will only indicate a desire to continue underground nuclear testing.

Even if a comprehensive test ban is soon achieved, the massive stockpiles of nuclear weapons on both sides will remain intact. The forthcoming "SALT II" agreement on strategic arms will have so little impact on the atomic arsenals as to be a joke. And the neutron bomb and the cruise and MX missiles remain poised for deployment by the Pentagon.

Brezhnev expressed the hope that his offer would be "properly appreciated by our partners at the negotiations."

The fight against nuclear war would be better served if the Soviet bureaucrats stopped treating U.S. imperialism as a "partner" with whom secret deals can be struck and instead opened a public campaign for the destruction of *all* atomic weapons. Such an initiative would be met with support from millions around the world who would like to see the threat of nuclear holocaust ended once and for all.

Unfortunately, Brezhnev does not look to the potential power of these masses, but rather to secret diplomatic arrangements conducted with the imperialist warmakers.

Helms's 'Badge of Honor'

Former Central Intelligence Agency Director Richard Helms pleaded "no contest" to perjury October 31 in Washington, D.C. He had been charged with lying to Congress in 1973 when asked about CIA attempts to block the 1970 election of Salvador Allende in Chile.

Several days later Helms was given a two-year suspended prison term and fined \$2,000.

The case, which has been under investigation for two years, stems from testimony Helms gave before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in February and March 1973. On those occasions the former CIA chief lied through his teeth, denying that the agency had worked with International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation to subvert the 1970 Chilean elections.

Later it was determined that with the knowledge of the White House, Helms had authorized \$8 million for the anti-Allende operation.

Attorney General Bell made a weak attempt to defend the Carter administration's deal with Helms as part of its efforts to "get tough" with CIA abuses. This will put the CIA on notice that it is "subject to the rule of law," Bell said.

Helms himself got the real message. "I don't feel disgraced at all," he told reporters. Asked if he considered his conviction a badge of honor, Helms replied, "I do indeed." □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: November 7, 1977

USA	1236	Chicanos Overwhelmingly Reject Carter's Deportation Plan —by Alberto Rodríguez
ARGENTINA	1237	Strikes Challenge Junta
WEST GERMANY	1238	Witch-hunt Deepens
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1239	Dissidents Voice Solidarity With Victims of Witch-hunt
GREECE	1239	Giannis Felekis Arrested
POLAND	1240	New Opposition Group Formed —by Gerry Foley
SOUTH AFRICA	1241	The UN Arms Embargo—by Ernest Harsch
AUSTRALIA	1242	Fraser Seeks Mandate for Uranium Mining, Austerity—by Fred Murphy
BRITAIN	1243	Trotskyists Unmask Sir Richard Dobson
FRANCE	1243	New Waste Disposal Plan?
NEW ZEALAND	1244	20,000 Rally in Wellington Against Government Spying—by Hugh Fyson
NICARAGUA	1245	Guerrillas Launch New Offensive —by Fred Murphy
ZIMBABWE	1259	Character of the Nationalist Movements—by Jim Atkinson
NEWS ANALYSIS	1234	Spain—Why the CP and SP Caved In —by Gerry Foley
	1234	Brezhnev's Offer to End Nuclear Tests —by Fred Murphy
	1235	Helms's "Badge of Honor"
AROUND THE WORLD	1246	Strikes Sweep Israel
BOOKS	1248	The Retreat of Lucio Colletti —reviewed by George Novack
SELECTIONS		
FROM THE LEFT	1258	
CAPITALISM		
FOULS THINGS UP	1264	Old Bones With New Labels
DRAWINGS	1246	Menahem Begin—by Copain

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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, Matilde Zimmermann.

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

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

Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Ellen Fischer, Larry Ingram, Arthur Lobman, James M. Morgan. Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéméné, 75004, Paris, France.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$24 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

For airmail subscriptions in Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Giebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

Copyright © 1977 by Intercontinental Press.

Chicanos Overwhelmingly Reject Carter's Deportation Plan

By Alberto Rodríguez

SAN ANTONIO—The Chicano movement has made clear its total opposition to President Carter's "amnesty" plan for undocumented workers. Meeting at the National Chicano/Latino Conference held here October 28-30, the 1,500 participants approved a plan of action to demand full human and civil rights for all immigrant workers.

This massive response is a heavy blow to the White House policy of stepping up attacks against immigrants under the smokescreen of a phony "amnesty."

Those who came to San Antonio in response to a Call to Action launched by José Angel Gutiérrez, founder of the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party (RUP) and currently a judge in Zavala County, Texas, included activists from organizations across the country.

The groups represented ranged from the most moderate, such as LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) and the GI Forum (an organization of Chicano veterans); to various local organizations working against deportation such as the Manzo Area Council of Arizona, the Haitian Refugee Center of Miami, and several religious organizations; to the nationalist and revolutionary movements, represented by the various state Raza Unida parties and by the Socialist Workers Party.

According to the conference organizers, there were persons present from more than thirty states and Mexico.

The Mexican delegation included representatives of the Democratic Tendency of the United Electrical Workers Union of the Mexican Republic and of the National Front for People's Action, two of the most militant Mexican workers organizations.

Also participating in the conference were representatives of the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Mexican section of the Fourth International.

In his remarks to the conference, SWP spokesman Pedro Camejo emphasized the importance of the broad unity that had been achieved. He said: "No single self-respecting organization in the Chicano community has come out in support of the Carter Plan. The only one telling us that the plan is good and that we should support it is [Leonel] Castillo, and we all know that they're paying him \$50,000 a year to do it. . . ."

In fact Castillo, who was named head of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, the hated *migra*, is being used to help camouflage Carter's racist attack on undocumented workers.



Harry Ring/Militant

Plenary session of antideportation conference in San Antonio, Texas.

Allies of the Chicano movement were present to lend their support. Among those attending the conference were activists such as Jean Bart of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, Dick Gregory, a well-known Black fighter for human rights, Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement, and exiled Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco.

Each of them attacked Carter's proposed immigration policy, using examples from their own experience to demonstrate its racist nature.

"We've had an immigration problem for more than 500 years," Bellecourt told the audience. "We must demand that all native peoples of these lands, whether they call themselves Indians, Mexicans, or Chicanos, have freedom of movement through them."

There are an estimated eight to nine million undocumented workers in the United States. It would be politically impossible for the American rulers to forcibly expel them all, and it would be an economic hardship for the capitalist enterprises that make huge profits from the

superexploitation of these workers. So Carter came up with a scheme to get around these problems.

First he named Leonel Castillo, a Chicano Democrat, head of the immigration department. Then he said he was considering granting "amnesty" to those undocumented workers who could prove they had resided *continuously* in the United States since January 1, 1970. According to Castillo himself, this so-called "amnesty" would affect only about 500,000 persons.

Immigrants without proper papers who arrived after January 1, 1970, would continue to be what undocumented workers have always been—a subclass of workers with no legal rights.

This "amnesty" was the bait Carter used to seek the support of the Chicano and Latino communities for his plan and pass himself off as a humanitarian.

His real purpose was to keep the majority of undocumented workers as a pariah caste, available for backbreaking jobs at low wages.

To counter this plan, the National Chicano/Latino Conference voted to mount a

campaign around the following demands:

1. Full, immediate and unconditional amnesty for *all* undocumented immigrants.
2. An immediate moratorium on all deportations.
3. Full civil and human rights for all—regardless of citizenship status.

The conference voted to present these demands to Carter the weekend of November 18-20 and called for local demonstrations at the same time.

Although there was broad support for the plan of action, it was not unanimous. CASA, a sectarian group based in Los Angeles, led a small minority of forces that opposed a united and broad action campaign against deportations.

CASA considers itself the only "legitimate" organization in the struggle against deportations. Its hostility to a united campaign was deepened because of its political opposition to the Socialist Workers Party.

CASA openly supports the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. As apologists for this reactionary social caste, it invariably tries to exclude Trotskyists, particularly the SWP, from the Chicano movement.

At the conference itself, CASA first tried to prevent SWP leader Pedro Camejo from speaking. When this was unsuccessful, they temporarily shifted tactics, stalling the following day's plenary session with an infinite number of "points of order."

When this failed to halt the work of the gathering, CASA began a virulent barrage of red-baiting. Although ostensibly directed at the SWP, the attack was really aimed at the conference itself, as the group's previous conduct had made amply clear.

This too failed to achieve its desired effect, as speaker after speaker arose to denounce the use of such divisive tactics.

The answer to the red-baiting came most forcefully from several undocumented workers who, at tremendous personal risk, took the floor to appeal for unity.

"It is obvious that there are organizations and people present here trying to sabotage this conference," one said to a room that, for once, was hushed. "Here they are trying to throw out some persons and organizations. I remember that one compañero known to you all, [Texas Farm Workers Union leader] Antonio Orendain, once said in response to accusations that he accepted help from a group that was communist, 'If the devil comes to help, I say welcome to the devil.'"

José Angel Gutiérrez also took the floor to condemn the disruptive tactics. He explained that there were obvious differences between the groups attending the conference, but that shouldn't block united actions.

"If CASA . . . the SWP . . . LULAC, the GI Forum, the nuns, the priests don't like what's proposed here, vote against it. It's easy. Raise your hand. But let the people

who want to continue with the Call for Action vote."

Gutiérrez received an ovation from most of the audience. When it ended, Juan José Peña, who was chairing the session, stated that speaking on behalf of the New Mexico RUP, "we throw our support with José Angel Gutiérrez."

Following these remarks, the delegates proceeded to approve by acclamation a number of resolutions previously passed in workshops.

Only one—the proposal for actions on November 18 and 19—drew major opposi-

tion as the CASA forces and some activists who had been confused by the red-baiting voted against it. Nonetheless, it was approved by a decisive majority.

Despite the disruption efforts, the conference represented a major step forward in the fight against deportations. It began to crystallize a broad opposition to Carter's anti-immigrant plan. INS Director Castillo and his boss in the White House stand more isolated on this issue, stripped of the pretense that their plan has support from broad segments of the Chicano community. □

150% Inflation Fuels Workers' Wage Demands

Strikes Challenge Argentine Junta

The wave of strikes in Argentina that began with a six-day work stoppage by Córdoba auto workers in mid-October continued into the first week of November. A report in the *Washington Post* described the situation November 3 as "the worst labor crisis faced by the military government since it seized power 20 months ago."

Railway workers left their jobs October 26 to demand a 60 percent wage increase. By October 28, according to a report in *Le Monde*, "the vast majority of rail workers on the six largest lines in the country had stopped work. Three of the lines . . . were completely paralyzed."

Subway workers in Buenos Aires went on strike October 28, and walkouts by water and power workers and bank employees were also reported. Workers at one race track in Buenos Aires also left their jobs.

Videla's security forces took over the subways on November 3. Railway workers began returning to their jobs November 4 under threat of dismissal by the state-owned railway company. The water and power workers' strikes were declared illegal November 2, but news reports have not indicated the outcome of those struggles.

Wage demands have been the main issue in these strikes. Prices spiraled upward at a rate of 800 percent in 1976, and are rising at present at a 150 percent annual rate.

The October strike by auto workers at the IKA Renault plant in Córdoba also focused on wage demands. An account of that struggle was carried in the October issue of *Desafío*, a new revolutionary-Marxist bulletin published clandestinely in Buenos Aires:

"On Tuesday, October 11, in the face of wage demands, the bosses offered 15 percent. The compañeros rejected this ridiculous offer and demanded 50 percent.

Upon being turned down, they began a sitdown strike which lasted through Wednesday. On Thursday the army mounted an impressive operation and entered the plant to demand a return to work.

"But the compañeros, unintimidated by the murderous weapons, rejected the order and staged a mass walkout. Not one of the 6,000 workers stayed at their job.

"On Friday, with the plant under military occupation, the workers entered, punched their time-cards . . . and walked out en masse a second time. . . .

"On Saturday the company published an advertisement warning of mass firings—which are permitted under Law 21,400—and demanding that work resume on Monday. So on Monday the compañeros went back to their jobs. . . .

"With their acute class instincts the IKA Renault workers do not intend to struggle all by themselves. They fought back and then returned to work, where they are continuing to resist. It is necessary to follow their example and organize on that basis." □

Brazil Campus Occupied Again

The University of Brasilia was occupied by military police forces for the third time this year on October 27, Agence France-Presse reported.

Government troops had been withdrawn in September following a two-month occupation to put down student protests against the Geisel regime's violations of civil and human rights.

The most recent military move came in response to a request by Rector José Azevedo, who sought to prevent a student meeting scheduled for October 28. The struggle at the university has centered around demands for Azevedo's resignation.

Witch-hunt Deepens in West Germany

The West German authorities and media, along with the capitalist press throughout the world, have been trying to use the actions of the Red Army Faction terrorists to whip up an international witch-hunt against radicalizing youth in general.

But as this witch-hunt campaign has developed, it has taken more and more bizarre forms.

In the November 2 *New York Post*, veteran liberal columnist Max Lerner offered an interpretation of the psychopolitical development of the leading figures in the Red Army Faction:

"Ulrike Meinhof, brought up in the liberal religious atmosphere of Christian passivism, was a sensitive, literary young woman, full of conscience and idealism, until she met Andreas Baader, who cared not a fig about ideas or literature but only about violent action. His macho talk and behavior, and his streak of contemptuous sadism, seemed to make him irresistible to women, who became important members of his group.

"It was a strange Heloise-Abelard union, in which the teacher taught the ecstasy that came out of the barrel of a gun, and the student—along with her wonder and adoration—put it all into conceptual terms."

Lerner's book *America as a Civilization* is offered by the U.S. capitalist academic and governmental propaganda apparatus as an intellectual eagle's view of the historic importance of "the American system."

While Lerner was prompted by the Baader-Meinhof stories to invent a moralizing fable on the lines of "Beauty and the Beast," the journalistic representatives of the West German bourgeoisie offered their readers nude pictures of Gudrun Ensslin, one of the three terrorists who allegedly committed suicide in their cells October 18. Acting in pornographic movies was supposed to be one of the way stations on her path to terrorism.

Although the West German bourgeoisie has not made any audible protests against the mass-circulation press's displaying a dead woman's nude body, it raised an outcry against the burial of Ensslin and the two other alleged "suicides" in "consecrated ground."

Even though he is a conservative Christian Democrat, the mayor of Stuttgart who permitted the burial of the three dead Red Army Faction members in a local cemetery became the target of furious attacks.

Ironically, the mayor, Manfred Rommel, is the son of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, who was forced by the Hitler government to commit suicide.

At the Baden-Württemberg state convention of the Christian Democratic Party, Rommel responded to the howling of the rightist wolves by saying: "Decency and good taste are gradually being effaced in this country."

On the other hand, the premier of Baden-Württemberg, in which the prison where the three terrorists allegedly committed suicide is located, argued that old-fashioned German modesty was still too much alive.

It was because of the shyness of prison officials, Premier Hans Karl Filbinger explained, that the three dead terrorists were able to smuggle a small arsenal into their maximum-security cells, including the weapons they used to "kill themselves." They could not bring themselves to arrange thorough searches of women.

"It is impossible to search female lawyers without at least touching their intimate areas."

Another explanation of why the terrorists' arsenal was not found before their "suicides" was offered by the British

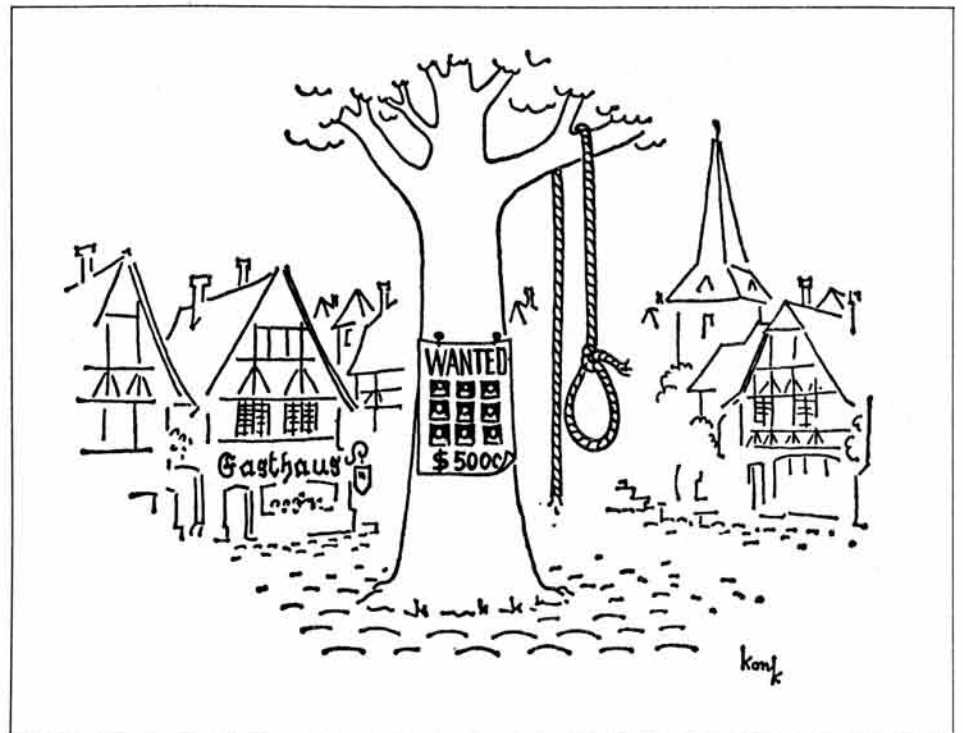
business magazine *The Economist*. In its October 29 issue, it wrote: "Baader's cell is said not to have been searched at all because it was so untidy."

Thus, supposedly, the West German bourgeoisie had to make up for past squeamishness. Not only did it create a virtual war atmosphere in the country, searching hundreds of thousands of motorists and issuing constant appeals to the population to report any suspicious types. Its net also extended to "suspect" publications. In Helstedt, Lower Saxony, for example, the police have seized nine books, including Marxist classics such as Franz Mehring's essays on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German history.

The French police, no doubt anxious to dispel the image of their country as a paradise for extremists that has been projected by the West German media, have joined in the spirit of chase. In its October 25 issue, for example, *Le Monde* reported that the police are looking for accomplices of the terrorists in "certain environmental defense groups" in Alsace.

The environmental movement has mass support, particularly along the German border, where the largest concentration of nuclear-power plants is planned. It has no connection with the small German terrorist groups. In fact, the mass antinuclear mobilizations are the opposite of the kind of actions the terrorists stand for.

Thus, the French government might be accused of using the "antiterrorist" witch-hunt to attack anyone it does not like. But who would suspect the bourgeois "antiterrorists" of such hypocrisy? □



Konk/Le Monde

Czechoslovak Dissidents Voice Solidarity

With Victims of West German Witch-hunt

[The following open letter was addressed to the victims of political blacklisting in West Germany by signers of Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia. It was published in the October 25 issue of *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a liberal daily. The translation from the German is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

We address this letter to those persons in your country suffering the same kind of persecution as we in Czechoslovakia.

First we would like to acquaint you briefly with the situation facing us.

Most of the signers of Charter 77, as well as most of those citizens who have refused to condemn this document or have been caught distributing it, are not only being barred from practicing any profession that corresponds to their training and abilities but prevented even from holding any job that would pay a good wage. Such measures are possible as a result of the centralized control of our economy.

Furthermore, tens of thousands of citizens who publicly expressed opposition to the military occupation of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 were subsequently fired from their jobs. Most of them are still barred from positions corresponding to their qualifications.

No job that involves making decisions beyond the narrowest limits can be held by anyone who has had a close relative emigrate.

The overwhelming majority of Czechoslovak citizens are barred from holding a leading position in factories or other enterprises and bodies, since the CP has decreed that most of these jobs must go to party members.

Many people have been hit by blacklisting, so-called "promotion ceilings," and similar measures. But this number is greatly increased if you consider the youth rejected by universities and schools of higher learning not because of their lack of qualifications but because of the positions of their parents, their origins, their religious persuasion, and other such factors.

In the present situation, no one can get any protection from the courts or other institutions. The press in Czechoslovakia attacks individuals who dissent. In no case, however, has the press yet reported about Czechoslovak citizens being blacklisted. The Czechoslovak mass media carry a lot of reports about political blacklisting in the German Federal Republic. But unfortunately they offer no concrete explanation of the reasons for this or what persons are involved. It is suggested that most of these cases involve members of the DKP [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei—German Communist Party]. Information

from other sources is not available in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, we appeal for detailed information about your cases.

Finally, we grant you every right to issue protests in our name to all the newspapers and magazines in the Federal Republic that publicize the persecution of Czechoslovak citizens but say nothing about the problems you face.

This letter has doubtless made clear to you that the Czechoslovak mass media are exploiting the blacklisting you face to cover up the evils that exist in our country. They are not reporting these cases in order

to organize any demonstrations of solidarity or support actions. We call on you, therefore, to defend yourself against this misuse of your cases. The best way to do this would be to send an open letter to the Czechoslovak mass media.

We are certain that in the future we can work out a program for collaboration between us. If for any reason the solidarity actions we suggest are not possible, we ask you to consider this letter as an expression of our solidarity with you.

Signed: Ivan Medek (Janackovo nabr. 49, Prague 5); Dr. Jaroslav Sabata (Krizkovo 43, Brno); Jiri Pallas (Mikulase z Husi 16/341, Prague 4); Jan Lopatka (Vlasska 10, Prague 1); Jiri Nemecek (Jecna 7, Prague 2); Anna Sabatova; Graduate Engineer Petr Uhl (Anglicka 8, Prague 2).

After Protests Against German Prison 'Suicides'

Giannis Felekis Arrested in Greece

The Caramanlis government has launched a witch-hunt against organizations on the left on the pretext of suppressing "anarchy."

One of the first victims was Giannis Felekis, editor of *To Odhophragma* (The Barricade), a newspaper reflecting the views of the Organosis Kommouniston Diethniston tes Ellados (OKDE—Organization of International Communists of Greece), the Greek section of the Fourth International.

According to a statement issued October 27 by the Political Bureau of the OKDE, Felekis was arrested for "moral responsibility" for incidents in which members of anarchist groups clashed with the police during protests against the deaths of three imprisoned leaders of the Red Army Faction in West Germany.

"The charge is based on an article written for the tenth anniversary of Che Guevara's death, on passages from the resolutions of the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International published in *Marxistiko Dheltio*, the theoretical magazine of the Greek section, in early 1975, and on the leaflet issued by our organization on the day of Baader's assassination, condemning the West German Social Democratic government as well as the complicity of the Caramanlis government," the statement said.

In addition to Felekis, four editors of anarchist publications were also arrested. All are being held in police custody.

Some members of anarchist and left groups arrested during clashes in Athens and Salonika have been sentenced to prison terms of up to three and a half years.

This is not the first time that Felekis has been arrested on trumped-up charges of "moral responsibility." In 1976 he was arrested following the May 25 general strike rallies in Athens, where demonstrators clashed with the police. The charges were later dropped following a vigorous defense campaign.

The Greek Trotskyists appeal for support in the new defense effort:

"At the present time, we are launching an antirepression committee together with three other far-left organizations—the OSE [Revolutionary Socialist Organization], KOM [Fighting Communist Organization], and the OPA [Group for a Proletarian Left], which we are trying to broaden out to other currents.

"We are organizing an initial meeting on Monday, October 31.

"We ask that you do the utmost to make this wave of repression known in as many countries as possible, to have telegrams of protest sent,* and also to see to it that we receive financial support, even small amounts.

"Our task then will be to get Comrade Felekis out of prison with guarantees." □

*Protests may be sent to Premier Constantine Caramanlis, Parliament, Syntagma Square, Athens, Greece, with copies to *To Odhophragma*, Kharilao Trikoupe 99, Athens, Greece.

A subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is still a BEST BUY.

Check rates inside cover.

New Opposition Group Formed in Poland

By Gerry Foley

The defeat of the Gierek government's attempt to crush the movement for basic democratic rights has opened the way for important steps toward the creation of opposition political parties and independent trade-union and professional organizations in Poland.

On July 23, the Polish government released the five jailed leaders of the Committee to Defend the Worker Victims of the Repression Connected with the Events of June 25, 1976 (the spontaneous insurrectionary strikes against food price increases). It also dropped the charges against them. At the same time, the last workers still in prison on charges stemming from the strikes were granted amnesty.

On October 6, the Student Solidarity Committee was formed on the University of Warsaw campus. This organization was founded as an alternative to the official campus organizations that did nothing to defend the democratic rights of students during the government's repressive campaign.

The first step toward creating an independent student organization was the formation of campus committees to organize protests against the secret-police murder in May of the student civil-rights activist Stanislaw Pyjas.

On October 20, in the Polish capital, a number of the best-known leaders of the Committee to Defend the Worker Victims of the Repression (KOR—Komitet Obrony Robotników) announced the formation of the Committee for Social Self-Defense. The founders included Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron. This new group has a three-point democratic program:

To oppose arbitrary actions by the police and any new attempts to suppress opposition by physical force.

To fight for the right of the workers to defend their interests freely and to organize for that purpose.

To oppose censorship and all other administrative obstacles to free public discussion.

Formation of the Committee for Social Self-Defense represents a continuation of the KOR, now that all persons jailed in connection with the June 1976 strikes have been released.

The KOR was set up specifically to defend these prisoners, but its open campaign on their behalf challenged the whole system of Stalinist dictatorship. It was natural for a permanent opposition movement to develop out of the KOR, once it



Der Spiegel
ADAM MICHNIK: One of founders of Committee for Social Self-Defense.

had carried its campaign to a successful conclusion.

In a statement in the October 25 issue of *Le Monde*, Adam Michnik outlined his perspective for the Polish opposition movement following the Gierek government's retreat:

The threat of uncontrolled explosions [such as the insurrectionary strikes in the Baltic ports at the end of 1970 and throughout the country in June 1976] is a factor that completely blocks any possibilities for long-term changes in the national economy. Is Gierek, like Suárez [the Spanish premier], capable of understanding that the only sensible road—not only for the opposition but for the authorities—is that of reforms to provide institutional channels for social pressure?

It is not easy to answer this question. However, it is only on the basis of such changes that a social compromise and elementary stabilization of public life can be achieved. But such changes do not depend solely—or even mainly—on the actions of the party leaders. They depend primarily on the activity of the democratic opposition movement. Any changes, like the concessions we have seen this year, will not be the result of decisions made from above but the result—perhaps in the most immediate sense—of social pressure from below.

In Poland, the thaw has taken quite a distinctive character. It will be totally different from the one that occurred in 1956 in the USSR, in Poland, and in Hungary, as well as from the Prague Spring.

The thaw will be opened not by a liberal faction of the party but by the unceasing pressure of the democratic movement. . . . Of course, the participants in the democratic movement will run the risk of repressions and

harassment (whose extent will depend on how vigilant the friends of Poland in other countries are), but no censorship can stop a broad wave of Polish voices that refuse to submit to it. . . .

This vast movement is sometimes called the "dissident" movement. That is a wrong definition. It is not a movement of apostates from the dominant church but simply of men and women who have another system of values. It is not an opposition movement either, in the traditional sense of the term, because its participants do not seek to take power. They defend civil and human rights and want to extend democratic rights.

Fighting for democratic rights has required asserting the right to organize independently of the totalitarian system of official organizations in every area of social life. From this, Michnik drew the following conclusion:

The movement does not call for the agreement of the state to create new institutions but simply creates them. . . . A similar role is played by the magazines published despite the censorship, the best known of which are the quarterly *Zapis*, which serves as a forum for the most prominent writers, and the monthly *Information Bulletin*, which stigmatizes acts of repression and the lies of official propaganda.

The Committee for Social Self-Defense has begun to publish its own monthly organ, *Glos* (Voice). The Student Solidarity Committee publishes a mimeographed bulletin called *U Progu* (On the Threshold).

An article on the Polish opposition in the October 10 issue of the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* noted:

The secret police has not yet been able to stem the most recent wave of Samizdat (about 10,000 copies of such publications). Copying machines (which must be licensed in Poland) have been seized. But the oppositionists have found new ones. The party has shrunk back from new arrests of authors and editors.

Although Michnik envisaged the opposition movement as a spreading wave of independent organizing, he said that the movement as a whole could not be described as one with a conscious program of "self-organization and self-management":

There are other openly oppositionist tendencies that have become active recently and that are fundamentally different from the KOR. The movement for democratic self-management [the ex-KOR] is, thus, only one of the elements in this rich mosaic. But this element is so permanent and real in Polish political life that no one can ignore it or liquidate it.

The Committee for Social Self-Defense, therefore, is not a party. It probably could not present itself as that and hope to maintain even a semilegal status. Thus its program does not go beyond very general democratic perspectives that are in accordance with the letter of the bureaucracy's own laws and stated objectives. Increased "self-management," for example, is supposed to be one of the goals of the regime.

The committee's activity, Michnik said, is "public and perfectly well known to the authorities, who have adopted an attitude

of relative tolerance and chosen to abandon their prosecutions. Restrained by the grave economic situation and the memory of the process that resulted in the defeat of Gomulka, the Gierek team is trying to reduce social tensions."

On the other hand, he said that he thought the regime could make only limited concessions: "This is a result of the geopolitical situation of our country. No one is foolish enough to forget that Poland must take into consideration its membership in the Warsaw Pact and the presence of the Soviet army between the Oder and Bug rivers."

The former leaders of the KOR who have now formed the Committee for Social Self-Defense probably do not yet have sufficient agreement among themselves to produce a full program for establishing a democratic workers state and thus to form a party.

However, the reports in the Western press indicate that political clarification and differentiation has reached a more advanced stage in the Polish opposition movement than in that of any other Stalinized workers state.

The October 10 *Der Spiegel* reported, for example, that the ex-KOR leaders had had to adopt the name they did in order to differentiate themselves from a rival opposition organization:

The similar name "Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights" was taken already in March in Warsaw by the rival organization founded by the Catholic journalist Leszek Moczulski. In contrast to the rather Social-Democratic-oriented former KOR group, this other group bases itself on the national-conservative and Christian Democratic traditions of Poland. Three of the twenty-five [leading] members of the KOR left the committee to work with its Christian rival.

Moczulski's organization has its own open but unauthorized organ, *Opinia* (Opinion).

In his statements in the October 25 *Le Monde*, Michnik described the ex-KOR group as representing in general the current oriented toward developing direct workers democracy. *Der Spiegel* seems to have interpreted this orientation toward workers democracy as "Social Democratic."

On the other hand, some of Michnik's formulations resemble those used by currents in the West that call for building up institutions of direct democracy piecemeal in the framework of the old society. But his statements come in the context of a very different objective and legal situation and of much less clear political differentiations on the left.

In general, the emergence of a distinct wing of the Polish opposition, with its own organs and organizations, which has adopted the perspective of direct workers democracy as an alternative to the bureaucratic system, represents a giant step toward the rebirth of genuinely Marxist parties in East Europe. □

Smokescreen for Continued Collaboration

The UN Arms Embargo Against Pretoria

By Ernest Harsch

Four days after vetoing African proposals for stringent United Nations sanctions against all economic and military assistance to the hated apartheid regime in South Africa, the American, British, and French governments reluctantly agreed November 4 to support the imposition of a largely symbolic arms embargo.

This was in response to international protests over Pretoria's October 19 crackdown on Black political activism, in which about twenty antiapartheid organizations were banned and scores of Black leaders were arrested.

By a unanimous vote, the fifteen members of the UN Security Council approved a resolution calling on all states to "cease forthwith" the provision or sale of arms, ammunition, or military vehicles or equipment to Pretoria.

Though the measure is unprecedented in the UN's thirty-two-year history, Pretoria's Western allies were successful in blocking crippling economic sanctions. They were also able to keep the political grounds for the imposition of the arms embargo on as narrow a basis as possible. For instance, while the African states demanded that the entire system of white supremacy itself be declared a "threat to the maintenance of international peace," the Western powers managed to restrict this characterization to only the "acquisition by South Africa of arms. . . ."

In fact, the major imperialist powers voted for the UN arms embargo largely as a cover for their much more significant economic assistance to the apartheid regime, which amounts to billions of dollars in investments, loans, and trade.

Even if enforced, the embargo will have little real impact, since Pretoria has in recent years established a significant degree of self-sufficiency in armaments production. This was largely accomplished with the direct help of its Western allies.

But even now, the UN Security Council vote may not mean an end to direct military collaboration with Pretoria, since the terms of the embargo contain numerous loopholes:

- The resolution does not call for an end to existing licenses that allow Pretoria to produce a wide range of military equipment, including French Mirage jet fighters, within the country (though it does urge a "review" of them).

- It does not demand a halt to all nuclear collaboration, just that specifically relating to military purposes. This is meaningless, since the apartheid regime

has been able to build up its nuclear industry, including its capacity to construct nuclear weapons, under the guise of developing "peaceful" applications for nuclear energy. Andrew Young, Washington's representative in the UN, has specifically stated that American collaboration with Pretoria in the field of nuclear energy will continue.

- It does not provide for an end to the sale of ostensibly "civilian" equipment, such as planes, computers, trucks, etc., that can be converted by the South African racists to military uses if need be.

- Furthermore, as correspondent Kathleen Teltsch commented in the November 5 *New York Times*, the success of the embargo "will depend on the willingness of governments to observe it." One example of what this may mean was Washington's own voluntary arms "embargo," initiated in 1963, under which millions of dollars worth of planes, spare parts, and other military equipment was sold to Pretoria.

The UN sanctions against the apartheid regime are so limited that the editors of the *New York Times* were forced to acknowledge November 5 that they were "just about the mildest possible response to Pretoria's recent actions to silence its black opposition." They went on to pay "tribute to the diplomacy of Andrew Young" for his success in getting the African representatives in the UN, who had earlier criticized the ineffectiveness of the Western-proposed measures, to agree to them.

Though the South Africans are well aware of the limitations of the arms embargo, they felt it necessary to place their opposition on record. Foreign Minister Roelof F. Botha declared November 4 that "as a matter of principle, South Africa protests in the strongest terms against this action." Chastising his Western allies, he termed the embargo "an incitement to violence," apparently meaning that it could encourage Blacks in South Africa.

He was right in a different sense, however. The actions of Pretoria's allies in the UN, especially their vetoes of economic sanctions and efforts to limit the effectiveness of the arms embargo, are an "incitement to violence"—by the apartheid regime against the country's Black majority.

Nothing could be more encouraging to the white supremacists that the willingness of Washington and other Western powers to continue collaborating with South African racism. □

Fraser Seeks Mandate for Uranium Mining and Austerity

By Fred Murphy

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser has called federal elections for December 10, in hope of winning a new "mandate" for his government's austerity policies, attacks on the right of workers to organize and strike, and full backing for uranium mining and export.

Uranium has emerged as one of the central political questions in Australia. The country has 20 percent of the capitalist world's known reserves of this key nuclear fuel material, but no nuclear power plants and no plans to build any. Thus Fraser and the mining companies see a lucrative potential for mining and export.

Opposition to this scheme has risen dramatically over the past year. Environmentalists, students, Blacks, and a substantial majority of the Australian labor movement want no further development of a uranium industry. They oppose the ecological and health hazards that will result from mining and transport of the radioactive material within the country, the encroachment of the mining industry on the lands and ways of life of the native Black Aborigine tribes, and the proliferation of nuclear technology and weapons to which Australian uranium could contribute.

Polls conducted by the *Sydney Morning Herald* indicate that such sentiments are becoming increasingly widespread. The proportion of persons opposed to uranium mining and export rose from 34 percent in June to 42 percent in September.

This opposition has been expressed in mass demonstrations in Australia's major cities on several occasions. Last April 1, almost 20,000 persons marched against uranium mining, and during the weekend of August 5-6, 50,000 participated in protest actions. The most recent actions, coordinated nationally by the Movement Against Uranium Mining, brought out more than 60,000 persons on October 22 and reflected the growing participation of the labor movement.

A rally in Sydney that drew almost 25,000 persons was chaired by the federal secretary of the Australian Railways Union. In Melbourne, the state convention of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) was adjourned to allow delegates to attend a march of 25,000. And in Perth, ALP leader and former Prime Minister Gough Whitlam headed a march of 7,000 and was a featured speaker at the rally that followed.

The ALP's convention in August called for a moratorium on uranium development. The party went on record that any



David Spratt/Alternate News Service

Part of protest of 25,000 in Melbourne, October 22.

future Labor government would repudiate all export contracts signed by Fraser. A similar position was narrowly rejected by the September convention of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, but the ACTU did adopt a resolution giving Fraser two months to call a referendum on uranium—something the prime minister has refused to do.

This deadline expires November 15. Dock workers in Brisbane, Darwin, Sydney, and Adelaide have voted to refuse to handle uranium ore and mining equipment after that date.

Despite the growing combativity among Australian workers and their allies that has been reflected in the antiuranium demonstrations and union boycotts, the bureaucratic misleaders of the ALP and the ACTU have refused to lead a fight against Fraser's offensive.

At the Yallourn power plant in Latrobe Valley, Victoria, 2,300 maintenance workers went on strike August 9 to demand a \$40-a-week wage increase—a direct challenge to the government's wage freeze. ACTU leader Bob Hawke intervened and convinced the workers to submit to arbitration on October 8. When this failed to produce a single cent, the strike resumed.

The state and federal governments then threatened to use troops to break the

strike, and to fine and withdraw recognition from the four unions involved. Hawke's response was to come up with another arbitration "compromise," and the workers voted to return to their jobs on October 25.

"From the beginning," Jamie Doughney wrote in the October 27 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*, "the trade union leaders, foremost among them being Hawke, used every means to keep the strike isolated to the maintenance workers in the valley and restrict the level of active industrial support from other workers. . . ."

Democratic rights are also under increasing attack in Australia, particularly in the northern state of Queensland. The state's right-wing premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen, unilaterally imposed a ban on political street demonstrations September 4. "We were warned that anti-uranium demonstrations . . . were planned for Brisbane," he said. "That's why this action has been taken."

Direct Action reported September 29 that the Queensland premier has also "begun the systematic naming of political activists in Parliament. . . . Bjelke-Petersen names the people and then reads through sections of their police files listing their previous political activity . . . in the most

slanderous terms."

Students at the University of Queensland have led a response to these attacks, holding demonstrations for "the right to march" on September 7 and 22 and October 12. Five thousand persons defied the ban October 22 to march against uranium mining. Bjelke-Petersen's cops fired tear gas in an effort to disperse the protest, and more than 400 persons were arrested.

Attacks on democratic rights are not limited to Queensland. Fraser has announced that the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation will be authorized to "intercept telephone and telex messages, open mail, use bugging devices, break and enter, pay informants and have increased access to government files." Contingency plans have also been drawn up for the military transport of uranium if union workers refuse to handle ore shipments.

In the October 29 joint issue of *Direct Action* and the *Militant*, the editors explained what is required to meet these ruling-class attacks:

"... the Liberals [Fraser's party] can only be defeated politically if the unions, the anti-uranium movement, Blacks, women, and students continue their independent struggles and pressure the ALP to defend the demands of all the oppressed. Only the continuation and expansion of these independent struggles can make an election campaign into another prong in a counterattack against Fraser's offensive."

Sugar Workers' Strike Continues

Strikes and protests have continued in Ecuador since the October 18 massacre of 120 striking sugar workers at the Aztra mill in the village of La Troncal. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 7, p. 1217.)

According to an Associated Press report in the November 4 *Washington Post*, 6,800 workers in three major sugar refineries remained on strike, cutting production by two-thirds. Besides protesting the government's bloody attack at the Aztra mill, the workers are also continuing the struggle for a wage increase that began before the massacre.

The sugar workers' contracts call for raises in pay amounting to 40 percent of any increase in the price of sugar. But in August the military government decreed a sugar price hike and stipulated that it should not be accompanied by any wage increases.

The pressure on the regime was reflected in the October 28 resignation of Juan Cueva, cultural attaché to Ecuador's Paris embassy. Cueva said the regime "has progressively abandoned its policy of dialogue and openness. With the events at the Aztra sugar mill, I feel a violent injustice has been committed. I have made the decision to resign in solidarity with the workers of Ecuador."

'Socialist Challenge' Exposé Forces Leyland Chief to Quit

British Trotskyists Unmask Sir Richard Dobson

Socialist Challenge, the Trotskyist news-weekly in Britain, became big news itself October 19.

Scooping the major British dailies, *Socialist Challenge* printed the virulently racist and antilabor remarks made by Sir Richard Dobson at a private dinner for business executives. Dobson headed British Leyland, the country's largest state-owned corporation.

Within forty-eight hours the public furor that resulted catapulted the exposé to the front page of the *London Times* and forced Dobson's resignation as Leyland's chief officer.

At the end of September Dobson had given what he described as a "light-hearted" after-dinner talk to the Twenty Club—an exclusive group of London merchandising magnates.

In the chummy atmosphere, Dobson evidently felt free to expound his real opinions on a variety of subjects.

At one point he brought down the house with a reference to allegations made last May that Leyland makes "special payments" to obtain contracts in Arab countries. Imagine, he said, accusing "the company of the perfectly respectable fact that it was bribing wogs."

The term "wogs" is a racist epithet for dark-skinned peoples.

On another topic, Dobson sought to discount the massive trade-union solidarity that has been mobilized for strikers at Grunwick, a north London film processing plant. The mostly Indian and Pakistani workers have been fighting fourteen months to secure union recognition.

"You can't tell me that the ordinary British worker is passionately concerned that a number of blackish people in North London are being underpaid," Sir Richard protested.

New Waste Disposal Plan?

Residents of Melun, France, were surprised to discover a concrete-encased drum, bearing a symbol indicating that it contained radioactive wastes, in the middle of the city's marketplace October 31. Apparently the drum had fallen from a passing truck.

The French Atomic Energy Commission, called in to conduct tests on the wayward container, claimed that checks for a leak in radiation had proved "totally negative." Local authorities were less than satisfied

however and demanded that an inquiry be opened.

Brigitte Gros, mayor of the city and a member of the French Senate, declared, "It is scandalous that a container of radioactive wastes can fall from a truck in the middle of a city, in a marketplace, when municipal authorities had not even been notified of the passage of a vehicle transporting such a cargo. Furthermore, the markings on the container did not state either its origin or the danger it represented."

On unions in general, Dobson rhetorically asked his cohorts:

"Would the position of the UK in the world market be better or worse if the unions hadn't multiplied? In fact have the unions benefitted their members at all? Or have they in fact done total damage in the last decade?"

A likely cause of Dobson's speedy resignation was in committing the cardinal sin of biting the hand that fed him. He was hired by former Labor Party Prime Minister Harold Wilson eighteen months ago to manage the financially ailing Leyland conglomerate. The company had been nationalized in 1975. Dobson maintained his directorships of Exxon, Lloyds Bank, and several other corporations.

Castigating Wilson's successor as head of Britain's Labour government in his talk, Dobson roasted James Callaghan's performance in the fight "to curb the power of the unions."

"Well it got a bit hot," Sir Richard told his delighted audience, "and Mr. Callaghan turned and ran. It's not the first time in our history that it was thought that if you could run fastest you were therefore a leader—whatever direction you happened to be running in at the time."

How did *Socialist Challenge* get the scoop? Much to Sir Richard's everlasting dismay, one of the Twenty Club members invited his son, who is a sympathizer of the International Marxist Group. Suspecting that capitalists spoke differently in private than in public, twenty-seven-year-old Peter Cooper unobtrusively taped the proceedings.

He had not expected, he said, such a "dramatic confirmation" of his suspicions.

20,000 Rally in Wellington Against Government Spying

By Hugh Fyson

WELLINGTON—The largest demonstration yet seen against the Muldoon government, and probably the largest single demonstration in New Zealand's history, was held here October 14.

Up to 20,000 persons, mostly workers, rallied outside Parliament at midday to show their opposition to the government's Security Intelligence Service Amendment Bill. Thousands more joined protests in other cities.

This bill gives the stamp of approval to some of the illegal and antidemocratic practices of New Zealand's secret police agency. The SIS is a close co-worker of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the British MI-5, and the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation.

Among the bill's provisions (when first presented to Parliament) were the following:

- The minister in charge of the SIS is empowered to issue "interception warrants" for the seizure of any communication—to open mail, to tap phones, and to burglarise the premises of any citizen.

- It is an offence for anyone to disclose the existence of such a warrant.

- Nobody is allowed to publish the names of anyone connected or formerly connected with the SIS.

- State servants can be compelled to cooperate with the SIS in the carrying-out of "interception warrants." (This clause is directed in particular against postal and telephone workers, who have expressed strong opposition to phone tapping and mail opening.)

- The SIS can co-opt anyone to help with the application of an "interception warrant," and anyone involved in this dirty work would be immune from civil or criminal proceedings.

Ever since this proposed bill was first proposed voices have been raised in protest, but the momentum for mass action built up in an unusually short time, beginning about one month before October 14.

The call for action spread with the result that there were the following turnouts on and around October 14 in addition to the action in Wellington: Auckland, 2,000; Hamilton, 400; Christchurch, 3,000; and Dunedin, 2,500. There have been numerous public meetings and smaller protests. These demonstrations testified to a nationwide sweep of public opposition to the bill.

Although the Wellington action went far

beyond the rest in its scope, the difference was not in variations in opposition to the bill but in the level of union involvement in the protests.

Only in Wellington did the trade-union leadership effectively build the action. The key role in this development was played by the Wellington Trades Council, which groups all workers affiliated to the Federation of Labour in the Wellington area. The Trades Council called a strike of its unions for three hours on October 14, and transport to the demonstration was organised for workers.

An important role was also played by the leadership of the Combined State Services Organisation, which called on its many members in the capital city—government employees—to take part. City office workers were very much in evidence on the day, alongside manual workers from the motor vehicle assembly plants, the waterfront, building sites, ships, public transport, trucking, and the meat industry. Several such groups arrived at Parliament in their own contingents, and union banners were sprinkled through the crowd.

Two other contingents to join the demonstration were from Victoria University and the Wellington Polytechnic. The latter was augmented by many students from Wellington High School, a working-class school situated next door to the Polytech.

Following the rally at Parliament, most of those present moved off in a long column through the central city streets to the headquarters of the SIS a mile and a half away.

The SIS has been under public attack for a decade now. During the period of the last Labour government (1973-75) this criticism mounted, under the impact of scandals involving the SIS together with the international publicity over the activities of the CIA and the FBI.

To deflect this pressure, Labour Prime Minister Wallace Rowling, a firm supporter of the SIS, commissioned a report on the secret-police outfit. Its author was Sir Guy Powles, former chief ombudsman and a reputed liberal.

Sir Guy was disturbed to find that the SIS was acting illegally. His proposal to incoming National Party Prime Minister Robert Muldoon was therefore that what the SIS was doing should be made legal.

The bill now before Parliament stems from this report, minus some of the minor

"checks and balances" that Sir Guy added to make his proposals more palatable. The parliamentary Labour Party has concentrated its fire on these insignificant omissions.

The mass upsurge against the bill caught Labour unawares. Barely days before the October 14 demonstration Labour leaders were forced to say that a Labour government would repeal it. However, if it were not for the mass pressure they would have been quite happy with the bill if some small amendments had been made.

Although claiming to have been quite unaffected by the mass outpouring, the government has had to introduce some amendments to the bill, now being debated in Parliament. State servants will now not be legally compelled to cooperate with the SIS. And it will not be against the law to publish the names of former agents or associates of the SIS.

The demonstrations against the SIS were a manifestation of a mood of rising militancy among working people in this country.

New Zealand has experienced more than three years of continuous economic slump, and no end is in sight. The assault of the capitalist class on the living standards and democratic rights of the workers, women, the Maori people and the Pacific Island immigrant community was begun by the Labour government.

Disillusionment with Labour opened the door for the National Party in the 1975 general elections. Under the National government of Robert Muldoon the capitalists' offensive has been pursued more vigorously. Today working people have had nearly two years of this regime, which came in on the slogan of "New Zealand the way you want it."

This new level of political sentiment has also been reflected in the recent struggle of members of the Timber Workers Union, in the heartland of the country's timber industry in the central North Island, to transform their union into a fighting organisation.

The Timber Workers Union bureaucrats are noted for their mismanagement of union assets and their collaboration with the bosses. A struggle erupted in August to oust these incumbents; it was organised by an unofficial union body, the Combined Council of Timberworkers Delegates.

This movement of the rank-and-file—who are predominantly Maoris and poorly paid workers—led to a wave of strikes

directed against the employers and against the union leadership. It included three mass marches of timberworkers on the national headquarters of the union in Rotorua.

The heat of the situation was such that the government was careful to keep its distance, preferring to rely on the "peacemaking" skills of Federation of Labour President Sir Tom Skinner. He was able to secure a resumption of work, but only on condition that the union's undemocratic rules be restructured to the satisfaction of the Combined Council.

A further indication of the deepening discontent in New Zealand was the sizable vote for candidates of the Socialist Action League (New Zealand section of the Fourth International) in the October 8 elections for local bodies.

The League ran candidates for public hospital boards in the three main cities—Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. For all other positions the League called for a vote for Labour.

The candidates—all women—made their central point opposition to a bill to tighten up the antiabortion laws, which was then before Parliament. Mass opposition to this repressive bill made it impossible for the legislators to agree on how to amend the bill so that it would be "workable." The bill has since been postponed to the end of the parliamentary session.

The socialist candidates said that the hospital boards should take the lead in organising opposition to the bill, and in making their substantial facilities available for all women needing abortions.

The Socialist Action League won its highest vote so far, with more than 7,000 persons including a League candidate on their list. This represented 9.7 percent of the voters choosing the Auckland Hospital Board candidate Helen Dee (3,429 votes), 7.6 percent for the Wellington candidate Pat Starkey (2,474 votes), and 3 percent for the Christchurch candidate Lois MacGregor (1,220 votes). □

Growing Challenge to Somoza Dictatorship

Nicaraguan Guerrillas Launch New Offensive

By Fred Murphy

Broad opposition to the Somoza dictatorship has emerged in Nicaragua in the wake of a renewal of guerrilla activity during mid-October.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)¹ carried out attacks on National Guard installations in several areas of Managua, the country's capital, on October 17. Clashes were also reported at a military barracks in Masaya, eighteen miles to the southeast, and a troop convoy on the road between the two cities came under fire. In addition, fighting between National Guard troops and FSLN guerrillas occurred in the north near the Honduran border and in the south in areas adjacent to Costa Rica.

The FSLN followed up its offensive with a statement released in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, on October 23, announcing that "prolonged popular war" will continue until President Anastasio Somoza Debayle is driven from office.

The Somoza family has ruled Nicaragua as its personal fiefdom since the 1930s, when Anastasio Somoza García was installed in power with the aid of the U.S. Marines. The current Anastasio (Somoza García's son) has held the reins since 1967.

From its inception the family dictatorship has been propped up by vast amounts of economic and military aid from Washington.

Coinciding with the wave of guerrilla actions, twelve prominent Nicaraguans issued a statement in San José, Costa Rica, October 17 praising the FSLN's "political maturity" and saying the front should participate in solving the country's problems. The signers included several "wealthy and conservative businessmen and lawyers," according to the October 20 *New York Times*.

The statement may reflect a growing feeling among the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie that the dictatorship's days are numbered. Somoza suffered a heart attack in late July and spent two months in a Miami hospital. In his absence, Alan Riding said in the October 30 *New York Times*, "his friends and foes began mobilizing to fill the political vacuum in case he did not recover, all of them apparently agreed that the successor should not be the President's son, Maj. Anastasio Somoza Portocarrero." Somoza is back in the saddle, but he remains under doctors' orders to work only three hours a day.

For its part, the FSLN has expressed willingness to work with the bourgeois layers opposed to Somoza. In an October 20 dispatch from Managua, Riding quoted FSLN leader Plutarco Elias Hernández as

saying, "Our basic program is not communist. It is a threat to no one who favors a just society." Riding noted that a "minority of Marxist-Leninist 'purists'" have left the main guerrilla group.

Riding also said Hernández "insists that the front will continue fighting if General Somoza is merely replaced by another military ruler, or if some political deal worked out with opponents of the regime does not include participation by the guerrillas."

The Mexico City daily *Excelsior* reported October 24 that representatives of the Catholic church² and of the "private sector" have called for a "national dialogue to promote democratization of the country and assist in bringing about social peace through a change in the structure of the present political system. . . ."

"At the same time," *Excelsior* said, "they warned that if such a confrontation of ideas . . . is not held soon they will declare a national economic strike."

Somoza's response has been to blame the unrest on the "conscious and unconscious agents of international communism" and to step up repression.

Excelsior reported October 24 that a number of professionals—doctors, attorneys, professors, and an engineer—had been detained in Managua on suspicion of links to the FSLN. Despite the lifting of press censorship in September, three radio announcers were arrested for reading over the air the document released by the twelve prominent Nicaraguans.

The regime has also accused the neighboring states of Honduras and Costa Rica of allowing the guerrillas to use their territories as staging areas. According to reports in *Excelsior* these charges were indignantly denied. But the ambassadors to Mexico from Honduras and El Salvador also said that the doors of their countries' embassies and consulates in Nicaragua are open to any opponents of Somoza who wish to seek asylum.

Although the Costa Rican ambassador warned that "his country lacks specialized personnel for antiguerrilla struggle," the Oduber regime has cooperated in repressing Nicaraguan oppositionists. Ten persons alleged to be FSLN members are being held in San José.

Somoza's relations with Oduber were not helped by an incident that occurred October 14. Nicaraguan air force planes pursuing guerrillas bombed three small boats in the Frío River on the Costa Rican border. One of them happened to be carrying the Costa Rican minister of public security, who narrowly escaped. He was on a tour inspecting anti-FSLN operations by his government's police forces. □

1. For more information on the history and activities of the FSLN, see *Intercontinental Press*, June 21, 1976, p. 976.

2. The church has been increasingly vocal in its criticism of Somoza. See "Catholic Bishops Protest Rule by Terror in Nicaragua," *Intercontinental Press*, March 21, p. 285.

AROUND THE WORLD



Strikes Sweep Israel



BEGIN: Hears "Bolshevik-like tones."

Tens of thousands of Israeli workers walked off their jobs the first week in November, protesting the Begin government's decision to abolish price subsidies that had existed for twenty-nine years.

The measures, which went into effect October 31, sent the cost of food, clothing, and other necessities soaring by 10 to 30 percent. A corresponding devaluation of the Israeli pound pushed price tags on imported goods up by about 45 percent.

Workers at El Al, Israel's national airline, responded immediately by shutting down the country's airports for twenty-four hours.

By November 1 workers had closed the major ports of Haifa and Ashdod, and halted train service between Haifa and Tel Aviv. Civil service employees in a number of cities and towns shut down government offices.

A twenty-four-hour general strike was declared in the southern town of Beersheba. Factory workers walked off their jobs, paralyzing industries in Lod, Acre, Brai Brak, Holon, Haifa, and other towns.

Opposition politicians from Israel's Labor Party called on the Begin government to allow cost-of-living wage increases to compensate for the price rises. Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich quickly ruled out such a possibility.

Despite a vow by union bureaucrats earlier in the week not to call a general strike, by November 3 the upsurge had reached sweeping proportions.

The banks were forced to close for half a day and major slowdowns and stoppages in transport, shipping, postal services and industry were reported.

More than 25,000 workers marched in Tel Aviv November 3. "The Government policy steals bread from the mouths of our children" read one placard at the massive gathering outside Tel Aviv City Hall. Police turned back several thousand demonstrators who broke through cordons in an effort to march on Begin's office.

The prime minister appeared unmoved, at least in public. "The Bolshevik-like tones heard these days will quickly disappear," Begin said in a speech on the evening of November 2. "We shall maintain complete calm."

Abortion Protest in Sicily

Several hundred persons marched in the streets of Palermo October 22 to protest the death of a woman who had been forced to seek a clandestine abortion.

A bill liberalizing restrictions on abortion is currently stalled in discussions in the Italian Parliament. Initially passed by the Chamber of Deputies in January, it was narrowly defeated by the Senate in June.

Black Women Hold Conference in Paris

Some 300 persons attended a day of discussion and debate, held in Paris October 29 by the Black Women's Coordinating Committee, a group formed to make heard "the voice of the most oppressed."

Explaining the aims of the conference, the organizers said, "We share common problems with men of color and with all women, but we also face problems that are specific to us." Cited in particular in the course of the day's discussions were forced sterilization, prostitution, and polygamy.

According to a report in the November 2

Le Monde, most of the participants were Black women of all ages and walks of life from Africa, the Antilles, and the United States. Also in attendance were a number of Black men and what *Le Monde* described as "'Marxists' of both sexes."

A lively discussion ensued, particularly with some of the "Marxists," who suggested that the organizers of the conference were "petty bourgeois" because they did not understand the "priority of the struggle against imperialism" and the need to "liberate women economically."

At the close of the day, the organizers hailed the conference as an important first step toward making clear that from now on Black women "will fight both for their own liberation and for that of their people."

Kurdish Hostages Behind Bars in Iraq

At least 389 Kurdish civilians are being held under unknown conditions by the Iraqi government, some of them since December 1976, Amnesty International announced November 3.

In a letter of protest to President Ahmad Hassan Al Bakr of Iraq, the human-rights organization stated its "profound concern" for the fate of the detainees and urged their release.

According to information received by Amnesty International, all of those being held are relatives of members of the Kurdish armed forces, the *pesh mergas*.

"It would appear that when the *pesh mergas* could not be located, their families were arrested and detained in their places," Amnesty International said.

Those imprisoned include elderly people, women, and in some cases children as young as one or two years of age. The names of 389 of the prisoners have been obtained by Amnesty International, but there are believed to be many more whose identity is not yet known.

Two More 'Disappearances'

According to a report from Buenos Aires, two new names have been added to the list of those kidnapped by Videla's police. The latest victims are Laura Ines Dabas de Correa and Raul Alfredo Alborno.

Dabas de Correa was active in the Committee of Relatives of Political Prisoners; her husband, formerly an activist in the metalworkers union, has been imprisoned

since May 1975. She worked as a clerk to support herself and her two children.

An agent of the armed forces came to her house and dragged her out of bed at three o'clock in the morning. She has not been heard from since her disappearance September 30.

Albornoz, twenty-eight, was a well-known trade-union activist at the Peugeot factory. A squad from the security forces came to his home in the early morning hours of September 27. They waited for him to come home from work and then took him away, along with his brother, Daniel Albornoz.

Since the coup of March 24, 1976, more than thirty militants from the Peugeot factory alone have been kidnapped or imprisoned.

Crackdown Against Somalis in Kenya

Kenyan Vice-President Daniel Arap Moi announced October 15 that Somalis living in Kenya who "favored" the regime in neighboring Somalia were being expelled. About the same time, police revealed that about 100 Somalis had been arrested in Nairobi, the capital, during an "identity check."

Several hundred thousand Somali-speaking nomads live in Kenya, mostly in the Northeastern Province. Like the Somalis in Djibouti and Ethiopia, the Somali regime favors their incorporation within a "Greater Somalia." Since June, the Somalis in the Ogaden desert region of Ethiopia have made major gains in their effort to secede from Ethiopia and merge with Somalia. The Kenyan regime no doubt fears that the struggle in the Ogaden could be an inspiration to the Somalis in Kenya as well.

In an apparent effort to bring the migration of the nomadic Somalis back and forth across the border under control, Arap Moi also announced that a census would be organized. He condemned what he called "desperate elements recruited as agents by a foreign power in order to launch an attack against the motherland."

Ache Indians Face Genocide

Richard Arens, a law professor at Temple University in Philadelphia, is the editor of a recently published book entitled *Genocide in Paraguay*, which documents the systematic effort of the Stroessner regime to destroy the Ache Indian people. An article in the October 20 issue of the *Temple Times* reported on Arens's recent two-week visit to Paraguay.

"The government invited me there to convince me of how wrong I was," Arens said. "I was given a conducted tour and couldn't go where I wanted."

Arens told of discovering one Indian boy on a reservation who had been suffering from cancer for eighteen months without receiving any treatment.

"At another reservation, the Fara-Moro Mission, Professor Arens said: 'When we arrived by military helicopter, never have I seen so many (about 100) people looking so depressed.'

"As the party was about to leave the reservation, one of the Indians told him: 'Now that you're about to leave, we'll all die.' . . .

"These were the reservations I was taken to,' commented the lawyer and he wondered, 'what were the others like?'

"There are sections of the Chaco (the northwest section of Paraguay) that are closed to the public."

Arens said he spoke with several young girls who had been sold into slavery as children. "I told the Paraguayan officials about the slaves and they couldn't have seemed less interested," he said.

According to the *Temple Times*, about 900 Ache have been killed since 1968. "Anthropologists and other concerned experts estimate there may be only 800 to 1200 of these people left alive today. Three tribes have disappeared completely."

Arens reported the response of the American embassy in Paraguay to Stroessner's genocidal policies: "The standard of living in Paraguay is so low that there is little difference between the very poor Paraguayan and the Indians."

"But," comments Professor Arens, 'the Paraguayans are not dying out as the Indians are and that is pretty important.' . . .

"He suggests that all funds be cut off to the Paraguayan government. The United States is sending millions of dollars into Paraguay in the form of economic and military aid."

Arens's book, *Genocide in Paraguay*, is published by Temple Press in Philadelphia.

South Africa Widens the Wage Gap Between Black and White Workers

The pay gap between Black and white workers in South Africa is widening. According to the October 24 *Business Week*, whites in the mines average \$1,027 per month compared with \$124 for Blacks, a difference of \$903 compared to 1974's disparity of \$722. In manufacturing, the gap between whites and Blacks is \$522, the financial magazine reports.

If a Neutron Bomb Is Dropped on Paris . . .

"The entire population of Paris could be exterminated by 10 or 12 small neutron bombs conveyed by Lance rockets, the destruction remaining minimal. . . . The bomb destroys buildings within 200 metres of impact. All living beings are paralysed within five minutes within a circle of 800 metres, dying within 48 hours. Death occurs within four to six days within 1,000



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

metres from the point of impact, and at a distance of up to 1,200 metres the chances of survival are extremely slender, death occurring within a few weeks. At a distance of 1,400 metres the rays are still deadly for 50 per cent of the people." (From *Neutron Bombs*, a pamphlet distributed by the World Peace Council.)

Steep Increase in Steel Layoffs

Citing a slump in the world markets, international steel barons have begun laying off tens of thousands of workers, François Renard reports in the October 18 *Le Monde*.

"In West Germany, 10,000 workers in the industry have lost their jobs in the last six months.

"In France the forecast is for 16,000 layoffs by 1979.

"In Sweden, where the situation is becoming critical, an official report calls for eliminating 15 percent of the work force, about 5,000 jobs.

"In Belgium a moratorium on layoffs has been decreed until December 1977 but the extremely serious difficulties encountered by certain corporations, such as Cockerill, are almost sure to mean reductions in the work force.

"In Great Britain and Italy the governments, which control the greater part of the steel industry, are blocking any layoffs but have to finance staggering deficits (£1 million a day for British Steel Corporation).

"In the United States . . . the steel industry is preparing to lay off 50,000 persons, and 20,000 have already lost their jobs.

"Even in Japan the major corporations are beginning to say that they will not be able to maintain the traditional system of lifetime employment and have already announced a reduction in the work force by a freeze on hiring."

Back to Kant? The Retreat of Lucio Colletti

Reviewed by George Novack



[This is the first part of a two-part article on the Italian Marxist philosopher Lucio Colletti. It is a companion piece to George Novack's essay, "Timpanaro's Defense of Materialism" on the work of another contemporary Italian Marxist philosopher, Sebastiano Timpanaro, which appeared in the March 21, 1977, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. Both essays will be published in the forthcoming Pathfinder Press book *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy*.]

* * *

Lucio Colletti presents a more complex case than Timpanaro for three reasons. The course of his philosophizing has been erratic; his views are still in flux; and they are becoming more distant from the basic principles of dialectical materialism. Criticism of his positions must be aimed at a moving target.

Since 1970, Colletti has held the chair in the philosophy of history at the University of Salerno. He sketched his ideological and political evolution in an interview with Perry Anderson, the editor of *New Left Review*, which appeared in the July-August 1974 issue of that magazine. Like many Italian left intellectuals, Colletti progressed from the Crocean school of historical idealism* to Marxism, somewhat as certain American radicals earlier abandoned Dewey's instrumentalism for Marxism. In 1950, at the age of twenty-five or twenty-six, he joined the Italian Communist Party during the Korean War, under much the same anti-imperialist impulses as moved Sartre to align himself with the French Stalinists.

Colletti was one of the editors of the CP's cultural journal, *Società*, from 1958 to 1962. On *Società* he followed the views of Galvano Della Volpe, who stressed the study of the general laws of capitalist development rather than the peculiarities of the backwardness of Russia or Italy. Emphasis on the latter, Colletti says, served as a springboard for the rightist and revisionist line of the CP leadership, justifying its strategy of sticking to limited "democratic" objectives. These differing theoretical orientations "led to divergent political conclusions" and the party authorities closed down the journal in 1962.

Colletti quit the CP in 1964, after Khrushchev was deposed, recognizing that neither the leadership of the Soviet Union nor its Italian followers would return to the revolutionary program of Marx and Lenin. From 1966 to 1967 he was editor of the independent Marxist monthly *La Sinistra*. Although he esteems Trotsky and his work, and has been harangued by Maoists and others as a Trotskyist, he has never been a Fourth Internationalist.

His antipathy to dialectical logic induced Colletti to enlist in the anti-Engels brigade. He is resolved to rescue Marx from Engels's insidious embrace, though he is no more successful in this operation than previous distorters of their relationship.

The first section of Colletti's introduction to the anthology *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, which attributes not only the designation but the general philosophical theory of dialectical materialism to

Engels alone, typifies his efforts to counterpose the intellectual development and world views of the two men. He regards "Marxism's most specific terrain of development" to be "the socio-economic one," not the philosophical.¹

Zigzagging under fire of criticism, he has been obliged to concede that Marx shared some of Engels's "errors." Yet he continues to insist that in the main the "founding fathers" held different philosophical positions.

... all Marx's work is essentially an analysis of modern capitalist society. His basic writings are the *Theories of Surplus-Value*, the *Grundrisse* and *Capital*: all the rest is secondary.²

Engels strayed much further afield:

While in the case of Engels, one of his major writings is indubitably the *Dialectics of Nature*—a work 90 per cent of which is hopelessly compromised by an ingenuous and romantic *Naturphilosophie*, contaminated by crudely positivist and evolutionist themes.³

This declaration not only cavalierly dismisses *The German Ideology*, *The Communist Manifesto*, and other joint productions of the two men, but misrepresents their later work. It disregards the facts. Engels many times discussed the themes in the *Dialectics of Nature* with Marx. (In a letter to Marx dated May 30, 1873, Engels formulated the principal conceptions set forth in that unfinished writing.) He treated most of the same topics along the same lines in *Anti-Dühring*, which Marx read through and approved before publication, contributing a chapter to it. Marx had much to say about precapitalist formations in the *Grundrisse*; and was accumulating material on the institutions of precivilized societies (recently published as *Ethnological Notebooks*) that Engels worked up after his death in *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. Marx is as ideologically "compromised" and "contaminated" as his collaborator.

Marx is counterposed to Engels in order to scuttle the materialist dialectic they developed and used in all the political and literary activities of their maturity. (Colletti makes this purpose clear in his article on "Marxism and the Dialectic," published in the September-October 1975 *New Left Review*.)

Colletti tries to shore up the myth of an antidialectical Marx betrayed by the dialectical Engels by arguing that Kant's epistemological positions provide better guidance for the revolutionary movement than Hegel's. In his 1974 interview he claims:

But from a strictly epistemological point of view, there is only one great modern thinker who can be of assistance to us in constructing a materialist theory of knowledge—Immanuel Kant.⁴

He is as much attached to Kant as Timpanaro is to Leopardi.

This recommendation flows from his drastic "reexamination" of Marxist theory. The following assertions indicate how far he has

1. *Karl Marx: Early Writings* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), p. 47.

2. "A Political and Philosophical Interview," *New Left Review*, no. 86, July-August 1974, p. 13.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

*A glossary of names and philosophical schools and terms appears at the end of this article.

already gone in this direction. (1) Dialectical materialism is "a scholastic metaphysic."⁵ (2) Marxism has no epistemological theory. (3) "The social sciences have not yet found a true foundation of their own."⁶ (4) "Marxism lacks a true political theory."⁷ (5) ". . . so far as 'political' theory in the strict sense is concerned, Marx and Lenin have added nothing to Rousseau, except for the analysis (which is of course rather important) of the 'economic bases' for the withering away of the State."⁸

In common with most of the praxis school, Colletti deprives Marxism of any universal ontological character. He categorically states in *From Rousseau to Lenin*: "Marxism is a theory of the laws of development of human society"⁹—and nothing more. Such a stripped-down version of Marxism disregards its organic connection with antecedent materialist philosophy, which presented a distinctive theory of universal being. Marx and Engels did not throw out this basic position but amplified and enriched its view of the world by extending it to cover the origin, works and ideas of productive and active human beings. While Colletti retains some rooms they added to the structure of materialist thought, he proposes to remove its foundation.

Not much of the content of Marxism is left intact after such ruthless iconoclasm in philosophy, logic, sociology, and politics. Indeed, Colletti acknowledges that in his eyes "the entire framework of traditional philosophical Marxism has been shattered."¹⁰

He wants to recement the pieces by substituting Kant's theory of knowledge for the materialistic dialectics embedded in Marxist thought. This project to disown Hegel's contribution to Marxism and substitute Kant's should set alarm bells ringing in the minds of anyone familiar with the philosophical controversies within and around the socialist movement over the past century. First, it controverts the account given by the cocreators of Marxism about the preconditions of their philosophical development. They characterized Kant as the initiator and Hegel as the consummator of classical German idealism. Hegel worked out certain answers to problems propounded by Kant on the nature of reality and knowledge that the latter was unable to solve in the idealist terms of his era. German philosophy advanced from the dualism, subjectivism, and agnosticism of Kant's idealism to the monism, objectivity, and rationality of Hegel's. These gigantic accomplishments were an irreplaceable element in the formation of dialectical materialism. This view of Marx and Engels on the genealogy of their ideas must be accorded considerable authority. For example, in the well-known "Afterword to the Second German Edition" of *Capital*, written in 1873, Marx said:

I criticized the mystificatory side of the Hegelian dialectic nearly thirty years ago, at a time when it was still the fashion. But just when I was working at the first volume of *Capital*, the ill-humored, arrogant and mediocre epigones who now talk large in educated German circles began to take pleasure in treating Hegel in the same way as the good Moses Mendelssohn treated Spinoza in Lessing's time, namely as a "dead dog." I therefore openly avowed myself the pupil of that mighty thinker, and even, here and there in the chapter on the theory of value, coquetted with the modes of expression peculiar to him. The mystification which the dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general forms of motion in a comprehensive and conscious manner.¹¹

5. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

6. "Marxism and the Dialectic," *New Left Review*, no. 93, September-October 1975, p. 29.

7. "A Political and Philosophical Interview" (1974), p. 15.

8. "Rousseau as Critic of 'Civil Society'" (1968), in *From Rousseau to Lenin*, p. 185.

9. "Marxism: Science or Revolution?" (1969), in *ibid.*, p. 229, emphasis in original.

10. *Marxism and Hegel*, p. 85.

11. Karl Marx, *Capital* (London: Penguin Books, 1976), vol. I, pp. 102-3.

Engels, writing some years later, had this to say on the relation between Kant and Hegel:

In addition there is yet a set of different philosophers—those who question the possibility of any cognition, or at least of an exhaustive cognition, of the world. To them, among the more modern ones, belong Hume and Kant, and they have played a very important role in philosophical development. What is decisive in the refutation of this view has already been said by Hegel, in so far as this was possible from an idealist standpoint.¹²

When European thinkers after Marx and Engels have turned in a reactionary direction, they have sought to break up this sequence of progress in philosophy by casting Hegel aside and reverting to Kant's starting point, especially in epistemology. The first to do so from a bourgeois viewpoint was Schopenhauer, who proposed, following the defeat of the 1848 revolutions, that the

Colletti's works reviewed:

"A Political and Philosophical Interview." *New Left Review*, no. 86, July-August 1974.

From Rousseau to Lenin. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972, 236 pp.

Marxism and Hegel. London: New Left Books, 1973, 283 pp.

"Marxism and the Dialectic." *New Left Review*, no. 93, September-October 1975.

Karl Marx: Early Writing. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975, 451 pp.

advances made after Kant, through Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, be set aside as aberrations and Kant's metaphysics be restored to supremacy. (It is instructive that the "critical philosopher" Horkheimer in his last phase embraced Schopenhauer.)

A similar path has been traversed since then by a varied procession of critics and revisers of Marxism in liberal and Social Democratic circles. The roster begins with Tomas Masaryk, the professor who became the first president of Czechoslovakia, Eduard Bernstein, Konrad Schmidt, Ludwig Woltman, and Charles Rappoport around the turn of the century, and later Max Adler and his Viennese school and Hendrik de Man, the Belgian socialist-turned-reactionary. All of them scorned materialist dialectics and rallied around the banner of a return to Kant.

So Colletti is not blazing any new trail in proposing to depose the materialist dialectic in favor of Kant's approach to knowledge. He is rather setting foot on a path that has taken others away from the philosophical foundation of Marxism and obscured a correct insight into the process of its formation.

The question he poses of Kant and Hegel's connection with the prehistory of dialectical materialism is not insignificant. It involves a dialectical progression of philosophical positions in which the central ideas expressed by each personality had a determinate character. Hegel's dialectics transcended Kant's more limited insights, within the idealist framework; Feuerbach's materialism shattered that framework without doing justice to the laws of dialectical logic or to historical development. Then Marx and Engels fused the materialist outlook with dialectical logic in an original synthesis that revolutionized philosophy. It would be as wrong to scramble the results of this order of philosophical development as to exalt Adam Smith above Ricardo in the elaboration of political economy in Great Britain.

What did Kant set out to do and how does Hegel fit into the picture? Before Kant, the epistemology of the early bourgeois era had swung back and forth between antithetical poles. The materialists, empiricists, and sensationalists taught that experience was the sole source of all ideas in the mind, whereas the

12. Frederick Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (1888) in Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951), vol. II, pp. 335-36.

rationalists, idealists, and spiritualists held that certain universal and necessary ideas came from the mind alone. Experience only provided the occasion for the operation of the innate and eternal principles supporting God, immortality, logic, and morality.

Kant's "critical theory" was designed to overcome the inconclusive strife of the rival schools and reconcile the contradiction in their respective positions by salvaging what he considered to be the truths in both. He agreed with the empiricists that our knowledge of all phenomena is derived from experience. But experience itself, he added, consists of two different kinds of elements. One is the raw data of sensation and perception; the other is the forms of sensibility (space and time) and the categories of the understanding, such as causality, which gave order and significance to them. This metaphysics of experience satisfied the requirements of a rationalist idealism based on innate principles.

However, Kant's compromise solution to the problem of knowledge exacted a very heavy toll in fundamental respects. He divided reality into two opposing realms: the thing-in-itself, the "noumenal" realm, of which we have no direct evidence and can never know, although it exists; and the thing-for-us of the "phenomenal" realm, which is all that theoretical reason can know. Thus the nature of things is inaccessible to theoretical reason, which is confined to cognition of phenomenal appearances.

Kant did not stop at this point, which headed directly toward phenomenalism and skepticism. The thing-in-itself that is beyond the range of the understanding can be reached in another way, through what Kant called practical reason. This does possess universality and necessity because it is based on the imperative of moral law as the compulsory norm of human behavior. Thereby the convictions about God, immortality, and freedom of the will that are not validated by scientific knowledge could nonetheless be reasonably held as a matter of pure faith. As Kant stated in the preface to the second edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, "I must . . . abolish knowledge, to make room for belief."¹³

Heinrich Heine pertinently observed that after ruthlessly decapitating God as an object of scientific knowledge, Kant took pity and restored the divinity to preeminence for the solace of his manservant.

Every thinker thereafter had to come to grips with the problems Kant raised and his conclusions. Hegel was the most successful within idealist limits.

He contested Kant's absolute disjunction between the thing-in-itself and the thing-for-us. Reality is a unified whole in which the objective and subjective sides are not simply disjoined from each other but also form a unity. The objective world of things can be truly known. We learn what the nature of anything is from the properties, qualities, and relations presented to us. Every manifestation of an object contains and expresses a bit of its character and the nature of any thing actually exists in the totality of its appearances. The thing-in-itself is simply a name for the state of our ignorance, an empty shell.

Hegel also refused to acknowledge any irremovable opposition between reason and reality or prescribe any limits to the power or province of reason (the logical idea). He summarized his view in the aphorism that "the real is rational and the rational is real."

Whereas Kant held that the raw material of experience was unformed, while perfectly pure forms existed in the sensibility and the mind, Hegel maintained that there was no content without its appropriate form and no form without some specific content. "The truth is concrete."

For Kant, contradiction existed only between propositions; it was a purely mental or linguistic phenomenon. Hegel insisted on the universality and objectivity of contradiction as an expression of the being of all things, the source of their change and

development even into their opposites through the process of negation.

Hegel's objective idealism had the merit of overcoming the subjectivism, dualism, formalism, and agnosticism that marked Kant's system and theory of knowledge. He set forth an integrated conception of reality in which all its sectors were of one piece and there were no impassable boundaries between them. This one world was completely accessible to scientific understanding through dialectical reasoning.

Hegel therewith resolved the contradiction between the objective and subjective elements of experience that Kant was unable to overcome. Marxism did and can derive far more from his logic and epistemology than from those of his predecessor. Kant had tackled the vexing problem of contradiction very vigorously with all the strength of his powerful intellect and did much to clarify some of its puzzles. Indeed, he was the first to employ the term dialectical logic.

Hegel went forward from the point where Kant had to halt and broke through the stalemate of his metaphysics. He recognized the valid insights of Kant's reasoning. There is a unity of opposites in the thought processes. But that is only the beginning of wisdom, not its end. These antithetical aspects express the reality, the truth, of all things in their becoming. These have a dual nature, are in constant flux, and can in time be transformed into their opposites.

Whereas Kant could conceive of contradiction only in a subjective, static, and formalistic manner, Hegel brought out its historical, dialectical, and objective character. He explained that any given contradiction undergoes change through time and develops. In the *Logic* he made clear in abstract concepts how the difference implicit in a contradiction originates out of an identity, how its terms first come forth in the form of indifferent difference, and then become more and more sharply differentiated and counterposed until at the climactic point in their interrelation and interaction the constituent sides of the phenomenon become arrayed in polar opposition to each other. Carried to the extreme of its unfolding, every contradictory relation breaks up and its components pass over into a new form and a different grade of contradiction.

Marxism incorporated into its own structure of thought all that was viable and valid in Hegel's dialectical logic, which had itself developed by way of antithesis to the largely formalistic logic of Kant. However, it did not take over that logic in its original idealist form, which was unsuitable to its purposes and contrary to its materialist principles. Marxism carefully winnowed the wheat from the chaff and situated the dialectical laws and categories in their proper context, placing them on a solid materialist basis by viewing them as the most general laws of the development of nature and society, which are reflected in the mind in the form of historically conditioned categories.

Thus the idealist and materialist interpretations of dialectical logic are mutually exclusive, although both Colletti and Timpanaro construe them as identical. Insofar as both methods of thought have a dialectical content, they belong to the same species of logic and form a unity. But the actual mode of their existence is fundamentally different.

Eighteenth-century materialism had been nonevolutionary and paid insufficient attention to the distinctive features of the thought process. Classical German idealism from Kant to Hegel bequeathed two indispensable achievements to Marxism that enabled it to correct these deficiencies. One was the dialectical method, which studied phenomena in their contradictory development, interconnections and transmutations, and set forth the patterns of their logic. The dialectic was the revolutionary element capable of further fruitful development (just as the labor theory of value was the revolutionary element in classical bourgeois political economy); its idealist matrix was the reactionary side of Hegel's doctrine that Marx and Engels discarded.

The other achievement was the emphasis placed by dialectical materialism upon the constructive activity of cognition, which

13. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1934), p. 18, emphasis in original.

had played a passive role in the pre-Marxian materialist outlook. Marxism took over the insights into the creativity of thought coming from the idealists, integrating them into the materialist premise that the objects of thought existed prior to any human subject and were perceived and cognized by them in the course of social-historical development. The mind worked upon the raw materials given by sensation and perception.

Then Marxism added the new discovery that this unity of the objectively real content of things and their thought forms, which was emphasized by the idealists, arose out of and was verified by social-historical practice. Human thought about nature, society, and itself was primordially engendered by its productive activities; the creation of ideas goes hand in hand with the development of social labor.

This exposition of the course of thought from Kant and Hegel through Feuerbach to Marx points up both the elements of continuity and the basic difference between the idealist and materialist conceptions of dialectical logic. It is a requisite in explaining why Kant's epistemology is unsuited for assimilation by a revolutionary materialism.

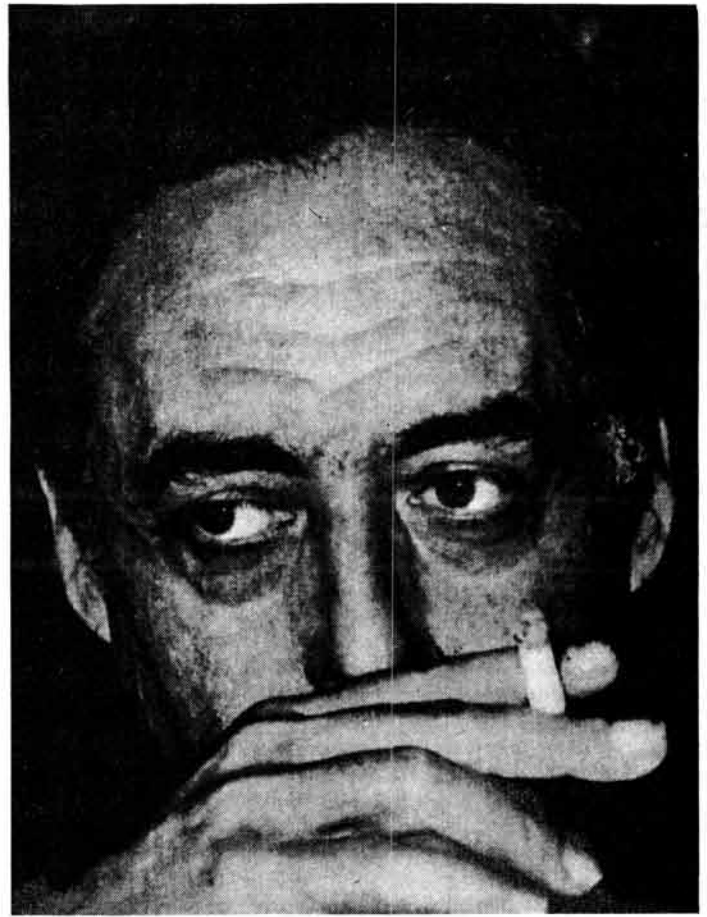
Before demonstrating how Colletti's project is a hopeless attempt to yoke incompatible theories together, one of his preliminary arguments has to be disposed of: his unfounded assertion that "Marxism is not an epistemology, at least in any fundamental sense."¹⁴

The problem of knowledge occupies a central place in Marxism. Marxist literature is replete with discussions that start and end with clear and definite conclusions about the nature of knowledge. These treat of the primacy of being over thought; the origins of human reasoning, language, and generalized concepts through social labor; the role of the process of material production in the generation and elaboration of ideas; the class content of ideas in civilized societies; the function of hypotheses and their conversion into laws as science grows; the causes and characteristics of class consciousness, etc. What is the motivation for the ceaseless debates around the theory of reflection and correspondence, i.e., the conformity or nonconformity of ideas with facts, if Marxist philosophy lacks its own specific theory of cognition?

Colletti, for his part, takes up the Kantian conception of epistemology, which he defines as "the search for the *limiting conditions* placed on thought."¹⁵ This is a negative, and thus one-sided formulation of its content. Epistemology is concerned with the conditions of our ability to know reality and to know it truly and effectively; it also deals with the sources, forms, and methods of cognition in their historical development.

Colletti's own conception of knowledge smacks more of positivism and pragmatism than Marxism. He argues against Timpanaro, for example, that "ideas are only hypotheses."¹⁶ This discounts the existence of those theories that have been so conclusively and convincingly verified by experience, experiment, and reason that they present truthful knowledge and disclose the laws governing the development of things. While the hypothetical element may not be totally and forever eliminated from such acquisitions of scientific knowledge, it has been reduced to the point where it is negligible. If all ideas without exception are essentially hypothetical, there can be no certainty that the external world exists or assurance that the proposition "all humans are mortal" is true. Such an epistemology would corrode the foundation of the materialist outlook.

Colletti's arbitrary and sweeping erasure of the Marxist theory of knowledge (materialist dialectics) serves the purpose of appointing Kant's epistemology, tailored to Colletti's specifications, to make good the alleged deficiency. However, the Kantian approach to knowledge differs as night from day from Marx's.



L'Espresso

LUCIO COLLETTI

The one cannot be grafted upon the other with fruitful results.

Engels dealt with this question as long ago as 1888 in his work on Ludwig Feuerbach, where he wrote:

If . . . the Neo-Kantians are attempting to resurrect the Kantian conception in Germany and the agnostics that of Hume in England . . . this is, in view of their theoretical and practical refutation accomplished long ago, scientifically a regression and practically merely a shamefaced way of surreptitiously accepting materialism, while denying it before the world.¹⁷

First of all, Kant has a dualistic theory of being. He divides reality into two disconnected realms, the noumenal (the thing-in-itself) and the phenomenal (the thing-for-us), the latter alone being amenable to scientific inspection. Marxism has a unitary conception of being. In this respect it is linked with the tradition of Spinoza and Hegel and differs from that of Descartes, Hume, and Kant.

On the relation of thought to being, Kant held an agnostic position, divorcing what we sense and know from the reality of things. As he wrote in *Prolegomena to Every Future Metaphysics that May Be Presented as a Science* (1783):

Indeed when we rightly regard the objects of sense as mere phenomena we thereby admit that each such object is based upon a thing-in-itself of which we are not aware as it is constituted in itself, but only as known through its appearances, that is, by the manner in which our senses are affected by this unknown something.¹⁸

Marxism teaches, to the contrary, that knowledge of the

14. *Marxism and Hegel*, p. 199.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 213, emphasis in original.

16. "A Political and Philosophical Interview" (1974), p. 12.

17. Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. II, p. 336.

18. *The Philosophy of Kant: Immanuel Kant's Moral and Political Writings*, Carl J. Friedrich, editor (New York: Modern Library, 1949), p. 87.

objective world is not only possible but actually possessed in ever-increasing measure as our ideas are tested in production, social practice, and the advance of science.

Marxism approaches the problem and content of knowledge in a materialist and evolutionary way; Kant views the conditions of knowledge in a metaphysical manner, resting on those a priori ideas of pure reason that make knowledge possible. Marxism denies that there are any notions in the mind before and apart from the powers of sensation, perception, and abstraction, although we can interrogate objective reality with preconceptions, hypotheses, and theories that have previously been derived from experience, and we can extend the area of knowledge as extrapolations from it. However, experience has both the first and the last word on the validity, necessity, and universality of all our ideas.

For Kant, space and time are simply subjective forms of sensibility; they are not objectively rooted. For Marxism, space and time are both attributes of reality and categories of experience. In fact, they can be experienced and thought about precisely because of their objective existence.

The relation of the fact of space and time to their subjective expressions is one instance of the inseparable unity of form and content. The correlation of these two categories is entirely different for Kant and for Marx. In the former's system, the one can be absolutely independent of the other. For dialectical materialism the content of every object has some kind of concrete form and that form is a necessary part of the content at that point in its becoming. The form is not inserted into the content from without but expresses the ensemble of its elements in their interconnection and unfolding.

Kant's doctrine of the nature of the categories is thoroughly idealist. They are a priori, purely subjective, and nonhistorical forms of contemplation and reason. The category of causality, for example, does not reflect a general and essential property of the relations of phenomena in the external world that operates regardless of human experience. It is an ideal form, a regulative principle through which our minds introduce order into the items of experience.

For Marxism, all categories have an empirical content and a historical evolution. They are not timeless but derived from practical historical experience, proceeding from the data of sensation and perception to fashioning, by the mental processes, of abstraction and generalization. They are conceptual reflections of real features produced by the objective conditions and needs of practical life.

In the preface to the second edition of *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant announced that his revolutionary reversal in epistemology was this: hitherto cognition had to conform to the object; henceforth the object must conform to our cognition. Objects conform to the mind through the application of the a priori ideas. The materialist theory of knowledge holds that ideas must conform to the object if they are to arrive at the truth about them and be practically effective. These contrary positions cannot be reconciled or amalgamated.

Colletti says he does not wish to import everything from Kant's teachings into socialist theory, but only the usable parts of his epistemology. Unlike Bernstein and Schmidt, he disavows Kant's ethics. He sees that Kant's classless and axiomatic interpretation of morality has nothing in common with the standpoint of the revolutionary working class, which looks at morality as a mutable phenomenon whose evaluations are historically conditioned and, in civilized societies, acquire a class character.

He further claims that Kant's ethics has no affinity with his epistemology, a statement that would have shocked Kant and roused Marx and Engels to laughter. Kant's conception of morality is firmly predicated on his a priorism and noumenalism and cannot be severed from them. They are at the heart of the "limiting conditions" Kant placed on thought. The categorical imperative that should dictate conduct and determine the worth of human actions is the supreme specimen of the universality,

necessity, and absolute character of an a priori idea. All individuals, floating in the unknowable "noumenal" realm, belong to the same moral community without distinction, have the same obligations, and their actions are to be judged by the same inflexible and invariable standard.

Nonetheless, Colletti contends that "in Kant there is a radical distinction between the domain of knowledge and the domain of morality, which Kant himself emphasised."¹⁹

While it is true that Kant separated the two, he applied the same a priorism to both. Just as the pure forms of sensibility and categories of the understanding are outside experience and are the necessary conditions for having any knowledge, so the categorical imperative, a universal and timeless law of moral conduct, originates outside human history and is absolutely independent of the specific circumstances and context of the human agents involved. Kant's ethical theory, which supposedly stands above the classes, is metaphysical, not dialectical; abstract, not concrete; bourgeois and not proletarian. It constitutes a consistent extension, a symmetrical complement, of his epistemology.

As idealists, both Kant and Hegel subordinated the real to the logical, whereas dialectical materialism subordinates the logical to the material reality, the power and findings of reason to factual existence. Kant set out to ascertain the limits of pure reason and found them to be inherent and eternally insurmountable. Marxism acknowledges that human reason has its limits. But these are historically conditioned and provisional. There are no a priori impassable barriers to the extension of the powers of reason and the growth of knowledge about the universe or of the mind itself. The accelerated growth of science demonstrates both the power and potential of reason and indicates that this capacity is only in its infancy.

Indeed, the rapid advances of philosophic thought after Kant's efforts to impose inherent limits upon the operation of human reason soon showed the fallaciousness of his project. To be sure, the exposure of its failure was one of the stimuli of further progress. Kant performed a signal service to philosophy by focusing his systematic criticism upon the defects of metaphysical thinking, thereby emphasizing the need for a superior mode of reasoning to succeed it. Hegel's dialectics were a step toward filling that need.

The two modes of thought clash most directly in their contrary conceptions of the nature and status of contradiction, as Colletti recognizes. For Kant, contradictions exist only in the mind, in logically contradictory propositions, in the denial of what is affirmed, and vice versa. Reality does not contain any contradictions but only "real oppositions," conflicts between forces.

For Hegel, contradiction, the unity of opposites, the merging of identity and difference, is the very essence of reality, the root of all being. Only insofar as anything contains a contradiction does it display motion and development.

Colletti accepts Kant's definition of contradiction and defends it against Hegel's with all the arguments he can muster. He justifies his choice on the ground that the principle of noncontradiction is at the basis of science itself, whereas dialectical contradiction befits a scarcely disguised religion:

It is a waste of time (indeed it is positively damaging) to speak of a *dialectic of things*.²⁰

Colletti admits in nature only the existence of fixed *oppositions* between things of definite and determinate properties. It is certainly true that real oppositions abound in nature, and dialectics does not do away with them. The question is: Are these oppositions absolute and unchangeable? Fish live in water, reptiles on land. These are opposing modes of existence. Yet we know that through a series of intermediate forms fish that left their former habitat evolved into reptiles. The animal mode of existence is opposed to that of the human. Yet humanity grew out

19. "A Political and Philosophical Interview" (1974), p. 10.

20. "Marxism and the Dialectic" (1975), p. 6, emphasis in original.

of primate stock and its conditions, negating the previous way of life. Such transformations demonstrate that real oppositions are not immutable and can be broken in the evolution of forms of life. A living creature is qualitatively different from a dead one, but sooner or later necessarily becomes converted into that state. That law of nature confirms, not the notion of fixed opposites, but the dialectical conception of the unity of opposites that become exhibited in the qualitative change of a thing into its other.

The strongest point in Colletti's plea for Kant is that, contrary to Hegel, he affirmed "the principle of real existence," and thereby supplied the essential component of a materialist theory of knowledge. (Colletti even says that Marx took over this principle from Kant! Marx actually derived it from the 2,500-year treasury of materialist thought.)

Colletti's argument seems plausible until it is scrutinized more closely. Mere recognition of an objective reality external to the subject does not suffice to make a philosophy materialist. For that, the preexistence and independence of nature, matter in motion, is required. The theistic realism of the Thomist school, for example, teaches that the mind must conform to something independent of it. But it then adds that this world is God-created; an immaterial being accounts for its existence. Kant's "noumenal" realm of things-in-themselves plays the same role for him.

From Hegel's standpoint, which regarded the whole of reality as an objectification of the Absolute Idea, Kant's admission of the thing-in-itself appeared as a concession to the materialists. But from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, his epistemological notions that the noumenal realm is unknowable and the mind prescribes its laws to nature places Kant squarely among the idealists.

Colletti elects Kant over Hegel on the ground that his epistemology provides a better basis for historical materialism. However, on the level of epistemology, Hegel's dialectics as the logic of evolution and revolution has far more to offer a rounded materialist method than Kant's formalism and dualism. Moreover, Hegel's insight that labor was the self-creating process of the human species contributed to the formation of historical materialism.

Although Colletti seeks to extract from Kant a surety for materialism, Kant's system was an eclectic combination of idealist and empirical elements, in which the idealism was uppermost and defined its essential nature. Materialism affirms the objective existence of the external world, its unified materiality, and the knowability of the nature of reality. His internally contradictory system was alien both to a consistent materialism and to an absolute idealism.

Kant, who explicitly rejected materialism, has ever since been put up as a patron of nonmaterialist tendencies in modern thought. On the other hand, Hegel's monism, his dialectics, and the inner consistency of his systematic thought, the concordance of his conclusions with his cardinal premises, have assisted in the making of Marxism, despite the unalloyed idealism of his philosophy.

Colletti argues on his behalf that Kant takes science to be the only true form of knowledge, and not simply finite pseudoknowledge, as Hegel does. However, Hegel insisted that the nature of things was open to reason, whereas Kant restricted the knowledge of things available to science to appearances and not to their reality or totality.

The thing-in-itself has an equivocal character. It takes on a materialist sense since it has an independent status apart from the forms of sensibility and thought. Yet because of its unknowability, the notion is an epistemological variant, couched in the terms of the mechanical world outlook, of the Platonic, and Christian, conception of the other world—the real one, as opposed to the phenomenal world of everyday experience.

For dialectical materialism, there is only one world, in which the appearance and essence of things are intermingled and mutually interpenetrative, not estranged from each other.

Colletti motivates his reversion to Kant and repudiation of

dialectics on the ground that Marxism has to be brought into line with modern science. He is here coping with a pressing problem. The harm wrought by the deformations of dialectical materialism and bureaucratic interference in the sciences under the domination of Stalin and his heirs and the continued indifference of Western scientists to the materialist dialectic have thrown the theoretical method of Marxism into doubt and disrepute.

Colletti seeks to get over this crisis in the vicissitudes of Marxism by jettisoning many of its cardinal principles and going back to the positivist tradition stemming from Hume and Kant, claiming that the latter's epistemology is indispensable to science and for constructing a correct materialist theory of knowledge.

The philosophical problems he brings forward have a long lineage. They can be traced back to the antithetical positions on the nature of change upheld by Heraclitus, who first discerned the copresence and mutual interpenetration of nonbeing and being as an explanation for the changes in reality, in contrast to Parmenides, who denied the reality of nonbeing and therewith the mobility and mutability of things. The conflicting tendencies in Western philosophy descended from Heraclitus and Aristotle were reproduced on a far higher level of scientific knowledge and theoretical development in the positions on the problem of knowledge put forward by Spinoza and Hegel on the one hand and Hume and Kant on the other.

Colletti explicitly aligns himself with the alternative school of Aristotle and Kant. The latter believed in the unquestionable solidity and infallibility of the laws of formal logic elaborated by the former, just as he believed that Euclid's theorems represented the sole possible system of geometry, Newton's mechanics the last word in physical theory, and that the human species had not and could not have evolved from lower animals.

The development of logic, mathematics, physics, and biology since his day has demonstrated that these conceptions have a restricted validity and sphere of application. Non-Euclidean geometries were not only theoretically formulable but were later shown to be applicable to cosmic spatial relations; the Newtonian laws of motion were seen to be a special case of the broader relativity laws of motion; the principles and method of non-Aristotelean logic were more powerful and perceptive than the limited rules of his formal logic; Darwin's breakthrough destroyed the myth of special creation by demonstrating the descent of all living things from a common primordial origin.

Colletti fails to grasp the full significance of these epoch-making advances and settles back into the well-worn grooves of predialectical thought, which he wrongly identifies with the proper method and summary results of contemporary science. However, the type of thought he clings to was predominant and appropriate only to that earlier stage of science when Newton reigned supreme and mechanics was the foremost branch of natural science.

Hegel defined "reflective thought" in contrast to dialectical thinking as the activity that consists in determining oppositions and passing from one to the other without demonstrating their unity, interconnection, and mutual transformability. In recurring to Kant, Colletti wants to hold logic down to this lower grade of thought, which has been surpassed by logic and science alike.

In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, science itself passed beyond the points reached by Aristotle, Newton, Hume, and Kant. In discussing the current relation of science to Marxism, Colletti disregards the logical implications of the most outstanding achievement of the scientific mind: the verification of the universality of evolution in nature, society, and the thought process. The universe in which we live is itself evolving and expanding, and all heavenly bodies undergo evolution. There is now no known exception to the rule first enunciated by Heraclitus, that everything is in flux. This scientific truth, which lies at the basis of dialectical logic, limits the validity of the premises of formal thinking.

Let us select several examples from the sciences. The property of mass is one thing; the property of energy is another. The two are

in fact different and even opposite states of matter. And so they were regarded in physics up to the time of Einstein. Einstein demonstrated first in theory that mass and energy did not invariably exist in and of themselves; they were convertible one into the other under the appropriate material conditions; and he worked out a precise mathematical formula for this conversion. The conceptual and mathematical unification of these opposites was a dialectical discovery of the first order that inaugurated a new era for physics. The practical verification of the conversion of one of these "real opposites" into the other was dramatically demonstrated by atomic fission.

The opposed states of matter lost none of their concrete individual reality. What they did forfeit was the absolute separateness previously attributed to them in physical reality and their conceptual autonomy in physical theory.

Relativity theory performed a similar metamorphosis in regard to space and time. These were treated as independent, self-subsistent principles in Newton's and Kant's scheme of things. Einstein fused the two aspects of material reality into the synthetic concept of space-time.

From the logical and epistemological standpoint, Hegel's dialectics triumphed over Kant's formalism.

Recently, Soviet scientists produced element 107 by bombarding a bismuth target having 83 protons in its nucleus with chromium nuclei, which have 24 each (83 plus 24 equals 107 protons). The discreteness of things is relative and transitory; it can be broken down when an entity is transmuted into something quite different from what it was.

Going from physics to chemistry, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the elements were arranged into the periodic table and aggregated into groups according to their atomic weights. At this juncture they were still treated as separate and immutable entities. Since the turn of the century, the elements have been discovered to be subject to change. The sun has been converting hydrogen into helium for almost five billion years. Practically all of the chemical elements in the periodic table have been artificially transmuted into neighboring elements under experimental conditions.

Colletti's supposition that contradiction has no place in nature directly contravenes the view of Marx who held that contradictions are to be found in all sectors of reality, the physical world, society and its history, and in our thinking about them. Thus in

the section on "The Metamorphosis of Commodities" in Chapter 3 of volume I of *Capital* Marx writes:

We saw in a former chapter that the exchange of commodities implies contradictory and mutually exclusive conditions. The further development of the commodity does not abolish these contradictions, but rather provides the form within which they have room to move. This is, in general, the way in which real contradictions are resolved. For instance, it is a contradiction to depict one body as constantly falling towards another and at the same time constantly flying away from it. The ellipse is a form of motion within which this contradiction is both realized and resolved.²¹

This paragraph from *Capital* refutes Colletti all along the line. First of all, in regard to the presence of contradiction in nature. Centripetal motion is one thing; centrifugal motion quite another. So far the Kantian logic of real opposites applies; these are diametrically different forms of motion.

Yet there are bodies that can be placed in both categories, that simultaneously partake of centrifugal and centripetal motion. They traverse elliptical orbits. Our own earth is one of them. Thus Colletti cannot logically account for the annual procession of the planet we live on by sticking exclusively to Kant's logic and ignoring Hegel's dialectics.

It is evident that each thing exists as a distinct entity in its singularity and that as such it stands counterposed to everything else and most fully to its own contrary. These features of reality became codified in the laws of formal logic. Then keener minds noticed that each distinctive thing or distinct state of being not only stands alone, by itself and in itself, but is also internally connected with another side of itself which forms an essential constituent of its own nature. This state of affairs is confirmed by their transformation into their own opposites in the course of further development.

This deeper insight into the nature of things and their changeability became the basis of dialectical logic, which is the logic of motion, not of rest; of change, not invariability; of the overcoming of hard-and-fast distinctions and divisions in all domains. Thus centripetal and centrifugal motions surrender their separate identities in the case of elliptical motion which is both one and the other, just as light has been shown to possess both particulate and wavelike properties.

[To be continued.]

21. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, p. 198.

Glossary

Absolute Idea—in Hegel's system, the underlying organizing principle of reality. This differs from Plato's "ideas" in that Hegel believed the Absolute Idea to have no existence apart from observable phenomena. Hegel conceived of the working of the Absolute Idea as similar to the innate principle that guides the growth of a seed into a plant. He viewed it as reason inherent in nature and history, guiding their evolution toward self-consciousness. This end product was to result in an identity of subject and object and the end of alienation (*see entry*) and objectification.

abstract labor—under commodity production, human labor embodied in commodities viewed solely from the standpoint of duration in time, i.e., as an interchangeable part of the total labor time available to society.

Adler, Max (1873-1937)—a leading theoretician and philosopher of the Austrian Social Democracy. Coeditor with Rudolf Hilferding of *Marx Studien* before 1914.

Adorno, Theodor (1903-1969)—Hegelian-Marxist philosopher and musicologist. Staff member of Frankfurt School from 1938 and its

director from 1958 until his death. His best-known book in English is *Negative Dialectics* (Seabury, 1972).

alienation—literally, to separate from, as in the selling of property or the loss of someone's affection. By extension, the loss of one's creations with a consequent sense of aloneness and powerlessness. This concept is central in twentieth-century existentialism, certain schools of socialist humanism, and various psychological interpretations of Marxism. At the same time, Althusser and the Maoists have tried to extirpate this concept from Marxism, leaving it only in the specific form of the alienation of the product of labor under capitalism. Alienation in the Marxist sense has a double origin, in the powerlessness of human beings to control nature, and, secondly, in class society, in the alienation of labor as well as its product. Marx distinguished here not only the physical appropriation of the products made by the exploited but also the feeling among workers that their laboring activity itself was alien to them and did not satisfy their needs. Additionally there is the sense of separation from humanity as a group, inevitable under class society, and the lack of solidarity with other specific individuals one comes in contact with. Above all, alienation

expresses the fact that the objective creations of labor come to dominate their creators so that the market in commodity production stands over them as an alien power.

Althusser, Louis (1918-)—professor of philosophy at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris and a member of the French Communist Party since 1948. He 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.

anthropocentrism—interpreting nature and the world in terms of human values and experiences.

a priori—deduction from preexisting principles without reference to empirical data for verification. In the case of Kantianism, the assumption that the categories of reason (time, space, number, etc.) are innate and predate all experience.

Aristotelian logic. *See* formal logic.

becoming—in Hegel's system, the dialectical state transitional between being and nonbeing.

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932)—leading theoretician of the German Social Democracy

and Engels's literary executor. From 1899 he proposed a theory of the gradual transformation of capitalism into socialism and rejected the prospect of socialist revolution as a guide to practical politics.

categorical imperative—a moral standard that is universally and unconditionally binding.

concrete labor—under commodity production or capitalism, the human labor embodied in commodities viewed solely from the standpoint of the specific kind of work done (bricklaying, metal working, etc.). As contrasted to abstract labor (see *entry*), concrete labor gives to a commodity its particular utility and hence its use-value, but such labor is not directly comparable with other units of concrete labor.

contradiction—in Hegel's dialectical logic, a state characteristic of all objects and processes in nature, society, and thought, marked by an inner tension between positive and negative poles (unity of opposites) in which, through an accumulation of quantitative changes, the negative pole finally prevails over the positive to establish a new equilibrium (transcendence) in which a new set of contradictions appear. For Hegel, the motor force of such change is the self-expression of reason (Absolute Idea). For Marx, it is the evolution of material forces, and, in civilized societies, the class struggle.

contrariety—as used by Kant and Colletti, clashes between definite existing forces, as distinguished from internal contradiction within a single totality. Synonymous with noncontradictory opposition or "real opposition."

cosmogony—theories on the origin of the universe.

cosmology—the branch of philosophy that seeks to integrate empirical knowledge of nature as a whole with a general theory of the natural order.

Croce, Benedetto (1866-1952)—the most prominent twentieth-century Italian philosopher. An extreme historical relativist and idealist, Croce considered mind to be the only reality and the mental reconstruction of past history to be the highest form of philosophical thought. Croce was much influenced by Hegel and revived interest in Hegel's work, but held that dialectical opposition existed only in counterposed mental propositions, not in empirical fact.

Della Volpe, Galvano (1895-1968)—Italian philosopher and founder of a positivist interpretation of Marxism. Became interested in Marxism in 1943 and joined the Italian Communist Party. Rejected the Hegelian dialectic as inherently idealist and proposed to found a Marxist method on the experimental procedures of Western natural scientists.

de Man, Hendrik (1885-1953)—Belgian Social Democratic theorist and politician. A leader of the right wing of the Belgian Labor Party and minister of finance in the Van Zeeland government (1936-38).

Descartes, René (1596-1650)—founder of the Cartesian philosophical school in France. Held that only mind was knowable while qualities of matter remained unverifiable. Stressed abstract reason based on the model of mathematical thought.

Dewey, John (1859-1952)—the most influential twentieth-century American philosopher and educator. Developed the pragmatism of William James and Charles S. Peirce into his own school of "instrumentalism." An Americanized empiricism, Dewey's philosophy was averse to universal generalization and certainty based on causal necessity and lawfulness, and stressed the solution to immediate problems through experi-

ment and practical activity. This mode of piecemeal change is congenial to liberalism.

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

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

empiricism—the philosophical school founded by John Locke (1632-1704) oscillating between materialism and idealism. It holds that all knowledge originates in experience. Empiricism generally rejects supernatural explanations of phenomena, but its ambiguity as to the determining source of sensations leaves it open to agnosticism.

epistemology—the theory of knowledge; in particular, the study of the sources, development, limits, and validity of knowledge.

exchange-value—the common element that permits the exchange in definite proportions of commodities that have different physical properties. In Marxist economics, this common, numerically divisible element of commodities is that they are all products of human labor. The amount of exchange-value possessed by a given commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor-time used in its manufacture, measured as a portion of the total labor-time of society.

fetishism—attributing to material things human or godlike qualities or powers. In Marx's economic theory, the popular tendency under capitalism to believe that value is inherent as a natural quality in things rather than being a reflection of human labor-time and hence of a social relation.

Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher. Beginning as a Young Hegelian, he discarded Hegel's idealism as well as religion in his 1840 work, *The Essence of Christianity*. Though very influential on the development of the young Marx and Engels, Feuerbach himself developed only a metaphysical, humanistic materialism, stressing the centrality of humanity in the natural order and proposing literary criticism of religion rather than class struggle.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814)—German philosopher, founder of "absolute idealism." Intermediary between Kant and Hegel, Fichte sought to overcome Kant's disjunction between theory (noumena) and practice (the realm of phenomena) by postulating human will or ego as the central determinant of reality and viewing history as a struggle of the ego to impose freedom on necessity and morality on nature.

forces of production—in Marx's economics, the totality of the productive capacity of a given society at a given time. The concept includes not only physical industrial plant and machinery, but also the level of technology and the size and skill of the working population. See also *means, mode, and relations of production*.

formal logic—the first great system of logic, developed by the Greeks and codified by Aristotle. Excluded consideration of indefinite or transitional states or qualitative leaps from one state of being to another. Rests on three basic laws: (1) identity (a thing is always equal to



Volker Kriegel/L'Espresso

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

itself, $A=A$); (2) formal contradiction (things of one type are distinct from those of another type); and (3) the law of the excluded middle (no object may belong to two opposed categories at the same time).

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

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—the culminating figure of the German idealist school of philosophy that began with Kant. Sought to resolve the traditional philosophical disjunction of mind and matter by postulating a unified, monistic reality in which matter is the "alienated" expression of its own inner organizing force, reason or the Absolute Idea. While reason or mind was predominant in Hegel's system, it viewed reality as undergoing a progressive evolution through the process of dialectical change.

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

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—eminent Ger-

man lyric poet and critic, friend of Marx.

Heraclitus of Ephesus—Greek philosopher of the sixth to fifth century B.C. First to formulate the laws of dialectics, including the idea of the unity of opposites. Described reality as in constant flux and change, though change was regulated by law or *logos*.

historical materialism—the application of the dialectical materialist method to the study of the development of society. It 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 the struggle of contending classes with opposed material interests.

Hume, David (1711-1776)—the culminating figure among the three great founders of British empiricism, after John Locke and George Berkeley. Taking Locke's proposition that all knowledge originates in sense experience, Hume questioned the verifiability of the origins of sensation, becoming the philosopher of extreme skepticism and the inspirer of agnosticism.

idealism—in philosophy, the view that mind, spirit, or God is the dominant feature of reality and that matter is either caused by these spiritual forces or that its nature is inherently unknowable.

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—the first major figure in the German idealist counterattack on the British empiricist tradition. Sought to rescue universality and reason from the empiricist reaction against scholasticism. Kant granted to the empiricists the unknowability of the origin of sensations, which were the sole source of knowledge of the material world (phenomena), but he maintained that while the "thing-in-itself" was unknowable, morality, faith, and reason were examples of true knowledge in the mental sphere (noumena) where the data of sense impressions were organized and interpreted.

law of value—economic law fully expounded by Marx to explain the ratios in which commodities of different types could be exchanged against each other or for a universal equivalent (money). Marx held that the value of a commodity was equivalent to the socially necessary labor-time required for its production or reproduction.

Lefebvre, Henri (1901-)—French Marxist philosopher and sociologist. In the 1920s, Lefebvre work was influenced by existentialism. In 1929 he joined the French CP, though he maintained philosophic differences and later broke with Stalinism. A supporter of the Hegelianizing current in Western Marxism, rejecting the dialectics of nature and "scientific ideology" and stressing human activity and praxis (see entry).

Leopardi, Giacomo (1798-1837)—Italian lyric poet and materialist philosopher. Chronic illness—which led to his early death—drew his attention to humanity's struggle with nature, particularly the prospect of individual mortality. Leopardi developed a philosophy of materialist pessimism centered on humanity's biological frailty.

Lukács, Georg (1885-1971)—Hungarian Communist philosopher and cultural critic, best known for his book *History and Class Consciousness* (1923). Principal originator of the 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. He renounced his views in 1933 and grudgingly conformed to Stalinism. In his later years he became a dissident in Stalinist circles in Hungary and returned partially to the orthodox Marxist teachings on dialectical materialism.

Masaryk, Tomas (1850-1937)—Czechoslovak philosopher and politician. First president of Czechoslovakia (1918-35).

materialism—philosophically, the view that all of reality is composed of matter in motion, including mind, which is the product of the physical brain in social life. 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 causal priority in explaining the development of society and thought.

means of production—the tools, land, buildings, and machinery required for labor to create the sustenance and other essential material goods of society.

metaphysics—used in various senses by different philosophers, usually with the connotation either of the study of the general rather than the particular or of speculation about matters that cannot be verified by experience. Most commonly used by Marxists to describe a philosophical system that arbitrarily divides up reality into a series of externally imposed and unchanging categories.

mode of production—the totality of the productive forces and the relations of production among the members of society that form a distinctive socioeconomic pattern at a given point in history. Examples of distinct modes of production include primitive communism, the Asiatic mode of production, pastoralism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and socialism.

monism—the philosophical view that the universe is composed of a single basic substance, e.g., for materialists, matter in motion; for consistent idealists, mind, spirit, or God. As contrasted to dualism (see entry).

Naturphilosophie—a tendency in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German philosophy that emerged as part of the romantic reaction against the Enlightenment. Typified by Goethe and Schelling, the nature philosophers combined genuine study of nature with naive attempts to deduce conclusions based on insufficient evidence. Most frequently, this tendency used analogies from biology to describe all phenomena—growth, decay, the "life force," etc. Anti-Marxists frequently lump Hegelianism and the Marxian dialectics of nature into this category.

Newton, Isaac (1642-1727)—English natural philosopher and mathematician. Inventor of differential and integral calculus. First to formulate the laws of gravitation and did original work on theory of light and color.

noumena—in Kant's philosophical system, the realm of true reality, the "thing-in-itself," which is, except for that portion of it which constitutes the inner moral world of each individual's thought, unknowable. Contrasted to the realm of appearance or phenomena.

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

objective idealism—one of two fundamental types of idealist thought, exemplified by Hegel. Characterized by the founding of a doctrine of reality on a universal mind or will which exists independently of human beings. As contrasted to

subjective idealism (Berkeley, Hume), which takes as the only verifiable reality the individual human mind and is hence skeptical about the existence of all other phenomena.

ontology—the branch of philosophy concerned with the study of real being or existence. The Hegelian current in twentieth-century Marxism generally argues that Marxism should eschew any ontological position, e.g., on the priority of matter and nature over human will and activity, holding that answers to such questions are irrelevant and metaphysical.

Parmenides of Elea—Greek philosopher of the fifth century B.C. On the basis of the law of contradiction of formal logic, Parmenides denied the reality of change, holding that unalterable, uniform being was alone real, while becoming and transformation were an illusion.

phenomena—appearances, observable things and actions. In Kantianism: objects of experience in space and time, as distinguished from things-in-themselves.

phenomenalism—a theory, e.g., of Kant, that limits positive or scientific knowledge to phenomena only.

Platonism—after the Greek philosopher Plato (427?-347 B.C.). An idealist view which 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 the 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.

pragmatism—American variant of empiricism, founded by Charles S. Peirce and William James and continued by John Dewey under the name instrumentalism. Stresses the role of thought as a guide to immediate practical individual action and the test of truth by its practical consequences rather than objective realities.

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

Rappoport, Charles (1865-1939?)—Russian revolutionist and publicist. Emigrated to France around the turn of the century and became a leader of the French SP and a founder of the CP. Broke with Marxism at the time of the trial of Bukharin (1938).

rationalism—the reliance upon reason as opposed to sense experience as the source of true knowledge. Classically represented by Spinoza and Leibniz, rationalism polemicalized against revelation, mysticism, and irrationalism of all kinds. At the same time, this current is inherently idealist in its deprecation of sense experience. In twentieth-century Marxism, the most openly rationalistic tendency is represented by the Frankfurt School.

real opposition—in Kant and Colletti, a clash of actual forces in life or reality, as contrasted in their view to a dialectical opposition, which they hold to be a mental construct.

reflection, theory of—the basic epistemological assumption of dialectical materialism, that sense perceptions are the doorway to a more or less accurate reflection of the actual material world. The debate over this theory stems mainly from the accusation by the Hegelianizers and neo-Kantians that Engels and Lenin held a passive “copy theory” of knowledge that failed to take account of Kant’s discovery that humans actively assimilate sense data by organizing it into categories of experience. This is an unwarranted distortion of the view of Lenin, who both in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* and in his *Philosophical Notebooks* took account of the active character of interpreting sensory data, rejecting only the notion that Kant’s categories were innate or of non-material origin.

reification—to give materiality to a mental construction. A concept closely related to fetishism, which plays a large part in the writings of Lukács. Most often referred to in discussions of the tendency in thought to reify the capitalist state and its institutions, i.e., to regard them as entities that exist apart from the human beings that administer them.

relations of production—in all human societies, the organized division of labor by which the productive forces are set in motion and human needs satisfied. In class society, this involves different relationships to the means of production for different classes. Such relations in class society are institutionalized and codified in legal property relations. Such an institutionalized structure sooner or later comes in conflict with the expanding forces of production (see *entry*).

relativity, theory of—a revolutionary breakthrough in physics developed by Albert Einstein, who published his Special Theory of Relativity in 1905 and his more ambitious General Theory in 1916. Superseded Newtonian physics, which had assumed fixed categories such as time, space, mass, energy, etc. Einstein proved that while the universe remained an objective fact with definite laws, time and space were interrelated aspects of the same phenomena. Relative to other objects in the universe moving toward or away from an observer, time can slow down or speed up, and space can literally be shrunken or expanded. Einstein also showed that mass and energy were interconvertible and alternative forms of matter.

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—British economist. Ricardo, who followed Adam Smith and developed further many of his theories, is regarded with Smith as one of the founders of political economy. Ricardo was the promulgator of the labor theory of value, which appears only in embryo in the works of Adam Smith and which was later perfected by Marx.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712-1778)—French philosopher and author. Rousseau combined elements of empiricism, rationalism, and romanticism, arguing that society was inherently corrupting and that people should return to a more simple and natural existence. He held that society should be responsible to its members, and in *Le Contrat social* (1762) postulated a mythical creation of the state in history through the rational collective decision to form one. Rousseau’s criticism of inequality and his advocacy of representative democracy made him one of the principle intellectual inspirers of the French and American revolutions.

Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905-)—the best-known twentieth-century philosopher of nonreligious existentialism. He proposed a doctrine of person-

al responsibility for human action in a universe without purpose. Sartre originally considered existentialism and Marxism incompatible, but in his *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960) sought vainly to reconcile the two world views.

Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von (1775-1854)—German idealist philosopher. Schelling’s work falls midway in time between Fichte and Hegel. A leader of the romantic movement and a prominent *Naturphilosoph* (see *entry*), Schelling viewed the whole of nature as a sort of living organism in the process of growth. He postulated the existence of an “Absolute Ego” that lived in nature in a state of forgetfulness, whose thought process created the phenomenal world and whose gradual awakening was responsible for human history.

Schmidt, Konrad (1863-1932)—German economist and philosopher. As a Social Democrat, Schmidt corresponded with Engels in the latter’s last years. He later became a revisionist, adopting neo-Kantian positions.

Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788-1860)—German idealist philosopher, known as the philosopher of pessimism. Schopenhauer accepted Kant’s innate categories of logic and fused them into an extreme idealist system in which the highest truth was disembodied “ideas” on the Platonic model (see *entry*). In a kind of right-wing Hegelianism, he viewed the source of change as an innate “will to life” in all things, but argued that this will in humanity could never be satisfied because human desires are infinite. Schopenhauer proposed an irrationalist quietism, renouncing desire and ego.

sensationalism—in epistemology, the doctrine that sensation is the sole source of knowledge. This can lead either to materialism or to subjective idealism depending on what conclusion is then drawn as to the source of sense perceptions.

skepticism—the philosophical tendency that denies the possibility of attaining true knowledge of reality. Considered to have originated in Greece with Pyrrho in the third century B.C. Played a part in the philosophy of Montaigne (1533-1592) in demolishing medieval scholasticism. Most fully developed in modern times by the British empiricist Hume (see *entry*).

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish economist who in his 1776 treatise *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* founded the modern science of political economy.

Spinoza, Baruch (1632-1677)—Outstanding Dutch materialistic and atheistic philosopher. Spinoza denied the existence of God apart from nature and developed a monistic system of thought that explained ideas as a property of nature (matter). Spinoza considered change as mechanical motion and belonged to the rationalist camp in that he believed that true knowledge was derived from reason and not from the senses.

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

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

superstructure—in Marxist social analysis, those sectors of society and social relations ultimately created by the process of direct material production though removed from its immediate sphere. In class society this includes the political state apparatus, social and cultural institutions, schools of thought and ideologies, and other forms of mental and spiritual production. While Marx held that the superstructure

was “determined” by the economic base (the level of productive forces, fundamental class relations, etc.), he did not hold that this determination was a direct and mechanical one in which all ideas and political representatives could be shown to be an unmediated response to the impact of economic relations.

theism—the belief in the existence of God as governor of the universe.

thing-for-us—in Kant’s philosophy, the world of appearances, of the superficial knowledge of objects as phenomena. This knowledge might be more or less reliable and of use in achieving desired results through practice, but, for Kant, tells us nothing of the true nature of the “thing-in-itself” (see *entry*).

thing-in-itself—in Kant’s philosophy, the true inner nature of objects, the noumenal realm. For Kant, this inner nature is forever unknowable and only phenomenal appearances are available to the mind of the observer.

Thomism—the official philosophy of the Catholic church, formulated by Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). The greatest of the medieval scholastics, Saint Thomas sought to reconcile faith and reason in a synthesis that would preserve Greek rationalism (Aristotle) in the framework of church doctrine.

Timpanaro, Sebastiano (1923-)—contemporary Italian Marxist philosopher. Generally an orthodox Marxist and a strong defender of philosophic materialism, although he maintains reservations about the correctness of the dialectical method and its application by Engels in his *Dialectics of Nature*.

unity and struggle of opposites—a concept central to materialist dialectics, which views the internal contradictions of objects as the source of change. All objects, from an atom, to a cell, to an organic being, are composed of an equilibrium of opposed forces or poles. Over time quantitative changes alter the balance of tension between the opposite poles leading to a qualitative leap in which a new transcendent alignment of forces takes place.

use-value—in a commodity, the specific utility or capacity of the object to satisfy a human need, real or imagined, which makes it desirable as an object of consumption. As distinguished from exchange value (see *entry*).

Woltman, Ludwig (1872-1907)—German philosopher and naturalist who wrote on historical materialism and Darwinism from a neo-Kantian viewpoint.

Still Available

Complete Back Files (Unbound) Intercontinental Press

1967	42 issues (1,072 pages)	\$25
1968	44 issues (1,176 pages)	\$25
1969	43 issues (1,152 pages)	\$25
1970	43 issues (1,120 pages)	\$25
1971	45 issues (1,128 pages)	\$25
1972	47 issues (1,448 pages)	\$25
1973	46 issues (1,520 pages)	\$25
1974	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$25
1975	47 issues (1,888 pages)	\$35
1976	49 issues (1,888 pages)	\$35

P.O. Box 116
Varick Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

Selections From the Left

was fun

"What Is To Be Done," weekly paper of the International Marxist Group. Published in Frankfurt, West Germany.

The October 27 issue points out that the West German government never considered meeting the demands of the Red Army Faction commandos so as to safeguard the lives of the kidnapped hostages:

The sacrificing of Schleyer points up the government's attitude to the eighty-seven hostages in the Lufthansa plane. It followed the same ruthless method in this case, and only the "happy" ending (the three persons killed were only terrorists . . .) enabled the regime to cover this up. Even a hundred human lives were unimportant if they had to be sacrificed on the altar of "fighting terrorists." The government risked the lives of all of the passengers on one throw of the dice, thereby creating a dangerous precedent. Out of three such actions that have been carried out [by elite troops to release hostages], two have miscarried.

All the moves that have accompanied "the fight against terrorism" in West Germany—the cutbacks in democratic rights for the entire population, the brutalization of public life—all this is preparing the ground for further actions of desperation. . . . The Schleyer case and the blitzkrieg in Mogadishu were thus no "blow to terrorism." They were the signal for the Latin-Americanization of the Federal Republic, and following it, of all Europe.

One thing should be clear to the terrorists, at least those of them who are still capable of thinking politically: Their entire strategy is based on a false premise, which has been shown to be an illusion in the bourgeois state. They based themselves on the idea that this state wants to protect human life and is prepared to make concessions to that end. They were wrong. This state is a repressive machine without the slightest spark of humanity, not only in its attitude to imprisoned terrorists but to each and every one of its citizens. In order to hold it back, social forces of a completely different order than a handful of desperate urban guerrillas are necessary.

rouge

"Red," revolutionary communist daily, published in Paris.

The October 29-30 issue publishes letters from a number of readers who object to *Rouge's* criticism of the Red Army Faction terrorists. One reader who claimed to be representing the Libertarian Socialist Group wrote:

By your inaction, you are helping the rise of neofascism. The Red Army Faction activity has revealed one very important thing, the decrepitude of the groups in the "liberal" countries that think they are on the far left.

In short, comrades, you are behaving like electoralists, you are becoming traditional, ossified. The authorities "grant" legality, and

you adapt to this, you accept the rules of this crooked game.

Another reader wrote:

Whether you like it or not, Baader remained a figure linked to the anti-imperialist struggles of the 1960s and to May 1968 in France. Even if we always denounced the completely false analyses that led him to urban guerrilla warfare and clandestine struggle against capitalism, the fact remains that the fires he set in April 1968 "against the indifference of society to the genocide in Vietnam" corresponded to our own rebellion, although we always believed in different methods.

A person identified as a member of the Revolutionary Communist League complained that *Rouge* had failed in its duty to show "revolutionary solidarity" with the Red Army Faction.

Alain Brossat replied to these criticisms on behalf of *Rouge*:

It is not true that we "howled with the wolves," in the sense that we joined in the reactionary chorus. . . . We clearly pointed out the source of the violence that explains a phenomenon such as the Red Army Faction. Every day we have denounced the witch-hunt campaign being waged by the West German government. Our main target has been the West German government and its allies.

It is true that we criticized the positions of the Red Army Faction constantly and extensively. But we did not do this from the standpoint of humanist conscience but from that of the interests and concerns of the German working class and revolutionists. We do not think that we should have played down our criticisms because the Red Army Faction was engaged in a gigantic test of strength with the German government. It was at the time of this action that we had to make our positions known, to provide a basis so that our readers could orient themselves and make a judgment from a class point of view while the bourgeois propaganda campaign was in full swing.

We do not accept the argument that solidarity among "revolutionists" of all sorts should overshadow everything else. Our fundamental concern is the struggle of the working class, what advances it and what harms it, and not the cozy fraternity of every sort of "revolutionist." We have explained sufficiently why the recent actions of the Red Army Faction went against the struggle of the German working class, why they went against what we consider to be the moral foundations of revolutionary activity. If we had centered our propaganda around the demand for freeing Baader and his comrades at the time the Red Army Faction was holding the passengers of the plane hostage and threatening to execute them, and did execute the pilot, that would have meant objectively that in spite of differences with the Red Army Faction, we considered these practices to some extent as acceptable. What we think is diametrically opposed to this.

We reject the unthinking argument that revolutionists should stand together in all circumstances. We do not consider the members of the Red Army Faction as class enemies, but we do not consider them revolutionists either,

since their actions, their practice of violence, and their political strategy have nothing in common with revolutionary strategy. The Red Army Faction has contempt for the masses.



"Workers Struggle," Paris weekly supported by a grouping of militants who view themselves as Trotskyist in orientation.

In the October 29 issue, there is a letter from a reader objecting to *Lutte Ouvrière's* (LO) criticism of the actions of the Red Army Faction in West Germany.

I was disappointed to see LO howling with the wolves against terrorism in general and the Baader group in particular. Terrorism in itself is not to be condemned. In a period of civil war, terrorism can be an effective weapon against the bourgeoisie. What Baader's friends failed to understand is that it cannot replace class struggle and organizing the working class into a revolutionary party. This represents an error in analysis and not contempt for the workers, as LO said. . . .

How, on the basis of this error, can you say that Baader was not on our side, on the side of the revolutionists? . . .

Your attitude is all the more reprehensible because it has reinforced the isolation of the Red Army Faction and thus facilitated the task of the German Social Democracy, which thought that the moment had come to liquidate Baader since there was no possibility of his getting support from any quarter. . . .

François Duburg replies for LO:

We did not overlook the fact—we explicitly pointed it out—that the governments that have denounced the resort to violence by Baader and his companions have more blood on their hands than all the "terrorists" in the world. But making war on Schmidt [the West German chancellor] and his ilk has not made proletarian revolutionists out of the members of the Red Army Faction. Their war was not that of the working class. Was this the result of a "misunderstanding"? There are misunderstandings and errors in analysis that involve social choices, and that is the case here.

The phenomenon is not new. To mention only a few examples: The terrorism of certain anarchist currents at the end of the nineteenth century . . . reflected the same ideology—that of a group of rebels who had declared their own war on society. To be sure, they waged this war with courage but without concerning themselves about the reaction of the bulk of the working class which they considered an inert mass, all the more contemptible because it seemed to accept this corrupt world.

Such contempt for the exploited who tolerate exploitation rather resembles the attitude of the exploiters. This exaltation of a handful of heroes who know what is good for the masses is simply a refraction of the mentality of the rulers and oppressors. . . . These ideas characterize petty-bourgeois types who have nothing to do with socialism and the fight for the proletarian revolution.

The Character of the Nationalist Movements

By Jim Atkinson

[*Last in a series*]

There are four main factions in the Zimbabwe national liberation movement today:

The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which is led by Joshua Nkomo and has a legal "internal" wing known as the African National Council (Zimbabwe) or ANC(Z).

The United African National Council (UANC), led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

A wing of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) that is led by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and has a legal "internal" arm called the African National Council (Sithole) or ANC(S).

Finally, the anti-Sithole ZANU faction led by Robert Mugabe, which also has an internal, legal organization, the People's Movement (PM).

Two of these factions, the ZANU group led by Mugabe and the ANC(Z)/ZAPU, have been allied since September 1976 in the Patriotic Front.

Most of these groups are themselves faction ridden. The Mugabe-led ZANU group, for example, contains a number of competing personality-based cliques around ZANU leaders like Josiah Tongogara. And both the UANC and the movement led by Sithole are heterogeneous, loose formations containing a wide range of political viewpoints and competing factions. The one group that displays a relative homogeneity—and, for that matter, monolithism—is the ANC(Z)/ZAPU. Furthermore, the Patriotic Front gives every impression of being an unstable and possibly temporary bloc, or "marriage of convenience," between essentially hostile factions.

All four of the main nationalist groups enjoy a significant base of support among the Zimbabwean masses. In the case of the UANC, this has been demonstrated by the succession of huge rallies it has held in the urban townships since mid-1976. On October 3, 1976, Bishop Muzorewa spoke to a crowd of 100,000 in Salisbury.¹⁵⁷ Again, on December 12 of that year, 200,000 Africans turned out to welcome Muzorewa on his return from the Geneva conference. "It was the largest political gathering Rhodesia has ever seen," commented the *Guardian* correspondent in Salisbury. "The crowd of about 200,000 stretched as far as the eye could see. They cheered the bishop for 40 minutes."¹⁵⁸ This massive base of support that the UANC enjoys, especially in the Salisbury area, was demonstrated once more on July 17, 1977, when another 200,000 persons welcomed Muzorewa's arrival in the Salisbury township of Highfield.¹⁵⁹

The UANC, however, is not alone in enjoying mass support. The ANC(Z) pulled out a crowd of 100,000 to welcome Nkomo at a rally in the western industrial city of Bulawayo on October 11, 1976. Nkomo's ANC(Z) is acknowledged to have its most important base in Bulawayo and other parts of western Zimbabwe among the Ndebele and Kalanga.

Neither the People's Movement nor the ANC(S) have been able to demonstrate their popular support in such dramatic fashion, but there is no doubt that both these movements, led by well-established politicians with years of standing in the nationalist movement, also have a base among the masses.

Though the UANC appears to be the most broad based of the

four movements, none of the nationalist parties can justifiably claim to have a monopoly of mass support.

Despite the factional wrangling between the main nationalist groups, their political programs are fundamentally similar. They are all, first and foremost, nationalist movements. That is, they aim to dismantle the system of overt racial discrimination and oppression and achieve "majority rule." Since the late 1950s, the movements have centered much of their fire on the limited franchise system and made the slogan "one man, one vote" a key plank of their agitation.

None of the four main groups, however, are working-class or socialist parties; that is, none of them speak explicitly in the name of the workers as a class and all have fundamentally procapitalist political programs. They are, without exception, led by petty-bourgeois politicians who enjoy a relatively privileged social status above the masses themselves.

While seeking Black entry into the government, the nationalist leaders do not intend to overthrow capitalist property relations or to end the imperialists' economic domination of Zimbabwe. To the contrary, they aspire to head neocolonial, Black-run governments that will collaborate with the imperialists and defend their economic stake in the country. They also seek direct control over the state apparatus in order to further the advancement of the weak, but emergent, bourgeoisie that they represent—along the lines followed by procapitalist nationalist leaderships throughout neocolonial Africa. The competition within this aspirant bourgeoisie to achieve a commanding position in the state apparatus of an independent Zimbabwe—with all its ramifications for the accumulation of capital through access to fat salaries, bank loans, state handouts, and straightforward corruption and thievery—is the main cause of the bitter factional feuding between the nationalist leaderships.

The nationalist leaderships' hopes of establishing a neocolonial regime in Zimbabwe make them wary about mobilizing the broad masses of Zimbabwean workers and rural poor in a consistent, thoroughgoing struggle against the settler regime, since all-out mobilization of the masses would lead to the emergence of a host of economic and democratic demands that would challenge the capitalist system defended by the nationalist leaders.

It is true that, on occasion, the nationalist leaders have mobilized the Zimbabwean masses; but this has been because they have been *forced* to do so by the absolute intransigence of the settler regime and the mounting frustration and anger of the masses. Furthermore, these mobilizations have been viewed by the nationalist leaders as a pressure mechanism—to jolt the settler regime into agreeing to a handing over of power to a Black-run neocolonial administration and to jolt the British imperialists, whom they all still regard as the "legal" colonial power, to intervene directly in Zimbabwe to force the settlers to accept a transition to neocolonial rule. After accomplishing such a transition, there is no doubt that the country's procapitalist Black rulers would attempt to demobilize the Black masses, if necessary through repressive means, to buttress the new regime. As in almost all of the rest of neocolonial Africa, this could well involve the erection of a one-party state and the denial of basic democratic rights.

The mutual and bitter sectarianism of the main nationalist factions is another notable feature of the Zimbabwean nationalist movement. Determined to gain power at the expense of its rivals, each group pursues a line of sustained verbal abuse, slander, and even physical assault against its factional opponents, making a

157. *The Guardian* (London), October 5, 1976.

158. *The Guardian* (London), December 13, 1976.

159. *Times of Zambia* (Lusaka), July 18, 1977.

united front against the settler oppressors extremely difficult. In short, the nationalist misleaders have placed their own narrow interests above those of the Zimbabwean masses in achieving national liberation.

These basic characteristics are common to all four of the main nationalist parties. So it would be an error to describe any one of them as more "progressive" than the others.

Several of the nationalist leaders have spelled out their support for capitalist interests in speeches to groups of white Rhodesian businessmen. Especially prominent in this regard are Josiah Chinamano, vice-president of the ANC(Z), and Gordon Chavunduka, then research secretary of the UANC. "UANC 'would back private sector' in settlement," read the headline in the *Rhodesia Herald* on May 20, 1977, over a report of a speech by Chavunduka to the Mashonaland District Society of Chartered Accountants. According to the *Herald*, Chavunduka told the accountants that "the UANC was opposed to nationalisation for its own sake, and it would not consider nationalising a company unless the move served the interests of the country." Chavunduka went on to assure his audience that the UANC was opposed to Africanization of the civil service and would allow the country's 6,000 agribusiness farms, which cover almost half the farming land in the country, to remain in private hands.

The rival ANC(Z) thought it opportune to launch a demagogic attack on Chavunduka's promises to the capitalists. M. Nziransanga, deputy secretary of the ANC(Z), declared on May 23:

The UANC policies on private enterprise, Africanisation of jobs and law and order are startling to the whole progressive world.

These policies are retrogressive by all standards and are contrary to the nationalists' effort towards the creation of a just society.

We must remind Dr Chavunduka and the UANC that capitalism is a foreign ideology which has benefited the few at the expense of the masses. It cannot be swallowed hook, line and sinker. What we want is a system that will end the exploitation of man by man and the attendant poverty and human degradation.

The policy on redistribution of wealth as announced by the UANC amounts to the maintenance of the status quo with meaningless modifications.

In the new Zimbabwe people will be justly rewarded for their labour and the resources of the country will be exploited for the benefit of all the people.¹⁶⁰

Such rhetoric, vague enough not to cause alarm in capitalist circles, is standard stuff for the nationalist parties in their jostling for support from the masses.

The hollowness of Nziransanga's verbiage would not have been lost on anyone who turned up at Salisbury's luxurious Monomatapa Hotel on April 29, 1977, to hear the ANC(Z) vice-president addressing a lunchtime meeting of the Rhodesia National Affairs Association. Paying lip service to the idea that "all citizens of Zimbabwe must benefit from the nation's wealth," Chinamano promised his audience of businessmen that "as long as free enterprise is not inconsistent with this policy it will be permitted indefinitely."¹⁶¹

The message was even blunter when Chinamano addressed a meeting of the Association of Rhodesian Industries (ARI), the main employers organization, in Salisbury on May 10, 1977. "There appear to be strong reasons," he assured his bourgeois audience, "for the first majority government including much of the present economic system in its existing form, in the first place, and only making changes in the light of experience gained." Chinamano then went on to hold out dazzling prospects for capitalism in a majority-ruled Zimbabwe. "Provided there is political stability," he said, "there is no doubt that foreign investment will be attracted and that there will be vast development of the country's infrastructure, agriculture, mining, industrial resources and manpower to become the richest and

happiest country in Southern Africa." Chinamano, like the UANC's Chavunduka, stressed to the ARI that "no sane government would disturb the economic system by nationalising for the sake of nationalisation."¹⁶²

Similar views were expressed in May 1977 by Phineas Sithole, the national secretary of the ANC(S), who is also president of the African Trades Union Congress (ATUC). While proposing greater supervision of the activities of foreign companies in Zimbabwe, he said the ANC(S) would maintain private ownership of large tracts of the economy under a "mixed economy" system.

The main nationalist factions openly deny that they intend to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation through a socialist revolution. "It will be pragmatic socialism which will be influenced by other economic systems and will copy the best of each to enrich the locally woven economic policy," Chinamano explained to his ARI audience. "Accordingly, we shall actively adopt such aspects of capitalism and socialism as are suitable to our Zimbabwe society provided they do not distort the local values on which our society will be based." And he added: "Many white Rhodesians urge that my party parts from Mr R Mugabe because of his 'communist' tendencies. I will not argue whether Mr Mugabe is a communist or not. All I know about him is that he is a devout catholic and that catholicism and communism go ill together."¹⁶³

Indeed, despite his frequent radical-sounding rhetoric Mugabe has stated that "at least in the short run, Zimbabwe will have to have a mixed economy."¹⁶⁴

The message is the same from the UANC. "Our main objective will be to extract the very best out of capitalism and the very best out of socialism in order to create a hybrid," says a UANC booklet.¹⁶⁵ The author fails to explain what the "very best out of capitalism" could possibly be. Just as Chinamano did not spell out what "aspects of capitalism" would be "suitable to our Zimbabwe society."

The truth is that, despite the claims that the new Zimbabwe will be based on "local values," the nationalist leaderships' policies will leave the capitalist system of production intact and maintain imperialist economic domination of the country. The forms of imperialist control will change if the procapitalist nationalist leaders take governmental power—from overtly colonial to neocolonial—but Zimbabwe will not have achieved real national liberation from imperialism. True national liberation requires far more than Black politicians in the cabinet and the nationalists' flag replacing that of the settlers. It requires removing Zimbabwe from the imperialist economic system by nationalizing the big imperialist monopolies and placing power in the hands of the workers through a socialist revolution.

A particularly striking feature of the nationalist leaders' programs is their attitude toward the land question. Since half of the country's farmland is monopolized by only 6,100 white-owned farms, the need for an agrarian revolution, involving expropriation without compensation of the giant capitalist farms (land originally stolen from the Africans), is obvious. But none of the main nationalist factions has come out in favor of nationalizing the big capitalist farms—except in the cases of abandoned or unutilized land.

"Gainfully used land will not be touched," Chinamano assured the ARI, adding that "it is inevitable that unutilised land will be redistributed to those who can use it." And, in his speech to the Mashonaland chartered accountants, Chavunduka said that "the farming industry supports the country, and if it is disrupted by interference, the country and the government will suffer."¹⁶⁶

162. "Speech by Mr. J M Chinamano at a Meeting Organised by Association of Rhodesian Industries, 10th May, 1977," ANC(Z), Salisbury.

163. *Ibid.*

164. Quoted in *New African Development* (London), January 1977.

165. *The United African National Council at Geneva and In Future* (Salisbury: UANC, undated).

166. *Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), May 20, 1977.

160. *Bulawayo Chronicle*, May 24, 1977.

161. "Speech by J M Chinamano at the Weekly Meeting of the Rhodesia National Affairs Association, 29th April, 1977," ANC(Z), Salisbury.

According to Chinamano, the ANC(Z)/ZAPU has codified its land policy in a policy paper, which has been presented to the Mugabeled faction of ZANU for adoption by the Patriotic Front as a whole. Mugabe's ZANU group has not published anything that would suggest that it disagrees with the agrarian policy advocated by the ANC(Z)/ZAPU.

In the limiting cases where abandoned or unutilized land might be nationalized, the UANC has promised that compensation will be paid to the land barons. "Abandoned farms shall be taken over with compensation by government," says a UANC policy paper.¹⁶⁷ The UANC also says that it is against big wage hikes for the country's extremely exploited 356,000 farm laborers, who earn on average less than R\$4 a week.¹⁶⁸ "If pitched too high," Chavunduka said in reference to farmworkers' wages, "they could lead to unemployment."

A key component of the nationalist leaders' land policy is to open up capitalist agriculture, up to now dominated by whites, to Blacks. By granting loans to potential Black capitalist farmers, a neocolonial government would hand over nationalized "abandoned" and "unutilized" land to a handful of aspirant Black bourgeois.

In this, they would be following the broad outlines of the policies already set out by the African Farmers' Union of Rhodesia (AFUR), which represents 8,790 small commercial African farmers. "The Union," explained G. S. T. Magadzire, AFUR vice-president for crops, in an address to a seminar held by the all-white Rhodesia National Farmers' Union (RNFU), "believes that land is put to most productive use if it is held on a freehold title basis with changes in ownership occurring through normal market disposal as applies within a capitalistic free enterprise system." The AFUR and the nationalist parties have objected to the settler regime's land policies because of the barriers placed before aspiring Black agrarian capitalists. "Every economically active person should have equal opportunities to progress and rise, according to his ability, to the highest economic levels, irrespective of his colour," Magadzire told the RNFU seminar.¹⁶⁹ Departing from his text, Magadzire pointedly noted that "the free enterprise system we are discussing now will depend entirely on whether a peaceful political solution is reached soon."

Tied in with this policy of creating a stronger Black agrarian capitalist sector is a proposal to convert traditional communal land rights in the Tribal Trust Lands into a system of private tenure. This is a policy of both the AFUR and the RNFU as well as the main nationalist parties—even though Zimbabwe's first mass nationalist party, the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, was formed in 1957 in large measure out of the massive opposition during the 1950s to the settler government's attempts to enforce similar changes under the 1951 Native Land Husbandry Act.

The main lesson that the nationalist leaders have drawn from the mass resistance put up by the Africans in the mid-1950s to the dismantling of the communal land tenure system seems to be that a neocolonial government will have to proceed with greater caution in achieving this goal than the settlers did. However, they see the policy as a key component of their strategy to boost the fortunes of a class of Black capitalist farmers holding land under private title.¹⁷⁰ The implication of this policy is a bid—such as the white government attempted in the 1950s—by a neocolonial government to remove the communal land rights of large numbers of Africans. If implemented, this could become an explosive issue.

167. "Draft Statement of Basic Policy (Working Document)," UANC.

168. *Economic Survey of Rhodesia, 1976* (Salisbury: Ministry of Finance, 1977).

169. "African Farmers' Union of Rhodesia: An Address by the Vice-President (Crops) to the RNFU Seminar on 18th May, 1977," Rhodesian National Farmers' Union, Salisbury.

170. See in particular "Draft Statement of Basic Policy (Working Document)," UANC; and Chinamano's speech to the ARI.

Afraid to mobilize the masses in a thoroughgoing struggle for national liberation, the nationalist leaders have shown a willingness at crucial junctures in the national liberation struggle to derail the mass movement by engaging in fruitless rounds of negotiations with the settler regime that have been cynically exploited as time-buying devices by the settlers.

The most disastrous case of this was in December 1974, when, under the prodding of the Zambian regime, the four main nationalist leaders of the time (Nkomo of ZAPU, Sithole of ZANU, Chikerema of the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe, and Muzorewa of the ANC) signed a declaration that they were prepared to enter talks with the Smith regime and that "as a demonstration of our sincerity, all freedom fighters will be instructed, as soon as a date for negotiations has been fixed, to suspend fighting."¹⁷¹ The next day, December 12, the settler regime dropped thousands of leaflets over the northeastern part of the country, where the nationalist insurgency was beginning to tie down large numbers of government troops, bearing the following message: "You are hereby notified by the Rhodesian Government that arising from meetings in Lusaka an agreement has been reached that all acts of terrorism and fighting in Rhodesia must end immediately."¹⁷²

For the next year, while the nationalist leaderships put the liberation struggle on ice, they engaged in a series of pointless negotiations with a regime that had repeatedly made it clear that it was unprepared to give up settler privileges and power.

The nationalist leaders are also willing to collaborate with the imperialist powers. Indeed, their endorsement of guerrilla actions and controlled mass mobilizations is basically designed to prod the imperialists into intervening directly in Zimbabwe to engineer a transition to neocolonial rule. To this end, they have often called on the British imperialists to send troops to Zimbabwe—an action which, if taken, would not aid the liberation of Zimbabwe but defend continued imperialist domination and plunder. On March 29, 1976, for example, Bishop Muzorewa said that he was "100 per cent" behind a call made that day by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda for British military intervention.¹⁷³ Muzorewa later

171. Quoted in Colin Legum, ed., *Africa Contemporary Record, 1974-75* (London: Rex Collings, 1975), p. B511.

172. Quoted in "The ZANU Concept of Detente," fact sheet 4/75, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Salisbury.

173. *The Times* (London), March 30, 1976.

Subscribe now
Read

Intercontinental Press

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

- \$12 for six months.
 \$24 for one year.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Country _____

applauded the British imperialists for calling the Geneva conference at the end of 1976. He said that he was glad "Britain has taken up its responsibilities."¹⁷⁴

On May 1, 1977, Muzorewa's then vice-president, Elliott Gabellah, explained that he favored U.S. imperialism getting involved too. "In trying to resolve the matter of our freedom and self-determination, it is Britain's prerogative to ask for assistance from anybody in her decolonisation role and therefore we have no objection to Britain inviting America or any other government."¹⁷⁵

The Patriotic Front leaders have followed an essentially similar policy. Speaking during the Geneva conference, on November 10, 1976, Willie Musarurwa, the publicity secretary of the ANC(Z), said that "we have always argued that Britain must take up her full responsibility to decolonise Rhodesia if this conference is to be a success."¹⁷⁶ Nkomo has often made the same point. "Rhodesia is still a British colony," he argued on January 26, 1977, "it is for the British government to deal with it."¹⁷⁷

Mugabe is of the same opinion. "Britain should play the role of a colonial power," he said on October 26, 1976. "Britain colonised the country originally. Britain is still the colonial power and therefore it is the duty of Britain to decolonise it."¹⁷⁸

During the Geneva conference, Sithole said that he was opposed to calling on Britain to send troops to Zimbabwe—but not because he was against the idea in principle, simply because he thought experience had shown that the British government was unwilling to take the risks of military intervention.

From the standpoint of basic nationalist principles, the frequent calls by the nationalist leaders for British imperialist intervention is a travesty. To argue as a nationalist that—in Mugabe's words—"Britain should play the role of a colonial power" is ironic to say the least. And to argue, as Mugabe went on to do, that "Britain is still the colonial power and therefore it is the duty of Britain to decolonise it" simply sows confusion among the masses. Britain, as an imperialist power, is incapable of "decolonizing" anywhere. British intervention in Zimbabwe would be designed to defend basic imperialist interests in the country, that is, under present conditions, to engineer a transition to neocolonial forms of imperialist domination. The only real agents of national liberation and decolonization are the Zimbabwean masses themselves.

In fact, the nationalist leaders know this full well. What they are really saying is that they are willing to collaborate with the British imperialists. They want British imperialism to act in partnership with them to bring about a neocolonial regime. And they are even prepared, in their factional struggle for supremacy over their nationalist rivals, to bid for imperialist support in crushing their opponents. Thus, on April 11, 1977, Mugabe said that the Patriotic Front insisted on the exclusion of the UANC and the Sithole group from all future constitutional talks.¹⁷⁹ The UANC has acted similarly, urging Britain and the settler regime in July 1977 to join it in a constitutional committee excluding the Patriotic Front and the supporters of Sithole.¹⁸⁰

The reactions of the nationalist leaderships to the Owen-Young Plan, published on September 1, 1977, revealed once again that these politicians seek to achieve their objectives in alliance with the imperialists.

"I feel very strongly that the Anglo-American proposals are very, very objective, practical and realistic," Sithole said on September 4. The same day, Chris Mbanga, a leader of the

UANC, urged Smith to "start off with the Anglo-American proposals."¹⁸¹

In a joint statement released in Maputo on September 12, Nkomo and Mugabe said that they would neither endorse nor reject the Owen-Young Plan as a whole, though they voiced disagreement with several specific aspects of the new Anglo-American proposals. The Patriotic Front did not oppose in principle the idea of direct British and United Nations intervention in Zimbabwe during the plan's six-month "transition" period. What it was unhappy about was the position in which it would be placed, vis-à-vis its rivals, if the plan was implemented. In short, it merely wanted the plan amended to improve its factional position.

Indeed, Nkomo, who attended the September 29 Security Council meeting that voted to approve the appointment of a UN special representative for Zimbabwe in accord with the Anglo-American plan, stressed that the Patriotic Front did not oppose the Owen-Young Plan as such. At the Security Council meeting, he persuaded the delegates to *broaden* the role of the UN special representative beyond the responsibilities assigned to him under the original Anglo-American proposals. At Nkomo's urging, the delegates amended the British resolution to give the UN special representative an important role in the transitional administration in Zimbabwe as well as in the military field.

The main problem nagging the Patriotic Front was that the Owen-Young Plan does not offer the movement direct participation in the transitional regime. In fact, the plan envisages that the British resident commissioner, aided by the UN, will administer Zimbabwe as a virtual dictator and that none of the nationalist groups will be directly represented in the transitional administration.

The Patriotic Front wants a much more influential role in the transition period than the Owen-Young Plan offers. This is crucial for the front, since in the preindependence elections projected by the plan the UANC, which is more broadly based than the front, would otherwise have a head start. The Patriotic Front doubtless recognized that it must acquire a sufficiently controlling position during the transition period to ensure that it can strong-arm its way to victory in the elections—or, if necessary, even prevent them from taking place.

For this reason, the Patriotic Front has continued to angle for exclusive recognition in British imperialism's "settlement" plans. This bid to forge a deal to the exclusion of its nationalist rivals is the real meaning of the following statement in the September 12 Nkomo-Mugabe reply to the Owen-Young Plan: "The conflict-situation, being a war situation, can only be resolved by those parties directly involved in that conflict, that is to say the British government and their settler kith and kin on the one hand and the Patriotic Front on the other."

Dressed up in militant language, this was an appeal to the British government to strike a deal with the front at the expense of its rivals. But, for its part, the British government has been only too happy to be able to play off the nationalist leaders against one another in order to weaken the national liberation struggle as a whole.

The pervasive sectarianism and factional killings that have been employed by the nationalist leaderships since the early 1960s are among the greatest of the crimes that they have committed in the national liberation movement. These have led to the deaths of scores of dedicated freedom fighters, sown confusion and demoralization among the masses, offered openings for the settler regime to step up its repression and to play off the nationalist factions against each other, and stood in the way of forging a united front against the settler government. As the London *Economist* noted on October 1, 1977, "The open antagonism between the rival black Rhodesian leaders is now Mr Smith's strongest card and one he will play to the full."

174. *Reuters*, September 30, 1976.

175. *Rhodesia Herald* (Salisbury), May 2, 1977.

176. *The Guardian* (London), November 11, 1976.

177. *The Guardian* (London), January 27, 1977.

178. *The Times* (London), October 27, 1976.

179. *Financial Times* (London), April 12, 1976.

180. *Sunday Times of Zambia* (Lusaka), July 24, 1977.

181. *The Guardian* (London), September 5, 1977.

Muzorewa charged in May 1976, in an appeal addressed to Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, that "cadres and recruits who are openly loyal to the ANC leadership are being tortured and liquidated" in Patriotic Front camps in Mozambique.¹⁸² Even within the Patriotic Front, there have been killings. The ANC(Z) has charged that seven ZAPU freedom fighters were killed in a clash with their ZANU-Mugabe allies at the Morogoro camp in Tanzania on May 16, 1976, and that thirteen bodies of ZAPU members were found by the Tanzanian army after another battle with ZANU members at the Iringa camp.¹⁸³

Most dangerous of all, this type of interfactional violence has spread inside Zimbabwe. On January 11, 1976, 200 UANC supporters reportedly attacked Nkomo supporters in Gwelo's Mkoba township. The police took advantage of this conflict to open fire, killing one African.¹⁸⁴ Much more serious were clashes that broke out between supporters and opponents of Nkomo in the Highfield township of Salisbury on June 1, 1975. Police again opened fire, killing eleven Blacks.¹⁸⁵

Along with the violence has gone a barrage of factional abuse and slanders of opponents. In particular, the Patriotic Front has repeatedly claimed that it is the only group engaged in the liberation struggle and the only "authentic" representative of the Zimbabwean masses, while charging that the rival UANC and ZANU-Sithole are opposed to the guerrilla struggle and are attempting to set up a "puppet regime" in alliance with Smith.

Saul Ndlovu, a spokesman of the Patriotic Front, gave an expert performance in this type of mud-slinging at a press conference on July 10, 1977. "We know," he alleged, "that Rev Sithole has been in touch with some mercenaries in Britain and is working together with BOSS¹⁸⁶ to train and equip would-be assassins of the Patriotic Front leadership." He went on to say that the purpose of Sithole's return to Zimbabwe the same day after a long exile ("the return of a traitor") was to clinch a deal with the settler regime. "Any deal clinched by puppets or neo-colonialists shall be resisted no less than the masses of Zimbabwe are resisting the Rhodesian Fascist regime," Ndlovu continued. "To us," he said, "Rev Sithole is just a plain traitor. He is a sell-out."¹⁸⁷

No evidence was given by Ndlovu for his grave allegations that Sithole had been collaborating with BOSS to assassinate Patriotic Front leaders, and the assertion had the hallmark of a straightforward frame-up. Moreover, when Sithole returned to Zimbabwe, he ruled out an "internal settlement" with the settler regime. "The answer is clear," he said on July 21, "it lies in majority rule based on one-man one-vote"—that is, Sithole spelled out exactly the same policy that the Patriotic Front holds.¹⁸⁸

Ndlovu's press conference was an exercise in slander, in which concern for the truth was banished from consideration. With this kind of policy, the nationalist leaders have helped to drive deep rifts within the ranks of the national liberation movement. This makes united-front action against the settler regime virtually impossible and raises a very serious danger that Zimbabwe could yet be plunged into the type of fratricidal slaughter that wracked Angola in 1975-76. It is one of the most telling indicators of the bankruptcy of the nationalist misleaderships.

Furthermore, there is a danger that, if unhalting, the factional conflict could take on an ethnic character, pitting Ndebele and different Shona clans against one another. It is hard to imagine a

development that would be greeted with greater glee by the settler regime and the imperialists. The danger exists because the rival nationalist leaders have played on kin and tribal loyalties to build their factional power bases—though, under settler rule, the different African ethnic groups do not stand in an oppressive relation to one another and all have a common interest in united action against the settlers. It is a common practice for procapitalist nationalist leaders to build up support for their factions on a regional and/or ethnic basis by promising jobs and favors to kin-relatives and sowing fears that rival factions will discriminate in the allocation of resources and jobs in favor of other tribes and regions. Factional slander and killings help to reinforce these fears, setting off a spiral of mutual suspicions.

The danger of ethnically based conflict has been shown by what happened in 1970 during the ZAPU clashes, when rival Shona and Ndebele factions were pitted against one another. It has also been revealed by the bloody 1974-75 feuding in ZANU, when the fighting took place between rival Manyika- and Karanga-based Shona factions. Additional dangers lie in the fact that Nkomo's ANC(Z)/ZAPU has its deepest roots among the Ndebele and the Kalanga Shona in western Zimbabwe, while the other main movements have most of their support among the Shona clans of central and eastern Zimbabwe.

The treacherous misleadership of the petty-bourgeois nationalist parties highlights the burning need for a revolutionary Marxist party in Zimbabwe. Such a party would assemble and train the cadres needed to give revolutionary leadership to the national liberation struggle in political opposition to the existing procapitalist misleaders. It would teach the masses to rely only on their own strength to win liberation and would oppose the calls by Muzorewa, Nkomo, and Mugabe for British imperialist intervention. And to advance the mobilization of the masses, it would combat the criminal sectarianism of the present misleaders by raising the slogan of a united national liberation front encompassing all those willing to fight against the settler-colonial regime.

Revolutionary Marxists would oppose any neocolonial "settlement" that maintained imperialist domination of Zimbabwe and would call for the expropriation of the factories, mines, and farms. They would champion the class demands of the exploited, fighting for wage increases to end the superexploitation of the past, for the formation and defense of powerful trade unions, for full employment, and for nationalization of the banks, industries, and big estates. They would champion the interests of the rural poor and agricultural laborers by demanding the seizure of the capitalist owned farms and the redistribution of land. They would fight to extend and defend the democratic rights of the masses (a free press, the right to vote, freedom of speech and assembly, the right to independent trade unions, freedom of political parties) against attempts to suppress these rights by the settler regime or any future neocolonial government. And they would give the maximum possible aid to the oppressed masses of South Africa.

Real national liberation means ending imperialist economic domination, winning comprehensive democratic rights, establishing radical agrarian reform, and defending the interests of the workers. And a prerequisite for the successful accomplishment of all these tasks is the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party that can win the majority of the Zimbabwean masses to its banner. □

182. Quoted in *Ikwezi*, (London), August 1976.

183. *Zimbabwe Review* [international organ of the ANC(Z)], September-October 1976.

184. *Financial Times* (London), January 13, 1976; *The Guardian* (London), January 13, 1976.

185. Colin Legum, ed., *Africa Contemporary Record, 1975-76*, p. B649.

186. Bureau of State Security, the South African security police.

187. *Zambia Daily Mail* (Lusaka), July 11, 1977.

188. *Times of Zambia* (Lusaka), July 22, 1977.

It's Easy to Subscribe

For six months, send \$12 with your name and address to:

Intercontinental Press
P.O. Box 116
Varick Street Station
New York, New York 10014

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Old Bones With New Labels

Up to 20 percent of hot dogs and up to 3 percent of salami and similar products may be composed of finely ground bone and connective tissue once new rules proposed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture go into effect.

The USDA had given interim approval last year for use of what it called "mechanically deboned meat," but withdrew it after a consumer group challenged the move in court. Now the same stuff will be labeled "tissue from ground bone."

"I expect it will be controversial," Agriculture Department official Carol Foreman said October 5. "But if people are adequately informed as the nature of the product, they can make a rational choice on whether or not to buy it."

A representative of the industry-sponsored American Meat Institute charged that the proposed label is inaccurate and "seems to be a deliberate attempt to make the product unattractive to consumers."

Caution: Your Job May Be Hazardous to Your Health

Twenty-one million workers in the United States (about one-fourth of the work force) are exposed on their jobs to substances thought capable of causing death or disease.

That conclusion was drawn by the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health after a two-year study in which inspectors visited 4,636 workplaces with 985,000 employees in sixty-seven different metropolitan areas. The report has not yet been published, but an advance copy was obtained by *New York Times* reporter David Burnham, who described some of the findings in an October 3 article:

"• Somewhat fewer than 2 percent of the workplaces with 8 to 249 employees, 15 percent of those with 250 to 500 employees and 42 percent of those with more than 500 employees received industrial hygiene services. These were defined as the recognition of harmful environmental factors and their effects and the prescription of techniques to reduce them. Only 3.1 percent of all facilities, with 24.2 percent of all employees, provided such services.

"• Hundreds of thousands of workers

were exposed to substances believed to cause cancer or other fatal diseases. According to the national projections, for example, 83,494 full-time workers were exposed to asbestos, 90 percent of them with no protective equipment or engineering controls; 48,484 full-time workers were exposed to benzene [which has been linked to leukemia], 55 percent of them with no controls; and 144,535 full-time workers were exposed to cutting oil, 75 percent of them with no controls.

"• A large proportion of employees exposed to these substances evidently had not been given medical tests to determine whether their health was threatened. More than three-quarters of all full-time and part-time workers exposed to benzene did not have periodic blood tests, and approximately the same proportion of those exposed to asbestos did not receive pulmonary function tests."

The consequences of this situation are summed up in statistics cited by Burnham in an October 6 article in the *New York Times*:

"During the last 75 years of increasing industrialization . . . deaths from cancer have risen from 64 per 100,000 in 1900, to 162.8 per 100,000 in 1970 and 171.5 per 100,000 in 1975. Cancer is now killing about 1,000 persons per day in the United States and each year 900,000 new cases are diagnosed."

Millions at Risk From Asbestos

"While new reports of asbestos-related disease explode like depth charges," said a consumer health research group October 18, "the Department of Defense maintains that still more research is needed."

Ralph Nader's organization Public Citizen urged the U.S. Navy to advise all present and former employees of its shipyards who may have been exposed to asbestos to have annual lung examinations. The group also said the Navy should "advise all exposed workers of their rights to compensation and establish a presumption of disability for workers significantly exposed."

Results of a union-sponsored study of 359 workers at the navy's Mare Island shipyard in California showed that more

than half suffer from lung abnormalities possibly caused by asbestos exposure. And nearly 100 lawsuits have been filed against asbestos manufacturers by former workers at a Norfolk, Virginia, naval shipyard.

Nader's group estimates that from 1940 to 1944, about 4.5 million persons worked in naval shipyards, "many of them receiving intensive exposure to asbestos used in ship construction."

Another Pajama Poison

In April, the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) banned the use of the flame-retarding chemical Tris in children's pajamas on the ground that it may cause cancer. Apparel manufacturers substituted Fyrol FR-2, a product of the Stauffer Chemical Company.

This has not solved the problem, according to Robert Harris of the Environmental Defense Fund. Harris told two House subcommittees on September 26 that Stauffer "misled the fabric and apparel industry into believing that Fyrol FR-2 was a safe alternative to Tris," although tests have shown that Fyrol is also a likely carcinogen.

Harris charged that the CPSC "has made little to no effort to require or to voluntarily seek from the textile and chemical industry test data demonstrating that chemicals used to flame-retard children's sleepwear, and specifically those chemicals that have been substituted for Tris, are safe."

Neither Stauffer nor the CPSC had any immediate response to Harris's testimony, the *Washington Post* reported.

Rich Diet for Mediterranean Fish

"The poet Homer probably had romance in mind when he called the Mediterranean the wine-dark sea, but nowadays large stretches of that murky color are being attributed to more sinister sources," *Business Week* reports October 31.

"Some 75% of the sewage flowing into the sea remains untreated, and about 15,000 tons of zinc, 2,500 tons of lead, 3,000 tons of chromium compounds, and 100 tons of pesticides are finding their way into its waters each year."