

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 15, No. 43

© 1977 by Intercontinental Press November 21, 1977

75¢



Socialist Action

AUCKLAND, October 21: Picket of secret police spills into street. For report of continued protests against political spying, see p. 1275.

1,000 Picket Offices of New Zealand Secret Police

Witch-hunt in West Germany

*Critics of Regime Smeared as
'Terrorist Sympathizers'*

*Fourth International Condemns
Mounting Repression*

Statement by German Trotskyists

Russell Tribunal Announced



100,000 in Barcelona score wage freeze (see p. 1278).

Workers Protest in Spain

An Editorial

A Big Step Forward

By Joseph Hansen

Agreement has been reached on a plan to combine the news-gathering resources of *Intercontinental Press* and the English edition of *Inprecor* (International Press Correspondence), a fortnightly Paris-based journal published in French, Spanish, German, and English.

In its editorial policy, the combined journal will seek to advance the revolutionary-Marxist views that *Inprecor* and *Intercontinental Press* have sought to uphold. An editorial in the first issue of *Inprecor* (May 9, 1974) stated that its objectives were to provide "analytical articles, documents (resolutions, declarations, and articles) of sections of the international and its leading organs, as well as of other revolutionary organizations; news of the international workers movement; and bibliographic information that will facilitate the research work of militants."

Intercontinental Press began in Paris as a labor press service under the name *World Outlook*. It was one of the products of the healing of a decade-long split in the world Trotskyist movement. Its objectives, as stated in an editorial in its first issue (September 27, 1963) were as follows:

"The main aim of *World Outlook* is to provide specialized political analysis and interpretation of important events for the labor and socialist press. Factual studies and feature articles by competent observers and writers of independent views will also be a regular service.

"We will not observe any official or unofficial censorships, nor will we modify anything because of partisan considerations. Our commitment is to

report the truth as accurately as we can without favor or slant."

The merger of the English edition of *Inprecor* and *Intercontinental Press* follows the resolution of various internal differences in the world Trotskyist movement. This accomplishment demonstrates the capacity of the Fourth International, and organizations sharing its outlook, to carry on vigorous internal debates without splitting. One of the results will be greater cohesiveness and striking power in meeting the tasks facing the revolutionary movement.

A main gain of the merger will be an increase in the number of our correspondents, making possible much better coverage of international events.

Because of this we foresee the need to increase the size of the merged journal. The possibility of meeting this need, however, remains subject to the response of our readers, both in making financial contributions and in enlarging the number of subscribers.

The merger of the two publications will take several months. The tentative date for completion of the process has been set for next January. During the transition period *Inprecor* plans to put out several more issues, including one of larger than usual size devoted solely to the world economic situation.

Intercontinental Press will continue in accordance with its regular schedule, which will include its roundup of the year at the end of December.

We view the merger as a considerable step forward for the world Trotskyist movement, and we think you will agree with us as you see the improvement in contents in the coming months. □

the RCMP had broken into the headquarters of the Parti Québécois in 1973 to steal membership lists and financial records. Fox claimed top RCMP officials had learned of the incident only a few days earlier.

Highlights of the disclosures—which have presented the Trudeau government with a political crisis already being compared to Watergate by the Canadian press—include the following as of November 11:

- "Operation 300": an undisclosed number of raids on private premises beginning in 1950.

- "Operation Cathedral": opening and copying of personal mail beginning in 1954.

- Arson near Montréal in 1972: An RCMP "special mobile group" set fire to a barn in an attempt to prevent a meeting between Québécois nationalists and representatives of the U.S. Black Panther Party.

- Theft of dynamite in 1972 by the same group. They left the explosives on a roadside and phoned an anonymous tip to local police, who then claimed to have found a Québécois nationalist arms cache.

Trudeau told reporters October 28 that there was "a very simple thing to do" to stop illegal RCMP activity: "It is to make such types of surveillance permissible." Similarly, Solicitor General Fox has refused to describe the break-ins as "illegal," and insists that the RCMP was acting out of "high motives."

But demands that Fox (the cabinet minister responsible for the RCMP) be fired are already being voiced in Parliament. Revelations of other attacks on the democratic rights of Canadians will no doubt be forthcoming as lesser officials anxious to save their skins begin to talk.

The information already revealed is confirming for more and more Canadians what the editors of the Trotskyist fortnightly *Socialist Voice* said November 7: "The real 'subversives'—subverting democratic rights most of us have taken for granted—are not the unions, the NDP, or Québec independentists, but the state security services and the governments responsible for them." □

Why Carter Vetoed Clinch River Reactor

By Fred Murphy

On November 7 President Carter announced his refusal to sign a bill passed by Congress authorizing \$80 million to continue work on a 380-megawatt fast breeder reactor at Clinch River, Tennessee.

In his veto message to Congress, Carter said proceeding with this plant "would imperil the Administration's policy to curb

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mounties Nailed in Canadian 'Watergate'

By Russell Morse

For more than twenty years the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) have conducted illegal burglaries, break-ins, mail tampering, wiretapping, acts of arson, and frame-up attempts against legal

political parties, Québécois nationalists, and the labor movement.

Revelations of these activities began mushrooming October 28, when Solicitor General Francis Fox told Parliament that

proliferation of nuclear weapons technology" and "cost American taxpayers an additional \$1.4 billion on a facility that is technically and economically unnecessary."

Since April, Carter has been on an international campaign to discourage other countries with nuclear industries from building and exporting plutonium-based breeder technology. His efforts will be seriously undermined if the United States continues with a project of that kind.

Breeder reactors like the one proposed for Clinch River convert natural uranium into plutonium while generating electrical power. They have long been a central goal of the nuclear and electric utility industries, since the widespread use of breeders could vastly stretch uranium supplies. Without some technology of this kind, nuclear fuel supplies are not expected to last more than several decades.

But plutonium can readily be fabricated into nuclear weapons. Carter and the more farsighted sectors of the class he represents are concerned that uncontrolled development of breeder reactors will lead to the prerogative of nuclear attack slipping further from their grip.

Added to this military-political consideration is the fact that more than two-thirds of known capitalist reserves of uranium are concentrated in the United States, Canada, and Australia. The *London Sunday Times* reported June 26 that government representatives from these three countries "had a six-month round of top level discussions to co-ordinate their nuclear safeguards policies and their action has already been christened the 'nuclear non-proliferation cartel.'" The ability of this cartel to maintain a near-monopoly on nuclear fuel—and thus keep prices and profits at a high level—will be endangered if their customers gain the ability to produce their own fuel with breeder reactors.

The publicity generated by Carter's "antiproliferation" campaign has served to obscure the overall pronuclear stance of his administration. The veto message, it should be noted, included a complaint that the Clinch River project would "channel scarce and much needed effort away from a broad-based breeder reactor development program. . . ." The administration wants funding directed toward breeder research on fuels other than pure plutonium. Meanwhile the budget for such safe, renewable energy sources as solar power remains at a small fraction of that devoted to nuclear projects.

Even with Carter's veto, the Clinch River reactor remains alive. A separate bill now awaiting presidential action will require spending \$80 million more on the facility. Carter will find this more difficult to reject, since the bill also embodies his decision to phase out the B-1 bomber in favor of the cruise missile. □

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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.

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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.

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, Glebe 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.

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Israeli Jets Level Lebanese Villages

By Steve Wattenmaker

Israeli fighter-bombers struck across Lebanon's southern border November 9 and 11, killing more than 100 Lebanese civilians and wounding 165 more.

The jets leveled the villages of Azziye and Hanniye, burying scores under the rubble. Also bombed and strafed on November 9 were the port city of Tyre and Palestinian refugee camps Rashidiye, Burj al-Shemali, and Al Bass.

Two days later the Israeli bombers again struck near Tyre, wounding fourteen more persons. Israeli artillery also shelled the border town of Bint Jbail.

"It was 7:30 in the morning and I was still asleep when suddenly I felt the whole house falling in," a farmer in Azziye told *New York Times* reporter Marvine Howe. "There was a choice, either fall to the floor and be crushed by the concrete or take a chance and flee out into the open. I got out and my father and mother and brother and sister stayed and were killed."

Twenty-four hours after the first raid, survivors were still digging through the rubble looking for bodies. The toll in Azziye alone was 48 dead and 50 wounded, out of a total population of 400.

Israeli officials justified the bloody raids as retaliation for rocket attacks on the town of Nahariya that killed three Israelis November 6 and 8. Lt. Gen. Mordechai Gur, Israel's chief of staff, told reporters that the attacks in southern Lebanon were "very purely against terrorist bases."

"The results were good," Gur said, "and we did not hit any civilian places."

Foreign correspondents who witnessed the raids, however, reported that the casualties were almost all civilians. United Press International reporter David Pearce confirmed that most of the bombing victims were old men, women, and children.

"There were several Palestinian refugees here, maybe, but no guerrillas," a survivor of Azziye told Pearce.

Dozens of other survivors told Marvine Howe that the village was just a small farming center. In a dispatch filed November 10, Howe said that a careful search of the ruins turned up no evidence of a military installation.

Several days after the bombing, Israel was forced to admit that civilians had been killed. They died, however, when "terrorist" ammunition depots were hit, setting off "chain explosions," according to Israel's top United Nations delegate, Chaim Herzog.

This improbable claim recalls the Pentagon's preposterous explanation that civilian casualties of U.S. saturation bombing in Hanoi were killed by misfired anti-aircraft missiles falling back and exploding on the city.

In fact, the Israeli government's entire attempt to explain its actions as retaliation for "terrorist" attacks is a cynical cover-up. Since the ceasefire in southern Lebanon went into effect September 26, Israel has consistently attempted to provoke a new outbreak of fighting.

At a November 10 news conference Palestine Liberation Organization representative Mahmoud Labadi accused the Israelis and their right-wing Lebanese allies of attacking Palestinians at Nabatiye and Beaufort Castle every day since the ceasefire began. Both towns are a few miles north of the Litani River.

David Pearce reported in the November 10 *Washington Post* that many residents of Azziye were refugees who left their original village of Yarin, a town less than a mile from the Israeli border, and fled north four months ago. They left after troops, backed by Israeli artillery, staged a raid that left more than a dozen villagers dead.

Israel staged yet another provocation one day before rockets were fired on the Israeli town of Nahariya. Israeli naval vessels sank a small fishing boat, killing three Lebanese fishermen. The incident barely received mention in the November 8 *New York Times*.

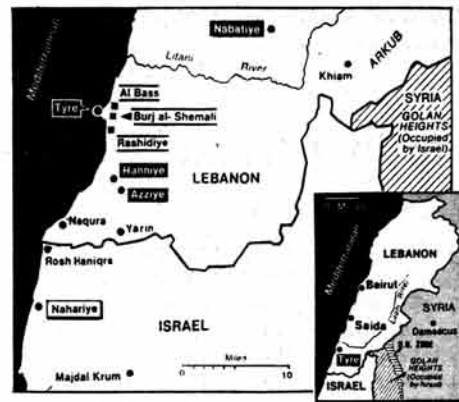
Israel's imperialist backers also proved quite willing to help the Zionists portray the victim as the criminal.

Speaking at a news conference twenty-four hours after the first air strikes, President Carter echoed Jerusalem's claim that the raids were justified as reprisals for "terrorist" attacks. Carter stated:

"There ought not to be any attacks [on Israeli border villages] or if there are continued attacks, some retaliation is required.

"I don't know the details of it but I think the overriding consideration is not to condemn Israel at this point for retaliation but just to say that if the provocations were absent that the retaliation would have been unnecessary. . . ."

After the second raid White House officials told the press that Israel had assured them that their jets would strike "Palestinian targets" in southern Lebanon only if first fired upon. The officials said the



New York Times

latest round of bombing missions were justified on that basis.

The Begin government's real aim in launching the massive air attacks was to strengthen its hand in preparation for the next round in the Middle East conflict.

Should the Geneva conference be convened in the next several months, Jerusalem wants to enter the negotiations in the best position to bludgeon Syria, Jordan, and Egypt into abandoning even their token support for the Palestinian struggle.

Providing a small demonstration of its firepower, Jerusalem calculated, would have a sobering effect on the militarily weaker Arab states. In the case of Egypt, the Israeli government didn't have long to wait to see its strategy bear fruit.

Speaking in Cairo November 9—only hours after Israeli jets pounded Lebanon—Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat declared his willingness to "go to the furthest corners of the earth," including the Israeli parliament, to bring peace to the Middle East.

More to the point, Sadat referred to the current wrangling over the form Middle East negotiations should take, saying, "Procedural questions do not interest me at all. I am going to Geneva."

However, the key "procedural" question that has blocked the convening of the Geneva conference up to now is Begin and Carter's insistence that Palestinians have no more than a ceremonial presence at the negotiations.

Greeting Sadat's new retreat, Begin called for an end to "wars and bloodshed" in a radio broadcast beamed to Egypt November 11.

Lest anyone miss the irony in such an appeal, Begin concluded: "We, the Israelis, stretch out our hand to you. It is not, as you know, a weak hand."

An even more direct objective of the Israeli raids was cited by PLO's Mahmoud Labadi at his November 10 news conference. The attack, he observed, was part of Israel's general strategy "to keep southern Lebanon as a point of tension so that they always have a pretext to launch a new war." □

South African Police Unable to Halt Student Protests

By Ernest Harsch

A few weeks after the outlawing of virtually every major Black group in South Africa, the white supremacist regime is facing continued student unrest in Black townships across the country.

Although many of the most prominent Black leaders have been arrested or effectively silenced by the crackdown, the new repressive measures have so far been unsuccessful in breaking the spirit and resistance of the Black community as a whole.

After a visit to Soweto, the huge Black city near Johannesburg that has been a center of the recent upsurges, correspondent David B. Ottaway reported in the October 24 *Washington Post* that the students there "seem more determined than ever to challenge the government following last week's bannings and arrests."

Much of the active opposition to the racist system of apartheid is focused for the moment around a massive student campaign against "Bantu Education," the white regime's policy of inferior and segregated education. A boycott of classes was launched in early August by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which has been in the forefront of the upsurge against the apartheid regime over the past year.

Although the SSRC itself has been made illegal, the boycott has continued to spread. It was originally limited to about 27,000 high-school students in Soweto, but has now extended to more than 300,000 high-school and primary-school students in a number of Black townships, as well as in some of the Bantustans, the impoverished and fragmented rural reserves in which millions of Africans are confined. In Soweto, the students won the support of about 500 teachers, who resigned their positions in protests against Bantu Education.

In an attempt to break the boycott, at the end of October the regime sent an airplane over Soweto to drop tens of thousands of leaflets. The leaflets urged parents to return their children to school and warned that if students did not take their examinations they would not graduate. The effort was unsuccessful.

The young student militants consider the boycott of classes as only one stage in an ongoing struggle against white supremacy. Ottaway reported that one activist "made it clear that the issue of Bantu education was being used by the students as a wedge to split the whole apartheid structure."

According to a November 4 dispatch



Frank Evers/New York Daily News

'REMEMBER, I'M STILL IN CHARGE'

from Johannesburg by *New York Times* reporter John Darnton, one Black nationalist who was recently released from prison explained to him, "We're not interested in half a loaf anymore. We want the whole loaf." And Tamsanga Kambule, a Soweto high-school principal who was fired as a result of his support for the boycott, said that the issue is "now majority rule of our country."

Throughout the long history of the Black freedom struggle in South Africa, the leadership vacuums caused by repeated crackdowns have not long remained unfilled. Reporting in the November 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, June Goodwin noted that "new leaders are believed to be slowly coming to the surface, while older leaders are refurbishing their tactics." She also revealed that more protests were being held than have been reported in the newspapers.

As a result of the tensions that have been building up among the Black population in response to the October 19 crackdown and the earlier death in police custody of Steve Biko, one of the country's foremost Black leaders, Darnton predicted that "an outbreak could come at any time."

In a desperate attempt to head off such an eventuality, the Vorster regime has stepped up its repressive actions even more.

The November 5 Johannesburg *Star* reported that students who were absent from school without "valid" reason for more than five consecutive days faced expulsion. New disciplinary measures also seek to regulate student conduct in school. "Punishments include the imposition of work, withholding of privileges, administering of corporal punishment to male students and expulsion," the *Star* reported.

As part of its attempts to terrorize the Black majority into submission, police conducted a massive raid on the Black township of Atteridgeville-Faulsville near Pretoria November 10. The police cordoned off the township for six hours while they carried out a house-to-house sweep.

The police announced afterward that they had arrested 626 Blacks, 198 of whom were students. Most of the rest were detained for violating the regime's pass laws, which strictly regulate African movement and residency. Despite the raid, students in the township continued their boycott of examinations.

The same day, police opened fire with shotguns on about fifty Black youths protesting in a township near Cradock in the Eastern Cape region.

A prominent part of Vorster's terror campaign, especially over the past year and a half, has been the murder of imprisoned Black activists. In most cases, the regime has issued the flimsiest of explanations for their deaths.

For instance, Justice Minister James T. Kruger suggested November 9 that Biko, who died of brain injuries, might have caused them himself. "I don't know if they were self-inflicted," he said. "But I often think of banging my own head against a wall."

Thus while formally denying responsibility for the deaths of dozens of Black political prisoners, the explanations issued by the regime are so transparent that the message conveyed to the country's 22 million Blacks is clear: The same thing could happen to any one of them.

For international consumption, however, the regime would like to obscure this aim. In its cover-up attempts, it has now won the support of Andrew Young, the American representative to the United Nations. Young, who just a few days earlier had vetoed UN economic sanctions against the apartheid regime, exonerated it of responsibility for Biko's death in a November 6 interview over British television. "I am sure," he said, "no one in the South African Government intended to see Steve Biko killed." □

Critics of Bonn Regime Smeared as 'Terrorist Sympathizers'

By Gerry Foley

In its November 7 issue, the West German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* cited some figures to indicate the extent of the "terrorist-hunt" launched after the shooting of kidnapped industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer.

In the first five days alone following the discovery of Schleyer's murder, three-quarters of a million persons and a like number of vehicles were checked. In the period between October 22 and 25 alone, 3,462 checkpoints were established. At the same time, no border was left unpatrolled. In the coastal waters, police boats cruised. Border guards were sent to foreign airports to check returning vacationists.

At the Helmstedt-Marienborn border crossing [with East Germany], you had to wait up to six hours. A spokesman for the Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation had to show his identity card no fewer than twenty-two times on the first day of the search while traveling by car from north Germany to Wiesbaden.

The police union complained of overwork: "Even when policemen do get time off, they remain on call. They are being worked to the point of collapse."

The hard-working police hauled in a large number of "suspicious" persons apparently without much discrimination or any apologies.

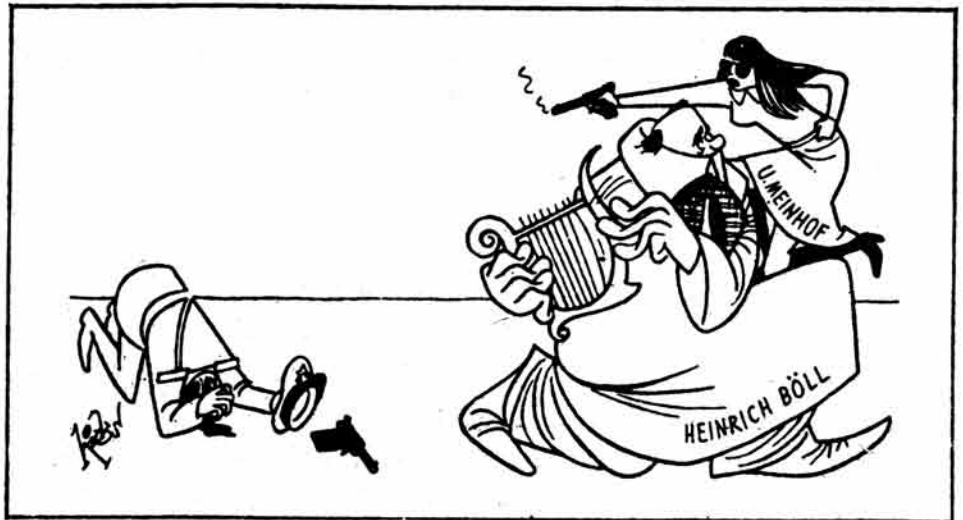
One such citizen who did not get an apology was the rock musician Manfred Ritter from Dudeldorf in Rheinland-Pfälz . . . who was picked up at night by a special police team. He made a formal complaint to the courts in which he said he was bitten by a police dog and called a "shithead artist." He was released only after a long procedure.

In the first hour of the search, eighty persons were arrested in Nordrhein-Westfalen alone. Nothing suspicious was found about them.

The result of the massive campaign to enlist the help of the population in finding the suspected terrorists was that the police were swamped with false alarms. *Der Spiegel* commented: "The professionals are unanimous that giant publicity campaigns are not effective in finding terrorists but rather are dictated by political motives."

Another article in the same issue of *Der Spiegel* claimed that the Japanese police were much more successful in fighting terrorists than their German colleagues. The reason for this, the writer said, was that the Japanese population was more attentive to suspicious signs. The following example was cited:

An upright Japanese wrinkled his nose and rushed to the police. "In our country," he said later, "you seldom run into anyone who has let a



Cartoon from "Die Welt," a major West German daily, depicting civil libertarian Heinrich Böll as a "sympathizer" of Baader-Meinhof group. Die Welt

few days go by without bathing." He shuddered visibly: "Frankly the woman stank."

This citizen's sensitive nose enabled the Japanese police in 1972 to arrest one of the most wanted terrorists of the Japanese United Red Army.

The article said that Japanese citizens felt close to the police because of a system of local stations where they could give reports. It quoted a police expert as saying: "The Japanese policeman has a different task than, for example, the American. He does not just deal with law violators. He sees himself as someone who inspires moral cleanliness."

Thus, the writer suggested that if the West Germany authorities imitated the methods of the Japanese, they could turn their own population into sixty million bloodhounds.

The West German authorities and the capitalist press are doing their best to get as many people as possible to associate any kind of nonconformism, and in particular critical thinking, with a "killer mentality."

In the first of five long features on so-called sympathizers with terrorism, or "sympis," *Der Spiegel* quoted the mass-circulation sex-and-sensation magazine *Quick* to the effect that: "The Bölls are worse than Baader-Meinhof."

Heinrich Böll is a Nobel Prize-winning writer and an internationally known humanitarian and defender of civil liberties. He drew the fire of the West German gutter

press when he criticized the way these publications, those of the Springer combine in particular, were building the Baader-Meinhof group up into a universal bogeyman. In an article in the January 10, 1972, issue of *Der Spiegel*, he began by objecting to the following headline in *Bild*, the flagship of the Springer line: "The Baader-Meinhof Group Keeps on Killing."

The story under this headline was about a bank robbery in which there was a shooting. But a thorough reading of this report showed that there was no proof that anyone connected with the Baader-Meinhof group was involved in the crime.

Böll wrote: "This headline . . . is an incitement to lynching. Millions of people who have no other source of news than *Bild* are being misinformed." He contrasted the savagery of the press campaign against a tiny handful of terrorists with its silence about the pardoning of Nazi war criminals, noting:

It is possible that Ulrike Meinhof does not want a pardon. She probably does not expect any justice from this society. Nonetheless, she should be offered a guarantee of her personal safety and a public trial. And Springer should also be tried for incitement.

Over West German television in 1974, Springer press commentator Matthias Walden said: "Böll describes our state based on laws, against which this violence is directed, as a 'dung heap.' . . . He

denounces our state for staging a 'pitiless manhunt' against the terrorists."

Böll won a libel suit against Walden, collecting the equivalent of more than US\$15,000. But that did not stop the campaign against him. And he has become a prime target in the witch-hunt against the "sympis" launched under the pretext of the recent terrorist actions.

On September 30, an interview with Böll was scheduled to be broadcast over the Bavarian radio-TV network. It was banned ten minutes before air time. But the text was published in the October 1 issue of the liberal daily *Frankfurter Rundschau*. In his opening question, the interviewer said:

From a report in the *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, it could be seen that many persons have already made their own list of sympathizers with the terrorists. Christian Social Union deputy Dietrich Spranger named some. In his opinion, among the "inspirers" of the murder campaign are the theologian Gollwitzer, Professor Brückner, former chancellor Willy Brandt, your fellow Writer Günter Grass [a faithful supporter of the right-wing Social Democrat leadership], and yourself.

Böll replied:

I have watched this ritual with great detachment, and I will tell you briefly how I see it. These slanders begin in the serious-looking Springer press. They are written by trusted hatchmen, who at least sign their names. Then they go into the unserious Springer press, where they are carried further by anonymous hatchmen, as well as in signed articles. Then—I am only giving you my impression of the dramatic technique—politicians come on stage . . . and things happen such as the open letter to me by Mr. Schmitt-Vockenhausen. . . . I saw what looked like a whole procession of ministers marching toward the great mass, which was the Christian Social Union congress, where Mr. [Franz-Josef] Strauss did not exactly call for people's justice and lynch justice but so-to-speak hinted at this. . . . I watched this ritual with detachment for three weeks.

Then yesterday [September 27] I realized what happens when a campaign of denunciation is focused on a specific target. . . . My son, who has never had anything to do with politics and never expressed an opinion, was denounced to the police in an anonymous phone call. On the basis of this call, forty policemen came to his home while he was not there. . . . I wonder if anyone in Munich made an anonymous call to the police, saying that Mr. Strauss's son had weapons in his house, whether his home would be visited by forty policemen."

Böll said: "You must recognize that after this action [the police search], which took place in the presence of my daughter-in-law and a small child, I can no longer watch this campaign with the same coolness."

"Now they are talking about intellectual responsibility for violence," he continued. "Read the Old Testament. Another inspiration to violence is Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, which is studied in all the schools. . . . I can't cite all of Western literature. Everything will have to be banned, suppressed."

One early casualty of this campaign is a play based on Böll's novelette *The Lost Honor of Katherina Blum*, which was withdrawn from the list of upcoming attractions at the Würzburg municipal theater.

On October 14, Peter Brückner, professor of psychology at the University of Hanover, was suspended from his post. He is a well-known academic Marxist whom the Springer press has been out to get.

The main charge against him was that he signed a statement on the assassination of state prosecutor Buback, which, while disapproving of the terrorists, expressed dislike of the dead man. The eleven other signers were forced to sign a recantation expressing their support for the West German state. Brückner, however, was not even given a chance to recant.

The influential academic Marxists known collectively as the Frankfurt school were particular targets of the witch-hunt leaders such as Strauss, who demanded that they make a self-criticism for what he considered their corruption of German university students. In the October 10 issue of *Der Spiegel*, Jürgen Habermas, a leading representative of this group of philosophers, replied:

Strauss and Dregger are constructing a line of objective responsibility that is accepted only in the sphere of influence of Stalinist bureaucrats. It is Stalinism that provides the historical example of the kind of self-criticism Strauss is demanding from us, and which he claims we are incapable of making.

In parliament, Strauss said: "We are the real critical minds, we who did not let ourselves be befuddled by words like the quality of life, justice, happiness, and humanity." If I am not mistaken, Strauss is speaking here of bourgeois ideals rooted in a broad humanistic tradition.

Russell Tribunal Launched in West Germany

The Bertrand Russell Foundation announced October 28 the launching of an inquiry into the status of civil liberties in West Germany.

The inquiry will be conducted by the Third Bertrand Russell International Tribunal. Earlier Russell tribunals provided extensive information on violations of civil liberties in Latin America and Pentagon war crimes in Vietnam.

Specific topics on which testimony will be solicited by the new tribunal include the following:

"Are citizens of the Federal German Republic being denied the right to exercise their professions on account of their political views?"

"Is censorship being exercised through provisions of the Criminal and Civil Law and through extra-legal measures?"

"Are constitutional and human rights being eroded or eliminated in the context of Criminal Court proceedings?"

This humanism has been banned only once in Germany, and this was done with the accompaniment of the sort of emotions Strauss is inciting today."

Some well-known victims of Stalinism, in fact, came to Böll's defense. Buried in the letters column of the November 7 issue of *Der Spiegel* was a statement addressed to the German author by Zdenek Mlynar, Zdenek Heizlar, Jiri Pelikan, and Adolf Müller, all victims of the Czechoslovak Stalinist "normalizers." It said:

In the name of all the collaborators of the *Listy* group, we send you this message of solidarity on behalf of the Czechoslovak socialist opposition. You have earned our solidarity as a man who out of profound humanitarian convictions and more than any other has for years defended political prisoners both East and West. Now you are being slandered and persecuted by reactionary circles in your own country as a so-called sympathizer of the terrorists. We also abhor terrorism as a criminal activity that has nothing in common with socialist aims.

We cannot fail to raise our voices when the general outrage at the terrorists' crimes and murders is being exploited to slander critical intellectuals as inspirers of terrorism and to silence them.

In their campaign to silence critical voices, West German authorities are obviously following Franz-Josef Strauss's advice about the need for keeping one's head clear of humanitarian notions.

The father of Gudrun Ensslin, one of the three Red Army Faction members who allegedly committed suicide, has been charged with "slandering the state" because he expressed doubts that his daughter actually died by her own hand. He faces two to three years in prison if convicted. □

Among the prominent initial members of the third tribunal are American playwright Eric Bentley; Italian SP leader Ricardo Lombardi; Martin Niemöller, former president of the World Council of Churches; and British Labour Member of Parliament Jo Richardson.

Further information on the work of the tribunal may be obtained by writing to The Bertrand Russell Foundation, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England. □

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Against the Intensification of Repression in West Germany

[The following statement was issued November 1 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. We have taken the text from the November 10 issue of *Inprecor*.]

* * *

The Fourth International denounces the intensification of the atmosphere of repression and attacks on elementary democratic rights now taking place in Germany after the terrorist actions that resulted in the assassination of Schleyer, chief of the West German employers, the seizure of a Lufthansa aircraft, and the assassination of its pilot.

The Fourth International, standing in the tradition of revolutionary Marxism, has always opposed individual terrorism. It forcefully reiterates this position in regard to the latest terrorist actions in West Germany. These acts contribute nothing to the cause of the emancipation of the workers, which can only be the result of the collective action of the workers themselves. In no way do they facilitate the overthrow of the capitalist system, source of limitless oppression, exploitation, injustice, and inhuman violence. This overthrow can be brought about only through the organization, majority mobilization, and development of anticapitalist consciousness of the toiling masses as a whole. Far from contributing to this organization, mobilization, and development of consciousness, these terrorist acts impede them and erect additional obstacles to their realization.

This is especially true in West Germany, where after several years of ebb the mass movement and class activity had evidenced the beginning of an upturn in September, illustrated by the spectacular success of the united antinuclear mobilization in Kalkar, which drew 50,000 demonstrators, and by the first, no less spectacular antibureaucratic success in the metalworkers union: during the Dusseldorf congress, rank-and-file delegates passed a motion demanding an immediate struggle for the thirty-five-hour week, against the fierce resistance of the union bureaucracy. The immediate objective result of the terrorist actions was to bring this upturn to a sharp halt.

But our irreconcilable opposition to terrorism cannot prevent us from denouncing the intensification of the atmosphere of repression, witch-hunt, and increasingly severe attacks on the most elementary democratic rights now occurring in West Germany. Indeed, no one should be fooled by the democratic proclamations of the

German and international bourgeoisie. Their hypocritical character has rarely been exposed so crudely as on this occasion. The very people who claim to be defending the democratic rights of all were silent about the massacre, committed under conditions of indescribable cruelty, of 127 strikers, women, and children by the Ecuadorian army; this massacre occurred just as the death of Schleyer was learned. They were also silent about the report of Amnesty International describing the tragic fate of the 100,000 Indonesian political prisoners. The list of crimes covered up by these "defenders of democracy" could be extended at will: mass murders by the Argentine dictatorship, denounced even by liberals in that country; the use of torture by the British army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Ireland, on which many reports have been published; Carter's modernization of the equipment of the Iranian repressive forces, in spite of all that is known about their extreme cruelty; the arming by French, British, and West German imperialism of the South African state, now responsible for the massacre of many black children. But for these innumerable victims of state terrorism, murdered in the name of "the established order," our governments do not shed the tears they do for the death of Schleyer and the few victims of terrorism in the German Federal Republic.

The hypocritical appeal to the "defense of democracy" also serves to camouflage the obvious inconsistencies of the inquiry that has been opened in West Germany into the deaths of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe, deaths which are more than suspicious. There is too much evidence against the thesis of suicide to be ignored. We may note, among other things:

- The fact that the fourth victim, Irmgard Moeller, a victim of a suicide attempt according to the authorities, has denied the existence of a "suicide pact" among the four prisoners in Stammheim prison and has likewise denied that she tried to take her own life;

- The fact that immediately after this statement, Irmgard Moeller was placed in complete isolation, cut off from all contact with the outside world, including her lawyers;

- The fact that Andreas Baader was left-handed, but the powder traces were "discovered" on his right hand;

- The fact that if the suicide thesis is true Baader would have had to shoot himself in the neck with a 7-inch-long pistol in such a way that the bullet exited

in the middle of his forehead, which is extremely difficult technically;

- The fact that in spite of meticulous daily searches of the cells of the prisoners and of all their visitors, including their lawyers, an entire arsenal would have had to have been smuggled into the Stammheim prison, which is considered one of the best guarded in the world;

- The fact that the mentality of the members of the RAF (Red Army Faction) held in prison was not at all suicidal, far from it, and that if they really had an arsenal they would have been able to use it to seize high prison officials as hostages in order to try to win their release;

- The fact that the pistol shots were not heard in a prison in which there was rigid twenty-four-hour surveillance and that the bodies were discovered only hours after the "suicides";

- The fact that the police refuse to release the exact time of the death of the prisoners.

No official declaration will suffice to assuage the suspicions against the authorities of Stammheim prison and the state of Baden-Wurttemberg, nor to lift the accusation of complicity on the part of the Bonn government. We must demand the formation of an impartial commission of inquiry formed by the international workers movement and composed of jurists and physicians known for their total independence of the state power, which can freely investigate all aspects of this affair and freely publish the results of its inquiry.

The fact that the Stammheim prisoners had been completely isolated from the outside world long before their deaths, in flagrant violation of the most elementary human rights, can only intensify the climate of suspicion surrounding their deaths, and can only sharpen the presumption that the bourgeois state was preparing a bad blow against them.

More generally, there have been many attacks on democratic rights in West Germany. The rights of the defense in political trials have been seriously limited. Lawyers have been prosecuted simply for having defended the rights of their clients energetically. A law has been passed permitting seizure of writings and books expressing "apologies for violence." This law is not used to confiscate military manuals or publications which complacently and in an openly apologetic manner describe the violence of imperialist war, including the violence of the SS, which represented the acme of inhuman barbarism. It is used only to confiscate publications on anarchism, including historical works. Tomorrow

row it will be used against Marxist works if the present trend continues. The bourgeoisie already wants to extend censorship and sanctions against all those who "slander" the bourgeois state and expose its function in defending capitalist property and exploitation, including through repression and violence.

The ossified law prohibiting all those whose "loyalty to the constitution" is in doubt from getting jobs in the public sector has created a heavy climate of intimidation, hyperconformism, and witch-hunt among young graduates who are threatened by unemployment. This law undermines the formal equality of citizens—that sacrosanct principle of bourgeois democracy—as well as freedom of speech and research in education. The entire German right is now trying to broaden this to a generalized witch-hunt against all opponents of the capitalist system, against all Marxists and socialists, and even against critical spirits whose "agitation" allegedly provokes the emergence of terrorism.

Specific threats of illegalization have been made against far-left organizations, and even against the DKP, the ultramoderate, pro-Moscow Communist Party. A whole wing of the Social Democratic Party itself, as well as a wing of the trade-union movement, may also be affected by these measures, judging by the statements of reactionary capitalist circles.

It is clear that the repression of terrorism is only a pretext for fueling this anti-worker offensive. What it aims at is a vast preventive action against the workers movement and the toiling masses and the establishment of a strong police state, which would prevent the wave of rising workers struggles in Southwest Europe and Britain from also making its appearance in West Germany, although with several years delay. Thus, the target is not merely some "extremist" minorities, but the entire forward-moving wing of the workers movement. By cleverly applying a salami tactic, aided by the criminal complicity of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, the bourgeoisie is seeking to strike successively at broader and broader sectors of the workers movement, while avoiding any reaction by the workers movement as a whole. The West German bourgeoisie hopes to defeat without great cost an adversary that is still far from vanquished and which still commands formidable potential strength.

All the claims that a "fascist regime" or a "process of fascicization" already exists in West Germany are completely false and irresponsible. There are still powerful workers organizations in West Germany, especially the unions. There is still freedom of organization and of the press for the workers movement, even its revolutionary wing. It is precisely because these freedoms are threatened that they must be defended energetically and effectively, and

must not be declared lost without a struggle.

The responsibility of the German Social Democracy is particularly serious. For the second time in history it is opening the way to a strong, repressive police state, under the pretext of lesser evilism and under the cover of blind anticommunism. For the second time, this threatens to result in its own liquidation, unless there is time for a vigorous and united reaction by the workers movement and the West German and international working class.

McCarthyism, the witch-hunt, and the erosion of democratic rights can be halted only through unflinching unity in action for the collective defense, by all, of all the victims of bourgeois repression, and only if there is action against every attack on democratic rights.

The Fourth International calls upon all organizations and tendencies of the German and international workers movement, without any exclusion, to engage in this collective, united solidarity activity with the victims of repression in West Germany.

Democratic rights must be defended as a whole or they will be eliminated one at a time.

Class solidarity must be applied collectively, or it gives way to individualistic

feelings of "every man for himself."

This class solidarity must also be manifested on the international level. Under the cover of a hysterical campaign, the bourgeoisie has in fact been able to take a step forward toward coordination of an international apparatus of repression. For the first time since the second world war, German imperialism has been able to strike outside the borders of West Germany, with the collaboration of the British Special Air Services, trained in "anti-terrorist" repression in Ireland. The right of asylum for political refugees is beginning to be denied throughout western Europe.

The German working class has a glorious tradition of struggle and a capacity for organization. It still commands considerable strength and combat reserves. It is high time to mobilize these forces, if a dangerous strengthening of the bourgeois state and military apparatus that could threaten the democratic rights of the workers movement throughout Europe is to be prevented. It is high time for the European workers movement, discarding any anti-German chauvinism, to speak to its German brothers and sisters in class language, for a common defense of common interests. □

Statement of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten

[The following statement was issued October 21 by the Political Bureau of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International. We have taken the text from the November 10 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

They have succeeded. The heads of the leaders of the Red Army Faction (RAF), symbol of the urban guerrillas of West Germany, the release of whom was the objective of the kidnapping, have rolled. The government is now basking in the bloody glory of its victory over terrorism, having showed how terrorism can be beaten: through violence.

I.

We do not know whether the prisoners Baader, Ensslin, and Raspe killed themselves or were forced to kill themselves, or whether some enraged official decided the time had come to eliminate them. But the atmosphere of witch-hunt and denunciation which the state and the mass media at its command have tried to establish has gone a long way to create conditions under

which the open demand that the prisoners be executed as "counter-hostages" could be justified. Even the television has pulled few punches on this score. As early as Monday night the television broadcast *Panorama* blithely recommended that the state strike blow for blow, take hostage for hostage, and commit murder for murder.

The official government story that the prisoners committed suicide because they despaired at the hopeless situation created after the failure of the hijacking of the airplane to Mogadiscio has been massively spread by the state in an attempt to condition public opinion not to ask any questions about what really happened in Stammheim prison. But too many questions remain unanswered. There are too many contradictions and inconsistencies. The physical liquidation of the RAF leaders tallies too well with the conceptions of the government, which believes that the best way to deal with "terrorists" is simply to exterminate them. How did the arms get into the cells? How can anyone believe the horrified declarations claiming that the cells of a prison specifically constructed for just a few prisoners could have been turned into a "headquarters for terrorism" in such a short time and without the knowledge of the guards? How can the claim of suicide be reconciled with the fact that Baader and Raspe left written statements explaining that if they were found

dead they would have been murdered? How can it be explained that the prisoners, whose will to live was obvious and who did not abandon their fight even from their prison cells, came into possession of arms and could think of no other use for them than to kill themselves? The "perfidy" of which Minister of the Interior Maihofer spoke when he explained all these inconsistencies by stating that the prisoners had regarded even their own suicides as a means of destroying the state applies exclusively to Maihofer himself.

In order to quiet public opinion and evade its own responsibility, the state has removed several officials even before the real responsibilities have been established. But we must not be content with this. The question must be asked out loud: Had the state already killed the prisoners? All the details relating to the events in Stammheim must be made public. We know what we can expect from the commission of inquiry set up, against their will, by the authorities of Baden-Württemberg. We therefore demand the creation of an international commission of inquiry under the direction of independent bodies such as the Human Rights League, Amnesty International, and others.

II.

The Stammheim events and the kidnaping of hostages once again acutely pose the question of the meaning of armed actions and the possibility of alternative actions, of the development of urban guerrilla warfare and the repercussions of these actions on the entire far left and the workers movement.

Contrary to the positions taken by many far-left groups and currents, which have come under enormous ideological pressure recently, we do not condemn the actions of the RAF from a pacifist standpoint. We condemn their violence because it is senseless and cannot claim any legitimacy. Under the present conditions of backwardness of class consciousness, it is part of the logic of urban guerrillas to extend their "emancipating mission" to absurd lengths and to seek their ultimate legitimacy in their choice of "targets." In the final analysis, this is the product of the inhuman social relations that prevail in West Germany. The struggle against "terrorism" must begin with a struggle against all those who have created these social conditions and whose political decisions have driven some people to assert themselves in the only way they see open to

them: individual violence. Those in power are the ones responsible for this. That is why we condemn the attempt of some far-left groups to avoid the problem posed by the RAF today by washing their hands of the matter and allowing the state apparatus to apply its own "solution."

III.

The state set all its resources in motion against the political prisoners of the RAF in order to isolate them and finally to "put them out of circulation" (Maihofer). Let it simply be remembered that entire laws have been drafted for the RAF, laws which violate the most elementary rules of bourgeois law. Let us simply remember the farce-trial in Stammheim, the intransigence of the authorities even on the question of the conditions of detention, the cynical lack of reaction to the hunger strike, the discussion on whether force-feeding could be reconciled with the law, the isolation, and finally, the law prohibiting any outside contact, specially adopted to deal with the RAF prisoners, which deprived them of the ability to organize their own defense.

Nevertheless, this is only part of the answer.

As of 1972 the West German state began to respond to radical criticism of the system through an escalation of oppression of communist, socialist, and anarchist oppositionists and through the restriction of democratic rights: police actions against demonstrators and housing occupations, forced evacuations, searches, frame-up trials, the "Winterreise" action, reorganization and centralization of the police apparatus, surveillance and stepped up controls, etc.

When merely speaking of "terrorism" becomes a crime (the Mescalero affair), when the political analysis of individual terror is itself considered "terrorism," and when those who refuse to join in the campaign of denunciation are themselves denounced as terrorist "sympathizers," then an ambiance is created which fosters desperate attempts to lend expression to a radical rejection of the system and to use individual violence to break through the walls of a political and social ghetto. The hopeless situation of many youth whose future is increasingly grim because of their lack of training and job possibilities contributes to intensifying this political climate.

During past weeks we have all seen: how the supposed "struggle to save a human life" has served as a miserable pretext for silencing tens of thousands of people and slandering them; how hysteria has been stimulated among democratic public opinion to such an extent that, for example, the Young Socialists and the Union of Humanists have reversed their decision to appeal to the Russell Tribunal, since the latter

had in the meantime been denounced as composed of "leftist extremists." And nevertheless, such a tribunal has never been more necessary. The logic of the "bans on the practice of one's profession" (*Berufsverbot*), paragraphs 88 and 130 on censorship, and paragraph 129, which defines the "constitution of a criminal association," has been exposed by the planned restrictions on the right of private correspondence, the planned legalization of wide-ranging identity checks and emergency procedures like the utilization of the special border police as a civil war police, the censorship of television broadcasts in which progressives like the author Heinrich Böll denounce the limitation of democratic rights, the threat to ban the "K" (communist) organizations, and finally and most importantly, by the "total secrecy law," this new emergency measure which completes the isolation of the targets of the state apparatus and totally conceals any arbitrary police action from the eyes of public opinion. This law is the latest unacceptable consequence of the treatment inflicted on political prisoners, the equivalent of which exists only in the dungeons of the bloody dictatorship of Chile and Argentina. Who will find out what happened at Stammheim? Who will ever know, given the degree of monopoly and control of the media that exists in West Germany?

IV.

For eight years now, ever since its accession to power, the Social Democratic-Free Democratic government has inscribed in its program: improvement of democracy, reforms, and the quality of life. Now this government has the sad honor of having provided West Germany with the best-trained "commando" troops, with politicians with nerves of steel and marked by the most complete cynicism, and with sufficient economic and political power to subject certain countries (Somalia) to its will. The government can be content with having done its best, along with the "community of democrats," along with Strauss and Kohl, to contribute to strangling democracy. It can be content with having set a repressive example for other governments because of the "success" of its policy of firmness and can play a vanguard role in the establishment of an "international of political oppression."

The short-sighted opportunism of the SPD-FDP government and its total identification with the so-called liberal constitutional state paralyze the working class, over which the government exercises decisive influence and whose eyes it closes to the considerable dangers posed by the new laws.

The outcome of the hijacking and the deaths of Baader, Ensslin, and Raspe threaten to transform the offensive of the reactionary forces in West Germany into a

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lasting modification of the relationship of forces in the country in regard to democratic rights. The result is an unprecedented strengthening of all the conservative and reactionary forces in society. This is leading to a new stage in the hardening of repression and to new attacks on elementary democratic rights. When enlightened representatives of the bourgeoisie assert with insistence, "In Mogadiscio we won a battle against terrorism, but not the war," the warning to all those who "think they can exert pressure on our state" in some other way must be taken seriously.

"To exert pressure" can be and certainly will be the task of any struggle of the workers for wages and jobs, of any mass action against the insane nuclear adventure, of any mobilization for the defense of democratic rights. The methods of the state police are now being tested against individual terrorism. But their ultimate aim remains the struggle against mass

actions. Must it be recalled that the police state has already moved into action in Brockdorf, Grohnde, and Kalkar?

With a cold-bloodedness that may well be unique in the world, the West German bourgeoisie sacrificed the most eminent of its employers on the altar of reasons of state and consciously took the risk of also sacrificing the lives of the eighty-six hostages. When posthumous honors were bestowed on Schleyer by parliament, the three parties left no doubt about their desire to toughen the new repressive laws inaugurated on the occasion of the kidnapping of Schleyer. Their terror is only preparation for new senseless acts. That is why our central political task today is to oppose the destruction of democratic rights with all our might.

V.

We demand:

- Immediate abolition of the law on "total isolation."

- Immediate lifting of the veil of secrecy over Irmgard Möller, who is not even allowed to speak to her lawyer or family, although she is the sole witness who can tell the truth about Stammheim.

- The regroupment of all political prisoners and recognition of their status as political prisoners.

- The release of all political prisoners.

- The abolition of censorship.

- The repeal of any challenge to the right of secret correspondence.

- A halt to any attempt to outlaw far-left organizations.

- The abolition of all measures, ordinances, and laws that in any way restrict the exercise of freedom of opinion, the press, organization, and demonstration.

- The unrestricted recognition of all basic democratic rights.

- A halt to the civil war actions of the police. □

Protests Continue Against Government Spying

1,000 Picket Offices of New Zealand Secret Police

By Roy Hanlon

[Twenty thousand persons marched in Wellington October 14 in one of the largest demonstrations in New Zealand's history. The action was called to protest the Muldoon government's efforts to push through Parliament a bill increasing the powers of the secret police—the Security Intelligence Service. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 14, p. 1244.)

[The following account of subsequent demonstrations against the bill is taken from the November 4 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Wellington.]

Since the major demonstrations on and around October 14 there has been continuing protest against the Security Intelligence Service Amendment Bill.

In Auckland on October 21 a picket of the local SIS office turned into a march of 1,000 people through Queen Street. The picket—which had been called at the previous Sunday's rally of 2,000 people in Albert Park—quickly filled the footpath outside the Auckland Savings Bank building, which houses the SIS premises, on the corner of Queen Street and Wellesley Street.

As the crowd spilled onto the street shortly after the 7 pm assembly time it became obvious that this was to be no "normal" picket. The general feeling was

for a march.

It being the city's late night for shopping, the organisers (from the SIS Bill Committee) decided on a march down Queen Street to the Central Post Office and back. The militant and spirited demonstration chanted vigorously the length of the busy street. Beginning with some 700 to 800 people, it grew to almost 1,000.

On returning to the ASB building, about 500 of the demonstrators then occupied the Queen Street-Wellesley Street intersection to hold an impromptu rally to denounce the SIS Amendment Bill.

Mike Treen spoke on behalf of the organising committee. "This demonstration tonight has shown what the majority of New Zealanders think," he said. "That is that it's not militant unionists or communists, nor the Russians' KGB that threaten New Zealanders' freedom. It's the New Zealand government's political police.

"Statements by government MPs show that they see the SIS's role as spying on New Zealanders who disagree with government policy.

"This demonstration tonight is part of a campaign that has the power to stop this bill, to create an awareness of the real role of the SIS, so that even if Muldoon defies the expressed will of the majority of New Zealanders and forces this bill through, we can make it unenforceable."

A number of others spoke, including

Tom Newnham from the Citizens Association for Racial Equality, who pointed out the dangers of the bill when "it allows the Prime Minister to authorise the SIS to spy on people when it has been seen that he cannot tell the difference between treason and legitimate dissent."

(Newnham was called a "traitor" by Muldoon in Parliament for his opposition to sporting contact with South Africa.)

The protest dispersed after meeting for about 20 minutes.

Next Friday there was a rally of about 200 people outside the CPO. Its main purpose was to advertise another demonstration for that evening in Queen Street.

Speakers were Cecil Fowler of the Auckland Council for Civil Liberties, Mike Treen of the Auckland University Students Association, Bill Lee of the Communist Party, Peter Rotherham of the Socialist Action League, Christine Dann of Broad-sheet, and Richard Northey of the Labour Party.

About 600 people marched to Cathedral Square in Christchurch at lunchtime on October 21. The marchers assembled in Latimer Square, where they were addressed by Wes Cameron, president of the Canterbury Trades Council, who said that the government was trying to undermine life in New Zealand "as we know it."

In the Square, the speakers were the Rev. Jim Consedine of the National Assoc-

iation of Priests and Dr Kevin Clements, secretary of the Canterbury Council for Civil Liberties.

October 18, the occasion of the opening of the second reading debate in Parliament, saw a further demonstration in Parliament grounds. At lunchtime, from 500 to 1,000 people attended a rally addressed by Pat Kelly, president of the Wellington Trades Council, Walter Scott, president of the Wellington Council for Civil Liberties, Jim Delahunty of the Organisation Against the SIS Bill, Trevor Richards of Halt All Racist Tours, and a representative of the Post Office Association.

Later in the afternoon four people were arrested after about 12 people had been dragged from the public gallery of Parliament by police. Frank Thorn, a member of the Federation of Labour national executive, was also in the public gallery at the time, and saw protesters being manhandled down the stairs. "I was horrified by what I saw," he said.

He and other union leaders were waiting

for a meeting with Muldoon to lodge their own protest against the SIS bill, but, according to a report in the October 19 *Auckland Star*, they called the meeting off in protest at the rough treatment of demonstrators.

Late that night, shortly after the Prime Minister had refused to extend broadcasting time for the debate, there were interjections and clapping of Labour speakers from the public gallery. At Muldoon's prompting, the Speaker had the galleries cleared, and there were more arrests.

In Hastings on October 26 about 90 people attended a public meeting against the SIS bill. The speakers included representatives of the PSA, the Labour Party, the Values Party, Social Credit and the Socialist Action League.

Reflecting the very wide opposition to the snooping and bugging bill, there have been 300 submissions against the bill to the committee set up by the Labour Party in the absence of a normal parliamentary select committee. □

jobs were "stolen" by "aliens." In this way they seek to deepen divisions in the working class and to create scapegoats for the economic crisis.

The capitalists also use their borders to further their political control. Right-wing puppets of U.S. imperialism know that no matter how great their crimes, they can always find safe haven in the United States, as happened in the cases of Cuba and Vietnam.

But pleas for asylum from left-wing dissidents who are trying to escape persecution for their political ideas are met with hostility. For example, Haitians fleeing the dictatorship of President-for-life Jean-Claude Duvalier have been imprisoned, and many have been deported. Another prominent case is that of José Jacques Medina, a Mexican lawyer who fled that country in 1973 fearing he would be assassinated for his activity in defending political prisoners and organizing labor unions.

One political asylum case in particular demands emergency attention. Héctor Marroquín Manríquez faces imprisonment, torture, and death if returned to Mexico, although the charges against him are crude fabrications. Yet U.S. authorities could deport him at any moment without as much as a hearing on his request for asylum.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores believe the right to travel and live where one wishes is a fundamental human right.

We believe foreign-born workers in the United States or any country are entitled to the same rights and opportunities as other members of society have.

We believe the workers and oppressed masses of the entire planet have a common interest: a world where there are no exploiters and exploited; a world where decisions are made on the basis of human need, not private profit; a world where there will be no borders to divide us.

Carter's proposals embody precisely the opposite concepts: continued racial and national discrimination, continued exploitation and oppression, continued pitting of workers on one side of a border against those on the other.

A massive educational and protest campaign, both in Mexico and the United States, is needed to defeat the Carter plan. A good beginning has been made in the organizing for the October 28-30 Chicano/Latino conference in San Antonio.

This positive step should be followed by continued actions aimed at involving more forces in the fight against deportations.

Down with the Carter plan!

Asylum for the Haitians, Medina, Marroquín, and all political refugees!

Stop all deportations!

Abolish *la migrá!*

Full human and civil rights for undocumented workers! □

Statement by Mexican and American Trotskyists

Full Rights for Undocumented Workers!

[The following is a joint statement by the Trotskyist organizations of Mexico and the United States—the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Party) and the Socialist Workers Party. It was distributed in Spanish and English at the Chicano/Latino conference of 1,500 held in San Antonio, Texas, October 28-30.

[We have taken the text of the statement from the November 18 issue of the *Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist news-weekly published in New York.]

* * *

U.S. President James Earl Carter has shown again that his support for human rights is empty rhetoric.

Carter has sent to Congress an immigration law reform that calls for an intensified crackdown on immigrants without work or residence permits.

Under the name of "amnesty," Carter proposes to formalize and legalize the superexploitation and deprivation of rights that millions of immigrants suffer.

Carter proposes to double *la migrá*, the justly hated immigration police that devotes itself exclusively to persecuting immigrants and other residents of communities where immigrants live and work.

And since Carter appointed Leonel Castillo as head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, deportations have

hit record highs.

Carter's actions and proposals feed the racist propaganda against "illegal aliens," which has led to renewed racist violence against *mexicanos* and Chicanos, violence that has gone unpunished.

For its part, the Mexican government has taken no effective steps to defend the rights of its citizens who live in the United States.

And neither the U.S. nor the Mexican governments propose anything that can eliminate the tremendous poverty and unemployment that force millions of workers and peasants to emigrate.

Working people in the United States are told that Mexican immigrants are the cause of unemployment. But Mexican workers are no more responsible for U.S. unemployment than U.S. workers are responsible for the terrible economic conditions in Mexico. Although on different sides of the border, workers face a common enemy—the international capitalist system, dominated by giant U.S. monopolies, with its people-be-damned drive for profits.

When U.S. capitalists want cheap labor from Mexico, they tell the border patrol to look the other way. Should the immigrants try to organize to better their conditions, they are immediately deported, as recently happened to striking farm workers in Arizona.

When U.S. capitalists get in trouble, they lay off millions of workers, charging their

Concession Won From U.S. Government in Marroquín Case

A major breakthrough has been secured in the fight by Mexican activist Héctor Marroquín Manríquez to gain political asylum in the United States.

Marroquín, currently imprisoned in Maverick County, Texas, after having been convicted of "attempted illegal entry," has been granted the right to a deportation hearing by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In the event of an unfavorable ruling following this hearing, he will have the right to remain in the United States while appealing the decision through the courts.

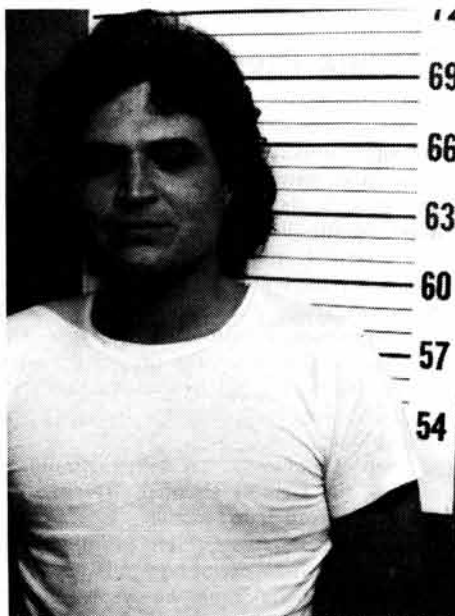
Prior to the INS decision to grant a deportation hearing, Marroquín faced imminent expulsion to Mexico, where frame-up charges of murder and "subversion" are pending against him. Persons in similar situations have often been summarily executed or tortured at the hands of the Mexican police, or have simply "disappeared."

Héctor Marroquín Manríquez was a student at the Autonomous University of Nuevo León, in Monterrey, Mexico, during the early 1970s, where he participated in a movement to democratize the university. A political discussion group to which he belonged developed into the Comité Estudiantil Revolucionario (CER—Revolutionary Student Committee).

When the CER—which was later to merge into the September 23 Communist League—adopted a perspective of armed actions by small groups, Marroquín disagreed and left the organization. Nevertheless, in January 1974, Monterrey newspapers carried Marroquín's picture along with other persons alleged to be CER members "guilty" of the shooting of a university librarian.

Aware of the reputation of the local police chief, Carlos Solana, for torture and brutality, Marroquín decided to seek refuge in the United States rather than turn himself in and challenge the accusations. Although he left Mexico in April 1974, the Mexican authorities claim to have wounded him in a Monterrey shoot-out in June of that year, and also accuse him of involvement in a guerrilla attack on a bakery in August 1974.

Since coming to the United States, Marroquín has been active in the movement to halt the harassment and deportation of "illegal aliens." He got some firsthand experience with the way the U.S. government treats Mexican citizens without the proper papers as he was returning from Mexico in September. He had gone there briefly to consult an attorney about the Mexican government's frame-up charges.



Margaret Winter/Militant

MARROQUIN

The INS's Border Patrol arrested Marroquín as he crossed the border at Eagle Pass, Texas. He was sentenced to three months in the Maverick County Jail, but could have been turned over to the Mexican police even before his jail term expired. Fearing for his life, Marroquín appealed to the U.S. government for political asylum.

Marroquín's attorney, Margaret Winter, cites Article 33 of the United Nations Protocol and Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as grounds for Marroquín's request. The document, which has the force of law in the United States, declares that a refugee has the right not to be "expelled or returned in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his . . . political opinion."

Winter filed a federal lawsuit against the Immigration and Naturalization Service challenging their right to make a decision on asylum without so much as a hearing. The threat of this legal action no doubt aided in securing a deportation hearing for Marroquín.

At the same time, a vigorous campaign on the Mexican activist's behalf is being carried on by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). An "Appeal for Asylum" issued by USLA has been signed by Nobel-laureate scientists George Wald and Salvador Luria; journalist I. F. Stone; entertainer and Black activist Dick Gregory;

Rubén Bonilla, Texas state chairperson of the League of United Latin American Citizens; and hundreds of others, including many well-known figures in the Chicano movement in the southwestern United States. Marroquín's appeal was also endorsed by the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy held in San Antonio October 28-30.

In addition to circulating the "Appeal for Asylum," USLA is also urging that letters and telegrams be sent to INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo. The impact of this effort was shown in comments made by Fran Raley of INS's Washington office to a reporter for the *Militant* newspaper: "We've got way over a hundred letters," she said. "I can assure you that all of these are being taken into account—the public interest. The commissioner himself is vitally interested in this."

The impact of Marroquín's case has begun to be felt in Mexico as well. The Monterrey daily *El Norte*—the largest paper in northern Mexico—recently featured an article on Marroquín on its second page. The story was reprinted from the October 24 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist magazine published in New York. (For an English translation of excerpts from this article, see *Intercontinental Press*, October 24, p. 1162.)

Attorney Margaret Winter was interviewed by *Proceso*, a Mexico City magazine. Portions of the interview were sent out by *Proceso's* news service, and were printed in another Monterrey newspaper, *El Porvenir*.

Securing a deportation hearing for Marroquín is an important breakthrough, but the pressure on the U.S. government must be maintained until the demand for political asylum is won. To add your name to the "Appeal for Asylum," or for more information, contact USLA, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, N.Y. 10003. □

'Roots' in Japan

"Roots," the television special that attracted record audiences in the United States earlier this year, was also a big hit in Japan. The eight-part series depicts the lives and struggles of five generations of a Black family, from the time of the African slave raids to the post-Civil War period.

According to the *Japan Times* of October 12, TV Asahi was deluged with telephone calls during the last episode, most of them from viewers favorably impressed with the program.

AROUND THE WORLD



Spain—Big Protests Against Wage-Freeze Pact

Spanish workers are showing increasing signs of opposition to the Moncloa (wage freeze) pact that the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties signed with the Suárez government on October 21, according to a report in the November 8 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*.

On November 4, more than 100,000 workers demonstrated in Barcelona, shouting, "Down with the Moncloa pact."

On October 25, 1,000 workers in one section of the large SEAT automobile plant in Barcelona issued a statement demanding that the trade-union federations take a stand against the pact and immediately launch an action campaign against it nationwide, including plans for a general strike if necessary.

The statement also demanded that the workers parties that had signed the pact "be loyal to the working class, inasmuch as they have already committed the error of capitulating in this way. They should know that they can count on our complete support if they withdraw from the negotiations, break the agreements, and repudiate them."

Other important demonstrations against the pact took place in the Basque country. Some 80,000 persons demonstrated in San Sebastián October 29, 20,000 in Vitoria on November 4, and 150,000 in Bilbao on November 5.

Miners Strike in Romania

About 35,000 miners in the Jiu Valley, the largest mining area in Romania, went on strike August 1-3, according to letters smuggled out of the country.

News of the strike spread throughout Romania after the letters from the miners were broadcast over Radio Free Europe. However, Romanian authorities did not refer to the strike until two months later, calling the reports "sheer fantasy."

According to a report on the walkout by Anca Mihailescu in the October 27 issue of the British Trotskyist weekly *Socialist Challenge*, the strike was touched off by a government announcement in July that miners' pensions would be reduced by 30 percent beginning in January 1978.

Other demands of the strikers included better working conditions and job security, free movement of labor, adequate food supplies, a six-hour working day, retirement at age fifty, replacement of the

existing mine directors, reintroduction of the rights which had existed in 1955-57 but were later withdrawn (free work clothes and two meals a day), and abolition of unpaid compulsory labor.

When their initial efforts to disperse the miners by force failed, the authorities sent two members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to the strike area. However, the miners arrested them and demanded to meet with President Nicolae Ceausescu in exchange for their release.

When Ceausescu arrived, Mihailescu reports, the strikers shouted, "Down with the proletarian bourgeoisie."

Although Ceausescu left promising to meet the miners' demands and pledging that no reprisals would be taken against them, military units were later sent into every mine in the area. Over 4,000 miners were fired or jailed, and the entire district was declared a "prohibited area," cutting off communications with other parts of the country.

Hot Reception for Gandhi

Former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who has been trying to make a political comeback in recent weeks to shore up her sagging influence within the Congress

Party, was repeatedly confronted by angry protesters during a speaking tour of southern India.

On October 29, in the state of Tamil Nadu, demonstrators in Madura threw sandals and stones at her motorcade as clashes erupted between supporters of the Congress Party and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Advancement Association), a local party that was ousted from the state government in January 1976 under Gandhi's state of emergency.

About 200 protesters were arrested in the nearby city of Trichinopoly after police attacked an anti-Gandhi demonstration with tear gas.

The next day, two persons were killed and at least forty wounded when police fired into a crowd of about 5,000 demonstrators in Madras, the capital of Tamil Nadu. The protesters waved black flags, a traditional sign of protest in India. Wall posters greeting Gandhi read, "Murderer of Democracy Go Back."

On November 3, in the state of Karnataka, Gandhi was again met with a hostile reception. Supporters of the Janata Party, which rules India on the federal level, and of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) turned out to protest her visit. She reportedly received a minor cut after being hit with a stone. Gandhi was forced to cancel two other stops on her tour of the state.

In New Delhi, students at Jawaharlal Nehru University have staged demonstrations to back their demands for the resignation of the vice chancellor, whom they call "a toady of Mrs. Gandhi during the days of dictatorship." The vice chancellor shut down the university indefinitely in response, but students continued to control a number of buildings and sympathetic teachers still held classes.

Protests in Lithuania

Mass protests against Soviet occupation erupted in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow.

At a soccer match between Vilnius players and a visiting Soviet team October 10, members of the crowd began to shout "Russians go home" and "Katsapy," a derogatory term for Russians.

When the game ended, AP reports, about 15,000 spectators streamed out of the stadium and into the streets, overturning cars, setting police vehicles on fire, and ripping down banners marking the six-



GANDHI: Chased from four cities.

tieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

The next day, troops armed with automatic weapons were sent in to patrol the streets. However, an Interior Ministry official denied that serious disturbances had taken place.

"As often happens, several teen-agers got into a fight after the game," he said. "Four of them were detained, spoken to and let go."

No Elections in Pakistan for at Least One Year

During a visit to Ankara, Turkey, Gen. Zia ul-Haq, the head of the Pakistani military junta, announced that there would be no general elections in Pakistan before November 1978. The junta, which ousted the regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in July, had originally promised to hold elections in October 1977, but later canceled them.

General Zia claimed that elections could not be held until Bhutto, who is charged with ordering the murder of a political opponent, had been tried.

Ugandan Police Training in U.S.

Twelve members of Ugandan President Idi Amin's police air wing are receiving training in helicopter piloting and maintenance at the Textron plant of Bell Helicopter, company officials confirmed November 7. Additional flight training was also planned at the Oak Grove Flying School.

A Bell spokesman explained that the training program was connected with the purchase of nine helicopters by the Ugandan government between 1968 and 1971.

The Carter administration, which has frequently stated its "grave concern" for the status of "human rights" in Uganda, claimed that it was unaware the policemen were receiving training in the United States.

Cuban Troops To Stay in Angola

In an interview in the November 5 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge, a leader of the ruling Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), declared, "The Cuban troops came at the request of the MPLA when our country was invaded by the regular armies of Zaïre and South Africa. They will remain as long as we consider necessary."

Japanese Textile Workers Join J. P. Stevens Boycott

In response to an international call for support to the drive of American workers to unionize the giant J. P. Stevens textile company, the Japan Federation of Textile Workers has launched a nationwide boy-

cott of imported clothes made by Stevens.

The decision, approved September 29 at the annual convention of the 500,000-member union, was made in compliance with an appeal by the International Textile Workers Organization to all workers and consumers of the world to boycott Stevens products.

According to a report in the October 1 issue of the Tokyo *Mainichi Daily News*, the boycott is the first by a Japanese labor organization against imported goods by a foreign manufacturer.

Executions Mount in Bangladesh

A military court in Dacca sentenced fifty-five soldiers to death October 27 for their alleged involvement in a rebellion at an army base at Bogra September 30. Fourteen others were sentenced to life imprisonment and eighteen to varying prison terms. Fourteen were acquitted.

The new sentences bring to ninety-two the number of soldiers who have been condemned to death as a result of the attempted insurrection at Bogra and another in Dacca October 2. The martial law regime of Gen. Ziaur Rahman previously announced, on October 19, that thirty-seven members of the army and air force had been executed.

1,000 in Washington Demand Independence for Puerto Rico

"Free Puerto Rico, Free the Four" was the chant of nearly 1,000 demonstrators outside the White House October 30. The occasion was the anniversary of the 1950 attack on President Truman for which one of the nationalists is still imprisoned.

The other three were jailed in 1954. A fifth nationalist, Andrés Figeroa Cordero, was recently freed because he is dying of cancer.

A few days earlier, on October 25, a group of about thirty Puerto Rican nationalists occupied the Statue of Liberty in New York for eight hours. Their demand was also the release of the four nationalists. Before the demonstrators were arrested and removed, they draped a Puerto Rican flag across the crown of the statue and hung a proindependence banner from its pedestal.

Capital Punishment 'No Deterrent'

The death penalty rarely, if ever, deters murder.

This is the conclusion of a study of statistics in thirty-two American states conducted by the Institute for Law and Social Research.

The results, published in the *University of Minnesota Law Review*, showed that "those states in which the actual use of capital punishment ceased during the

1960s experienced no greater increase in the murder rate than did the states that did not use capital punishment in the first place."

Under the theory that "capital punishment deters murder," researcher Brian Forst said, "one would have predicted the opposite."

Message for White House

Carrying signs saying, "We sent the wrong nut to Washington," 3,000 farmers in President Carter's home state of Georgia demonstrated against low farm prices October 28.

Meeting in Alma, Georgia, farmers from eighteen counties formed a line of tractors two miles long to dramatize their protest.

El Salvador Cops Open Fire

Two coffee workers were shot to death by police in El Salvador October 27.

The workers were among a crowd of 500 persons who had gathered at Hula Hula Park in San Salvador to demand higher wages for picking the coffee crop.

Police claimed they opened fire upon hearing shots from inside the crowd.

Royal Butcher Irked

PARS, the government-controlled news agency in Iran, on November 6 urged foreign correspondents in Iran to use the shah's full title when referring to him in dispatches.

The correct designation, they reminded the press, is "His Imperial Majesty, the King of Kings and Light of the Aryans."



SHAH: Image conscious.

Cutoff in U.S. Abortion Funds Claims First Victim

By Matilde Zimmermann

On October 2 a young Texas Chicana became the first official fatality of the United States government's ban on the use of federal funds for abortions. The twenty-seven-year-old woman had a Medicaid card entitling her to government-paid medical care, but she could not use it to obtain the abortion she needed. She died from a \$40 abortion performed in a Mexican border town "pharmacy."

Joseph Califano, the secretary of health, education and welfare, was asked last July whether he thought cutting off Medicaid funds would drive women to butcher abortionists and result in deaths. He answered: "I don't think that will happen, or that it's really pressing." (Califano is the person who foolishly stated in his Senate confirmation hearings, "I have never met a woman who had an abortion.")

Jimmy Carter is no more worried than Califano about taking away the right of poor and minority women to safe, legal abortions. Asked about the discriminatory aspects of the Medicaid ban, Carter said in July: "Well, as you know there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor people can't."

A study reported in the *New York Times* July 5 estimated that an end to Medicaid abortions would drive 850 women to illegal abortionists each week, and that 85 of these 850 would have serious complications and 5 would die.

Nearly 300,000 abortions were paid for by Medicaid in 1976, approximately one-third of all abortions performed in the United States. One-third of the women who received Medicaid abortions were teen-agers; 85 percent were welfare mothers; the majority were Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican.

Until mid-1977 the federal government



Barry Chann/Militant

New York abortion protest, March 12, 1977.

paid for the abortions of Medicaid recipients, just as it did for other medical procedures. Congress had passed the Hyde Amendment outlawing Medicaid abortions in 1976, but a court injunction temporarily prevented enactment of the ban.

Then, in late June 1977, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that states had "a valid and important interest in encouraging childbirth" and could refuse to pay for abortions, and that the Hyde Amendment was constitutional. At the same time the House of Representatives and the Senate passed two slightly different versions of a ban on Medicaid abortions. Citing the pressure of antiabortion mobilizations, several liberal Democrats who had voted against the ban in 1976 switched their votes.

For four months the House and Senate debated which version of the antiabortion

bill to adopt. The House version allowed payment for abortions only when a pregnancy endangered a woman's life. The original Senate version allowed exceptions for pregnancies resulting from rape and incest and for "medically necessary abortions." Both versions take the decision out of the hands of the woman who wants an abortion.

The committee charged with hammering out the compromise legislation is made up of twenty-seven senators and congressmen, led by two Democrats, seventy-four-year-old Representative Daniel Flood, and seventy-two-year-old Senator Warren Magnuson. Flood has fought against any exceptions to the ban on the grounds that a woman might try to get an abortion because she has an "ingrown toenail" or because she is afraid of giving birth to a child "with one brown eye and one blue eye." The *New York Times* of October 6 reported that "the conferees, all men, casually use terms such as 'hardware' (for intra-uterine devices), and 'a quick scrape' (for dilation and curettage)."

The Hyde Amendment is attached to a \$60 billion Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill. Since the end of the fiscal year September 30, pressure has been mounting to settle the abortion deadlock so that money can be released. Califano has warned that government workers may not get pay checks and "475,000 black lung beneficiaries cannot receive their checks" until the conferees dispose of the abortion problem.

Congress adjourned November 4 without deciding the wording of its antiabortion law. The last compromise wording (which the House accepted and then rejected as too "liberal") allowed payment for "medical procedures before the fact of pregnancy is established, necessary for prompt treatment of forced rape or incest reported to a law enforcement agency," and for abortions when "severe and long-lasting physical health damage to the mother would result if the pregnancy were carried to term." The final twist of the knife was to substitute "severe and long-lasting" for "severe or long-lasting."

The Hyde Amendment is the most serious attack on abortion rights since women won legal abortion in the United States in January 1973. It makes poor women—and women of the oppressed nationalities in particular—the first victims of a general attempt to roll back abortion rights. Massive numbers of women are affected. In Washington, D.C., in 1976, for example,

57 percent of abortions were paid for by Medicaid, and abortions outnumbered live births.

Local demonstrations and picket lines have been held in various cities to protest the Hyde Amendment. Defending Medicaid abortions was a theme of the March 8 International Women's Day demonstrations and the August 26 commemorations of women's suffrage. The American Civil Liberties Union voted in October to make the defense of abortion rights its top priority for 1978. □

\$1 Fine for Killing Chicano

In two recent cases, Texas cops who killed young Chicanos received gentle treatment from their all white juries. National publicity and protests from the Chicano community forced Washington to intervene after both trials and hand down additional, federal indictments against the police.

In September 1975 Castroville, Texas, Police Chief Frank Hayes shot Ricardo Morales, twenty-six, at point-blank range, after bragging to his deputy that he was "fixing to kill another [Mexican]."

Although Hayes was indicted for murder, the local jury found him guilty only of "aggravated assault." Hayes's wife was fined less than \$50 for "tampering with evidence." She tried to conceal the killing by taking Morales's body halfway across the state and burying it.

The Justice Department at first refused to intervene, but widespread protests forced them finally to indict Hayes on federal charges. On September 29, 1977, Hayes was convicted of violating the federal civil rights of Morales by killing him. He faces a possible life sentence.

The second killing occurred last May 6 after Joe Campos Torres, a twenty-three-year-old Army veteran, was arrested by six Houston cops. Torres was beaten so badly on the way to the jail that the police sergeant on duty refused to admit him and insisted that he be taken to the hospital.

Instead the cops took him to a bayou and pushed him off a thirty-foot pier. One of them reportedly said that "this would be a good time" to see if "that wetback" could swim.

Two of Torres's killers were found guilty of "negligent homicide," a misdemeanor, on October 7. They paid \$1 fines and had the rest of their punishment suspended. The other four cops got off scot-free.

Angry protests in the Black and Chicano communities prompted the Justice Department to intervene more quickly than they had against Frank Hayes. Four of the police were indicted by a federal grand jury October 20 and charged with depriving Torres of his constitutional rights and causing his death. If convicted they could be sentenced to life imprisonment.

Same Policy but a New Style

The Menahem Begin Regime in Israel

By Michel Warshawski

[The following article appeared in the October 27 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

In the view of many commentators both in Israel and abroad, the results of last May's elections to the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, signified a turn in the political life of the Jewish state. Indeed, after more than forty years of uninterrupted rule first over the Zionist movement and then over the Israeli state, the Zionist Labor parties were ousted by the Likud ("coalition"), a bloc of far-right parties led by Menahem Begin, former chief of the Irgun terrorists.

There is little doubt that the end of Labor hegemony and the victory of those who the Zionist regime had for more than twenty years considered dangerous extremist mystics who had to be excluded from all political responsibility does mark the definitive end of one period and therefore constitutes a political event whose causes must be analyzed. But it is no less important to examine to what extent the change in leadership of the Zionist state also marks a real turn in the policy of this state.

A precise understanding of the policy of the new Israeli government is particularly important since the strategy of all the revolutionary forces of the Arab East depends on it.

We must be clear on one point. During the last elections the Israeli voters did not choose between two programs, one more moderate, one more extremist. The supporters of Menahem Begin on the one hand and of Yitzhak Rabin on the other voted for virtually identical platforms, at least as far as Israeli-Arab relations are concerned, which remain decisive for the policy of the Zionist state. Throughout the election campaign Likud did all it could to appear as a party prepared for a negotiated solution with the Arab governments on terms quite similar to those defined by the Labor government. On economic and social policy Labor and Likud preached austerity in almost the same terms, the latter expressing greater hostility to the Histadrut, which was not displeasing to some layers of working-class voters.

The Likud victory was the consequence of a twofold phenomenon which results from the two last wars the Jewish state has been involved in. The 1967 war caused deep changes in the social structure and

dominant ideology of the Zionist state. The Israeli bourgeoisie was significantly strengthened by an economic boom, and ruling ideology changed profoundly, with an accentuation of nationalism and religious mysticism. The occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the accelerated colonization, and the complete refusal to recognize the existence of Palestinians represented points for which the far-right Zionist parties had fought, against the Labor leadership, for more than twenty years. The Labor Party was carrying out Begin's policy, and this gave new credibility to a political line that had been called utopian and dangerous for many years.

Once post-1967 reality and the policy of the Labor government had put an end to the relative isolation of the parties that now make up the Likud, all that was needed for Begin to demand and obtain the leadership of the Jewish state was a crisis of the Labor leadership. This crisis of leadership was touched off by the October War of 1973. The serious political defeat of the state of Israel compelled the old Meir-Sapir leadership to cede to a new team which proved completely incapable of inspiring the Israeli masses with confidence and a new sense of security, both of which had been deeply shaken following the October War. The many financial scandals and other instances of corruption delivered the coup de grâce to Labor hegemony.

Above all else the Likud victory is the defeat of the Labor Party, whose ineffectiveness and ever sharper internal tensions were to provoke a split resulting in the establishment of the Democratic Movement for Change (Dash), a politically heterogeneous formation composed of generals, various chiefs of security services, bosses of Histadrut-owned factories, and private industrialists united around a program of "return to order and propriety" and determined to wage a campaign against the "corrupt rule of the political parties." The fifteen seats Dash won from the Labor Party enabled Likud to win a plurality; it was then called upon to form the new government.

According to commentators writing immediately after the elections last May, the state of Israel was going to be hit by a real earthquake when Begin took over. Today, four months later, fear of rupture has given way to a sentiment of continuity. The new government has done

its best, with some success, to lend itself an image of moderation and respectability. Those who had built their program on maximum nationalist rhetoric ever since 1948 and had posed as the guardians of Greater Israel against the Labor Party capitulators have now had to admit in practice that their opponents had been implementing their own policy.

The first gesture of the Begin team, following in the footsteps of all previous governments, was to make the traditional pilgrimage to Washington to expound the general lines of Israeli policy and present the usual shopping list of arms and advantageous loans. The two objectives were closely linked, and Begin repeated the general lines of the policy of his predecessors: Israel is always ready to hold peace talks with the various Arab governments and to accept withdrawal from most of the Egyptian and even Syrian territory occupied since June 1967, but in no case is Israel prepared to withdraw from the territories of historic Palestine, not to mention its obvious rejection of any talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Begin arrived in Washington holding some trump cards: he had rapidly managed without much difficulty to establish a new coalition commanding a rather comfortable Knesset majority; to the surprise of many, he had succeeded in winning the support of the entire Jewish community in the United States; the vote of the Jewish population in Israel had proved rather conclusively that the great majority did not support any negotiated solution not in accordance with the Likud strategy.

Nevertheless, the trip to Washington ended in failure. The theatrical stunts and facile demagoguery were insufficient to mask Israel's refusal to make any steps toward a compromise acceptable to the various Arab regimes. The differing American and Israeli conceptions of the modalities of the coming Geneva conference became apparent as the Zionist government refused to make ambiguous declarations or to hypocritically appear prepared to negotiate. Unless there is very strong pressure, the Israeli reaction to which would be difficult to predict, Israel is not prepared to accept a solution that includes the PLO. The Begin government says so openly, and even adds that the whole question of Israeli sovereignty over "historic Palestine" is not negotiable.

The problem for the new government does not lie in its strategy, which remains fundamentally that of its predecessors, but in the cover it now has to lend the demagogic criticism it imade of the parties previously in power. Indeed, when the Labor coalition established eighty colonies in the territories occupied in 1967 (assiduously avoiding thunderous declarations), the right opposition upped the ante and supported the extremists of the Gush Emunim (Bloc of Faith), which demanded

"colonies everywhere immediately."

Today the Gush Emunim and the Likud rank and file are demanding that Likud make good on its promises and unconditionally support the colonies established by the partisans of Greater Israel. It is here that the conflict with Washington is most evident and clearly shows that the interests of Tel Aviv do not necessarily coincide with those of its most important ally. As the report of the Brookings Institution pointed out two years ago, U.S. interest requires permanent movement, even if only by millimeters; Israel, on the other hand, remains interested in blocking any process, at least as far as the Palestinian question is concerned.

The new Israeli government thus remains confronted with the same problems as those of its predecessors, aggravated by the commitments it had made when it was still in the opposition.

Histadrut Elections

As far as economic and social policy is concerned, the situation is a bit better for the Begin team. Indeed, the balance-sheet of the Labor Party was catastrophic. In spite of a real decline in the purchasing power of the workers, the economic crisis had not been resolved. The general sentiment that there was no coherent economic plan enabled the opposition parties, both Likud and Dash, to put themselves forward as capable of putting the Israeli economy on an even keel again. Relatively little involved in the financial scandals, the Likud leaders enjoy some confidence among the workers. Thus, the ruling economists merely had to implement their plans rapidly.

Contrary to the Labor Party, which has always cloaked its offensive policy against the workers in "working-class" phraseology, Likud has never concealed its objectives: toughen anti-strike legislation, reduce the workers' buying power by more than 10%, and "rationalize unemployment" through the creation of "floating minimum unemployment." Quite significantly, Minister of Finance Simha Ehrlich has chosen the sadly famous Milton Friedman as an economic adviser, and the latter hurried to Israel to help the new government set the economy in order.

In the space of three months, and without triggering any significant response from the workers, the new government has succeeded in reducing subsidies to products of prime necessity by more than 20%. Family allowances for the first two children have been eliminated, several thousand jobs have been cut from the public sector, and a bill aimed at banning the right to strike in "vital" sectors of the economy has been drafted. Concurrently, a whole series of measures, especially fiscal ones, have been taken to facilitate investment and increase the rate of profit.

This success in the first stage of the new

government's economic plan is due on the one hand to the hope, shared by broad layers of workers, that the new leadership team will be capable of reorganizing the economic system that has always been dominated by the Zionist workers movement, even before the foundation of the state of Israel, and on the other hand to the complete inability of the leadership of the Histadrut to mount a counteroffensive.

Since the Knesset elections were held ahead of schedule, for the first time in many years the elections to the Histadrut were held one month later; normally they are held before the Knesset elections. In the past the results have been more or less the same in both elections, since the electorate and the slates are virtually identical. But that was not the case this time. The Labor Party was able to regain nearly all the votes it had lost to the rightist formations and thus to preserve its absolute majority in the leading apparatus of what is a state within the Zionist state.

How can this rapid change be explained? In essence, there are two main answers. First, a defeat in the Histadrut elections would have meant not only a death blow to the Labor Party, which given its present crisis would not have recovered from a double defeat, but also and more importantly the loss of the Labor bureaucracy's greatest material base. For more than forty years these bureaucrats have been accustomed to confusing their own pockets and the treasuries of their parties with the state treasury and the various political structures, the Histadrut among them. This has been shown by the recent financial scandals. It is clear that Labor's concern about this material base played a role in the Histadrut elections. For example, the members of the kibbutzim, a large minority of whom had turned to the rightist parties during the Knesset elections, voted nearly unanimously for the Labor bloc in the Histadrut elections.

The Labor Party, infused with the energy of a fighter with his back to the wall, really mobilized for the Histadrut elections. The entire country was covered with posters; hundreds of meetings were organized in the neighborhoods and industrial centers, and the entire kibbutz movement placed its resources and membership at the disposal of the Labor apparatus. The "class-struggle" style was suddenly in vogue, and Shimon Peres was suddenly talking about socialism and the dangers of big capital trying to challenge the gains of the workers. It is true that some Likud leaders did not take these elections seriously enough and made statements that may have frightened many workers of the privileged layers; they spoke, for instance, of dismantling Histadrut-owned industry and challenging of many of its privileges. The challenge to the structures of the Histadrut and to some of the privileged layers it organizes was a sufficient danger for the Labor bureaucracy to mobilize

energetically to preserve its grip on this immense apparatus.

The second reason for the Labor victory in the Histadrut elections brings us back to the real causes of the Likud victory in the Knesset elections. Thousands of voters had opted for Likud to express their defiance of the Labor bloc and not because they wanted Begin in power. They were often frightened by the results of their vote, and they tried to attenuate these results by voting Labor in the Histadrut. This was especially true since the leaders of the Liberal Party (in the Likud bloc)—contrary to some leaders of Herut (Freedom), Menahem Begin's party, who utilize working-class demagogy and have a popular base—have never concealed their class hatred and plans.

There were many who feared or hoped that a Labor victory in the Histadrut would compel the Laborites to use this apparatus to mount an offensive against Likud and regain the confidence of the voters. But nothing of the kind has happened. The Histadrut is not a class organization and the pressure of the workers cannot make itself felt within it. Its objectives and those of its Labor leadership are the same: subordinate the workers to the national interest, to the mobilization of the Zionist state against the Arab countries. So long as the privileges of the bureaucracy are not challenged, and it is not in the interest of the Zionist state to challenge them, the Likud leaders can rely on the "understanding" of the Histadrut leadership.

Moreover, the workers today are not prepared to be used by the Labor leadership against the government, which still has the confidence of many of them. A work stoppage called by the Histadrut leadership in July after the reduction of some subsidies to products of basic necessity was met with indifference and even hostility by the workers. Only a real mobilization on a clear class basis would be capable of arousing the Israeli working class, which does not at all appreciate the anti-working-class measures of the new government. But the leadership of the Histadrut will never do this. That is why the workers are taking a wait-and-see attitude and do not seem ready to respond to the increasingly severe attacks on their buying power and rights.

Although there have been few substantial changes in overall economic and political measures since the Begin government came to power, it would be wrong to say that there is no difference between the two major Israeli political currents. The mystical-religious ideology of Menahem Begin and a portion of Likud will have effects on various aspects of political and social life in Israel: deep reforms in the content and form of public education have been instituted, with an intensification of religious and "civic" education; official

declarations are permeated with religious expressions like "if God wills," "with God's help," and so on; the radio and television have been reeled in quickly, "anti-patriotic and defeatist elements" being censored.

In general, one may say that there is a



MENACHEM BEGIN: From chief of Irgun terrorists to head of Israeli state.

feeling in Israel that a new order is taking root, one based on the traditional values which people feel had been distorted by the corrupt regime of the Labor Party: patriotism, chauvinism, and religious mysticism. Such a state of mind must inevitably have consequences on the functioning of the various institutions of the Jewish state and on its personnel, in which there will be a gradual turnover.

But the new order is already having very concrete effects in some spheres of social life. The first victims of the new government have been women. Indeed, the religious parties with which Likud established its coalition government have demanded and obtained abolition of the law authorizing abortion (with many restrictions) as well as a further increase in the powers of the religious authorities over family life. The new government represents a real step backward for women, and all signs are that the same will be true for culture (several television broadcasts have been censored recently) and democratic rights.

Clear changes must be expected of the new government in the realm of democratic rights. Having made "return to order" and a harsh line against "troublemakers" the center of its election campaign and sincerely believing that the problems of the Jewish state are caused

primarily by these "troublemakers," the Likud leadership will probably try to impose some limits on the democratic rights that still exist in Israel. Measures will be taken mainly against Arabs (we will return to this point below), but also against anyone considered extremist by the parties in power. The official threats against the Revolutionary Communist League for its political activity among the Palestinian population are unequivocal: the new government will not tolerate certain things that were tolerated by its predecessor.

It is true that Likud can more easily afford selective repression than the Labor bloc; in fact, the latter often felt limited in its acts by its Social Democratic friends and other liberals whose advice and criticism were taken rather seriously. Such is not the case with Menahem Begin, who saw Mussolini as an ally before the Second World War and whose friends are Vorster and Ian Smith. And they will not complain if democratic rights are violated in Israel.

The Occupied Palestinians

As far as the Palestinian population under Israeli occupation is concerned, a distinction must be made between those who have lived in Israel since 1948 and those who inhabit the territories occupied since 1967. Paradoxically, it is the former, officially citizens of the Jewish state, who will suffer more from the new Israeli order.

It is no accident that one of the first statements of the new leading team concerned those the Zionists call "the Arabs of Israel": "We will aid the positive elements within the Arab population," declared Amnon Lin, the man who had demanded the outlawing of the Communist Party (Rakah) and is now in charge of Arab affairs, "but we will act with a firm hand against subversive elements who have no loyalty to the state of Israel."

And this is just what the new government has begun to do. On the one hand a number of statements have been made asserting that the refugees of Birim and Ikrit would finally be allowed to return to their villages, which provoked a storm of criticism from the Labor Party. (The inhabitants of these Arab villages were "temporarily" ousted from their homes in 1948 and have been denied permission to return. Nevertheless, they are "good Arabs" who had not fought against the Zionist state and voted in their majority for the right-wing Zionist parties.) On the other hand, some measures of intimidation have been taken against presumably radical elements: arrest of a theater troupe, infiltration of informers into Arab marriage ceremonies, which often become Arab cultural demonstrations, interrogation of known nationalist leaders, etc.

The initial effect of this policy has been to generate a wait-and-see attitude among the Palestinian population of Israel, many

militants preferring to find out what the policy of the new government will be before undertaking normal political activity.

The attitude of the Begin government toward the territories occupied since 1967 is dictated by the desire to integrate these territories into the state of Israel rapidly. This is what accounts for the project to grant the inhabitants of these territories the same social rights as Israeli citizens. It is also what explains the plan of General Sharon, minister of agriculture and chairman of the ministerial colonization committee. His plan calls for the rapid establishment of (Jewish) industrial centers throughout the West Bank, linked together by major strategic routes. The only problem with this plan is its financing, and it is not clear that the United States is prepared to foot the bill for this sort of project.

Nevertheless, the annexationist projects may paradoxically have a positive effect: Any opportunity for legal political activity would open new possibilities for the political forces struggling against the Zionist occupiers under very difficult conditions. Now, the annexationist project requires precisely a relative liberalization of the existing political system. Nonetheless, up to now the new government has not had to use especially harsh repressive measures, not out of concern for liberalism, but because the popular mobilization is now experiencing a certain ebb.

Since the Labor Party has not emerged from its crisis, one might expect a substantial strengthening of the forces to the left of the Labor Party and an increase in their activity. Not at all.

The Zionist left was crushed in the May elections, despite the fact that it presented a united slate for the first time. This would not be so serious if these forces envisaged counterbalancing their electoral weakness with a real policy of mobilization in the streets. It is possible, even on a Zionist basis, to initiate mobilizations against the most repugnant aspects of the government's policy. Nevertheless, even though the left Zionist forces have characterized the Begin government's policy as suicidal (with great exaggeration), they have never been less capable of mounting a political offensive.

Before the elections the left Zionists justified their hesitations and retreats by the fear that the far right would profit from their attacks on the Labor government. We have seen how effective that tactic was. Now that Likud has won the elections anyway, the argument has been reversed, but the conclusions remain virtually identical: the workers forces and those of sound mind (which means the Labor Party and the Zionist left) must unite before launching an offensive against the Likud. The Zionist left, which has hitched itself to the wagon of a paralyzed Labor

Party and is in no way prepared to break with "national unity," is thus condemned to immobilism.

What is more serious is that the Communist Party is developing a similar strategy. For Rakah the priority is to "stop the chauvinist right" and establish a broad front of "realistic forces" in which the Labor Party would be the dominant element. While this strategy has some coherence for the left Zionist parties, it becomes downright absurd for the CP, which in spite of its successive capitulations to Zionism continues—and will continue—to be considered an enemy party by the Zionist formations, one standing outside the "national consensus."

Apart from speeches in the Knesset, the only mass response that has yet been mounted to the reactionary projects of the new government has come from the feminist movement (and this has remained quite limited). In the framework of a broad campaign against the new laws aimed at outlawing abortion again and strengthening the power of religious authorities over family questions, the women's movement has organized several demonstrations that have succeeded in alerting broad layers of the population. The feminist movement is preparing a series of central campaigns this autumn, and these will probably be the only initiatives against the new order of the Begin government.

Obviously, revolutionary militants are supporting this mobilization, which in their view should serve as a model of the sort of response that is necessary and possible today: broad united fronts for the defense of democratic rights, against the annexation of the occupied territories and the new colonization plans, for defense of the rights of workers, and so on.

But what is central in the strategy of the anti-Zionist organizations today is to struggle against any illusion that defends moderate Zionism as embodied in the Labor Party against an extremist and dangerous Zionism allegedly represented by the present government. This mystification, which preaches relying on the Labor Party to "stop the chauvinist right," may be the biggest factor in paralyzing the beginning of a mobilization of the Jewish workers in defense of their immediate interests.

Labor Zionism is no more progressive and proletarian than the Zionism of Menahem Begin and Ariel Sharon. Both aim at lining the Jewish workers up behind a policy of expansion of the colonial state and the strengthening of its military might. To be convinced that the Labor Party does not stand to the left of the present government it is sufficient to examine the present criticism Peres and Rabin are making of the government, from an even more chauvinist standpoint. The Labor Party opposes the return of the Birim and Ikrit villagers to their homes

and attacks the document of Vance and Dayan as a "capitulation to American pressure" and as evidence of the government's "suicidal moderation."

For the Israeli workers, the alternative to the Begin government is their independent mobilization in defense of jobs, buying power, and democratic rights. They must become conscious that they will pay a high price—in human life, in the reduction of their living standards, and in the erosion of their own democratic rights—for any attack on the rights of the Palestinian masses, any intensification of repression or continuation of the occupation.

Against the various attempts to establish "peace fronts" or "fronts of the workers forces" that are merely attempts to attach the workers to the Labor Party, revolutionary communists call for the formation of a broad anti-Zionist united front assembling all political forces struggling against the national oppression of the Palestinian Arab people around an intransigent action program for defense of *all* democratic rights.

This perspective, which was at the center of the election campaign of the Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen-Marxist) is now getting some response from the most radicalized layers of the Palestinian population of Israel and their organizations and may soon be concretized in a series of united initiatives against the most flagrant government measures.

What will be more difficult, but no less important, will be the mobilization of more and more Jewish workers around these initiatives. They must be made to understand, through action and systematic agitation, that the interests of the Jewish workers require a break with national union and the fusion of the struggle they are waging, still in a dispersed manner, for defense of their immediate interests with the national struggle of the Palestinian masses.

As the embodiment of the ultimate logic of Zionism, the Begin government will allow for the demystification of a number of illusions in the Jewish state, both inside and outside it. Anti-Zionist militants will do all they can to enable the Jewish and Arab masses to draw the necessary conclusions, above all the need to unite to build in struggle the alternative to the new order now taking root in Israel. Not a return to the situation that preceded the May elections, but an alternative that puts an end to the root of the oppression Zionist colonialism inflicts, although in different ways, on both the Jewish and Arab masses.

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Back to Kant? The Retreat of Lucio Colletti

Reviewed by George Novack



[Second of two parts]

The worth of Colletti's recommendations can be judged by how they are used to interpret *Capital*. Do they illuminate Marx's method of thought—or do they distort it? Engels wrote:

It is the merit of Marx that . . . he was the first to have brought to the fore again the forgotten dialectical method, its connection with Hegelian dialectics and its distinction from the latter, and at the same time to have applied this method in *Capital* to the facts of an empirical science, political economy.²²

In the afterword to the second German edition of *Capital* Marx stated: "That the method employed in *Capital* has been little understood is shown by the various mutually contradictory conceptions that have been formed of it." He plainly says: "My dialectical method is, in its foundations, not only different from the Hegelian, but exactly opposite to it," because it views the ideal as "nothing but the material world reflected in the mind of man, and translated into forms of thought."²³

Although he cites the above passage in his chapter on "Kant, Hegel, and Marx" in *Marxism and Hegel*, Colletti refuses to take Marx and Engels at their word. He argues that Marx was guided not by the dialectical method but by "the logico-deductive method" à la Kant. To be sure, Marx employed deduction in his inquiries and even in his presentation, going from the general to the particular and the individual, as well as induction that proceeds in the opposite way. But these two types of inference used in ordinary reasoning are not the axis of his procedure. That is located in the dialectical developments dealt with at every step of the exposition. The Hegelophobic Colletti skirts these. His presentation sounds like a report on a modern factory that emphasizes the hand tools occasionally used by the workers and that slights the machine tools used in most of the operations.

On the level of logic, Colletti disqualifies the unity of opposites which is the nucleus of the dialectical method. It is, he says, an "old metaphysical commonplace."²⁴ He defines this law of development in a one-sided way as solely an expression of mutual negatives. On the concept of dialectical opposition, he writes:

This is traditionally expressed by the formula "A not-A." It is the instance in which one opposite cannot stand without the other and vice-versa (mutual attraction of opposites). Not-A is the negation of A. In itself and for itself it is nothing; it is the negation of the other and nothing else.²⁵

A for its part is simply the negation of not-A. This leaves out the affirmative side of a two-sided relation. Each term or pole in a unity of opposites, which is the essence of contradictoriness, has both a positive and negative aspect; one or the other may be uppermost in any given context.

This can readily be verified by turning to the first two sections of chapter I of *Capital*, where Marx discusses the two factors of

commodities and the dual character of the labor embodied in them. Use-value is the negation of exchange-value, and vice versa. The one exists as a physical property that satisfies some human want; the other is a purely social attribute made manifest in the exchange of labor products. Nonetheless, these mutually exclusive characteristics coexist as inseparable aspects of the commodity. Its existence is unthinkable without both these qualities. Their interdependence is disclosed from the beginning in the elementary form, in which the exchange-value of one commodity is reflected in the use-value of another.

The contrast between concrete and abstract labor is not only mutually exclusive but reciprocally interactive. Each of these two forms of labor has its own characteristics. The specific activity of labor such as tailoring, carpentering, etc., forms the utility of objects; the undifferentiated expenditure of labor-power creates value in exchange. The labor represented by use and the labor represented by value are antithetical; the one is qualitative, 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.

other quantitative. Abstract labor does not possess the characteristics that belong to labor as a creator of use-values while concrete labor has no part in the formation of exchange-value. Yet both are structural aspects of the commodity, each contributing its own necessary element to the unity of opposites that constitutes it. Logically speaking, that material entity, the commodity, is a synthesis of the double antitheses of use-value and exchange-value, concrete and abstract labor. The capitalist labor process creates at one and the same time both use-value and exchange-value, the latter being the sole source of surplus-value.

Colletti reminds us that Kant himself refers to the example of debt. The debtor-creditor relationship is a highly contradictory economic reality in which the positive and negative aspects cannot be dissociated. A liability to the debtor is an asset to the creditor.

Colletti tries to make fun of dialectics by asking whether a car crash, "a typical instance of a 'real opposition', i.e. of two opposed forces, constitutes a daily verification of dialectical materialism."²⁶ This feeble jest exhibits a poor understanding of the ABCs of dialectics. A car crash is not a genuinely dialectical opposition because the relation between the two objects is only external and accidental, not internal and necessary, as the

22. Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954), p. 65.

23. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, pp. 99, 102.

24. "Marxism and the Dialectic" (1975), p. 9.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

connection between use-value and exchange-value, and concrete and abstract labor, are in the commodity.

Colletti has to get around the predominant role of the materialist dialectic in the method of *Capital* because of his belief that contradictions are purely subjective. The mind, he thinks, can create and consider contradictory statements, but material formations beyond the mind cannot contain contradictory features or forces. This at once places him at odds with Marx, who is concerned from first to last with analyzing the contradictory relations of capitalist society that supply its dynamics and that will, as they come to a head, lead to its undoing.

In his 1975 essay "Marxism and the Dialectic," Colletti makes a revision of his own previous interpretation of Marx's method in *Capital*. This emendation is worth examining at some length for what it shows about the distance between Colletti and Marx.

There are two major camps among modern revisers of Marxism: the Hegelianizing thinkers who, like the young Lukács and the Frankfurt School, retain dialectics while scanting its material content; and those such as Althusser, Della Volpe, and Colletti who uphold materialism while rejecting the dialectical method by seeking to hitch Marxism to the cart of the positivist ideology commonly associated with the natural sciences in the West.

The members of both schools (except Althusser) reject the idea of a dialectics of nature—and as a consequence seek to separate Marx from Engels—though for very different reasons. The Hegelianizing Marxists accept the view that society, because it is a human product, involves genuine contradiction, indeterminate states, and evolutionary change through the clash of opposites. Their rejection of Engels is founded on the fear of diminishing the role of human will and reason by granting an analogue between the forms of change in society and those in nature. Their outlook is essentially anthropocentric. If material determinism is granted in society as well as nature, human beings will never escape from blind necessity and achieve freedom.

The goal of Colletti and Althusser—despite Colletti's many trenchant criticisms of the latter—is to efface the existence of evolutionary states and revolutionary transcendence, that is, of genuine contradiction. Whereas the aim of the Hegelianizers is largely accomplished when they have severed Marx from Engels, the disjunction of the founding fathers of scientific socialism is only the beginning for the antidialectical materialists. They then have to cope with the problem that Marx is absolutely unequivocal on the operation of dialectical contradiction within society.

Colletti writes in his 1975 essay:

If we leave to one side the few and isolated statements where Marx appears to ratify the "dialectic of matter", we must on the other hand take into account the impressive and incontrovertible fact that he left behind him *Capital*, the *Grundrisse*, the *Theories of Surplus Value*—in other words, not a cosmogony but an analysis of modern capitalism.²⁷

Unfortunately for Colletti, Marx's entire analysis of modern capitalism is based on a methodology that Colletti considers a "scarcely disguised religion."²⁸ For many years, Colletti, following his mentor Della Volpe, sought to meet this dilemma head on by arguing that Marx was methodologically mistaken and that he confused simple oppositions of definite forces with contradictions in the full sense. Now he writes in hindsight, summarizing the opinion he formerly shared with Della Volpe:

What the *Diamatiker* [practitioners of dialectical materialism] described and describe as *contradictions* in the real world were in effect *contrarieties*, i.e. real oppositions and hence *non-contradictions*. Consequently Marxism, while continuing to speak of conflicts and of *objective oppositions* in reality, no longer had to claim for itself (and worse, seek to impose on science) a special logic of its own—the dialectic—that was at variance with and opposed to the logic followed by the existing sciences. Further: Marxism could henceforth continue to speak of struggles and of objective

conflicts in nature and in society, making use of the non-contradictory logic of science; and better yet, it would henceforth be a science and practise science itself.

Colletti's distinction here, taken from Kant (who owed it to Aristotle), between oppositions ("contrarieties") and contradictions, is a useful one. He scores some points by showing that some Marxists have occasionally cited as examples of contradictions phenomena that do not involve internal differentiation or the unity of opposites. But that hardly exhausts the matter. There are above all the processes of reciprocal action in the course of evolutionary development with their qualitative transmutations that involve other forms of change, evolution, and opposition that cannot be disposed of so easily.

This leaves him the choice of following Althusser, who has characterized the entire corpus of Marx's work, with the exception of the late *Notes on Wagner*, as tainted with Hegelian *Naturphilosophie*, or else to seek some common ground with the thinking of Marx for the analysis of, at least, modern capitalist society. Colletti set himself on the latter course in his 1975 essay, where he grants that his own previous views were insufficient and that in capitalist society, if in no other place, genuine contradiction can be found.

This admission might be regarded as a positive development on Colletti's part, a partial reconciliation with the views of Marx. As we shall see, however, Colletti's grounds for his new position are quite different from Marx's, and constitute a move away from Marx toward the nonmaterialist outlook of the Hegelian school.

For Marx, all of class society and each of its distinctive stages is characterized by an organic unity of opposites represented by the ruling class and the exploited producers, whether the latter are slaves, serfs, or wage-laborers. The dialectical process that Marx saw at work in social evolution, whose motor is the class struggle, was summarized by him in his famous "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy" (1859). There he wrote:

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure.³⁰

Here it is plain that the central dialectical contradiction in class society rests in its very bedrock in the evolution of the forces of production within the framework of a definite set of productive relations. The forces of production are not a fixed magnitude. The concept of contrariety is inadequate to explain the accumulation of quantitative changes in the forces of production that reach at a certain point a qualitative sundering of the old relations of production. The specific unity of opposites explodes in the destruction of the old society and the transformation of the superstructure to the mold of a new socioeconomic formation.

This is not an analysis restricted to capitalist society. Moreover, the two poles of the social contradictions Marx discusses are both genuine material realities, albeit ones that are bound together in a single totality. This is quite different from the Kantian concept of contradiction defended by Colletti. Colletti maintains with Kant

29. *Ibid.*, p. 19, emphasis in original.

30. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), pp. 20-21.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

that contradiction exists solely in the mind, not in the perceived external reality. He seeks to prove that Hegel in effect shares this view by arguing that contradiction for Hegel involved two poles, the pole of material phenomena and the pole of organizing reason, the Absolute Idea. Either one taken alone was for Hegel unreal. Colletti concludes triumphantly that because the poles of social contradiction, in particular the counterposed antagonistic social classes, have obvious materiality, they do not meet Hegel's definition of "contradiction."

But it is precisely here that he ignores Marx's placing of the Hegelian dialectic on material foundations. Naturally, for Marx, both poles of social contradiction, the classes in struggle with each other over the material resources and administration of society, are "real." Nevertheless, they are specific classes *only* in relation to each other. There can be no class of slave owners without the existence of slaves, and no slaves without masters.

Colletti's new epistemological position does not depart from his former view that dialectical opposition can exist only in the mind and not in reality. How, then, can dialectics be characteristic of a whole society and not just the mental processes of its individual members? That is the dilemma he has to resolve.

His answer is to seek unique features of capitalist society that reproduce on a social scale what he sees as the illusions of individual thought. He finds these in alienation and the fetishism of commodities. Thus for Colletti, what is most fundamentally contradictory about capitalist society is not, as Marx would have it, the opposition of labor and capital, or the opposition between the expanding forces of production and the fetters of private property. It lies instead in the false way in which capitalism induces people under its spell to *perceive* their social relations. Colletti does not acknowledge first and foremost the contradictory character of the production and reproduction of social life, but rather the contradictions manifested in the circulation of commodities and in the ideological reflection of this process in the superstructure.

To make clear what this issue is about, let us restate Marx's view on the fetishism of commodities, which he presents in the first chapter of volume one of *Capital*. In precapitalist society, Marx writes, "relations of personal dependence form the given social foundation." As a result, labor and the products of labor "take the shape, in the transactions of society, of services in kind and payment in kind."³¹ In such a society the relations of lordship and bondage are obvious and transparent for all to see.

It is otherwise under capitalism, where distribution is mediated by the market and the exchange of commodities. Exchange seems to take place not between people but between money and commodities, that is, between things. Value appears to be a quality inherent in material objects, not a *social* relationship founded on a society-wide division of labor based on private property in the means of production. Labor appears as a private, individual occupation, not as a component of social labor.

To the producers, therefore, the social relations between their private labors appear as what they are, i.e. they do not appear as direct social relations between persons in their work, but rather as material [*dinglich*] relations between persons and social relations between things.³²

For example, gold is in nature only a metal with special properties; that is its substantial reality. The Incas, who did not use gold as money but for ornament, personified this thing as "the tears of the sun."

Peoples who have progressed beyond such anthropomorphic metaphors may nonetheless believe that gold is "naturally" money. When they say that gold is *per se* more valuable than iron, this judgment mistakes the physical properties that make this metal suitable to serve as money for the essential social relationships that endow gold with its value. Value and its money form are exclusively *social* attributes. Gold becomes money only

31. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, p. 170.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66.

by functioning as the universal equivalent of the value of commodities, the outcome of a prolonged socioeconomic development.

The fetishism of commodities is an inseparable feature of the capitalist mode of production. It flows from the anarchic, decentralized, unplanned character of capitalist economy. It underlies the generation of false consciousness among the mass of the producers, by giving rise to the illusion of equal exchange between capital and labor. Money (wages) is exchanged for a commodity (labor power), an exchange that hides the relation of exploitation between the employer and the worker. (More on this later.)

For Marx, the fetishism of commodities is an expression not of the most profound and determinant contradictions of capitalism, which lie in the realm of production, but a necessary form of appearance of these contradictions on the level of mass psychology. Colletti seeks to found a general theory of capitalist contradiction on the opposition between the forces of production organized by capitalist society, which he takes as a noncontradictory given, and the superstructural reflection of the relations of production summed up in the concepts of alienation and fetishism. While the latter gives him the mental, "unreal" side of the contradiction he seeks, it is a move away from the material basis of the dialectical conflict presented in Marx's analysis.

The fetishism of commodities is not, as Colletti implies, the central feature of capitalism or the source and seat of its principal contradictions. The fundamental contradictions of capitalism flow from the conflict between the developing forces of production and the relations of production, the conflict between the socialized character of the production and circulation process and the private appropriation of their results, and the growing antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Fetishism is one of the manifestations of the exchange relations of capitalist economy. It is a false form of consciousness, a distorted impression imposed on people's minds because of the indirect ties of production. A close analogy is the deceptive perception we have that the sun moves around the earth every twenty-four hours, whereas in reality the earth is spinning on its own axis.

The fetishism of commodities itself exemplifies the dialectical interdependence of appearance and reality. Thus a certain commodity such as cattle or gold turns into money because all other commodities express their value in it. That is the reality of the metamorphosis. However, they seem to express their value in it because it is money. Such a notion conceals and reverses the actual state of affairs and its evolution.

In contrast to commodity fetishism, the process of alienation is deeply embedded in the underlying productive relations of capitalism. Although economic, political, cultural, and psychological manifestations of alienation are more widespread and acute in contemporary bourgeois society, alienation preceded capitalism and will persist in the period of transition to socialism. Under capitalism the dominant element is the alienation of wage labor which has been effected by the prerequisites of the capitalist mode of production. These are the dispossession of the laborers from all the material means of production and their concentration in the hands of capitalist owners who are thereby entitled to appropriate surplus labor. Having previously been deprived of any control over the conditions of production, the worker's own labor is alienated from him by the sale of his labor-power to the boss. All the alienated relations that run through the fabric of capitalist society are derived from or reinforced by its economic forms of production and property.

Colletti contends that Marx's political economy is above all a theory of alienation.³³ He also writes that "the theory of value was entirely at one with the theory of alienation and fetishism."³⁴ This

33. "Marxism and the Dialectic" (1975), p. 22.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

identification of the law of value with two outgrowths of its operation misrepresents the prime purpose of *Capital*, which is to present a scientific explanation of the laws of development of the capitalist mode of production. As part of his work, Marx does deal with the processes of alienation and fetishism among his other contributions to economic and social science. He integrates his studies on these subjects into a comprehensive exposition of the movement of the capitalist system from its origins to its replacement by a higher form of economic life.

Ironically, by pivoting his interpretation of *Capital* around alienation and fetishism rather than the dialectical development of its productive forces and relations as Marx, the historical materialist, does, Colletti takes a step toward Hegel's manner of thought and is partially Hegelianizing Marx's political economy, a transformation he considers the worst of abominations. It was not Marx but Hegel who identified the theory of alienation with the working of contradiction in society. Hegel construed labor as alienating by its very nature: by externalizing this human capacity it deprived man of something that previously belonged to him; and because needs always exceed production, they can never be satisfied. Marx thought that labor undergoes alienation only under certain historical conditions which can be overcome at a higher level of socioeconomic development.

Colletti knows this full well. But by converting alienation and fetishism into the focal points of *Capital* and its contradictions, he retranslates Marx's economic categories into philosophical terms. This reverses the course of Marx's own thought, which began in its earliest stage with the abstract notions of speculative philosophy and moved forward to the specific concepts expressing the relations of production proper to political economy.

When Colletti writes that money is "a product of alienation,"³⁵ he reminds us of the German literati who, as the *Communist Manifesto* pointed out, "wrote their philosophical nonsense beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money, they wrote 'Alienation of Humanity'. . . ." While money does give rise to many kinds of alienated relations and is based upon the alienation of a value of no use to its owner in exchange for something useful, in economic history and in the terms of political economy, money is the product of the differentiation of a particular use-value out of the multitude of others to serve as a general and universal equivalent of value. This is its prosaic historical origin.

This makes the money-commodity into the antithesis of all other commodities. Here again we meet with the operation of the unity of opposites that Colletti scorns. This invaluable instrument of theoretical analysis not only enabled Marx to decipher the twofold character of commodities and of labor that baffled his predecessors. It also made it possible to trace the metamorphosis of property rights in their evolution from elementary and marginal commodity production to the capitalist mode with its intensive exploitation of wage labor and its form of wealth as "an immense collection of commodities."

Marx explained how the law of private property based on commodity production and circulation was transformed into its direct opposite in line with its internal dialectic. The laws of commodity production originally justified a property right in individual labor, as with such small producers as peasants and artisans who face each other on the market as commodity owners with equal rights. The means to obtain the other commodity, or the commodity of others, is through the sale of the commodity previously produced by one's own labor.

However, under capitalist relations, private property functions in the opposite manner—on the side of the capitalist as the right to appropriate the unpaid labor or produce of others, on the side of the worker or small independent commodity producer, as the impossibility of appropriating one's own product. This reversal of

property rights, which is a boon to the capitalist and a curse to the worker, small peasant, and artisan, is logically inexplicable without invoking the unity and struggle of opposites ruled out by Colletti.

As capitalism develops, the alienation of labor and the fetishism of commodities exert their most powerful and pernicious effect in connection with the exchange relations between the capitalist and the worker. The legally validated claim that equal values are represented on each side of the bargain in the labor market conceals the mechanism of exploitation whereby labor is alienated from the worker. It appears as though the worker is paid for the full value of his work. Yet he receives only enough of it to survive and reproduce his kind while the capitalist pockets the unpaid surplus labor.

The objective basis of their irrepressible struggle is the conflict over the division of the value the laborers produce; the more the workers manage to get, the less goes to the capitalist and vice versa. Surplus labor time exists only in antithesis to necessary labor time (again, unity of opposites!).

However, the reality of these productive relations is masked by the illusion arising from the fact that, in accord with the rules of the market, equal values are being exchanged in the sale and purchase of labor-power, the only commodity the worker possesses. Marx's conclusions on labor value and surplus-value exposed the fallacy behind this illusion by showing how the laws of commodity circulation became transformed into their opposite in the productive relations between the capitalist possessors and the disinherited workers.

It is not alienation and commodity fetishism by themselves but the specific exploitative relations between capital and labor that distinguishes the capitalist mode of production, its socioeconomic formation, historical period, and stage of economic evolution from all others. To be sure, alienation and commodity fetishism play their parts in producing and maintaining this oppressive relationship by enveloping its manifestations in mystification so that things are not what they seem to be at first glance but are in fact their exact opposite. The capitalists do not support the workers by giving them jobs; the workers support the monied parasites by yielding up their surplus labor. The critical analyses of Marxist political economy demystify and explain these phenomena by distinguishing the real movement of the class relationships from their outward semblances.

Consider interest-bearing capital, which is the perfected and most mystified form of the fetishism of capital. Here it seems as though "money breeds money" autonomously, without any connection with the process of production where the real action of exploitation takes place. On the surface the loan and its repayment appear simply as a transaction between one capitalist and another. All the determining factors of capital are obliterated and its real elements invisible, though interest is actually in origin and substance a part of the unpaid labor appropriated by the operating capitalist from the worker in the shape of surplus-value. While the inner nature of capitalist production is objectively manifested in the interest accruing from the mere ownership of capital, it does so in a completely inverted and deranged guise.³⁶

When a savings bank advertises: "Let your money work for you," it is appealing to a fetishistic notion. Under capitalism the social relationships refracted through money enable its owner to receive interest on loans. Despite the appearance, the thing itself, money, does no work. Only people engage in labor—and the interest is in reality a fraction of the abstract labor expended by the working class and made manifest as value.

Both commodity fetishism and alienation are themselves contradictory phenomena. It is a contradiction that the product of the workers' labor belongs not to them but to the boss, who buys

35. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

36. See Marx's *Theories of Surplus-Value: Volume IV of Capital* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), Part III, p. 456.

their labor-power, and that the total product in the form of value becomes an alien and uncontrollable power dominating the working class and society as a whole. These contradictions do not exist simply in the minds of people, who may not give them the slightest thought, or in the pages of *Capital*. They are materialized in the antagonistic interests between the exploiters and exploited. If his conclusions were consistent with his logical premises, Colletti's conception of contradiction would convert these objective relations of production into mere relations between contrary propositions.

Is it not a contradiction that the laboring majority has no control over the material conditions of production required for their livelihood whereas the capitalist minority has a monopoly of them by which it seizes the surplus-value of the work force? Under capitalism, "the relationship of labour to the conditions of labour is turned upside-down, so that it is not the worker who makes use of the conditions of labour, but the conditions of labour which make use of the worker."³⁷

This coercive relation, which places the workers at the mercy of the capitalist slave drivers, is an objective fact. Although Colletti runs into contradictions like these at every turn, he refuses to acknowledge their objective character simply because his shallow and subjective view of contradiction precludes him from doing so.

To back up his misreading of *Capital*, Colletti asserts that Marx shares his view that contradiction is a feature peculiar to capitalism because of its inverted relations.

... from Marx's perspective, contradiction is the *specific* feature of capitalism, the characteristic or quality which singles it out not only with respect to all other forms of society, but with respect to all other cosmic phenomena.³⁸

This arbitrary limitation has no foundation either in cosmic reality, human history, or Marx's thought. The exploitative relations between slaveholder and slave, feudal lord and serf, were no less contradictory and antagonistic, even though the modes of extracting surplus labor by the owners and controllers of the means of production were different. The contradictions within the commodity between use-value and exchange-value, between concrete private labor and abstract social labor, and between the world of commodities and money are all to be found in the elementary commodity production and circulation of precapitalist times, though in an immature and restricted state. They come to full bloom in the contradiction between capital and wage-labor under generalized commodity production, in which the use-value of labor-power is the source of the surplus-value indispensable for capital accumulation. And surely there are plenty of contradictions in the postcapitalist formations of our century, even though they are not the same as those that characterize capitalist relations.

Colletti indulges in a rather torturous argument to demonstrate that the false mental perceptions induced by commodity fetishism and alienation are the only source of capitalist contradiction. Since for him, one side of his newly conceded "dialectical opposition" in capitalist society must remain "unreal," he is unable to share with Marx the concept of an actual unity of opposites in struggle. Instead he conceives of two separate poles whose relation to each other is unclear. On the one side is the actual capitalist economy, where the laws of political economy have as much objective validity and determinate reality as the laws of nature. But:

From the other point of view these laws, which appear to have a material or objective character, are nothing other than the *fetishistic objectification*

of human social relations which are beyond the control of men themselves. They do not represent natural objectivities, but alienation.³⁹

Colletti in fact disjoins what he calls contradiction in capitalist society into two mutually exclusive parts, whose interaction he admits he cannot describe. On the "real" side of the equation are the productive forces and the relations of production; on the other, the unreal realm of reified consciousness. This is reflected in his misconception of the "two Marxes."

Many Western sociologists are troubled by the problem of whether Marxism can be both scientific and revolutionary. Colletti is among them. He tries to solve this false dilemma by splitting Marx into two parts, concerned alternately with these two irreconcilable "opposites." On the one side there is Marx the scientific political economist, who delineates the laws of economic motion of capitalism, and on the other there is Marx the moral philosopher, who demands the overthrow of capitalism's fetishistic objectification of human social relations.

This antithesis between scientific work and revolutionary activity is as false as Colletti's postulation of the "two Marxes." Through the scientific method of historical materialism, Marx arrived at the revolutionary conclusions in theory which he put into practice throughout his adult life. Depressed and disoriented by the evils of Stalinism and the delay in the advent of proletarian victories in the West, Colletti, like others, cannot envisage the harmonious unity between science and revolution that characterizes genuine Marxism.

If we look closely at his construct, a striking fact emerges. In the summarizing conclusion to his 1975 essay, Colletti writes:

For Marx, capitalism is contradictory not because it is a *reality* and all realities are contradictory, but because it is an *upside-down*, inverted reality (alienation, fetishism).⁴⁰

If these words mean what they seem to mean, then Colletti has not really budged from his infatuation with Kant and his rejection of materialist dialectics. What he recognizes as "real" in capitalist society is only its economic substructure, in which he denies any intrinsic dialectical contradiction, in accord with Kant's epistemology. He takes the mystified ideological superstructure of capitalist society and denies it any status as "reality."

The only contradiction he really admits is the unresolvable one Kant himself granted, that between the thing-for-ourselves of "phenomenal" reality—the province of science—and, across an unbridgeable gulf, the "noumenal" mental world of moral practice—the province of morality, will, and faith. Starting from Kant's epistemology and logic, there is no interaction between the two poles. The "two Marxes" of Lucio Colletti have become "real opposites," and "never the twain shall meet" within his framework of thought.

The real Marx had a unitary view of the contradictions of capitalist society. The negating pole of the main contradiction for him was not the generation of false consciousness through commodity circulation but the growth of the productive forces and class consciousness. The actual Marx saw the progressive resolution of capitalist contradictions in the revolutionary reconstruction of society. The Kantianized Marx of Lucio Colletti suffers from the same inability to unite theory and practice that characterized Kant as a philosopher. Colletti admits as much in his final pessimistic conclusion:

The social sciences have not yet found a true foundation of their own. Hence I do not know whether the existence of these two aspects [of Marx] is fatal or advantageous. What is not at issue is the fact that our task now is to find out whether and how they can be reconciled.⁴¹

Colletti alleges that there is no reference to revolution in

37. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

38. "Marxism and the Dialectic" (1975), pp. 26-27.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 22, emphasis in original.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 29, emphasis in original.

41. *Loc. cit.*

Capital. So gross an oversight comes from his disregard for the dialectical denouement of its evolution. While Marx's work is centered on setting forth the laws of motion of the capitalist system, it unmistakably points to the outcome of the whole historical tendency of capitalist accumulation. In chapter 32 of volume I of *Capital*, Marx explains the consequences of the expropriation of the smaller and weaker individual private producers by the big capitalists, which makes them in turn ripe for collective expropriation by the revolutionary workers. The process of alienation wherein the capitalists and workers occupy opposite poles is at bottom a process of exploitation and enslavement which the workers resist and, under extremely explosive circumstances, revolt against:

Along with the constant decrease in the number of capitalist magnates, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this process of transformation, the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation and exploitation grows; but with this there also grows the revolt of the working class. . . . The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labour reach a point at which they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated.⁴²

This lawful process is dialectical. Capitalist monopoly is the negation of individual private property in the means of production:

But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a natural process, its own negation. This is the negation of the negation.⁴³

At the time the first volume of *Capital* was published this might have seemed like an unjustifiable extrapolation prompted by Hegelian metaphysics or "subjective utopianism." There are many who still think so. Since then, the expropriators have been expropriated one way or another in fourteen countries. Although the dispossession of capitalist power and property may proceed too slowly and haltingly for our desires, and while the course taken by the socialist revolution on the world arena has been highly contradictory to date, it has gone forward in our century in accord with the laws discovered by Marx.

The still partial resolution of the irreconcilable historical conflict between capital and labor brings us back to the respective logics of Kant and Hegel as construed by Colletti. He approves the following statement by Kant:

In a real opposition one of the opposed determinations can never be the contradictory contrary of the other [note this well (Colletti's interjection—G.N.)], since in such a case the contrast would be of a logical character. . . .⁴⁴

Kant thereby categorically counterposes real forces to contradictory relations, although the one is not at all incompatible with the other. This distinction, which Colletti regards as all-important, comes to grief when it is applied to capital-labor relations.

The class struggle between the capitalists and the workers involves a clash of real social forces—and these stand in dialectical contradiction to one another. Each has antithetical material interests to defend that pull them in divergent directions. Yet at the same time, on the plane of social relations, they are organically interconnected within the capitalist framework, the existence of the one being dependent upon the existence of the other.

According to Hegel's conception of the movement of contradiction, the negative pole in the relation of opposites has the potential of annulling the positive pole, and, when the state of equilibrium, of dominance and subordination, is broken, proceeds

to do so. Thus, in the course of development, the antagonistic interests of the contending classes lead to the disruption of the social and political equilibrium and ultimately to the downfall of the previously superior power.

It is the sharpening of the main inner contradictions as capitalism develops between the capitalists and the workers, between the outmoded national boundaries and the international operation of the capitalist economy, and between socialized production and private appropriation that generate the crisis-ridden condition of the system today. Such is the logic of the basic structural features of its development.

That is not how Colletti conceives of the matter. He concludes: capitalist oppositions are, for Marx, dialectical contradictions and not real oppositions.⁴⁵

What else can this mean but that there is no necessary antagonism in the relations between capital and labor, no definite connection between the laws of motion of the capitalist economy and the preparation of proletarian revolution? Such a theoretical position draws him closer to the outlook of an ethical socialism than to scientific socialism. Revolutionary action is reduced to a moral imperative.

In a broadcast given over BBC to mark the centennial of the publication of the first volume of *Capital*, Isaac Deutscher had this to say about the role of dialectics in that work:

Dialectics is indeed the grammar of Marxist thinking. But just as one shows one's mastery of grammar not in reciting its rules, but in living speech, so one shows one's grasp of dialectics not in mulling over its formulas, but in coming to grips with specific, large and vital issues in history and contemporary affairs. No doubt, the rules of dialectics have to be learned; a good manual, like a good grammatical textbook, has its uses. But a one-sided preoccupation with abstract methodology is often a form of ideological escapism, even if those who indulge in it love to dwell on "Praxis" and spell "Praxis" with a capital "P". *Das Kapital* is the supreme example of the dialectical mind in action, of the dialectical mind using all its power of abstraction to plow up layer after layer of empirical social experience. Marx was, of course, greatly concerned with the problems of his philosophical workshop as well, and with the nature of his intellectual tools, those he had inherited from others and those he himself invented. But the workshop and the tools were not ends in themselves—they were there to process the economic and socio-political raw material and to turn out the finished product.⁴⁶

There is more truth and wisdom in this one paragraph than in all of Colletti's strained efforts to excise the dialectic from Marx's reasoning and turn *Capital*, the preeminent model of the method of materialist dialectics, into a learned commentary on alienation and fetishism.

* * *

These past and present disputes over the theory of knowledge and the method of *Capital* are not merely a matter of academic interest. They are directly relevant to the solution of pressing social and political problems. The nature of the Soviet Union almost sixty years after the October revolution is one of the most controversial issues in radical circles today.

According to Moscow's official doctrine, the Soviet Union is socialist from top to bottom and on the way to communism. Peking contends that the Soviet Union is a capitalist, fascist, imperialist state.

Despite their diametrically different conclusions, both of these centers of Stalinist theorizing follow the same logic. They assume that the Soviet Union is a homogeneous whole, possessing an identical content in all respects. This is a formalistic, not a dialectical, method of analyzing its stages of development since 1917.

In reality, the Soviet political structure underwent a deepgoing

42. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, p. 929.

43. Loc. cit.

44. "Marxism and the Dialectic" (1975), p. 7.

45. Ibid., p. 29.

46. Isaac Deutscher, "Discovering *Das Kapital*" (1967), in *Marxism in Our Time* (Berkeley, California: Ramparts Press, 1971), pp. 261-62.

transformation from the workers' democracy of Lenin's time to the dictatorship of Stalinism. The Soviet Union is an extremely contradictory social formation in which an antisocialist totalitarian political system intermeshes with a postcapitalist nationalized and planned economy. Whereas the ruling bureaucratic caste and its regime is reactionary, the nationalized and planned economy which it mismanages is highly progressive. Although, according to the thought pattern of formalistic thinkers, such a mating of opposites is impossible, this definition corresponds to the real, contradictory state of affairs.

Where does Colletti stand on this crucial question? He does reject the theory that the Soviet Union has restored capitalism. He also considers Trotsky's treatment of the USSR in *The Revolution Betrayed* to be an exemplary model of analysis. But when it comes to drawing a specific conclusion as to the class character of the Soviet state he does not accept Trotsky's dialectical characterization. In an earlier essay on "The Question of Stalin" (*New Left Review*, no. 61, 1970) he did concur with Trotsky that the Soviet Union was a "society of transition" from capitalism to socialism, but he balked at accepting the more concrete materialist definition of a "degenerated workers' state." At the same time, he "cannot propose any more precise definition."⁴⁷ This agnostic partisan of Kantian epistemology might find it easier to arrive at an answer if he did not reject the objective reality of contradiction in social structures that accords with the insights of the materialist dialectic.

Colletti sincerely wishes to surmount the stagnation of socialist theory in the West and help resolve the crisis of Marxism. He admits that he cannot yet wholly foresee the outcome of his drastic reconstruction of dialectical materialism. From the orientation of his thinking and the results of his reevaluations to date, the prognosis is none too favorable. He is not following in the footsteps of Marx but departing from his path. In going back to Kant instead of moving forward from Hegel, as Feuerbach, Marx, and Engels did, he is not modernizing and improving Marxism but mutilating its principles and relapsing into outmoded ideas.

47. "A Political and Philosophical Interview" (1974), p. 26.

That is not all. His retrogression in the philosophical and theoretical spheres has been attended by a political accommodation to reformism. His break from the Stalinist camp has not led forward to revolutionary Marxist positions but backward to Social Democracy.

Colletti has become a supporter of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), which belongs to the Second International. Nowadays he envisages in Eurocommunism the opportunity for some kind of organic unity between the Socialist and Communist parties, if the CPs move further along in their "affirmation of democracy" and radically revise some essential themes of the doctrines of Marx, Lenin, and Gramsci. This would entail, he argues, opting for the "historical compromise" of CP participation in a coalition government with the Christian Democracy aimed at democratizing rather than combating the bourgeois state and replacing it with a workers' regime. (See the joint declaration with the historian Massimo Salvadori in the weekly *Espresso*, February 12, 1977, and two statements in *Mondoperaio*, the monthly magazine of the Italian Socialist Party, January 1977, p. 45 and June 1977, p. 6.)

The most widely read theorists of Western Marxism deform its principles along two quite different lines. One tendency (the early Lukács, Sartre, Henri Lefebvre, the Frankfurt School, et al.) submerges its materialism; the other (Althusser, Colletti, and even Timpanaro) seeks to do away with its dialectical mainspring. Notwithstanding their polemics against one another, both camps strike at dialectical materialism in one or another of its vital parts. The unique philosophical contribution of Marx and Engels was their synthesis of a consistent and comprehensive materialist world view with a theory of universal evolution that was thoroughly dialectical. These two lines of thought had previously been developed separately and were considered incompatible.

To separate one of these components from the other and disparage either is to impair, if not to undo, their achievement.

If Marxism is to retain—and after the debacle of Stalinism, to regain—the scientific rigor of its founders, it must hold fast to both sides of their teachings: its materialist basis and its dialectical mode of thought. These constitute an indissoluble unity, as its most qualified adherents have recognized in the past.

October 15, 1977

Hundreds Massacred in Southern Philippines

With the escalation of fighting in the southern Philippines between government troops and Muslim guerrillas of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), the martial-law regime of President Ferdinand E. Marcos has launched a terror campaign against Muslim civilians.

In early October, according to an October 28 *New Asia News* dispatch, "More than three hundred Muslim women and children, mostly relatives of MNLF men, were rounded up and massacred in Jolo island by government-directed 'Lost Commands' [paramilitary units]. . . ."

A few days later, Brig. Gen. Teodulfo Bautista, the commander of the Philippine First Division, was killed along with thirty-three of his men in what the Marcos regime described as an ambush by MNLF leader Usman Sali. Sali's wife and children had been among those massacred on Jolo.

Using the killing of Bautista as an excuse, the Marcos regime stepped up its military operations against the Muslims. On October 12, MNLF leader Hatimil

Hassan charged that government troops had massacred another 400 Muslim civilians in retaliation for Bautista's death.

The massacres and clashes between government and MNLF troops mark a breakdown of the cease-fire that had been negotiated in December 1976 between Marcos and the MNLF.

The MNLF demands regional autonomy for the areas of Mindanao, Basilan, Jolo, and other islands inhabited by the country's four million Muslims.

While trying to give the appearance of considering the Muslim demands, Marcos took advantage of the cease-fire to bolster his forces in the south. At the same time, he launched a campaign designed to isolate the MNLF from the Muslim population and to foster divisions among the rebels, apparently with little success. According to a report in the October 28 *Le Monde* by Philippe Pons, who visited Mindanao, the MNLF's military forces now number about 20,000 troops.

Throughout the cease-fire, there have been constant skirmishes between govern-

ment and MNLF forces and numerous retaliatory attacks by Marcos's troops against the civilian population in the south. According to the MNLF, the regime's armed forces violated the cease-fire more than 700 times, resulting in the deaths of 612 civilians between January 20 and September 28.

Although the cease-fire is still formally in effect, Marcos launched a major offensive against the MNLF on September 21, using as a pretext the deaths of more than twenty persons in a land-mine explosion on Basilan.

Heavy fighting was later reported around the city of Zamboanga, on Mindanao, and the Philippine navy began to bombard the coasts of Jolo, which is a major area of MNLF support. The 15,000 government troops stationed on Jolo also started shelling Muslim villages with heavy artillery and the air force conducted bombing raids.

One index of the level of the fighting was the regime's loss of 140 soldiers in a period of three weeks. □

Selections From the Left

Militant

DIRECT ACTION

Socialist weekly published in Sydney, Australia. Presents the views of the Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party.

As a step toward fusing their two organizations into a unified Trotskyist party in Australia, the Communist League and the Socialist Workers Party have published the first joint edition of their newspapers, the *Militant* and *Direct Action*. Both the SWP and CL are sympathizing groups of the Fourth International.

In its new combined format, a number of pages in each issue will appear under the *Direct Action* banner and a number of pages under that of the *Militant*. The first number, dated October 20, explains what the merger represents:

"Direct Action and Militant will continue to be published in this joint weekly format until the two organisations are united in a single revolutionary party at a fusion conference in January. . . .

"As the articles in joint Militant/Direct Action will make clear, the essential basis for the unity of the two organisations is the common adherence to the program of class struggle and internationalism, opposition to all forms of class collaboration, the understanding that progressive social change can be achieved only through the mass struggles of the workers and other oppressed fighting for their own interests, and the recognition that the leadership of a mass revolutionary party is indispensable to the victory of the socialist revolution. . . .

"The joint Direct Action/Militant will help the two organisations to elaborate and define more precisely their common political positions, through joint editorials and collaboration on articles by writers from both organisations. . . .

"Equally importantly, the joint paper will make it possible for militants outside the CL and SWP to observe the development of revolutionary unity and, hopefully, to be persuaded that they too ought to participate in this process."

bandiera rossa

"Red Flag," fortnightly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Groups, Italian section of the Fourth International. Published fortnightly in Milan.

A special eight-page issue, dated October 7, is devoted to reporting on and analyzing

the Bologna conference of September 23-25.

"Bologna showed," write the editors, "that the revolutionary left and the anticapitalist movement still exist. They haven't disappeared, and they are able to carry out a sharp polemical discussion among themselves without going over into physical conflict (although this has not always been avoided) and without breaking their ties with the broader sections of the masses.

"A political synthesis of the whole rich discussion that took place at Bologna has not yet emerged. We don't yet see exactly how the mass movements—first of all the student movement—can be given new impetus, how we will be able to form firm links with the workers movement. No political line has emerged that goes beyond calling for "rejection of the policy of belt-tightening." Bologna did not bring the revolutionary left and the social vanguard out of the tunnel, but it brought us far enough to see the light at the end.

"On what do we base this statement? On two facts. The first is simply that the conference took place, without any grave incidents. The movement showed that it existed. This was not just a question of luck; it flowed from the politics of the situation. . . .

"The second fact is that the movement began to carry out a discussion and polarize politically around positions that even a few months ago seemed destined to remain on the sidelines."

DEFENDING WOMEN'S RIGHTS NEWSLETTER

Published monthly in New York.

This new publication was launched in mid-1977 by women's rights activists. The September/October issue has articles on the *Bakke* case, forced sterilization, and gay rights; reports from National Organization for Women (NOW) chapters in prison and on campus; and a speech by an Asian-American feminist.

A special issue reports the mobilization of feminists and their opponents for the International Women's Year conference in Houston November 18-21 and outlines a strategy for supporters of women's rights.

Our delegates must be able to effectively debate the issues, politically defeat the arguments, expose the lies, and explode the myths of the right-wing.

We must be united, delegates and non-delegates, and our activities, too, should be coordinated to guarantee that a pro-woman theme dominates the conference activities. A daily newsletter, regular joint meetings of delegates and non-delegates can maximize the effectiveness of pro-woman forces in Houston.

Ang KATIPUNAN

National newspaper of the Union of Democratic Filipinos. Published twice monthly in Oakland, California.

The November 1-15 issue publishes an eyewitness account of the September 23 and 28 demonstrations in Manila against the martial law regime of President Ferdinand E. Marcos:

In the Sept. 23 demonstration, the issue was "Down with the Martial Law Regime!" It was led by the Kabataang Makabayan (an underground national democratic student-youth organization), Bukluran ng Manggagawang Pilipino (an underground workers organization), and Kapatiran ng Maralitang Mamamayan (an underground urban poor organization). . . .

A group of 5,000 started to form at around 5:30 on Avenida [Rizal], at the corner of Carriedo. They clapped their hands as a signal for other demonstrators to go to the middle of the street. The others started shouting slogans like "Ibagsak ang Batas Militar!" (Down with Martial Law!); "Marcos Hitler Diktador Tuta"; "Mabuhay ang KM!" (Long live the KM); "Sumama na Kayo!" (Join us!); etc. Red flags were waved amidst cheering and clapping. The streamers and placards were raised.

These 5,000 demonstrators were surrounded by police and Metrocom (Metropolitan Command, an integrated group of the Armed Forces of the Philippines) on both sides of the street. The police were backed up by fire trucks. All roads and stores were closed and the whole stretch of Avenida was closed to traffic. There was a stand-off.

Then the action began. Since the police couldn't stop the demonstration, the fire hoses were drained on the group. The water contained red chemicals so that the police could easily identify all those who participated and pick them up later.

A few minutes later a new wave of demonstrators formed behind the metrocom and police stationed in the middle of Avenida. . . .

The demonstration in Avenida was now 10,000 strong. . . .

The police began to increase in number along side streets. Since the crowd could not be stopped, they opened up the water hoses again and began beating and arresting people. The ensuing chase reached as far as Ronquillo, Don Jose, and Espana.

Finally the crowd was dispersed. . . .

Then at around 9 p.m. lightning rallies started in Espana, Cubao, Bustillos, and other places in Metro Manila. Hundreds marched, chanted and clapped through the streets.

The military involved totalled around 500. Arrests of students, workers, religious and urban poor surpassed one hundred.

The significance of the Sept. 23 demonstration was that it was the biggest and the most militant since the declaration of martial law.

Five days later, on September 28, more lightning rallies were staged in almost all parts of Metropolitan Manila. Fire hoses were used against 2,000 students from a university in Echague.

Trotskyists Condemn 'Constitutional Coup' in Sri Lanka

[The following statement was issued October 5 by Bala Tampoe on behalf of the Revolutionary Marxist Party (RMP), Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International. On October 20 the constitutional amendment that it refers to was signed into law, making Prime Minister J. R. Jayewardene president with full executive powers as of January 1978. Footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has carried out a constitutional coup through the National State Assembly to acquire dictatorial powers for himself. He has done so by securing the votes of 127 members of his United National Party [UNP] and the vote of Mr. Thondaman of the Ceylon Workers' Congress in the Assembly, for an amendment to the present constitution.

Mr. Jayewardene introduced the amendment in the Assembly on 23rd September 1977, exactly two months after becoming the Prime Minister of the Republic of Sri Lanka. In doing so, he declared more than once that he had no sinister motives and that he was not trying to be a dictator. The amendment that was passed on 4th October, however, will not only enable him to become President of the Republic, without election by the people, for a period of six years, but will enable him to be the head of the State and the head of the Executive, without being answerable to the National State Assembly (NSA) for his actions. On the other hand, he will have the power to dissolve not only the present NSA, but even a new NSA that may be elected during his term of office as President. Even if all the members who voted to make him President are thrown out by the people at the next general election, he will still remain President.

That is not all that Mr. Jayewardene could do as President. He will be in direct control of the armed forces of the state and will be in charge of the "defence of Sri Lanka." He will also have the power to declare a State of Emergency when he chooses, and to repress the people if he considers it necessary for defending the security of the state. Furthermore, he will have the power to invite foreign troops into the Free Trade Zones, to defend foreign investments in those zones, and even into the rest of the country, to protect the capitalist state and capitalist property, as he may deem fit. *He will be able to do any of these things without reference to the NSA, and without the consent of the Cabinet of Ministers, whom he will appoint and whom he may dismiss, when he pleases.*



Far Eastern Economic Review

J.R. JAYEWARDENE: Amends bothersome provisions of constitution.

The Revolutionary Marxist Party declares that Mr. J. R. Jayewardene is thus about to assume the powers of a dictator, without the consent of the people, on the basis of a constitutional fiction.

The majority of the people who voted for Mr. Jayewardene and the other candidates of the UNP at the general election on 21st July 1977, did so mainly because they wanted to get rid of the Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike,¹ and had no faith in the parties that had been associated with her Government in the exercise of dictatorial powers under a prolonged period of Emergency, during which mass problems, and especially the problems of unemployment and the cost of living, had become seriously aggravated. In order to do so, they had no alternative under the constitution established by the United Front Government² of Mrs. Bandaranaike on May 22, 1972. They obviously did not vote

1. Former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) was badly defeated in the elections, being reduced from eighty-five seats in the assembly to eight.

2. Bandaranaike's United Front government, which was elected to office in 1970, included the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Cey-

lon Equal Society Party) and the pro-Moscow Communist Party. The LSSP leaders were dropped from Bandaranaike's cabinet in September 1975 and the CP minister resigned his post in February 1977.

for the UNP for the purpose of enabling Mr. Jayewardene, the leader of that party, to establish one-man rule in this country, by making himself President, without being answerable for what he may do to anybody, not even to the NSA to which he was elected, and in which the so-called Sovereignty of the People was supposed to be reposed.

Mr. Jayewardene's purpose is quite clear. In his speech on the amendment, he declared that it was intended to establish a "stable" Executive. Such an Executive should not, in his view, be subject to what he described as "the whims and fancies of the NSA." Furthermore, such an Executive should also not be afraid, according to the view which he had expressed previously, "to take correct but unpopular decisions, because of censure from its parliamentary party." In short, what Mr. Jayewardene wants to do, and is in a hurry to be empowered to do, may be unpalatable not only to the people, but may, in due course, prove unacceptable even to his own parliamentary party.

It is necessary to remind those who may regard Mr. Jayewardene as being both honest and capable of serving the best interest of the people as President, that he is not immortal. Once the Constitution is changed to suit his purposes, it will remain when he is gone. Those who trusted him may then find themselves hopelessly divided on the question of who is to be his successor. Thus, the very stability that Mr. Jayewardene declares he seeks to establish for the Executive, in his own hands, may yield to a crisis at any time, from now on.

Another aspect of Mr. Jayewardene's grand design is to appoint District Ministers, who will not be members of the Cabinet and thus have no collective responsibility. They will be appointed and replaceable by him alone, to carry out his orders and be answerable for whatever they do, only to him. They may soon turn out to be as bad or worse, in the circumstances, as Hitler's District Leaders (Gauleiters), who were also answerable only to the Leader (Fuehrer), who appointed them.

What Mr. Jayewardene fears may stand in the way of the implementation of his design, particularly in relation to economic questions, including the so-called Free Trade Zones, is the organized working

class. It is for this reason that he is already preparing to use his subservient majority in the NSA to enact a law that will break up the existing trade union movement and subject all trade unions, especially those in the State sector, to state control. By this means, he no doubt hopes to suppress the class struggle in the interests of both foreign and local capital and in the interests of the capitalist state, that already controls the most important sectors of the economy. As head of the State, he will also thus become a dictator in the economy.

Hitler and Mussolini tried to save their economies by war, and were destroyed in the process. Unfortunately for Mr. Jayawardene, he cannot save the economy, even as a dictator within the country, as he is

little more than a beggar in relation to foreign capital, as he has admitted. All his plans, like his promises, will thus be *subject to the dictates of foreign capital*, whether invested in the Free Trade Zones or not. The fate of the people, in the hands of Mr. Jayawardene and his coterie of advisers, can well be imagined, unless the people themselves take charge of their own destiny and break free from the stranglehold that is now placed upon them.

The Revolutionary Marxist Party is willing to join hands with any and every section of the working class and the people that realises the true implications of what Mr. Jayawardene has done and seeks to do, and is ready to act in the defence of the people, accordingly. □

Appeal for International Solidarity With Black Workers in South Africa

[The following is the text of a statement delivered by a representative of the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) before a conference of the International Labor Organization held in Geneva in June. BAWU is one of the most important Black unions in South Africa. It was formed in 1972 as an umbrella union, seeking to represent Black workers in all occupations. Its founder, Drake Koka, has been expelled from South Africa.

[A text of the statement was provided by the European office of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. The footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Black Allied Workers Union (South Africa) welcomes this opportunity to address this special Conference on Apartheid. BAWU, on behalf of Black workers of South Africa, values the occasion for very special reasons that are peculiar to the oppressed, suppressed, and exploited Black labour force of our country.

That BAWU has been invited to this particular conference is a living testimony that the union's right to exist has been acknowledged, and this international body of labour has granted a *de facto* recognition.

Ironically, it is within its geographical confines and habitat that the union's right to exist has neither been acknowledged nor recognised¹ by the white oppressive racist minority regime. Instead it has met with and is still experiencing ruthless acts of

suppression in the form of intimidations to members, arrests, detentions, and banning² of its leaders by the fascist regime.

Despite the South African government's repugnant attitude, the truth of the matter is: BAWU exists and operates on a national basis within the borders of South Africa.

The history of our predecessor movements or organisations, both in the political and trade-union spheres, is well known to this conference. Their tireless noble fight for our liberation occupies the front page of the struggle for our birthright.

The ruthless suppression of these movements by the racist regime of South Africa has in the course of time rendered these movements either totally inoperative or semi-functional. The majority of leaders were subjected to long prison terms and banning orders, while some fled the country to operate externally and others went underground. This created a political and labour struggle vacuum.

History took its own course. Then a powerful movement, based on the philosophy of Black Consciousness,³ emerged with greater and stronger articulation that made the Black man's

2. A "banned" person is usually placed under a form of house arrest and barred from all political activities.

3. The Black Consciousness movement is a major Black nationalist current in South Africa. Besides BAWU, other organizations identified with it are the South African Students Organisation, the South African Student Movement, and the Black People's Convention.

stand clear. It came out to be a formidable negation of apartheid and a powerful movement to break the chains and shackles of oppression politically, economically, and socially. The movement is determined "to liberate Black people from physical and psychological oppression; and to create a new egalitarian society where justice shall be meted out to all men alike in all spheres of our life." BAWU must be understood in the context of the philosophy of Black Consciousness. Further, it is illusory to imagine that in the South African context, trade-union problems and questions could be considered apart or outside of the political context. In order to understand the complex labour system and policies, trade unionists must understand the political dynamism of apartheid. We therefore submit that trade unionism in South Africa is inextricably bound with the question of Black political liberation. BAWU takes serious cognisance of this truth, and thus engages itself in a task "to bring about a change in the labour system, in view of a political change."

BAWU is a Black workers union particularly concerned with the labour situation and conditions of Black people with the express purpose to secure justice and equality for all workers in an equitable economic system and labour.

The Black Allied Workers Union places great value on the invitation to this conference because of the recent and current developments in southern Africa, particularly in South Africa itself, where the Black is, today, taking his stand and place in the struggle for liberation. To most of you and other workers of the world, the events of June 16, 1976,⁴ evoke blood-curdling and tragic memories of South Africa. Black workers picked up the struggle and gave it shape; it is at this point that BAWU shall vindicate its claim and stand that it's the authentic Black workers movement that stands for the aspirations and voices the will of the people. The claim to authenticity is made neither in contradiction nor in opposition to, nor in competition with, our predecessor political and labour movements that have suffered a severe blow from the hostile, suppressive white regime. In justification of the stated claim we shall deliberately refrain from a scholarly and academic exposition of the struggle, but express it in the language and idiom of the grass roots. BAWU is unreservedly committed to the creed that far from being an academic question, the struggle for the liberation of the Black workers of Azania⁵ is a matter of

4. The first protest by Black students in Soweto against the compulsory use of the Afrikaans language in schools was held on June 16, 1976. It marked the beginning of the massive Black upsurge against the apartheid regime.

5. A Black nationalist name for South Africa.

1. African unions in South Africa are legal, but they are not recognized by the regime and cannot legally engage in collective bargaining.

life and death.

It is at this occasion and moment that BAWU pleads for international workers' solidarity with, and support for, the Black workers in South Africa, Black workers in Namibia, and Black workers in Zimbabwe to break their economic, social, and political chains and proclaim liberty in the countries of their birth. BAWU maintains that the final responsibility and resolution for the liberation struggle lies solely on and entirely in the hands of "Black people themselves." The delegates here present, because of that powerful concept of the indivisibility of solidarity of workers, have a moral obligation and responsibility to safeguard the continued existence of BAWU and other Black unions within South Africa, whose heavy task and purpose is to effect unity, solidarity and emancipation of Black workers of Azania.

In the wake of the countrywide students' uprising that began on June 16, 1976, Black parents together with Black workers viewed the brutal and heartless murder of the unarmed harmless youth with grave concern, and today as we are speaking here before you, the murderous bullets of the [white regime] are being fired with extreme brutality at the unarmed people of Soweto. The tragedy of June 16, 1976, is rehearsed with more vigour and cruelty. Since June 16, 1976, the Azanian people's struggle has continued without armed confrontation against the racist oppressor. The Black man's will, resolve, and determination to achieve liberation and freedom shall remain the main weapon of confrontation between himself and the illegitimate racist regime of South Africa. "The Black Allied Worker's Union, on behalf of its members and hundred thousands of Black workers, strongly condemn, and protest against the police shooting of and the use of dogs on our children who are innocently and peacefully protesting against the use of Afrikaans in their schools." (Press release July 17, 1976.)

In solidarity with their own children and countrymen, Black workers, under the banner and aegis of the Black Allied Workers Union and brother unions, obeyed and collaborated in the call to launch four "stay-away" strikes (June-November), irrespective of the law that prohibits Black workers from striking. The strikes averaged 80 percent success. The South African economy was crippled.

During this session of the International Labour Organisation, here in Geneva, on this 10th day of June 1977, the Black Allied Workers Union makes a call to the international labour movements for a programme of meaningful action. This call was made by our predecessor sister organisations in the past. BAWU reaffirms the call with the advice: Better act now than later. In the light of current developments within South Africa, BAWU

calls for concrete and visible action. The document entitled "Resolution" reflects the conference's perception and understanding of the situation. The same document includes a form of prescription aimed at eradicating the system of apartheid in South Africa. BAWU submits that this document is both in matter and form no different from innumerable documents already filed in the U.N. and other international organisations, as well as Church archives.

Thus BAWU registers serious misgiving about the effectiveness of the said document. Our view is that the document

merely declares support and falls short of an explicit statement of commitment.

We therefore call upon and urge this conference to go beyond the stipulations of the said document, to take serious account of the Black people's resolve and the means they deem fit for the achievement of freedom and liberation. The Black people have taken the lead, and it is up to this conference to lend unconditional support for our struggle, or to refrain.

*Racing the rising sun
of our new day begun,
let's march on
'till victory is won!*

Thousands Demonstrate in Swaziland



In mid-October, the small southern African country of Swaziland was rocked by the most serious unrest since the early 1960s, when British colonial troops intervened to crush a general strike.

The current upsurge began over a labor dispute involving teachers. Since early 1975 the regime of King Sobhuza II, who reigns as an absolute monarch, has been "considering" pay increases for teachers and other civil servants, but has refused to implement them. In response, teachers launched a boycott of classes.

After the teachers were ordered back to classes, under threat of dismissal, thousands of students poured into the streets of Mbabane, the capital, and Manzini, the second largest city.

On October 13, several thousand students in Mbabane attempted to march to the offices of the Ministry of Education in support of the teachers' demands. They were attacked by police, and three youths were wounded by gunfire.

Clashes between students and police ensued in both Mbabane and Manzini

throughout the week. About 200 students from the University of Swaziland who attempted to march from the campus to the office of the deputy prime minister were turned back by riot police.

Expressing their hatred of the Sobhuza regime, which is totally subservient to the white racist regime in neighboring South Africa, the students attacked anything that symbolized government authority.

The massive Black protests in South Africa itself may have been an inspiration to the Swazi students. The October 15 issue of the Johannesburg *Star* pointed out, "Certainly, all the trappings of the militancy of Soweto were evident in the streets of Mbabane. Students clenched fists in the black power salute, chanted 'Amandla' (power) and sang 'freedom songs.'"

On October 15, King Sobhuza made a speech from his royal residence at Lobambo in which he "commanded" teachers to resume their posts. He made no mention of the teachers' pay demands. Shortly after, Swaziland Radio issued a brief announcement ordering students back to their classes as well.

According to South African news reports, a majority of secondary school teachers and pupils went back, but a number continued to stay away. Teachers sent representatives around the country in an effort to secure support for their demands.

One notable feature of the upsurge was the open defiance of Sobhuza, who has reigned over the Swazi since 1921. After Sobhuza's October 15 speech, one teacher stated, "The students were openly critical of the king, something I have never known before."

The apartheid regime in South Africa is undoubtedly keeping a close watch on the situation in Swaziland. South Africans own much of the industry in the country and nearly half of the land area, most of which is used for sheep grazing by white farmers from the South African province of the Transvaal. □

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Antinuclear Protesters Hit With Stiff Sentences

Severe sentences have been handed down in the first three jury trials of antinuclear protesters charged with trespassing at a Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant construction site earlier this year.

More than 1,400 persons were arrested at Seabrook by New Hampshire State Police last May 1, following a peaceful occupation begun the day before by the Clamshell Alliance and other antinuclear organizations. The majority of the protesters were held for up to thirteen days in cramped, unsanitary conditions in National Guard armories. As protests over their detention grew, they were released, found guilty in mass trials in a lower court, and given the automatic right to appeal.

The first appeals trials began November 7 in Rockingham County Superior Court. Of the more than 1,000 persons appealing their convictions, only sixty-four were called for the first week, and of that number only four persons were actually tried. As of November 14, juries had reached guilty verdicts in three cases.

Carter Wentworth of Kensington, New Hampshire, was the first protester to be sentenced. On November 9, despite the prosecuting attorney's request for a fifteen-day sentence (with all but two days suspended for time already served) and a \$100 fine, Judge Wayne Mullavey ordered Wentworth jailed for four months. Mullavey said, "This is one of the very few cases since I've been on the bench that sentencing may be a deterrent to future crimes of this type."

Sister Carolyn Jean Dupuy, a nun from Hartford, Connecticut, was sentenced to two months in jail by Judge William Cann on November 10. Cann said he hoped the punishment would deter "anyone else who gets the same idea." On November 14, Mullavey handed down a three-month jail term to Court Dorsey, an Illinois musician.

Defense attorneys had planned to argue that the occupation of the Public Service Company's reactor construction site was justified to prevent the much greater harm that could be caused to life and property by nuclear radiation. But although a New Hampshire law on "competing harms" allows such a defense, Mullavey and Cann refused to hear the arguments, claiming that the only issue involved was "simple trespass." The judges also sustained prose-

cution objections to expert testimony offered by attorney Anthony Roisman of the Natural Resources Defense Council, who has handled many legal challenges to nuclear plants on environmental and safety grounds; and Professor Howard Zinn of Boston University, who has written widely on civil disobedience.

Clamshell Alliance representatives have pointed out the contradiction between the severe "deterrent" sentences and the courts' refusal to hear arguments based on the antinuclear views that motivated the defendants' actions. In the last ten years, only twelve cases of "simple trespass" have even reached Rockingham Superior Court, and no jail sentences were imposed in any of those.

The other sixty trials in the first batch of cases have been postponed until at least January 1978, and none of the other more than 1,000 appeals trials have even been scheduled. Harvey Wasserman of the Clamshell Alliance said, "I don't think they ever intend to get around to all of us. Not unless they intend to spread it out over the next 30 years."

By dragging out the appeals process and imposing stiff sentences, the New Hampshire authorities obviously hope to discourage future demonstrations against the Seabrook nuclear plant. The Public Service Company and New Hampshire's pro-nuclear, right-wing Governor Meldrim Thomson "have once again flexed their muscles," Clamshell representative Cathy Wolff said.

Nevertheless, opponents of the nuclear installation are not giving up. A congress of 200 Clamshell activists recently voted to call another mass occupation at the Seabrook site for June 24, 1978. Protests will also be held when the reactor's massive steel containment vessel is delivered, and opposition among New Hampshire residents to the PSC's request for an electric rate increase is being organized.

Wentworth, Dupuy, and Dorsey have all been released without bail, pending their appeals to the New Hampshire Supreme Court.

Shell's Pet Professor

Twenty workers at the Occidental Chemical Company's pesticide plant in Lathrop, California, have filed lawsuits seeking \$20

million in damages in compensation for sterility caused by the chemical known as DBCP.

DBCP was suspected of causing sterility when it was first introduced in the 1950s, but workers were never informed. At least ninety-five cases of sterility in male workers have been discovered since the problem surfaced at the Occidental plant in July (see *Intercontinental Press*, October 10, p. 1128).

In addition to Dow and Shell Chemical Companies—the major U.S. manufacturers of DBCP—the lawsuits name Dr. Charles Hine of the University of California, San Francisco, Medical School.

Hine conducted "directed research" funded by Shell in the 1950s. Rather than publishing the results, as is normal practice for academic researchers, Hine sent them directly to Shell on university stationery marked "CONFIDENTIAL REPORT."

Papers made public in California Department of Industrial Relations hearings October 18 show that Hine emphasized the conclusion "testes very atrophic" on three occasions in his handwritten notes but played down potential sterility problems in his secret reports to Shell.

Besides doing research for Shell Chemical, Hine is medical consultant for the American Smelting and Refining Company, consults for various companies on workers' compensation, and is employed by a law firm representing tobacco interests. He once wrote to a local newspaper minimizing health hazards of smoke to nonsmokers in public places, identifying himself only as a professor of medicine.

Former Food Dye Now a Powerful Pesticide

James Heitz, a biochemist at Mississippi State University, has developed a new method of killing flies.

Ordinary food dyes eaten by adult flies or fly larvae react to light and produce a form of oxygen poisonous to the insect. Fly larvae kills of 75 percent in field tests have been reported.

A number of food dyes were taken off the market in the United States not long ago after studies indicated that they caused cancer in animals.