

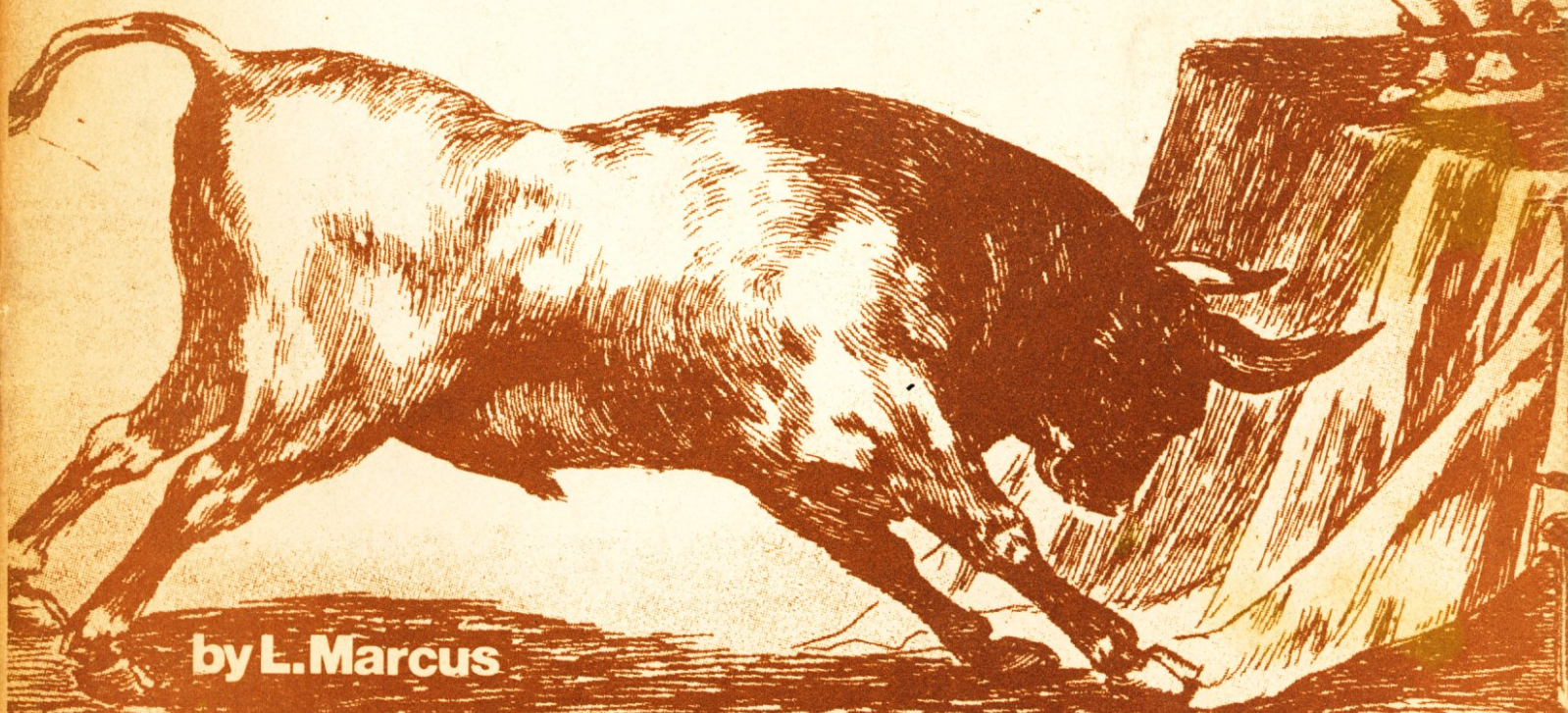
The Campaigner

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THE SEXUAL IMPOTENCE OF THE PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY



by L. Marcus

the Campaigner

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The Campaigner is the English-language journal of the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Current policies of the organization are stated in editorials; views expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of either the organizations or editorial board.

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this issue:

The world economy is unraveling at breakneck speed, forcing the political question of fascism or socialism with a vengeance, directly confronting the working class with the necessity to take over and run the world economy in the interest of human survival. This month's editorial, **The Food Crisis: Who Shall Rule?**, shows the food crisis to be a symptom of the capitalist destruction of the present and future existence of the world's population, and outlines how the Labor Committees' International Food Campaign is organizing working class forces for socialist victory . . . The criminal illusion that the Popular Front accomplishes anything other than laying down the red carpet for capitalism's "final solution" is exposed in F. Fuebas' analysis of the Chilean tragedy, **The Chilean Popular Front: Autopsy of a Suicide** . . . That final solution is epitomized in Brazil, capitalism's celebrated new "economic miracle." **Brazilian Fascism: Capitalism's Program in Action**, by Joseph McGuire, exposes the contemporary Auschwitz of Brazil, the capitalist model for the cannibalization of the world working class . . . Finally, a major piece by L. Marcus, **The Sexual Impotence of the PSP**, exposes how the cult of Machismo renders potential Latin American revolutionaries utterly impotent — in or out of bed.

next month:

The December issue of **The Campaigner** will focus on the advancement in human knowledge represented by the work of 19th century philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach. A piece by L. Marcus will elaborate on Feuerbach's contribution, from the standpoint of its limitations in Feuerbach's failure to come to grips with the mother domination of religion . . . Feuerbach is further discussed in **The Incompetence of the Frankfurt School**, a study of Alfred Schmidt's book, **Feuerbach or Emancipatory Sensuousness**, which shows how Schmidt, the last hope of the Frankfurt School of Philosophy and Sociology, has been reduced to a retailer of pornographic material . . . The issue will include the **Draft Program of the European Caucus of Labour Committees** and an editorial, **The Politics of Oil**.

NORTH AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON FOOD NUWRO — US LABOR PARTY

SATURDAY
NOVEMBER 24

9:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.

Marc Ballroom
Union Square
New York City

9:30 — 12:00 — **The Destruction of Food Production:
Capitalism's Final Solution**

1:30 — 3:30 — **The Working Class Program to Expand
Food Production**

— **The Bill of Consumption**

3:30 — 4:30 — **Workshops**

DAY CARE PROVIDED

5:00 — 6:00 — **Plenary**

editorial

THE FOOD CRISIS: WHO SHALL RULE?

Right now capitalism is destroying the future of the human species. The speculative food price inflation and the underlying destruction of food production itself is a direct attack on actual and potential human productivity — the ability of humanity to reproduce itself.

Throughout the underdeveloped sector agriculture has collapsed under the weight of foreign debts at a time when massive commodity speculation has made the cost of relief supplies prohibitive: in India starving peasants queue up at government dispensaries for their rations only to be dispersed by police and military gunfire moments later when the food runs out. The famine which had its origin in West Africa has now spread across the continent, claiming 100,000 deaths by starvation in Ethiopia.

In Western Europe, food riots in Naples, Italy, coincided with the rapid spread of the medieval malnutrition-based disease of cholera from Southern Italy to Scandinavia. In Britain, food stocks in grocery stores are run down to their worst position since the period immediately following the Second World War. As feed grain prices tripled at the Chicago commodity exchanges from January to September the price of food throughout the world skyrocketed and farmers in the U.S. and Europe were forced to destroy flocks of baby chicks and send milk cows to slaughter because they could no longer afford to feed them. Now welfare recipients in the U.S. receive packets of vegetable seeds with their subsistence checks — a grim benchmark in capitalism's regression to the Stone Age under deepening depression conditions.

The current collapse of food production throughout the world is not the result of a mysterious confluence of bad weather and Soviet crop failures as bourgeois propaganda would have us believe. It is part and parcel

of capitalism's increasing inability to sustain production of any sort.

In reality the food crisis stems directly from the dilemma with which capitalism regularly confronts itself. On the one hand, capitalists depend on increases in real productivity because they act to cheapen the cost to the capitalist of production. That is, they decrease the portion of total capital which he must allocate to wages and equipment production. At the same time the tendency for such real increases in productivity to cheapen the cost of production as a whole produces the tendency for a decreasing rate of return on original capital investment — tends to devalue or bankrupt capital as a whole, a phenomenon which appears to the capitalist as a crisis of "overproduction."

For this reason capitalism must expand, reaching outside of its social boundaries to secure new bases for rapid accumulation from cheap labor power in non-capitalist sectors to stave off the threatened devaluation of total capital, resulting from increasing productivity in the capitalist sector proper. To the extent that such avenues for augmented accumulation are one by one exhausted through pure looting or the actual development of productivity, capitalism must tend to abort further real investment, destroying real productivity everywhere.

This process of capitalist development in general: primitive accumulation, ambivalence toward increases in real productivity, and ultimately the thorough cannibalization of actual and potential labor power is exemplified in the history of U.S. agriculture. We proceed with a general historical outline of U.S. agriculture, situating it as an aspect of overall capitalist development, for the reason that it is the most highly developed capitalist agriculture in the world. The expression of this same process in Western Europe will be treated in detail at another time.

Primitive Accumulation

The actual expansion of American agriculture from 1840 through the 1880's and up until World War I was based on capitalism's ready access to extensive land to the west of the colonies — "free" constant capital — and a continuous influx of desperate European immigrants — "free" variable capital. Its impetus was the growth of industrial capital in the East.

That portion of the growing population that could not be employed in the developing industries was sent west to seek their fortune — cajoled by the various government land allotment schemes and a burgeoning real estate business. The development and extension of peasant family farming (as opposed to the slave system of the South) was crucial to the continued development of industry on the East Coast in ensuring a constant supply of relatively cheap food for the urban workforce.

Capital dogged the "free" farmers every step of the way as they opened the western frontier. The bonds floated to extend rail lines were capitalized in land values propped up on the farmers' backs. Farmers were forced to increase their efficiency of production to keep up with the burden of land taxes and exorbitant mortgages. They took out loans to buy equipment and fertilizer, multiplying their debt burden to increase their output. As they did this, however, their increased productivity in the form of larger and larger yields per man hour of labor threatened to create a glut, driving down prices, deflating land values and throwing the farmers into bankruptcy. The farmers' developed land, equipment and buildings were then neatly appropriated by the bank and/or the railroad and they would be forced into the city with their families to look for a job in industry, or, head still further west to start from scratch all over again.

The establishment of industrial capitalism in the U.S. is inseparable from this process of primitive accumulation in the agrarian sector. The recurrent waves of farmer bankruptcy allowed for the periodic liquidation of a sufficient portion of outstanding capitalist debt and thereby acted as a safety valve to preclude full-scale credit collapse through 1900.

More important, this phenomenon in U.S. agriculture illustrates the general tendency for capitalism to build up productivity only to loot and destroy it as a means of preserving the integrity of capitalist capital as a whole.

Just as industrial capital grew on the basis of a looting relationship to the agrarian sector in the U.S., so the development of international capitalism as a whole was based on massive looting of the non-capitalist native economies below the Tropic of Cancer. The extension of British imperialist loans into

Africa, Asia and to a slightly lesser degree Latin America provided the expanding necessary margin of unpaid-for real value to protect capitalist property titles and debt from devaluation and collapse as a result of real increases in productivity in the advanced sector.

Primitive production was aborted, geared away from the maintenance and development of real productive capital — i.e. irrigation works, storage facilities, ancillary industry, housing, etc., — and was instead harnessed to the intensive production of the few (or single) "marketable" commodities, and the revenues thus earned were directly contributed to the coffers of Her Majesty's banking houses as payment on the loans, tribute to capital.

As long as new opportunities for this type of profitable investment existed, capitalism was able to develop labor power generally faster than it destroyed it in the particular, through a process Trotsky first identified as "combined and uneven development." This, combined with the "ideal" circumstances in which U.S. capitalism found itself in terms of millions of acres of virgin soil, its surface virtually devoid of primitive social relations and a vast reservoir of "free" labor power — the immigrants — accounts for the absolute expansion of U.S. agriculture in real terms up to World War I, despite the general entropic process of primitive accumulation.

Limits to Growth

Similarly, the extent of new areas of non-capitalist production to loot defines capitalism's "limits to growth." These limits were most definitively reached with the exhaustion of European imperialist penetration of the underdeveloped sector in the first decade of the twentieth century. The implications of this capitalist crisis for agriculture were no less devastating than its political-economic expression in World War I, and were only postponed several years by that event. From 1910 to 1920 a massive speculation took place in agriculture, fuelled by the wartime credit boom. In 1921, when the war credit spigot was abruptly turned off, farm commodity prices dropped almost overnight. U.S. agriculture's extent of mechanization by this time only aggravated the proportions of the glut. Production stagnated abruptly as millions of farmers were driven into bankruptcy.

With the exception of one more brief speculative flurry in 1928-29, as the government's Federal Farm Board funnelled working class tax monies into an embryonic farm support program, the destruction of agriculture proceeded into the depths of the Great Depression. The looting and forced exodus of millions of farmers from the land culminated in the Great Dust Bowl of 1934. Within a period of ten years, a once fertile and productive area was turned into a desert.

Since the depression crisis, triggered by capitalism's exhaustion of new non-capitalist looting bins, appeared to the capitalist — as it must — as a crisis of "over-production," it is no accident that capitalist policies of limiting acreage originated in this period. The New Deal farm program used tax monies to buy up any surplus which would threaten the price level and tied farm credit to the reduction of harvest acreage. These policies in agriculture exemplify capitalism's necessary intensification of primitive accumulation looting in every sphere from this point on, and in particular foreshadow the actual literal cannibalization of developed labor power/productivity which has been the dominant feature of capitalism since at least 1958.

The only subsequent burst of real investment in agriculture occurred after World War II, when the U.S. victory delivered up a bankrupted European and Japanese industrial plant and a devastated and desperate working class population to support a renewed credit expansion. From approximately 1945 through 1954, the capitalist agricultural revolution took place on the basis of this fleeting bonanza. Tractor use in the U.S. increased from one million to four and one-half million. By 1952-53 U.S. agricultural productivity took off — in the next 15 years yield per acre doubled and mechanization more than doubled. As we might expect, this burst of productivity was accompanied by an acceleration of government-enforced acreage cutbacks. By 1962, seventy million acres of land had been taken out of production by the U.S. Department of Agriculture while the teetering farm credit structure was propped up by working class taxes. Tractors in use stagnated at 4.5 million and then declined markedly.

The post-war "economic miracle" of Western Europe collapsed with the 1958 recession. By 1965 no such, even marginal, opportunities for capitalist expansion remained. Since then capitalist business-as-usual has consisted largely in a series of speculative binges — first betting on currencies, then gold, and finally turning to the commodity markets to bankroll their worthless paper as the imminence of massive worldwide credit collapse became clear. The immediate cause of the current astronomical food prices is just such gambling. Its most obvious result is the direct looting of working class living standards by pricing adequate nutrition out of the reach of dwindling paychecks.

Even more basically, the speculative outburst reveals capitalism's intensified destruction of actual food production and food production potential. Farmer indebtedness has skyrocketed to \$80 billion and continues to climb as farmers struggle to maintain their businesses at 15% interest. The destruction of flocks of baby chicks, the slaughter of milk cows, holding beef cattle in pasture to replace protein-rich feed grains with grass came to light last August.

Most importantly, the replacement of productive investment with pure speculation by capitalists means that these billions of dollars are **not** being used to build needed tractor and fertilizer factories, to develop capital intensive irrigation systems in the underdeveloped countries, etc. to raise levels of consumption and thereby real productivity worldwide.

The speculative boom, however, is merely the first phase of the bust. As panicked capitalists move to stem the flow of cancerous credit, corporate treasurers and other speculators will scramble to pay off their debts by cashing in their commodity contracts. The rush of short-selling will drive down commodity prices from their now-stupendous heights. Even as interest rates have risen over the past several months commodity speculation has leveled off, though not declined. Thousands of bankrupted farmers will be forced off the land into the cities (recycled) to compete with employed workers for decreasing jobs, an eventuality for which Nixon set the stage this summer when he abolished the farm subsidy program. In Europe, it is only Pompidou's cretinous Gaullism which has constituted somewhat of a political obstacle to the analogous retiring of the Common Agricultural Policy to prepare the way for massive looting of agriculture and peasant recycling even while the exigencies of the world monetary crisis have already forced widespread agricultural bankruptcy in France.

Capitalism's Final Solution

The capitalist program for the food crisis is inseparable from their program to administer world depression. The "World Food Program," announced by World Bank president McNamara in the keynote speech at the recent Nairobi meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), calls for the institutionalization of the present capitalist destruction of productivity and dovetails with the fascist anti-labor policies being implemented with the invaluable aid of the official social democracies and the Brezhnev-led Communist parties in the advanced sector today.

By the mid-sixties the rough outlines of the new policy were visible, particularly in the rapid eclipse of the buoyant First Development Decade plans of the Eisenhower days. As the 1958 recession signalled the end of post-war prosperity, capitalists began banking on a scheme to shift the burden of post-war credit expansion to the Third World through reinvestment there for "development." Since the investment of capital for profit generation demands not **just** cheap labor, but also a certain level of real labor power, i.e. a minimally skilled, educated, clothed and fed workforce as well as transportation, commercial and political networks etc. ("infrastructure" in bourgeois economics jargon), the undertaking was no small project. As wages stagnated in the advanced sector capitalists

moved with great haste, using "soft" (low interest) loans from the International Development Association (IDA), population control programs from the Rockefeller Foundation to educate the peasants in bourgeois family planning, and the invention of high-yield "miracle" wheat, etc., to prime the "neo-colonial" world for the entrance of capital.

From the beginning it was a race against time. Nineteenth century colonialism had so devastated the native populations and so looted available resources that bourgeois economists and policy makers were increasingly forced to adjust their "take-off" schedules. By 1968 the capitalist credit structure, bloated by 25 years of sustained credit expansion, began to unravel, earmarked by the first gold crisis since the 1930's.

Already the development decade's "soft" loans had for the most part been supplanted with "hard" loans. Interest rates had risen steadily from 1965 through 1968 and neo-colonial governments were forced to divert "development" funds and any export revenues from "infrastructure-building" to debt service. Third World economies were thrown back on their capacity to deliver up a single raw material or basic agricultural commodity. In four short years, from 1966 to 1970 the underdeveloped countries changed from net meat importers to net meat exporters. Labor intensive agricultural production continued to devastate potentially fertile land.

By 1970 leading layers of the capitalist class recognized that any new Marshall Plan was a mere chimera. Their plans to stave off a depression by developing new sources of looting were appropriately adjusted: they began planning to administer the depression by cannibalizing existing labor power throughout the world. "Development Decade" fell out of the bourgeois lexicon and the new watchword became "Zero-Growth."

The capitalists' World Food Program epitomizes this turn to the Final Solution. Having been in the "pilot project" stage for several years, it is no accident that capitalists brought it out into the open and began organizing around it in September of this year, when — after nine months of sabotage by Richard Nixon — the February monetary crisis which closed world money markets for two whole weeks (largely as a result of two years of cretinous obstruction from the Nixon-Connally-Eberle axis in the White House) remains entirely unresolved: their situation is desperate.

The outlines of the plan are as follows. Commensurate with the ideology of zero growth, the idyllic primitive life below the Tropic of Cancer is to be spared the nasty intrusion of industry and technology. Third World peasant populations will be organized to do what has

come "naturally" for years — apply their quaint picks and hoes to land wasted by centuries of labor intensive farming to scrape together tribute to the World Bank in the form of food. The wages these happy natives receive consist of food rations — as low as 1000 calories per capita per day, or one-third what is necessary to survive. The additional credit these nations desperately need to finance their soaring debt will be tied to the implementation of these slave-labor looting schemes.

Throughout the underdeveloped world the ground is being swept clean for the McNamara "World Food Program" in much the same way as the domestic "development decade" operations in the ghettos — the OEO poverty apparatus — has been dismantled to make room for the WIN-Talmadge, WREP, etc. forced-work recycling apparatus. The recent coup in Thailand is a case in point. The traditional dictatorial regime of Kittakachorn was inadequate to effectively police the population under full-scale depression conditions. The patronage system such regimes spawn, with its landlords and merchant-speculator middlemen, constitutes an obstacle to the direct looting of the peasantry by the IMF/World Bank. The mass strike ferment and student revolt was the appropriate vehicle for the entrance of "progressive" forces into the government, men with an understanding of the needs of the period from an international capitalist standpoint.

The entry of the new Thai "progressives" into the government is on the basis of plans for "land reform" and "democracy." By this they mean doing away with the cumbersome landlord/merchant layer so that the cancerous burden of Eurodollar and Asiadollar debt can be directly affixed to the back of every peasant in the land.

At the same time the not insignificant peasantry of Western Europe and the U.S. will be "freed" for the industrial recycling gristmill. They will, quite simply, be invited to try to compete with the agricultural slave laborers of the underdeveloped world or throw in the towel and line up for a job in their local munitions factory.

Further abandonment of highly productive agriculture in the advanced countries, particularly the U.S., in favor of labor intensive farming below the Tropic of Cancer is an overall absolute assault of productivity in relation to available technology. The result will be a net decline in food production and consumption worldwide. Appropriately enough, the World Food Programmers have made provisions for a centralized food dispensary — the World Food Bank — to ration food supplies throughout the world.

This combined assault on the living standards and future productivity of the world's working class and peasantry is a proposition of utmost urgency for inter-

national capitalists, **their** only alternative to an inflationary explosion and worldwide credit collapse. The goal of present capitalist policy is the total cost-reduction of the world's working population — what McNamara, for instance, politely refers to as "equalization of incomes." Everyone will be prepared for the scrap heap.

The classical model for this is the Nazi concentration camp, where with zero cost of maintenance to the capitalist, workers' real value (their labor power) was efficiently extracted. Once the last ounce of labor power had been drained from a worker, any remaining miscellaneous real value in the form of gold fillings, etc., was removed and the worker's corpse was neatly incinerated, thus obviating even the social cost to the Krupps and the I.G. Farbens of burial.

The immediate model for the future of humanity **under capitalism** is the contemporary Auschwitz of Brazil. It is no accident that the horrors of Brazil are touted by the bourgeoisie as capitalism's new "economic miracle." As the more conscious of them know, replication of the essential social and economic features of present-day Brazil on a worldwide scale constitutes the minimal condition necessary to preserve capitalist investment.

What is to Be Done?

At a time when soaring food prices in the advanced countries and waves of famine in the underdeveloped countries already show the deadly toll being exacted from the working class and its allies, as debt-racked capitalism turns in upon itself to consume and destroy the human labor power necessary to maintain and reproduce society, the International Caucus of Labour Committees alone has a program and strategy to assure the survival of humanity. Over the past month the Labor Committees have launched an international food campaign — being carried out simultaneously in North America and Western Europe — based on a socialist program to expand food production and consumption throughout the world. This food campaign is the cutting edge of the organizing process to establish working class control over the world economy in the 1970's — the only alternative to capitalist enforcement of mass starvation and barbarism.

The Labor Committees' food campaign is completely unprecedented in the history of the working class movement. Ever since Karl Marx first declared in razor-sharp fashion that, if the then-contemporary clowning was Marxism, then "I am not a Marxist!", socialist politics has been characterized by the most abysmal flipping and flopping from one set of bourgeois prejudices to another in conscientious deference to workers' "national," "ethnic," "trade union" and other parochial class-in-itself social relations. When it

comes to the concrete issues of working class survival, most so-called socialists are incapable of initiating class-conscious struggle on the part of the working class and its allies. They haven't the slightest notion of developing socialist program.

The only way these jokers relate to what they perceive as the "food issue" is to latch onto whatever miserable "protest" bandwagon capitalism throws up. For months, as the capitalists' speculative riot in the commodity markets drove necessary nutrition out of the reach of dwindling working class paychecks, the Socialist Workers Party and the U.S. Communist Party devoted themselves to organizing food boycotts for... Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns! They dutifully advanced Burns' slogan, "Meatless days!" to "Meatless weeks!" For weeks running, their press trumpeted the vicious capitalist counterinsurgency policy of self-imposed austerity in banner headlines. Throughout the world, the "official" Communist parties and their popular front collaborators in the "official Trotskyist" movement have only wholesale capitulation to capitalist collapse to offer the working class.

Our tendency's unique ability to carry out an international socialist organizing drive around the food crisis rests on the fact that our point of departure is the worldwide working class's historically-concrete needs for survival. We know that every individual worker's future is intimately linked with the future of the whole world working class — whether presently employed, unemployed or underemployed — in a global network of production. Every worker's future depends on vastly expanding all forms of useful production to provide the new housing, mass transportation, education and leisure time to create the new means of technology necessary to further increase the level of human existence quantitatively and qualitatively.

To become genuinely productive, every human being requires a diet consisting of one pound of beef per day — the basic source of protein — as well as other essential vegetable and mineral nutrients. Though this nutritional level was advocated by the U.S. government as a "Recommended Daily Requirement" for a skilled industrial worker in 1955, for obvious reasons it has been replaced by government recommendations more appropriate to depression austerity. From 1955 to 1968, government recommendations for protein intake of children between one and three years of age were officially **decreased** from 40 grams per day to 25 grams per day! Male adolescents officially required 100 grams of protein per day in 1955, and only 60 in 1968! Right now capitalism is destroying the future of the working class by systematically aborting the production of the basic needs of life.

The fulfillment of any individual worker's immediate needs for a diet that will allow him to develop as a

productive and creative human being, is absolutely dependent on expanding food production and consumption worldwide.

In order for a world population of four billion people to each consume one pound of beef per day, we need a cattle population of 4 billion head and a total grain production of 8 billion tons within the next eight years. This will require 200 million tons of fertilizer and 150 million tractors — as opposed to the present world total of 15 million, five million of which are in the U.S. Thirty million tractors per year will have to be produced as opposed to the present 300,000.

The Socialist Program

Our emergency program for an immediate 50 per cent reduction in food prices and the expansion of food production demonstrates how, with a socialist government to clear away the capitalist debris of paper titles, we can meet the goal of abolishing gross malnutrition worldwide in just two years. Within five years of the seizure of power we can reach worldwide minimum standards of nutrition approximately equivalent to 1970 U.S. standards. Within eight years, a socialist society can provide optimal nutrition for the entire world's population — essential to the qualitative development of labor power.

By abolishing all farm debt, mortgage payments, debt owed for seed, fertilizer and equipment — as well as the debt owed to imperialist creditors by underdeveloped countries—we would eliminate a large chunk of the 50 cents out of every food dollar that now flows directly to the banks. Nationalizing the food distribution network between the farmer and the consumer, guaranteeing fixed wholesale and retail prices, and outlawing food commodity speculation and hoarding would finish off the job of cutting the food bill in half.

Our immediate means to expand food production lie in the millions of acres of now fallow land which can be brought under cultivation. One hundred and fifty million such acres exist in the U.S. alone, where the general productivity of labor is already high enough to most efficiently realize substantial yields from the extension of acreage cultivated.

In expropriating the largest landholdings in the underdeveloped world and employing presently non-productive peasant farmers in large-scale cultivation, real productivity will increase rapidly, creating surplus labor power to begin the construction of irrigation works and similar real capital improvements until their capital goods sector can be built up sufficiently through capital goods contributions from the advanced sector. A minimum decent income will necessarily be guaranteed to the world's rural population, a standard of living necessary to develop skills required by modern farm

technology. This of course implies a massive program of rural education and housing construction.

To increase the productivity of farms throughout the world it will be necessary to increase mechanization and fertilization. In the advanced sector one-fifth of present auto production can be retooled to produce tractors. A portion of the chemicals technology of the aerospace war industry can be converted to fertilizer production. A significant section of that same industry will be freed for the production of capital goods to expand further the production of tractors, fertilizer and essential agricultural materials. Within eight years 30 to 50 million tractors per year could be produced.

The development of fusion power will make possible the use of desalinated water for new irrigation, expanding the land area under cultivation and increasing the productivity of existing fields.

In general, the use of economic incentives to encourage voluntary absorption of family farms into larger, more efficient collectivized units would increase overall economic productivity by freeing farm labor for the expansion of industrial production.

Taking control of the world economy to implement these and other measures to expand production is a matter of utmost urgency for the working class: there is not a moment to lose. Yet even as proof of the misery portended by capitalism asserts itself in the precipitous decline in living standards, and in the inability of workers to feed their families and the destruction of food production, merely presenting workers with the food program is not, in itself, enough. The nature of the problem at the crux of the organizing process is epitomized by the trade unionist or welfare recipient who responds in the following manner: "That's all very nice, but let's be **practical** — I've got a wife and four kids to feed **right now**. How are all your fancy words gonna help me with that, huh?"

While seemingly issuing a challenge — one that would send most so-called socialists straight back to their mothers' apron strings, muttering "Well, gee, I mean, if you have any spare time that is..." — this working class individual is simply revealing the extent of his fear and his vicious self-delusion. Not only does he refuse to locate his own and his family's needs and interests with respect to the real world, but if he were to admit to such location, he insists, it would be somehow "impractical." For the time being he is content to wrap himself in illusions of some miraculous way out — a raise, a new job, cutting in on some hustle. No matter what, it is a hideous admission, however militantly asserted, that he has no positive social identity, that he is essentially powerless: it is a measure of his victimization by bourgeois ideology.

In capitalist society working people are prevented from achieving self-consciousness of their actual positive, dynamic relationship to the rest of the working class and humanity. As Marxian sociology demonstrates, this is **not** the result of manipulation of the media or similar capitalist conspiracies. Consciousness is generated and maintained by the social relations and organizational forms through which people mediate their existence. Under capitalism the trade unions, welfare mothers' groups, etc., jockey with each other for their respective share of the economic pie, each one jealously guarding the needs and prerogatives of its limited constituency over and against the other "interest groups" — outsiders — be they other trade unionists, unemployed workers, foreigners or socialists. What in reality is being guarded is the special relationship of the group and its individual members to capitalist beneficence. Their dependence on capitalist handouts is actually the basis for their identity, an identity rooted in social impotence.

As long as this basis for social identity is unchallenged, as long as working people continue to believe that their existence would be impossible without the capitalists, and that only the capitalists can run the economy, they will greet each successive symptom of the depression collapse — from man-killing speedup to layoffs to the food crisis and fuel rationing — with a cynical fatalism, regarding it as an inevitable "fact of life." The necessity of socialist expanded reproduction only becomes a matter of **practical** urgency for working people when it is linked to building the kind of class-for-itself institutions, such as the North American Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization (NU-WRO), appropriate to its realization — organizational forms based on the self-conscious creation of a working class government-in-the-wings. As working class organ-

izers participate in creating such institutions, in debating and developing program and in confronting fellow workers, they come to see themselves as not only essential to humanity but capable of running the world economy. The power to break through their own debilitating identity with capitalism is reproduced in their fellow workers, employed and unemployed, and a class-conscious fighting force of working class intellectuals emerges where fragmented and swinish individuals once held sway.

Without self-conscious organizing, the increasing anger and resentment workers feel toward the destruction of their lives will turn bitterly sour as they adjust, pare down their budgets, learn to live with increasing emiseration. As the social chaos deepens, that same anger will fuel a more militant parochialism, a more hysterical fear of "outsiders," and a desperate mood of "every man for himself" — exploding in the type of impotent rage which, as the food riots in Naples, Italy, demonstrated, can only aid the fascists.

Our small but potent and rapidly expanding network of organizers is what stands in the way of imminent fascist holocaust. The course of world history rests on our ability to make the bread-and-butter "economic" issues of day-to-day working class life the focus of mass **political** organizing to wrench the working class out of its suicidal illusions and assemble the forces for decisive battles against the capitalist class. In the coming months we will launch an international campaign around the fuel crisis. As each new symptom of capitalist collapse emerges, we will be there, armed with a concrete program for expanded reproduction, organizing the political working juggernaut that will take control of the world economy within the decade. It is a matter of life and death.

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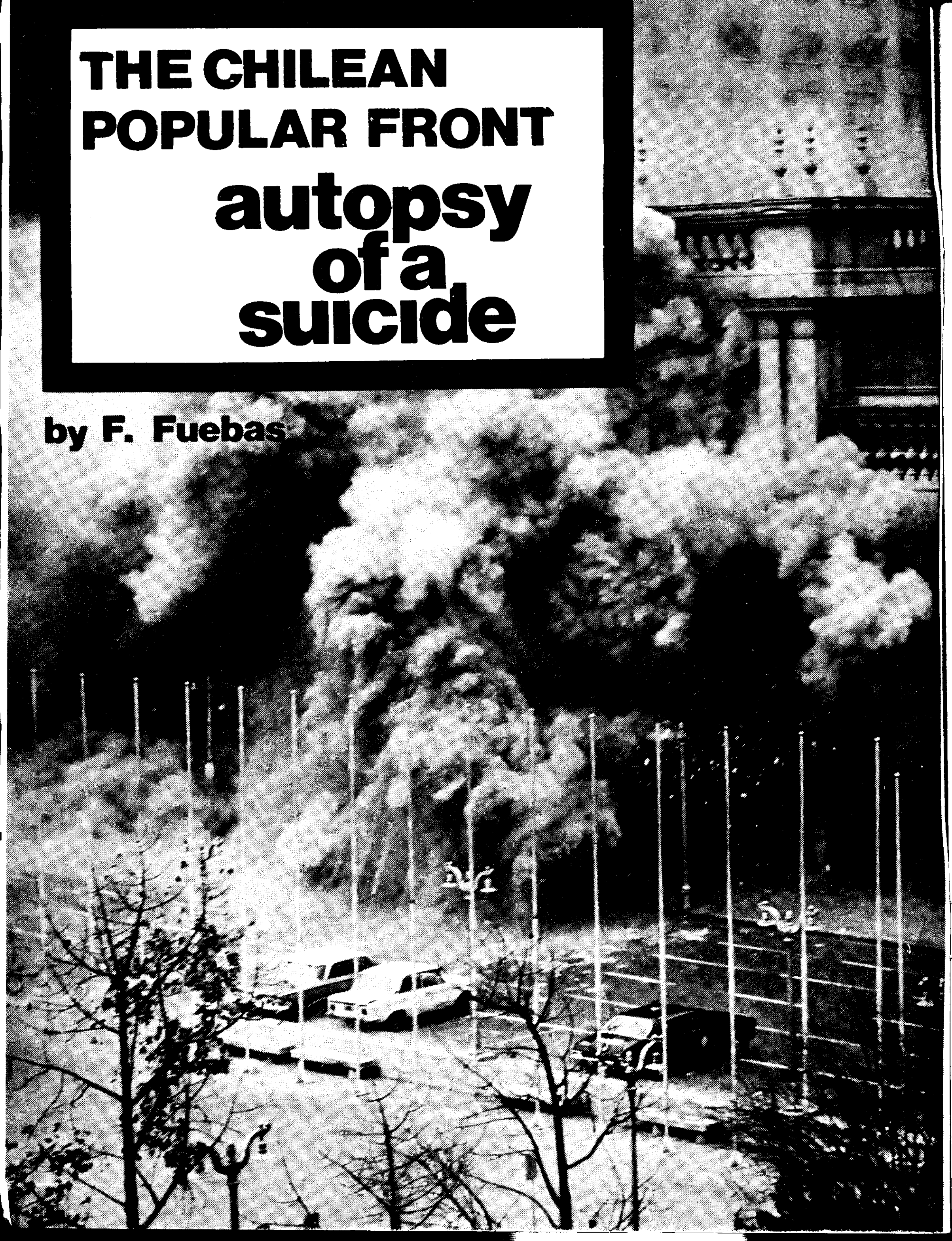
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THE CHILEAN POPULAR FRONT autopsy of a suicide

by F. Fuebas



In December 1971, tens of thousands of workers, peasants, and leftists gathered at Santiago's National Stadium to give a rousing farewell to Fidel Castro. Less than two years later thousands of workers and leftists were gathered into that same stadium to face interrogation by torture and, for a horrifying number of them, the firing squad. On Sept. 4, 1973, hundreds of thousands marched in the streets of Santiago in support of President Allende and the Popular Unity (UP) government. One week later one of the bloodiest of coups in that most bloody and violent of continents, Latin America, was underway.

One of the largest Communist parties in the West, a militant Socialist Party (PS), a powerful and disciplined labor movement, the CUT, and even a large and increasingly influential "ultra-left," the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), were destroyed within a matter of days. Socialist revolution was forcefully removed from the Chilean calendar with surprising ease. The Popular Front had ignominiously failed again.

Our task as revolutionaries is to examine the history of the UP and the rest of the left and throw into clear relief the strategy that failed so miserably. In that light we must formulate and successfully implement a strategy for the victory of socialism throughout the Latin American continent.

The necessity for such critical analysis would be denied by few; the left in Chile and throughout the world had begun critically appraising the UP even prior to the coup.

Since the PCCh (Chilean Communist Party), one of Moscow's most fraternal (obedient) parties in Latin America, was the dominant force in the UP, and its theories and policies were the guiding light of the "Chilean road to socialism," we will begin with the most comprehensive statement of Communist Party criticism in the period immediately preceding the coup. It came from M. Fajon, a member of the secretariat of the Communist Party of France, who clearly represents the views of Moscow, the PCCh and the worldwide Communist parties.

Commenting on his trip to Chile that ended on Aug. 31, 1973, he revealed "certain errors which have been committed in the implementation of the just politics of the UP," in particular, "...theories which accentuated the destruction of old [economic] structures....The leftist phraseology of different formations of which the MIR's is the best known, spread irresponsible and adventurist positions...which facilitate the attempts of the officers favorable to a coup d'etat...." And finally, "The PCCh considers that the UP derives most of its strength from respecting constitutional legality, and it must continue to support the aversion to civil war of the enormous majority of the population, including its political adversaries."

Immediately after the coup Moscow's CP's were respectful enough not to blame the "ultra-left." Their howls were saved for the U.S. and the CIA, but it will only be a short time before Fajon's views become Moscow's open line on Chile.

The left critics of Allende and the PCCh (Chilean Communist Party), including the PS (Socialist Party), the MAPU and the MIR, had their say. Carlos Altamirano, head of the PS, stated two days before the coup, "Some think [the PCCh and Allende] that the only way to resolve the crisis is dialogue. A coup d'etat can't be fought with dialogues. It's smashed with the strength of organized workers, based on the creation of a real people's power." The MAPU (Popular Action Movement, a 1969 split-off from the Christian Democratic Party) stated in August that the Allende policies were "...inconsistent, opportunistic, and sectarian." At the same time the MIR said, "A delaying tactic [their interpretation of the UP's political strategy] which gains time can be correct, but only in specified situations and as long as it doesn't involve the weakening of our own forces. This is not the case at this juncture."

Thus even before the coup there were "errors," "inconsistencies," and "tactical" mistakes. Afterwards the chorus became louder; Allende's wife said the mistake had been in not arming the workers. Assorted Maoists continued to exhibit their fixation on the word "smash": "Socialism cannot be won without smashing the bourgeois state." And finally the warmed-up Left-overs — the self-styled Trotskyists — cited that there had been no revolutionary party to coordinate the resistance!

One could only view the Chilean bloodbath in terms of isolated errors and the "right tactic at the wrong time" if one were shortsighted enough to completely overlook the history of the revolutionary movement since Marx. Assuming that the majority of the Chilean and Latin American revolutionaries were not that blind, their myopia should still not have prevented them from seeing the other failures of the revolutionary movements of their neighbors in Bolivia, Uruguay and even Argentina today.

From the 1967-68 Chilean strike wave on, the whole of southern South America was in a revolutionary upsurge. The objective conditions for revolution were never riper. The Cordobazo in '69, the election of the UP in '70, the Popular Assembly in La Paz in '71, and the strike wave of early '72 in Uruguay all highlight the ferment of the period.

Today the scene is vastly changed. The Chilean junta's plan to "extirpate the Marxist menace from the entire continent" seems already to be in its final phases. With Peron's recent announcement of "a head-on struggle against Marxism" signaling the liquidation of the Argentine left, all the above mentioned countries have become de facto if not de jure police states.

Just as today's running analysis of the Chilean fiasco is limited to the "errors" committed, Bolivia and Uruguay were judged in the same way. After the Bolivian debacle the POR-Lora complained that it somehow had been caught in a revolutionary situation without enough weapons. The Tupamaros went through self-criticism and recognized their error to be the emphasis on the gun, resulting in their isolation from the working class. In no time at all the erstwhile Peronists, the majority of the Argentine left, will be putting out their dirty laundry, their own list of isolated "mistakes."

How can one talk of the loss of almost half a continent over a period of five years as a series of mistakes? Thousands have been executed, others have been murdered in more elaborate rituals, while tens of thousands rot in jail. The pleasures of Brazilian life are being imposed on millions of workers and peasants outside Brazil, thus making most of South America a huge Nazi-like death trap. Such errors costing the bulk of a continent are made again and again. They are not mere mistakes!

It is a rampant disease that prevents revolutionaries from seeing the underlying basis for all these errors, the underlying strategy — neurosis. (That subjective element, the "Machismo" neurosis, is dealt with in the accompanying article on the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Here we will confine ourselves to uncovering the more objective repercussions of this subjective problem.) We will show the Chilean and Latin American reality in contrast to the fantastic view of the situation fabricated by the Popular Front and held, in some permutation, by the rest of the left.

After the election of the UP to power in 1970, most leftists throughout the world thought the PCCh and the PS, the two main parties within the UP, had the potential to succeed in their proclaimed goal of a special "Chilean Road to Socialism." The MIR limply stated that the ruling class could not ultimately be vanquished without violence, while other critical supporters made whining complaints about the bureaucratic organizing of the PCCh, holding up their own "organizing of the masses" as the alternative. Even Regis Debray, enfant terrible of Latin America and violent polemicizer against peaceful roads to socialism, gave Allende his blessings: "...it would be absurd to dispute the value of the present forward march on the pretext that no one can yet say where it will ultimately lead." One of the most "astute" of commentators, Anibal Quijano, the Paul Sweezy of Latin America, dreamed aloud: "The rising of the masses could bring even the Communist Party to adapt to their combativity." Small clouds might pass overhead, but in the end all was right with the world.

Allende fed his left critics beautiful fairy tales which soothed everyone: "We are a canal, not a dam." "...This is not a Popular Front, that has to be made

quite clear." "Our objective is total, scientific socialism." After all, hadn't Trotsky said that a Popular Front was an alliance between the workers' parties and the bourgeoisie with the bourgeoisie as the dominant force? This was certainly not the case in Chile; the left continued in their fantasy. The workers' parties reigned supreme within the UP! True, the parties of the UP had a "reformist" history, but circumstances had changed, the Chilean experience was unique. Their potent criticism would push the reformists leftward and the revolution would be secured. To pressure those in power was the only "realistic" tactic given the Chilean situation.

These were the fantasies of the left who plastered the streets of Chile with their illusions so they would never have to look around and know that they could not play junior partner to the UP. They could not bear to stand up alone and face the immensity of the task ahead. They dared not study the reality of the UP's coming to power, nor their history of conciliation during the previous administration.

Development Decade and the 1964 Elections

The coming to power of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) in 1964 was the last attempt by the U.S. to install Development Decade and Alliance for Progress schemes in Latin America through existing political structures. (From then on this U.S. strategy was only implemented through specially trained military officers, e.g., in Peru.)

The PDC program spewed anti-imperialist rhetoric, providing a general left cover for the implementation of its CIA-inspired policies. The PDC's "radical" demands included more power for Latin America in international affairs, and the Chileanization of industry. The PDC program also called for "participation" by the workers and peasants in building the national economy, forcing the social reorganization of Chile into a statist capitalist society with a community of interests between classes — the beginnings of a fascist corporatist state.

The not-so-hidden purpose of these moves was to mobilize the peasants and the unorganized "communities" along with sections of labor to break the power of the organized labor movement, and CUT, which was controlled by the PS and PCCh. As PDC Minister of Labor Thayer stated: "...the demands of powerful unions can only be satisfied in a nation of great economic vitality, which is not the case with countries such as ours."

The PDC won peasant support by calling for land reform, a policy intended to break the power of the landed bourgeoisie and reverse the decline in productivity caused by the archaic structure of the latifundios, a decline which was forcing Chile to import food.

There was to be no social upheaval in carrying out this transfer of land, however. Peasants were to live on *asentamientos* (settlements), working collectively to ensure the highest productivity for a period before individual ownership would be possible. In this way land reform would quickly increase the production of cheap food, laying the basis for infrastructural loans for the transportation, power, education and health care needed to provide a climate for investment in manufacturing. Opening up Latin America in this way would provide the international bourgeoisie with a great pool of cheap labor to shift the burden of production away from the high-cost labor of the advanced sector.

What did the PCCh and the PS do to counter this sophisticated capitalist plan? While the PDC presidential campaign of 1964 (financed by the U.S. with \$20 million) used the slogans of "participation" and "Revolution in Liberty" (as opposed to the Cuban model), the Popular Action Front (FRAP), an electoral alliance of the PCCh and PS, offered little more by calling for "co-administration" and a slightly better deal for labor than the PDC offered. The entire "national" bourgeoisie, including even the most reactionary elements, and its parliamentary apparatus, supported, with significant U.S. prodding, the PDC's candidate Frei and his campaign for reforms without "communism." Meanwhile, Allende and FRAP pushed the same reforms with a little more macho rhetorical militance, and defended *themselves* from the "communist" charge by insisting they weren't really communists. They supported the Cuban revolution as a unique method having nothing to do with the Chilean "revolution." The best aspects of the Cuban revolution, the wiping out of all capitalist political and property forms and a complete break with imperialism by cancelling the foreign debt, were rejected. Such extremism was not what FRAP was about. (Not accidentally the same attitude held by the U.P., FRAP's successor.) What they were all about is best explained by an excerpt from their labor policy: "The union organizations, through collective bargaining must obtain remunerations...without prejudice to the policies being carried out by the government." FRAP was indistinguishable from the program of the world bourgeoisie. Not surprisingly, Frei and the PDC won the election with 55.7% of the vote. Allende took 38.6%.

Failure of the PDC

By studying the inability of the PDC to implement its program once in power, we can find the point of departure for rejecting the Popular Front and counterposing a revolutionary strategy.

The failure of this advanced capitalist plan was brought about by both external and internal conditions. Frei met with problems almost from the outset of his administration. The Chileanization of copper, the acquisition by Chile of 52% ownership in the main copper

mines, was passed by Congress in 1966. This new law increased Chile's gross receipts from increased production, in return for the loss of 16% in earnings per ton. But even this clumsy "anti-imperialist" measure was only passed by trading off a concession on land reform to rightwingers in Congress. This, in a nutshell, epitomizes Frei's failure.

A parliamentary regime functions on a pluralist basis, with differing interest groups jockeying to get their part of the pie, a possibility in a period of normal capitalist "prosperity."

But the period had changed, and the CIA-PDC policy now required the dismantling of old interest groups: segments of the industrial bourgeoisie which didn't understand the goals of "participation," and latifundists who resolutely blocked land reform, and last but not least, labor and the left who wanted business as usual. The PDC parliamentary majority included, among others, some industrialists and segments of the labor movement. The right wing, a significant block in Congress, also included some industrialists, but most of all the latifundists. What was to become the swing vote, the left, represented labor.

Development loans poured in from 1964 through 1967; AID monies were used to organize peasant unions and community groups, especially among squatters. The International Development Foundation, a CIA front, also funded these operations. The orthodox left, not surprisingly, joined in these efforts.

But the rest fell through. Most of the capital for reform was squandered on small parcels of non-irrigated and low-capital infrastructure lands, which made up 87% of the program. The irrigated and relatively highly capitalized latifundia were left untouched, so as to maintain the political balance in Congress intact. But an eruption was inevitable. Frei was hostile toward wage demands from the beginning, and in 1966 his "Mano Dura" policy sent troops to crush a strike in the copper mines; several workers were killed. This type of action was instrumental in the splintering of the PDC, factions of which relied on the labor movement as a base. More domestic chaos was caused by the dropping off of industrial investment by the Chilean bourgeoisie, while the illegal outflow of capital, which was to become monumental during the UP government, began.

Support for the PDC dropped consistently in every election. In 1965 they received 42% of the vote, and by 1967 they were down to 37% — quite a long way from the winning 56% in 1964!

Internationally, the European recession of the mid-sixties, the monetary crisis of 1967-68, and the worldwide labor upsurge, highlighted by the 1968 French general strike, convinced international financiers (otherwise known as the CIA) that a "new" policy

toward the Third World was needed. Infrastructural development, the upgrading of the living standards of the working class to make them capable of producing at a certain technological level, was replaced by recycling. Plans to create a semi-skilled working class were scrapped in favor of labor-intensive policies, and the advancement of the material basis (education, health care, etc.) for the reproduction of the population was abandoned.

Brazil is today the most advanced specimen of the ravages of this new capitalist policy. Disease is rampant, 12-hour work days are common, and child labor is the rule. Nazi-like recycling policies, whereby workers are consumed by intense speedup, long hours and inadequate caloric intake, and then replaced by any of the waiting millions of unemployed, started systematically in Brazil in 1968, ushering in the capitalist program for the seventies.

By early 1968, Frei had given up on all attempts to institute his reform program. Domestic and international conditions had forced him into a new phase, highlighted by a new cabinet reflecting a dramatic swing to the old-style right. U.S. backing of the "Revolution in Liberty," both in development loans and publicity, had stopped abruptly. The international bourgeoisie and its Chilean lackeys had taken a dangerous chance in attempting an abrupt change in economic and social policy through an old institution, the PDC. They had gambled big and they had lost big.

The "Brazilian" policy was the order of the day, but there was no social force or group among the ruling class that had the credibility or the outright military strength to implement it. From the late 1967-68 period on, Frei was able to continue as a caretaker government only with the aid of the PCCh.

Pop Front Betrayal Begins

As alluded to before, the labor upsurge of 1966 (illegal strikes increased by 65% over the previous year) caused the splintering of the PDC. The strike wave abated somewhat in 1967 but rebounded in 1968 to reach its peak with 100,000 more workers out on strike than during the 1966 upsurge. The left's reaction to this classical conjunctural crisis is significant for our study.

Frei submitted his 1968 budget in 1967 to a recalcitrant Congress. Some PDC parliamentarians and the left, a majority, could not approve of anti-strike provisions and the cut in real wages offered to labor. The impasse continued, effectively leaving Chile without a government until almost mid-1968. Frei finally threatened the "Democratic" PCCh with the bogeyman of the military. Several generals began making conspicuous visits to La Moneda, at which point the PCCh

press quickly toned down its criticism of the government, and, just as hastily, provided the necessary votes to a slightly toned down anti-labor bill. The Socialists didn't go quite as far. Their impotence reserved them the role of a noisy Congressional opposition.

At this point some "bright" revolutionary will say, "If the left had done anything else the military would have stopped them. After all, you aren't saying that the military was helpless too, are you?" The story of a "bright" general who thought along those same lines is the most effective answer. In October of 1969, General Vieux attempted a coup. It received no support from the U.S. or from any political group in Chile, and Frei quickly suppressed it.

The PCCh and the PS continued merrily along, without stopping to notice the power vacuum. Instead, they calmly concentrated their forces on the March 1969 parliamentary elections and the September 1970 presidential elections. When the 1969 elections came, they confirmed what was already known: there was no government. The PDC lost its majority in the chamber of deputies and received only 29.8% of the total vote.

As the crisis in ruling class institutions opened and brought on a radicalization of major sections of the population, the left had the freedom to organize aggressively for a future seizure of power. But, having no programmatic alternative to capitalism, and being mired in parliamentary and trade union tactics, they instead helped the bourgeoisie to continue business as usual.

The 1970 Elections

For both the left and the bourgeoisie, the 1970 elections brought the events of the previous two years to a head. The bourgeoisie remained irreconcilably split. The Christian Democratic Party, a faction-ridden shell of its former self, nominated leftwinger Radomiro Tomic as its presidential candidate. The old-style right wing, this time around, received neither pressure nor money from the United States to support the PDC, and so nominated its own candidate, Jorge Alessandri.

Meanwhile, the two leftist parties had formed a new coalition, the Popular Unity, which also included the Radicals within it, now a minor force in Chilean politics. The Radicals, a bourgeois party with a middle-class base, had lost most of their following, as the strike wave and peasant and squatters upsurge forced the middle class to go all the way right, as the upper middle class did, or else to timidly support the left. Even the middle class was beginning to intuitively understand that middle courses were now useless.

The campaign of Tomic, who had been Chile's ambassador to the U.S. from 1965 to 1969, began with

his announcement that he would not run unless the UP supported him. He and his party had now clearly recognized that the country was ungovernable without the direct intervention of the left. But the UP, under much pressure from the rank and file, were forced to turn down this offer; instead they ran Salvador Allende, the perennial candidate of the left.

Tomic's platform was one of "Christian and Democratic Socialism." Major industries were to be run as state enterprises, cooperatives were to permeate Chile à la Yugoslavia, and all of this was packaged with a cover of virulent anti-imperialism that at times even surpassed the UP's demagoguery. The UP's program, to which we will return in detail later, called for structural changes that would lay the basis for a "pluralistic socialism." Alessandri, finally, wanted a straight law-and-order regime, a safeguarding of capitalism Brazilian-style — hardly the way to win an election.

The predicament facing the CIA, the State Department and their cronies inside Chile is quite instructive. Unlike 1964, the PDC received very little money and continent-wide propaganda aid from the U.S.; on the contrary, the State Department and its representative Ambassador Korry backed Alessandri. Their dilemma became serious when the results of the election came in: Allende received 36.2% of the vote, Tomic 27.8%, and Alessandri 34.9%. By Chilean law, the Christian Democratic rightwing-controlled Congress now had to choose between the two leading vote-getters and elect the new President, since none of the candidates had received a simple majority. The U.S. State Department, Korry and the right wing planned to have Alessandri elected, and then have him immediately resign — whereupon Frei would once again be eligible to run in the new elections.

This plan was quickly scrapped, however, since traditionally the leading vote-getter was elected by Congress, and suddenly altering that tradition would foment popular unrest. More important, however, was the fact that, even if it worked, this plan would probably cause a major rupture in the PDC, thereby making Frei after the new elections even more impotent than he had been from 1968 on.

A newer and better plot was hatched by Korry, ITT and General Vieux. It was quite simple: a military coup would prevent Congress from meeting and electing Allende, which would be preferable since the military were in a stronger position to run the country than Frei was. Both ITT and Korry lobbied vigorously for it in Washington — with those who could give the final okay, Kissinger and the CIA. At the last moment the State Department withdrew its approval, while the CIA told Vieux to hold off until a more appropriate moment, at which time he would receive all the aid he required. The reasons were obvious.

The working class and peasantry were euphoric about the UP victory; they thought they had actually voted in the revolution, and their expectations were higher than ever. The middle classes and squatters in the main also supported Allende or the leftwing PDCers. Under those circumstances, a military coup clearly would have meant a civil war, a war which Kissinger, the CIA and Frei were not sure they could win **at that point**. Vieux, however, broke ranks and went ahead with the coup anyway, and predictably failed miserably. Allende came to office.

It must be clear: imperialism had suffered a huge defeat. Unable to run one of their key countries, they had to allow the left to run it for them. The CIA was not overly worried about a real revolution, since they knew that these "reformists" could be kept in line by merely dangling the bogeyman of the military in front of them. They were worried, however, about major economic setbacks, both because of the concessions the UP would make to its base and because of the bourgeoisie's own economic sabotage, which was designed to discredit the "Marxists." Furthermore, the imperialists' implementation of the new fascist economic program would have to wait until their forces within Chile regained enough cohesion and strength to once and for all crush the aspirations of the workers and peasants. But in a period when accelerating economic collapse necessitated the looting of the third world at an increased rate, this destruction and delay was indeed a bitter pill to swallow.

The situation now bore a remarkable resemblance to the early circumstances of the Russian Revolution. The February Revolution left the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks (the left) in power to run the country. The international and Russian bourgeoisies could not smash the revolutionary upsurge and the workers' organizations, the Soviets, and Prince Lvov could only "rule" with the assent of the left.

The Mensheviks wanted a bourgeois-democratic revolution first, to be followed at some vague later date with socialism. The UP, having to be a bit more subtle, talked about structural changes laying the basis for a future socialism; or, as Allende put it, "...we are making our way towards socialism."

In the Russian Revolution it was clear that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries were not going to take advantage of the weakness of the bourgeoisie and destroy the Tsarist military apparatus and carry out a socialist revolution.

In Chile, it was clear that the UP would also fail to act in this manner. Before the PDC would vote Allende into power they demanded and received written guarantees from the UP. The UP promised to maintain freedom for all political parties and to maintain the professional status of the military. They promised, in short, not to make a revolution!



The Popular Front strategy of the Chilean Left ensured the victory of these CIA puppets.

Lenin's approach to the problem over 50 years ago was simple: "No support for the Provisional Government; the utter falsity of all its promises should be made clear..."; "we preach the necessity of transferring the entire state power to the Soviets..."; and finally, "the specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the country is **passing** from the first stage of the revolution — which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie — to its **second** stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants."

The parallel doesn't hold, you say, because in Chile the UP is not the bourgeoisie? How observant. But observe a bit more carefully and you will notice that the workers and peasants in the UP **left** the bourgeoisie in power! The capitalist-controlled Congress was left untouched, as were the Judiciary, the state bureaucracy and the military — not to mention a few capitalists themselves here and there.

Were there any real followers of Lenin in Chile? The MIR and the left wing within the Socialist Party claimed to be the real heirs of Bolshevism in Chile, rightly claiming that Allende and the PCCh were being hypocritical in paying homage to "Marxism-Leninism." But this is what the MIR had to say on the UP's ascendancy to power: "a merely 'purist' and blind opposition may alienate us from a process which, passing through a historically significant confrontation of classes, may be the beginning of the road to socialism"; and "although the UP program is not identical to ours, we shall push and support the realization of those measures [the anti-capitalist measure within the UP program — F.F.]."

This certainly was not Leninism. In fact, it mirrored exactly the policy of Stalin and Kamenev before Lenin's

ruthless reorientation of the party upon his return to Russia in April of 1917. In the March 15 edition of **Pravda**, Stalin and Kamenev had announced the Bolshevik's support for the Provisional Government "insofar as it struggles against reaction or counter-revolution."

As for the Chilean left Socialists, they voted with their feet and stayed within the PS and therefore within the UP. Again, Stalin, not Lenin, was their real mentor.

A few days before Lenin's return, Stalin stated: "We must do it [unification with the Mensheviks]. It is necessary to define our proposal for a basis of union; union is possible..."; and "There is no use running ahead and trying to forestall disagreements. There is no party life without disagreements. We will live down petty disagreements within the party."

It is not exaggerating in the least to draw the analogy between the UP and the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, and between Allende and Kerensky. The history of the PCCh and PS, prior to their coming to "power" made that sufficiently clear.

Why draw such an analogy? As we said at the outset, to begin answering the question: What is **necessary** for Latin America's proletariat to seize power? Lenin, of course, answered the parallel general question very simply: "To have at the decisive moment, at the decisive point, an overwhelming superiority of force." Many Chileans and other Latin Americans are now saying that Lenin's dictum was their dictum in Chile, except — well — they will say, sadly, we didn't have enough guns.

Nonsense! Latin America is full of guns! The U.S. and Europe dump millions of dollars worth of guns into Latin America every year. Where did Lenin get his

guns? His program and actions won the peasant/soldiers over to the side of the revolution. It is true that a war was going on in Russia, a losing war that brought the discontent of the peasantry to a head. It was also true that Russia had a more severe agrarian problem than Latin America today. But this only means that the Bolshevik and Lenin's program would be insufficient in Latin America today. It means that in order to win over the Latin American mostly-peasant soldiers, a more advanced program and strategy is required.

An analysis of the UP government, and the alternative path to revolution offered the Chilean workers and peasants by the self-annointed Leninists in the MIR, will show that both of these forces failed miserably in this respect. In our criticism of these two programs we will also establish the premises upon which a formulation of actual socialist program rests. (The actual beginnings of program for Latin America is discussed in the editorial in the Nov.-Dec. issue of the **Boletín Internacional**.)

The Popular Unity Program was all things for all people. Along with the required revolutionary rhetoric, one also found reassurances to the bourgeoisie such as the following: "Taking advantage of military and political agreements, [the imperialists] have tried to penetrate the armed forces."

The PCCh and the PS concentrated their rhetoric on four simple points: (1) Constitutional reform in order to create a People's Assembly; (2) construction of a new economy, by dividing it into three parts: areas of social, private, and mixed property. Over 200 "monopolistic" enterprises were to be nationalized, including the major mining companies and the banking system; (3) land reform; and (4) wage and price policies to bring about the redistribution of income.

The People's Assembly was supposed to rid Chile of "...the dictatorial system and the corrupt parliamentary system." Yet Allende and the PCCh tried to squelch every attempt of the workers and peasants to set up mass organizations that could replace the Congress. Their reaction to the MIR-inspired Popular Assembly in Concepcion in mid-1972 was typical: the Assembly would have to be dissolved at once, since it went against the Constitution and therefore against the spirit of their revolution! Much more in the "spirit" of the revolution was the opposition-controlled bourgeois Congress. The same Congress which in turn boxed in the UP and made sure that Allende and the UP kept the working class in line.

How was Allende going to get his Popular Assembly? The only acceptable "constitutional" way would have been to call for a plebiscite dissolving the Congress. He had one opportunity to do this, immediately after the 1971 municipal elections in which the left got 51% of the vote, yet he did nothing. Later, of course, he would moan about how sorry he was he hadn't acted. It is

instructive to note that the only time Allende did seriously consider a plebiscite was two days before the coup, a situation in which his government, and not Congress, would have been dissolved for lack of a majority.

The nationalizations were no better. Less than 100 of the 200 enterprises scheduled to become part of state property actually became so. Furthermore, most of them became state property only after full compensation. The biggest exception, of course, was the copper mines; but here the rightwing-controlled Congress had voted unanimously for that course of action. In this area, too, the UP gave up more and more of its program as the bourgeoisie became bolder. A month before the coup, Allende finally entirely turned over the economy to the Congress as a peace offering — he promised that no new nationalizations would occur without their prior consent.

In the area of land reform, the UP merely continued the old PDC program, only at a slightly more rapid pace. When the bourgeoisie demanded a crackdown, however, Allende once again caved in. He called those who encouraged land invasions "mental cases," and then warned: "I don't pursue repressions, but I appeal to...the masses to put an end to these proceedings...If the government is put in danger I will consciously use force...."

Finally, his income distribution policy was part of the program that was actually implemented fully. The policy was to serve two purposes: to raise the standard of living of the working class, and to stimulate the economy with the resultant increased consumer demand.

During the first year of the UP, wage hikes raised real wages dramatically, especially those of the lower-paid workers. The economy responded with a mild boom as idle capacity was put to use, and unemployment went down along with the rate of inflation. This ended abruptly when a significant amount of the money put into circulation ended up in the pockets of the capitalists, who still controlled the major part of the economy. The capitalists were not about to reinvest their capital, in a situation in which they were not in full control.

That was one part of the failure of the income distribution aspect of the UP program. The other was the reformulation by the UP of the policy that tried to maintain wage levels in pace with inflation. As expected, this came at the end, when the bourgeoisie's howls became louder and louder.

A view from another angle will give us further insight into the matter. The theoretical underpinning of the UP's program was that by gaining independence for their economy from imperialism, Chile would move

quickly towards development. Despite the fact that this theory was merely used to help fabricate an "anti-imperialist bourgeoisie" out of thin air as an excuse for class collaboration, it was wrong even on its own terms. Ironically, since the UP government did not want to put its theory into practice it was left to the bourgeoisie to put it to the acid test. The Popular Unity never wanted to make a complete break with imperialism. Allende promised that debt payments would continue, and only in the case of the big copper companies was outright expropriation, without compensation, used. Allende did not want to antagonize the imperialists.

The international bourgeoisie had no such qualms, and immediately after 1970 set a policy of complete isolation for Chile. No new loans were given, all credit lines were closed, machinery and replacement parts were made hard to get, and through stockpile-dumping and other machinations the price of copper was driven way down.

Allende was now left sucking on a dry tit, the Soviet Union, for Brezhnev had already given Nixon a solid promise that there would be no more Cubas. Leaving aside Allende's respect for the opposition, which allowed local capitalists to further sabotage the economy, the result of isolations was not development, but rather it brought disaster to Chile.

How to get out of that predicament? A revolutionary program would have aimed immediately to break all ties to imperialism. In that way the millions of dollars in debt payments and compensation paid out by the UP would not have been lost. A revolutionary program would have taken into account the difficulties resulting from such a policy and placed its emphasis on healing the ugliest sores left by the ravages of imperialism. In Chile, as in most other underdeveloped countries, it would have meant gearing the economy to produce enough foodstuffs to wipe out hunger, with the problems of housing, education and health care not far behind in order of priority.

But the most fundamental point of revolutionary program would have been that even a slight improvement in these basic necessities could not be brought about **within** Chile alone.

Had Allende and the UP wanted to break the "imperialist blockade" they would have had to have a program for revolution for **all** of Latin America.

The only program Allende had was to try to get the "anti-imperialist" governments of the world to support him against U.S. economic aggression. We need not comment on the utter failure of this policy. But Allende went further; he actually tried to prevent revolution in other countries. At least on two occasions, in Ecuador and Mexico, Allende told students to forget about revolution and concentrate on their studies.

The illusion was that the UP's program was anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. But as we have shown, the reality of the matter was otherwise.

Loyal Opposition: The MIR

After the first year, Allende's star tarnished somewhat and many now fantasized about the MIR as the guarantors of the revolution. Nevertheless, one look at the MIR program will show that it was not significantly different from the UP's.

While the MIR correctly demanded that all debts to the imperialists be cancelled, and that all transportation and distribution be controlled by the government, these were essentially nothing more than mere glosses on the failures of the UP government. Did they have a program for running the economy? Their plans were no alternative to the UP chaos.

What's more, the MIR had no conception of program for Latin America as a whole. They, unlike the UP, recognized the problem of isolation, proposing that that part of the solution be demanding that the Soviets give more aid! The rest of the problem would be solved by revolutions their guerrilla friends were preparing in other countries. While the Tupamaros would take care of business in Uruguay and the ERP would handle Argentina, they — the MIR — would take care of Chile. They would all cheer each other on, but to have acted together with a common strategy, that would have been unthinkable; after all, Chileans can't tell Argentinians what to do!

MIR land reform consisted of inciting land invasions and calling for takeovers of farms over 40 hectares, as opposed to the government's 80 hectare rule. On the question of industry, the MIR insisted that all enterprises originally slated to be nationalized by the UP actually be nationalized, the rest being put under workers control. Their program then was merely a push for the real implementation of the UP program. Only on the question of worker and peasant involvement in the running of the country was their program different from the government's.

In their attempts at Leninism, the MIR advocated "comandos comunales," soviet formations which would include all layers of the non-ruling-class population. They never demanded that these formations **become the government**, merely that they run parallel as part of the UP government. At the end when prototypes of such formations did exist, though not on a unified nationwide level owing to UP sabotage, and when it finally became clear to the MIR that the UP was not "building socialism," they surreptitiously hinted that they now wanted the workers organizations to be the government, replacing the UP. But that final whimper was too low and too late.

Such timidity was not totally unwarranted. As the MIR's program was no real alternative to the government's, their only strategy was to use a mass movement to pressure the UP into implementing its promised program. To accomplish this the MIR simply egged on workers to act out their most primitive instincts, their bourgeois me-first ideology. Instead of educating the worker to a class-for-itself consciousness by showing the interconnectedness of production and consumption, the dependence of the worker on the peasant, the link between the textile worker and the construction worker in the international network of production, the MIR asked the workers (with rhetoric of class solidarity) merely to look out for themselves. Instead of all the workers and peasants deciding how production should proceed at a given factory, in terms of the needs of the economy as a whole, the workers at the plant were told to control its production since it was **their** plant.

In short, the MIR mired itself in every nook and cranny of the land reform program, the trade unions and any other sort of government sponsored program, and proposed workers' control and local control in all of them.

The MIR's attitude towards the soldiers exemplifies our point. While the UP refused to break the "neutrality" of the military and therefore to organize within it, the MIR recognized it could not do the same. Instead, they called for the democratization of the Armed Forces (soldiers control of the army?!), better pay for the soldiers, the right to vote, etc., etc. Oh, yes: they also asked the soldiers not to turn against the workers. Why? They didn't really say.

In this way, the MIR refused to appeal to the social soldier, the soldier who was part of a class, the soldier who was interested in his family's role in the economy, the soldier who wanted a say in the running of the world, the soldier who wanted a sense of worth as a human being. Instead they appealed to the isolated soldier as a mere soldier — in short, in the course of their organizing, they didn't show the soldier his positive potential connection to the working class, his connection to the world.

The MIR's constituency organizing wasn't restricted to soldiers. Even in their organizational structure they reinforced bourgeois divisions in the population. For workers, the MIR had the FTR (Revolutionary Workers Front), for peasants they had the MCR (Revolutionary Peasant Movement), and another "movement," as well, for students.

A description of activities in a MIR-controlled shantytown will absolutely crystallize for the reader what the MIR was all about.

The programmatic mobilization of the poblacion was done around its own felt needs. If they needed better housing and access to food, then the MIR would mobilize them to try to get these living essentials from the government. But the MIR never mobilized them to be part of a nationwide movement that would **take power** and then try to improve material conditions for **everyone**.

The MIR's view of "cultural" uplifting would be to give the pobladores a sense of community. Therefore, what flourished was people's drama, people's music and people's art. To have taught the pobladores the history and advancements of world culture and science, to have given the pobladores an identity as world-historical beings instead of identities as pobladores from Santiago, etc., etc., would have alienated the MIR from the "people's" movement. The people's movement, which represented nothing but everyday vicious bourgeois me-first modes of thinking, sugar-coated with socialist rhetoric.

Is it any wonder, then, that the left "opposition" to Allende failed to mobilize the population into class-for-itself mass organizations? Organizations that would have demanded that its members think of their interests as being bound up not only with all of Chile's workers and peasants, but with all of Latin America's non-ruling-class population.

Only if one suffered from a neurosis that prevented one from seeing the UP's history could one have had illusions about the "reformists." The same must be said about the MIR.

The MIR was formed in 1965 as an alternative to the reformism of the PCCh and the PS, and until 1970 functioned as a guerrilla group. Their decision to use guerrilla warfare as their political strategy was based on their semi-conscious belief that they could not break the hegemony of the PCCh and the PS had over the working class. Their exemplary actions belied their religious belief in the ultimate revolutionary consciousness of "the people."

With the electoral victory of the UP, the MIR changed its approach and now wished to avoid "alienating" themselves from what was popular. This transformation from guerrilla to reticent Popular Frontist, as has been proven throughout Latin America, is not a drastic one. The attitudes are merely the two poles of the same "world." In this "world" the potential revolutionary feels incapable of convincing "the people" of his revolutionary understanding: therefore, he is condemned to either act alone out of frustration, or to join in with the "people's" movement.

The other "heroes" of Lenin, the MAPU, the OIC (another left split-off from the PDC), and the left

Socialists, are not even worth dealing with because, unlike the MIR, they didn't even have the guts to function outside the UP womb.

The epitaph of the Chilean left should read:

Here lies the Popular Unity, loyal
opposition to the bourgeoisie;
Slightly leftward, the MIR and friends, loyal
opposition to the UP.

Examining the programs of the left in Chile shows clearly what the crime of the Popular Front is. A popular Front is not the formal definition of hierarchical position of parties within a coalition. A Popular Front is the running of a capitalist government (or providing the credibility for such a government) by the left and working class parties, when the bourgeoisie and its institutions have lost their credibility. A Popular Front is the left and the working class parties ensnaring the left opponents, the working class and its allies within the limits of bourgeois legality, and thus giving the bourgeoisie the opportunity to regain the strength and means to create new institutions for its rule. (In the advanced sectors, mass fascist movements as in Italy that include the working class are the new institutions required for the survival of capitalism. In the underdeveloped sector, in Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, etc., police states which rule on the basis of military might with varying degrees of petit-bourgeois support were the new institutions needed by the bourgeoisie.)

The disease of the Popular Front is also the new revolutionary left (the MIR), opposed to the orthodox reformists (the PCCh), but refusing to ruthlessly expose the counterrevolutionary role of the UP even after the most blatant empirical evidence that its only purpose was to maintain the status quo, albeit with a few left trimmings. From the mountains of evidence we will highlight the most vicious cases.

Even during the first year, when small amounts of foreign reserves were available for reforms, thus lending something of an aura of revolutionary legitimacy to the UP, it was made sufficiently clear to "the people" that they had better toe the line — the bourgeois line. Three months after the election a PCCh propaganda squad concretized its rhetoric by killing a MIRista. Whereupon the MIR, naturally, concluded a de facto non-aggression pact (no polemics) with the PCCh, a pact that lasted approximately five months. By late 1971, the government was already looking the other way as landowners began to form vigilante squads and shoot down peasants, thus saving the government the embarrassment of having to do so themselves.

In 1972 the right wing held a demonstration in Concepcion which all of the left, except the PCCh, tried to stop. Allende and the PCCh believed in "respecting the rights of the opposition" and so the Governor of Concepcion, a Central Committee member of the PCCh, ordered the police to attack the left demonstration, killing one and injuring over 40. In August of the same year, a MIR-controlled shantytown was also attacked in search of armed members of the "ultra-left" who allegedly were planning to assassinate Allende. But Allende unabashedly gave the real reason after one poblador was killed, six injured and 160 were carted away to jail: "I have come to...explain once more the conditions under which the Chilean socialist revolution should develop, and **the obligation we have to submit our process of change to the bourgeois laws which we undertook to respect.**" (emphasis ours)

By 1973, UP spokesmen such as PCCh leader Teitelbaum felt free to say openly what "the Chilean Way" was all about: "It is widely recognized that what is taking place here in Chile today is **not socialist revolution**; rather, it's the application of a program which the Constitution, written by those parties who today are in the opposition, will perfectly tolerate." (emphasis ours) The UP was not willing to do anything that would prove intolerable to the capitalists!

In the end, Allende and the PCCh were desperate in their attempts to prove to the bourgeoisie that they could keep things in line. The most vicious example was the so-called "mutiny" of the sailors in Valparaiso. These pro-socialist sailors decided to spill the beans on the Navy officers who were plotting the coup. The Navy retaliated by framing them up on mutiny charges and proceeding to torture them, with support from Allende and the PCCh. Why would avowed Marxists act in that manner? Their revolution demanded respect for the "neutrality" of the military. This was in August, when the so-called "neutrality" of the military no longer existed. While the terrorist fascist bands of Patria y Libertad were given free reign, the military had undertaken searches of factories and leftist strongholds as early as July.

As this evidence suggests that Allende and the PCCh would have undoubtedly been willing to allow the destruction of the MIR and other left-oppositionists, the disbanding the comandos comunales, etc. in order not to be offensive to the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, however, no longer needed Allende and the PCCh. The middle classes were now virulently anti-left, the bourgeois parties were united in favoring a coup and the working class was now more defenseless than it had been in 1970. Signs of working class demoralization were everywhere, as witnessed in the popular slogan: "Este gobierno es mierda, pero es mio" ("This government is crap, but it's mine").

The UP had done its job well: it had ensured that by its respect for the rights of the opposition, respect for the Constitution and respect for the neutrality of the armed forces, the house had been kept in order until the bourgeoisie regained its strength to rule.

Allende had no choice but to die "heroically"! His brand of Marxism had become totally "useless" to the bourgeoisie. They no longer needed the windbag once they could run the show themselves.

The crimes of Allende and the PCCh lie not with any of these specific actions; their crime was the whole process of damming up the revolution. The stupidity of the MIR was that it threw childlike tantrums and demanded that Allende and the PCCh refrain from doing these "bad" acts.

The tragedy of Latin America today is that even after Allende and the Popular Unity, while Peron carries out a bloody manhunt of the left at the same time as the Argentinian Communist Party hails him as being anti-imperialist, the remnants of the "new revolutionary" left throughout Latin America refuse to recognize the counterrevolutionary nature of the Popular Front. In answer to a letter by L. Marcus (appearing in the Nov.-

Dec. issue of the **Boletin Internacional**) and other literature which ruthlessly exposed the Popular Front, these survivors replied "We are not going to answer your work...Upholding that Allende was in connivance with the CIA is preposterous and a provocation...We have analyzed the documents and consider that answering them would be a waste of time."

Only hysteria would cause them to fabricate this lie, that we maintain Allende had collaborated with the CIA! Only a real neurosis could block these so-called revolutionaries from seeing what is very real to them: the Popular Front strategy has left them with no place to go! Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile and now Argentina have become very inhospitable places for organizers.

Or could it be that these friends had decided to leave the struggle? To come out against the Popular Front would alienate Cuba, a refuge for retired and beaten revolutionaries.

In either case, the painful reality of Latin America today is that the necessary construction of a continental revolutionary strategy and party must start from scratch; the remnants of the viable left have removed themselves from this task.

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BRAZILIAN FASCISM: Capitalism's Program in Action

by Joseph McGuire

The recent bloody defeats of the Uruguayan and especially the Chilean working class demonstrate with painful clarity that the proletarian revolution in Latin America will not have even the slightest chance of victory unless the strategy that is currently achieving such successes for the capitalists is profoundly understood by every revolutionary communist. We must understand that, at this very moment, the situation throughout Latin America is at its most critical stage, that we cannot afford to lose any more ground to the capitalists' implementation of genocidal policies on our working-class brothers. We must be clear that only through the establishment of a workers' socialist economy will we be able to ensure the continued existence of the entire human race; only in this way can we save humanity from the fate that has already befallen that full third of the Latin American working class and peasantry living in Brazil.

In Brazil one hundred million workers are already in the process of being systematically exterminated — after having been looted of whatever value they could still produce — in a manner unparalleled since the rise

of fascism in Europe. Already similar regimentation and austerity are beginning to bear fruit in other Latin American countries, from Chile and Argentina to Peru and Paraguay.

If we are to succeed in destroying these fascistic plans of the desperate capitalist class before they are carried out globally, it is imperative to first understand exactly what the strategy of our class enemy is and precisely why they are driven to it. Only by acting upon such knowledge can we formulate a strategy for defeating the enemy's plans and seizing state power. With this end in mind we proceed directly to the capitalists' strategy in this Second Great Depression, a strategy now bloodily previewed in the devastating experiment on the captive Brazilian working class.

How Capitalists Recycle Their Way Out of a Depression

The capitalist program for this decade, first initiated in 1964 in Brazil, remains, in essence, an exact copy of the plans drawn up by Hjalmar Schacht, Adolf Hitler's

Economics Minister from 1933 to 1937. The very same policy which brought absolute destruction to the European working class in the 1930's and 40's was championed in Brazil in the 1960's by two students of Herr Schacht, Senhores Roberto Campos and Delfim Netto. These two, the former and the present Brazilian Finance Ministers, have functioned astutely in their posts as the trained agents of the world bourgeoisie. Their explicit assignment: revitalize the policies which, 35 years ago, brought so much relief to the debt-strapped German central bankers.

The economic policies in effect in Brazil over the past ten years, like the economic programs of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, were intended to produce one sole result: maintain capitalist credit relations at all costs, even if it means destroying the working class.

And it does.

In a depression like that of the 1930's or like today's, each new spurt in the growth of capitalist indebtedness drives the bourgeoisie into a more desperate search for a source of liquidity with which to meet its debt payments. Any expansion of credit only creates a larger liquidity problem, as the newly expanded credit itself demands a return. To further aggravate the capitalists' problem, any sort of significant capital investment in new plant and equipment becomes unthinkable, since the amount demanded by the central bankers as payment on debts actually greatly exceeds the profit generated under normal conditions. Certain capitalist interests may buy out existing plants and equipment, or may simply transfer present capital from one sector to another (both are occurring today in Brazil), but the irony of the matter is that the actual productive expansion of capital becomes unprofitable — any new investment would threaten to instantly depreciate all past investments in that area.

Finding no other source of quick loot of the magnitude required to meet these growing liquidity demands, the capitalists turn to their only alternative: the extensive and accelerating looting of value from the living standards of the working class and peasantry, and from the domain of natural resources itself. While the implementation of this cannibalistic program may differ widely even within a given geographical area such as Latin America, the end result remains the same: looting of sufficient magnitude to sharply interfere with the ability of the working class to reproduce itself as part of the worldwide division of labor.

One simple statistic from the Brazilian Health Ministry makes this feature of fascist economics clear — 40% of all Brazilian children are predisposed to mental illness due to malnutrition.(1) This fact alone indicates an already catastrophic reduction in the productive capacity of the next generation of Brazilians, and hence

a serious setback in the reproduction of the world working class as a whole.

The exact formula for cannibalizing both natural and human resources originated as conscious government policy in Nazi Germany and remains essentially unaltered in current world capitalist policy as manifested in Brazil and elsewhere. We call this "recycling," and it corresponds precisely to the Brazilian "rotatividade." In both cases it signifies a scientifically formulated program whereby sectors of the labor force are obligated to toil under the most bestialized conditions of speedup and overtime, until they are rendered virtually useless from exhaustion. At that point they are merely replaced, as a worn-out part in a machine would be, by fresh workers who are themselves summarily wrung through the same process. As recycling intensifies, more and more of society's real human productive capacity is destroyed in a desperate attempt to maintain the capitalist **outmoded** credit structure.

It takes but scant insight to realize not only the purely economical but also the political benefits the capitalists derive from the successful implementation of recycling. Owing to the inhuman degree of speedup and overtime, a small number of laborers performs much more work per capita than could otherwise be accomplished in a normal 40-hour work week. Consequently, an enormous reserve army of unemployed "spare parts" workers becomes available, not only as replacements at even lower wages, but also as forced scabs and strike-breakers or vigilantes to police any worker or peasant resistance. In general, the capitalists manage to fragment the working class and use each desperate part of it as a battering ram against the living standards of the others.

The manifest importance of Brazil for both the working class and the bourgeoisie is that in Brazil a systematic recycling program is today being carried out to its catastrophic consequences. It is being held up as the capitalist model for how other countries can "solve" the present world depression. That "solution" will presently be unmasked; but first, how was this recycling program implemented with virtually no effective resistance from the left?

CP Paves CIA Road to Recycling

In 1960, the same year that both the Brazilian foreign debt and the working class and peasant ferment were reaching their respective peaks, the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) issued the following proclamation at their Fifth Party Congress: "The antagonistic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie...does not demand a radical and complete solution in the present stage of revolution, since within the present situation of the Nation, the

conditions do not exist for immediate socialist transformation.”(2) The PCB, ironically, was absolutely correct, for so long as they were around to disarm the workers through Popular Front formations (see “The Chilean Popular Front: Autopsy of a Suicide,” p.10), the only kind of revolutionary transformation that could occur would be in the direction of fascism.

The hideous crimes of the Brazilian Communist Party, and their contribution in creating the Brazil of today, are so numerous that they merit a separate article to be catalogued with the appropriate degree of detail. Nevertheless, it is important that the role played by this party be at least outlined, in order to show precisely what the catastrophic consequences are for the working class if the CP’s worldwide suicidal Popular Front strategy were allowed to prevail.

In 1960, as the 60% inflation rate continued to devour workers’ incomes, the representative of the rightist forces in Brazil, Janio Quadros, was elected President. At the same time, the PCB-led Popular Mobilization Front succeeded in obtaining the Vice-Presidency for the representative of the “progressive” Brazilian investment bankers, Joao Goulart. Despite the attempts of the bourgeoisie to pass Quadros off as a “progressive” (they even had him decorate Che Guevara with Brazil’s medal of honor!), it soon became clear that he was simply not the man who the working class would follow into the planned austerity trap. Instead, the bourgeoisie turned to Joao Goulart, a man more well qualified for the job. Goulart had been Minister of Labor under Mussolini-admirer President Getulio Vargas in the early 1950’s; he was also an investment banker and cattle rancher on his own account — clearly a more “progressive” leader, as the CP was quick to insist, than the “feudal” landowning classes that supported Quadros.

Demonstrating this “progressiveness,” the bourgeoisie forced Quadros’s “mysterious” resignation after only eight months in office, and Goulart was thereby encharged with accomplishing what his predecessor could never do: get the PCB to aid him in regimenting the working class and peasantry.

During this period the whole of the peasant Northeast was arising in rebellion. The expansion of sugar production, caused largely by the capitalists’ need to quickly replace the lost Cuban sugar, was driving peasants off their land and onto the sugar plantations. Similar upheavals were occurring throughout the major industrial cities, where numbers of workers were out on strike over rising inflation. The PCB was entrusted to contain the upsurge, since it already directly controlled key industrial unions. It tightened the stranglehold by organizing the southern agricultural workers and peasants into rural unions.

At precisely the point they should have provided the working class with the necessary strategy for defeating the **entire** bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie which at that very moment was preparing to utterly devastate them, the PCB and its counterpart Brazilian Socialist Party supported the “progressive” banker Goulart, thereby fostering the illusion among the working class that there was a “good” bourgeoisie who could be relied on. The harsh reality became all too clear barely four years later.

The arid Northeast was left to the efforts of the Socialist Party, which organized some of the rebellious peasants into independent Peasant Leagues under the leadership of Francisco Juliao. These Leagues were then quickly incorporated by Goulart, along with all other independent rural organizations throughout Brazil, into a corporatist trade union structure similar to the one set up by Getulio Vargas. Both of these were modelled after the structures set up by Portugal’s Salazar and Italy’s Mussolini, structures which organized local workers side by side with their local bosses, for the purpose of “deciding” which set of workers would be sped up and laid off today, which tomorrow.

On the other hand, those sections of the working class and peasantry that the PCB and SP couldn’t get to, or those sections that engaged in more radical activity, were brought directly under the thumb of the second great organizing force in rural Brazil — the CIA.

The CIA in Brazil

With the taste of the defeat in Cuba still fresh in their mouths, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was sent in force to the Northeast of Brazil to organize the peasantry. In 1962, two leading agents were sent to the U.S. Consular Office in the city of Recife in the Brazilian Northeast. One of the CIA operatives was given the position of regional head for the Northeast, responsible only to Veron Walters, the over-all director for CIA operations in Brazil, who was stationed as military attache to the U.S. Embassy in Rio de Janeiro. The other agent was a trained specialist in forming peasant cooperatives who employed the cover of being a representative from the Co-operative League of the United States of America (CLUSA), a CIA front organization which at the time was headed by H. Jerry Voorhis, once a California congressman ironically unseated by Richard Nixon in 1946.

This CIA-CLUSA operative first made an extensive number of contacts throughout the region, including left-wing intellectuals in Recife, numerous rural labor leaders, and young radical priests. One such priest, Padre Antonio Melo, was assigned at the time to a parish in a small town just outside of Recife. He

successfully orchestrated a small-scale peasant land seizure operation, the details of which were undoubtedly prearranged with the CIA, which "forced" the Brazilian government to give back expropriated lands to some peasants. This carefully contrived CIA plan quickly placed Padre Melo in the role of national hero of the peasants, and the CIA thanked him by continuing to channel him funds through the ultra-rightwing Brazilian Institute for Democratic Action (IBAD). Padre Melo is described by the student of Brazilian politics, Joseph Page, as "a bit bewildering even for one forewarned of his eccentricities"; Melo had his office "in one corner of a long, sparsely furnished room [where there was] a hammock, into which the twenty-nine-old priest deposited himself without the slightest self-consciousness." A funny way for a CIA agent to conduct himself?

When questioned on his program he replied that "Land not producing should be confiscated by the government and distributed to the peasants." This is exactly the plan drawn up for the World Bank ten years ago by M.J. Sternberg(3) and which is presently being carried out in the form of agri-work-camps in the Amazon. Padre Melo concluded his interview by stating, "I am against both capitalism and communism. I am against a socialist form of government, like that of Israel, Yugoslavia, or Sweden."

Padre Melo worked together with another spiritual leader of the CIA who actually put the whole counter-insurgency operation together — Padre Paulo Crespo. Padre Crespo formed an organization known as the Rural Orientation Service of Pernambuco (SORPE), which received considerable support from the Catholic Church, and was designed to find peasant leaders and instruct them in Christian trade unionism. "The new unions would seek the harmonious solution of differences between peasants and landowners, and sugar-workers and mill owners, as a preferable alternative to class conflict."

Both Padres Melo and Crespo were supervised by the regional CIA head from the Cooperative League. Since organizing was indeed going so well, the CIA soon began channeling funds directly into Crespo's SORPE to pay for the salaries of officials and offer attractive posts to rural leaders who were attempting to organize independently.

The CIA operation was a complete success in the Northeast, and culminated in the expansion of the U.S. A.I.D mission and the United States Information Service (USIS) — the cover name for the CIA in foreign operations — to include what is termed a Public Safety Advisor to instruct in the methods of extracting information and liquidating those who resisted being organized.(4)

CIA organizing within the industrial trade unions of

the South was carried out with equal sophistication. In August of 1960, Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, presented a proposal to the governing board of the AFL-CIO for the establishment of programs for training industrial union leaders in corporativism. None other than George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, immediately approved the idea and swiftly ordered the formation of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). He declared himself President of the institute, and J. Peter Grace of W.R. Grace and Co. was elected Chairman of the Board. Other members of the Board were equally divided among U.S. trade union leaders and heads of large corporations, which included the Rockefellers, Anaconda Copper Corporation, etc.

In early 1963, George Meany took personal charge of sending two top agents to Brazil to scout out the situation — Serafino Roumaldi, troubleshooter for AIFLD, and Berent Foriele, house expert on Latin American affairs for the Rockefeller clan. After only three months, Roumaldi returned to the U.S. with 33 trade union leaders who, for one reason or another, were eager to put an end to Communist Party organizing. These Brazilian trade unionists were then trained in a special AIFLD school in Washington, D.C., sent to CIA training schools in Europe for more intensive instruction, and then sent back to Brazil to either head unions or give courses for other union leaders in the major urban centers.

As was later revealed by one AIFLD official, these labor agents "became intimately involved in some of the clandestine operations of the Revolution (the 1964 coup) before it took place. What happened in Brazil did not just happen — it was planned and planned months in advance. Many of the trade union leaders, many of whom were actually trained in our Institute, were involved in the Revolution, and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."(5)

Thus, the international bourgeoisie relied on two organizing forces operating in Brazil to prepare the working class and peasantry for the genocidal policies in store for them. On the one hand, the Brazilian Communist and Socialist parties were organizing workers and peasants into the framework of Goulart's corporativist union structure; on the other, the CIA was organizing sections of the proletariat and peasantry dissatisfied with the left into the same type of corporativist structures.

The Coup

The Communist and Socialist parties were still holding on to Goulart's apron string when the International Monetary Fund sounded that "progressive" deathknell in a New York Times article the morning of February

28, 1964, a little more than a month before the actual coup. Essentially, the article declared that the Goulart government would receive no new money to refinance Brazil's foreign debt. Goulart's Letter of Intent pleading for new loans received a firm "No" from the IMF and OECD central bankers intent upon taking firm measures to ensure that all of Brazil's debt payments would be met. Goulart, in desperation, sent his finance minister to Paris to beg one last time for funds, but the world bourgeoisie responded appropriately on April Fools Day of 1964, taking the impotent Brazilian left entirely by surprise. On that day, the military executed a virtually bloodless coup d'état. They met with little resistance and moved quickly to exterminate the left, working class and peasant leaders.

It was all the more amazing given that, just a week before the coup, virtually all layers of the political working class were clamoring for revolution. On March 26, thousands of sailors and marines revolted and subsequently joined workers in occupying factories. The very day before the coup, peasants in many areas of the country occupied whole towns, while soldiers joined with them, placing their Army officers under arrest. Not to be outdone, the main labor federation called a nationwide general strike. The working class was merely waiting for the Communist Party and other left forces to give the order to begin taking over the economy.

Where were the Communists? They had turned to Joao Goulart, to ask him to do something! And where was Goulart? Well over the border in Uruguay! He certainly had no intention of defending the working class.

The magnitude of the Communist Party crime can be seen in the fact that, at the moment of the coup, the country's main Air Force base in Rio was taken over by soldiers, sergeants, and some pro-working class officers who immediately readied planes to bomb the counterrevolutionary forces. They awaited orders from the working class leadership, but no orders were given. The PCB was still looking for Goulart. Thus, the coup was executed by virtually only members of the officers corps. As Brazilian revolutionary Jean Marc von der Weid has noted, "soldiers came from the state of Minas Gerais to Rio without realizing what was happening. They thought they were in Rio to defend Goulart, not to overthrow him." When the PCB and other leftwing elements of the bourgeoisie offered no resistance, "people began to pass to the other side. First the officers and then other groups, and the troops didn't know what to do."(6)

Once again a Moscow-directed Communist Party had assisted in the destruction of a huge section of the world working class. So-called "Marxist-Leninist," "Trotskyist" groups such as Acao Popular and Politica

Operaria, despite an understanding of what the PCB was doing, did absolutely nothing to prevent the class-collaborationist tragedy. It was the failure of the Brazilian left to destroy the PCB as a counterrevolutionary organizing force and to replace it with a potent programmatic force for the socialist seizure of power, which led directly to the success of the fascist recycling policies of the Brazilian military, and which today allows the international bourgeoisie to present Brazil as the model to be emulated by their local representatives throughout the world.

In the first years following the coup, the military concentrated on centralizing its power. Through a series of Institutional Acts, it made the presidential elections indirect while at the same time bringing the Congress under control by purging all the radical representatives. Goulart's corporatist trade union structure was left in tact, and was even strengthened by appointing a military leadership to oversee it. Strikes were definitively outlawed, and the Peasant Leagues were summarily destroyed. Mass arrests of left, working class, and peasant leadership were carried out and pro-working class soldiers and sailors associations within the armed forces were wiped out: their leadership is jailed to this day. Many thousands of pro-working class soliders were expelled, and the National Student Union was dissolved, its headquarters burned down by the police.

All these measures were taken in order to ensure the safe introduction of a devastating new economic program. Under the direction of Roberto Campos, Brazilian Finance Minister for the first phase of the Military Dictatorship, the mobile wage scale which allegedly compensated for the high inflation rate was abolished altogether, as the first immediate step in accumulating funds so debt-service payments could be met. Other steps included the abolition of all rent controls and the reduction of the internal food supply, accomplished by subsidies guaranteeing a stable price to wheat farmers.

By far the most ingenious of Senhor Campos's policies was known as "positive insolvency." Credit to Brazilian factories that did not show a high level of productivity was cut off, immediately resulting in three objectives: First, Brazilian firms were bankrupted and then bought directly at bargain basement prices by interests from the advanced sector (in particular the U.S.); second, factory owners were forced to implement massive speedup and overtime in order to meet the government productivity quotas; and third, mass bankruptcies and widespread layoffs of skilled and semi-skilled workers freed the labor needed to introduce recycling into the industrialized areas of Brazil. By January 1965, *Correio de Manha*, an influential daily from Rio, was already reporting layoffs to the tune of 50,000 out of Brazil's 350,000 textile workers. Two months later, the General Director of the National

Wages and Unemployment Department of the Labor Ministry announced that "in Sao Paulo all industry is in crisis, and the metallurgical and textile industries in particular produce 1,000 new unemployed per day.... Not only is there economic crisis and unemployment in Sao Paulo, but in the whole of the Northeast as well."(7)

Not surprisingly, massive investment from the advanced sector began to arrive, but not for new outlays on plant and equipment. Rather, investors merely began to buy bankrupt Brazilian factories, establish new investment banks, or engage in pure portfolio speculation on the Sao Paulo and Rio stock exchanges. This massive speculative activity, undertaken in a desperate effort to quickly obtain the liquid funds needed to meet debt-service payments on the foreign debt, typically only served to exacerbate the problem even further. By 1966, the international bourgeoisie realized that no further refinancing of the foreign debt could take place unless the emphasis was placed on pure and direct looting of real values, and not in the fictitious expansion of speculative values. It was, therefore, during the period 1966-68 that a radical transformation of the Brazilian economy could be observed, along with the social and political upheavals accompanying it.

The bourgeoisie, through their man in Rio, Senhor Roberto Campos, had readied everything so that recycling could be implemented on a nationwide scale. As Senhor Campos himself stated, "as may be verified, everything was done calculatedly, coldly...."(8)

In 1966, the Guaranteed Fund Statutes (FGTS) were annexed to the Consolidation of Labor Laws decree of 1965. These Statutes were designed to ensure the easy hiring and firing of workers so that "rotatividade" (recycling) could be carried out. According to a conference entitled "Absorption of Labor on the Continent," sponsored by the New York Institute for Economic Research and held in Sao Paulo in July of 1973, an increase in worker productivity and low wage levels can be obtained by means of a greater "turnover for the lesser skilled workers."(9)

Within months after attempting to institute "rotativismo" something happened that the international bourgeoisie had not counted on. The working class in the cities instinctively revolted, clamoring for an end to the "arrocho do salario" (the wage freeze) in some industrial cities in the South. Within one year the capitalists had a mass upsurge of angry workers on their hands, which culminated in the Osasco, Sao Paulo strikes of 1968, where over 200,000 workers walked off their jobs. Severe budget cutbacks in education helped spark simultaneous strikes among the country's university students.

It was during these short years of spontaneous insurrection that we find the remainders of the discredited PCB back in action again. Once more they sought to create a Popular Front with the same Goulart and other "progressive" capitalists around the repeal of the Second Institutional Act which denied civil liberties to most of the population. A guerrilla split-off from the PCB, which in the intervening years had gone to the countryside, returned to the cities to become urban guerrillas — having hardly changed their wretched politics during that whole time. One such group, huddled around ex-CPer Carlos Marighella, fought for the violent overthrow of the military...in order to institute a more "progressive" bourgeois regime!

In general, the urban guerrillas, rather than build active support for the Uruguayan, Bolivian, Chilean, etc. working classes around a program calling for a continent-wide socialist revolution, proceeded instead to put on various shows of what they thought was revolutionary politics. The only thing these performances accomplished, besides the tragic deaths of many deluded potential revolutionaries, was to provide the military government with a convenient cover to systematically smash the working class once and for all. Taking full advantage of this phony excuse, the government used complete and ruthless force to annihilate, through the use of barbarous torture and terror, every miniscule pocket of guerrilla, working class or student resistance to their fascist economic policies.

Torture and Terror

To coordinate the wiping-up operation, the CIA called on the National Intelligence Service (SNI), a body which had been re-organized out of the Brazilian secret service in the early years of the military regime. Its chief during this period was the current president of Brazil, Emilio Garrastazu Medici. The SNI operations introduced during this period, designed for the express purpose of liquidating all interference with the "Brazilian Economic Miracle," have been maintained to this day. Their main function is to maintain constant terror within the working class, to warn against any foolish attempt to disrupt the "Economic Miracle" in the future.

The first phase of the CIA's SNI counterinsurgency plans involved the training of a substantial number of interrogator-torturers under the auspices of the Office of Public Safety in Washington, D.C. At the Superior War College in Rio de Janeiro and the National Police Academy in Belo Horizonte, American experts, in classes employing live demonstrations, have thoroughly versed their Brazilian trainees in the art of torture.

SNI called for the breaking up of the entire country into specially defined regions for hunting subversives,

each under the direction of various sub-operations such as "Operacao Bandeirantes" in Sao Paulo and the "Internal Defense Command" in Rio. All the various counterinsurgency groups, from the secret police (DOPS) to the armed forces, were involved. These operations, then as today, involved four phases: mass arrests, interrogations through torture, study of information, and "liquidation" operations.

In any area of suspected anti-government activity, such as university campuses or factory districts, mass arbitrary arrests are carried out, with hundreds of people being randomly picked up on the chance that one or two have some information that might provide further clues. Generally, the interrogators do not have the slightest notion of what their victim knows (if he knows anything at all). The victim to be interrogated is usually tortured extensively even before any questions are posed. Countless numbers of innocent victims have been left mutilated, crippled and even murdered by the so-called "pau de arara," the "cadeira de dragao," "telefone," "hidralica," "electric shocks," "the refrigerator," "the tourniquet," "the box" and dozens of other barbarous mechanisms of torture.

After bits and pieces of information from thousands of victims are collected, regarding one particular area of activity, the various police and armed forces interrogation units then centralize the information in a regional body, and appropriate counterinsurgency plans are formulated. Sometimes the Army or Military Police act directly, as in the case of the Osasco strikes. Other times government-funded and organized vigilante groups are involved, as was the case in the destruction of the student movement through the use of fascist bands like the Hunt Communist Commandoes (CCC) or the Anti-Communist Movement (MAC). Similar types of fascist gangs, known as Escuadros da Morte, or Death Squads, have been organized from the police departments among those drug-pushing officers of the law who once only concentrated on killing off competing favela dwellers. Now they have become a vital force for stamping out pro-working class groups and individuals.

Since 1968, the Death Squads have been organized in all urban centers into the spearhead of the attack against the left forces, especially the urban guerrilla movement. When sufficient information has been accumulated as to the location of an urban guerrilla group, local Death Squads are dispatched to either murder the left cadre or, if possible, to bring them in for "interrogation." Their bullet-riddled bodies are always found labeled with a characteristic black skull emblem. Brazil's most famous urban guerrilla, Carlos Marighella, was tracked down and executed in this fashion; one can only speculate as to how many thousands of innocent victims were tortured over many months in order to obtain the information leading to his capture.

Through this method, all working class and student left activity was completely wiped out by 1969, and urban guerrillas were similarly stopped by 1971. The field had been cleared so that the long-overdue recycling policies could be implemented without further interruption.

To make doubly sure that these programs would be carried out, the international bourgeoisie purged the entire economic and political apparatus within the country. The mass upsurge during the 1968 period had forced the "moderate" General Costa e Silva, then president of Brazil, to decree Institutional Act No. 5, which removed all vestiges of political freedom. Habeas corpus was revoked, Congress was entirely shut down, hundreds of prisons were improvised throughout the country, strict censorship and mass book burning of leftist literature was carried out, and hundreds of political figures lost all political rights.

By 1969, however, the international bourgeoisie was apprehensive over Costa e Silva's ability to control the working class, and they resolved to rid the government of such incompetence. They made their first move when they instructed the War Minister, General Moniz Aragao, to direct an open letter to Costa e Silva denouncing the regime on grounds of nepotism and corruption. Before the end of the year, Costa e Silva had suddenly suffered a stroke, which, appropriately, left him dumb and half-paralyzed — hardly in any condition to continue running the country. The entire government was quickly dissolved, even Finance Minister Campos was discharged, and a new administration of "hard-liners" was ushered in to carry out the cannibalization of the working class.

From that point onwards the central bankers' program has been carried out without any significant disruption up until the present day. In 1968, Brazil owed its foreign creditors little more than \$4 billion (U.S. dollars); by 1970 the amount was \$5 billion; the next year it jumped another \$2 billion; and by 1972 it reached a startling \$10 billion. In the first months of 1973, the enormous debt has been expanding at the rate of 52% a year. No wonder it has completely fouled up the payments schedule calculated by "the computer program presented to the students at the Superior War College at the end of 1970, which indicated that the foreign debt would only pass \$10 billion in 1979"!(10) And the influential *Veja* magazine predicts that by the end of this year the foreign debt will reach at least an incredible \$15 billion, accompanied by amortization payments of \$2.4 billion that must be met before December 1973. This represents an increase of 900% in the foreign debt over the last five years, and a 40% increase in debt-service payments over last year alone.

In order to meet these astronomically increasing debt-service payments, anything that can be found or

produced within the Brazilian frontiers (or anything accessible outside of them, for that matter, given Brazilian gas fields and cattle ranches within the national borders of Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia), anything that would yield a price on the world market, is being shipped out of the country as fast as possible. This is merely Brazil's attempt to maintain the foreign exchange reserves at a high enough level to keep up with debt payments and maintain a good "credit rating" among foreign creditors, creditors who will hopefully provide new loans and refinance unpaid old ones. Furthermore, enormous tax incentives have been granted to foreign and domestic investors alike, in a two-sided attempt to draw capital into Brazil while expanding its foreign-exchange-generating export sector.

Along with this fantastic growth of capitalist paper value, debt payments demanded by central bankers of the advanced sector necessitate the reduction of all social costs to a minimum. Similarly, an ever-accelerating speedup is imposed, especially in the industrialized regions of the country, to create the increasing level of exports required by foreign debt obligations.

Recycling Takes Root

Two decrees were invoked to achieve these results: the Guaranteed Fund Statutes, which, although made law in 1966, could not be implemented until resistance to them was exterminated; and a new decree issued in 1970, the Plan for National Integration (PIN), devised to bring recycling to the countryside.

The end result of the Guaranteed Fund has been that 82.4% of the workers in Brazil are unable to hold a job at the same factory for more than one year.(11) At the end of that period, after unbearable speedup and intolerable physical labor, the individual is replaced like a worn-out part by a new worker from the vast reserve army of the unemployed who inhabit the shanty towns or who drift down from the drought-ridden Brazilian Northeast.

In fact, workers are usually fired en masse on the very eve of legally required salary increases, so that replacement workers can be substituted at lower wages. The recycled worker then goes back on the unemployment rolls or he himself functions as replacement for some other worker at a still lower salary. According to the Guaranteed Fund Statutes, a worker may be fired at the discretion of his employer, provided that a fixed amount previously deducted from the worker's salary and entrusted into an endowment fund is then returned to the worker. This sum, which is equal to one month's pay for each year of service, is supposed to be given to him as severance pay. If the worker, being unable to endure the vicious speedup conditions any longer, leaves on his own account, then he receives not one

penny of the amount deducted from his salary. The employer, of course, is always ready to fire a worker as soon as he shows signs of fatigue, since that worker will be paid back only minimal amounts of severance pay and can be easily replaced.

In order to render the worker one hundred percent defenseless against this recycling program, a special "Just Cause" clause was included into the Guaranteed Fund decree, which allows the employer to fire a worker without any right to his severance pay if accused of, among other charges, "dishonesty, bad conduct, criminal conviction, lack of effort [!], habitual drunkenness, or insubordination."(12) And as if this were not enough, there also exists a kind of gentlemen's agreement among the employers in Brazil that no one over 35 years of age is to be hired.

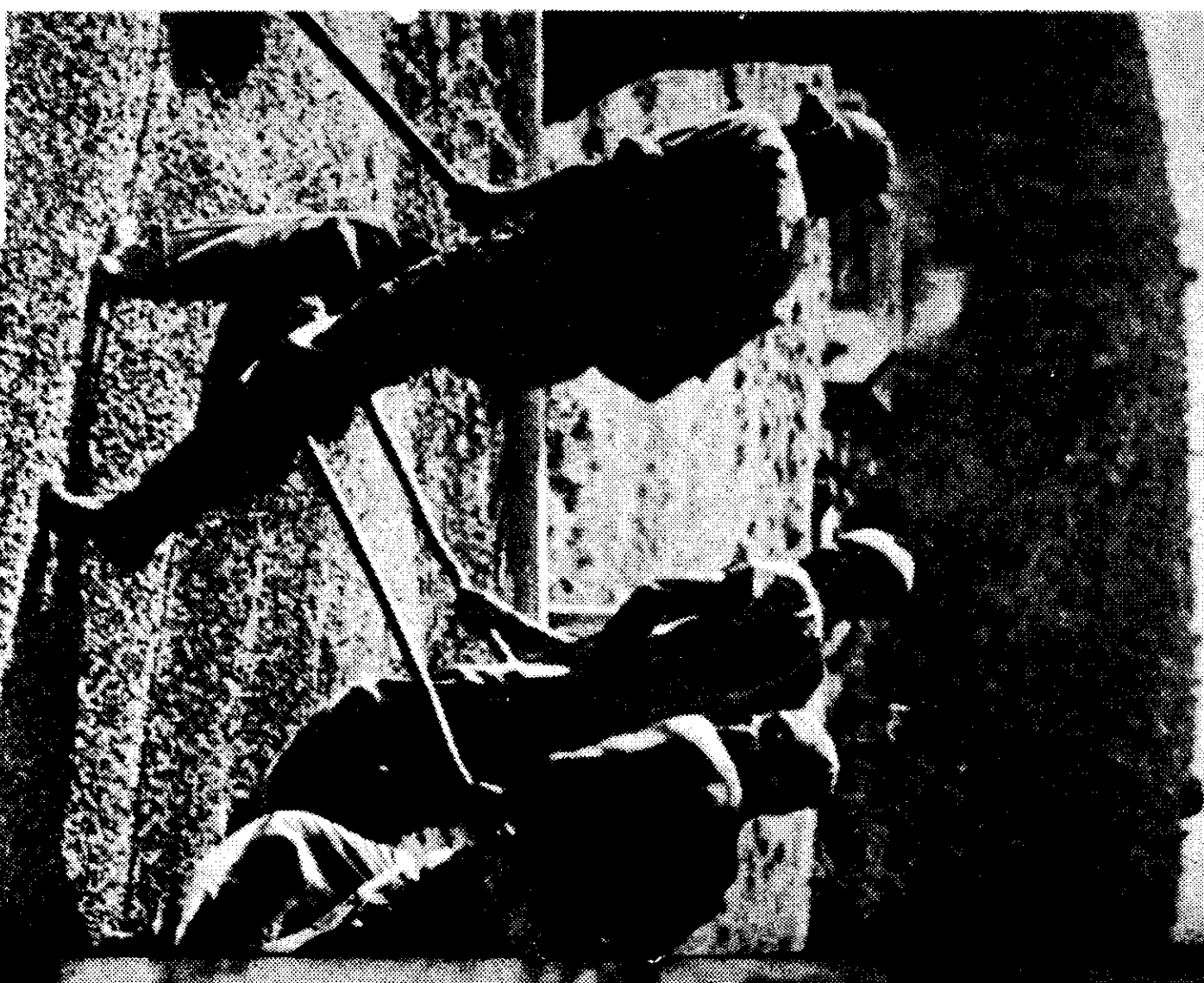
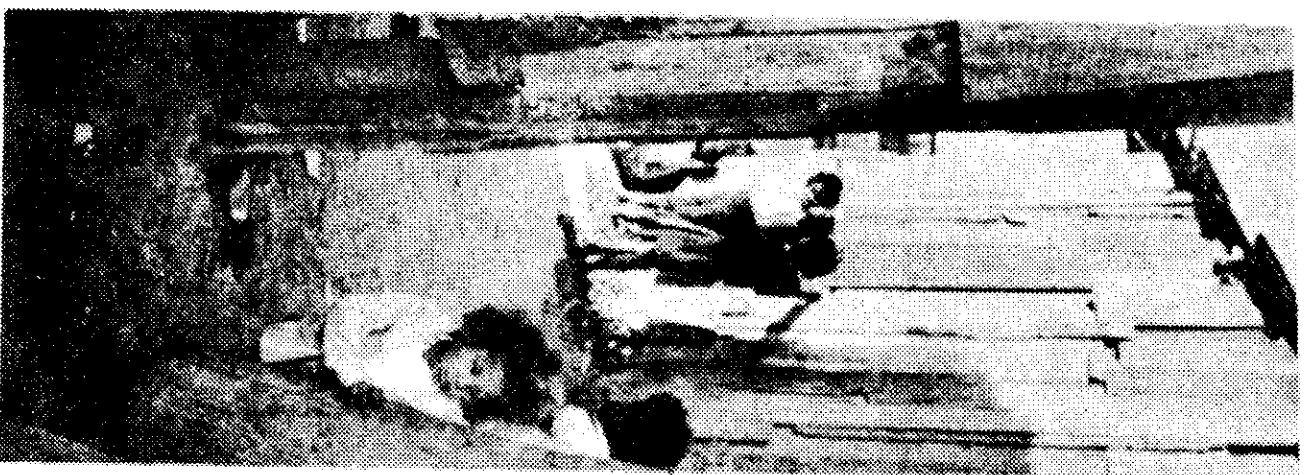
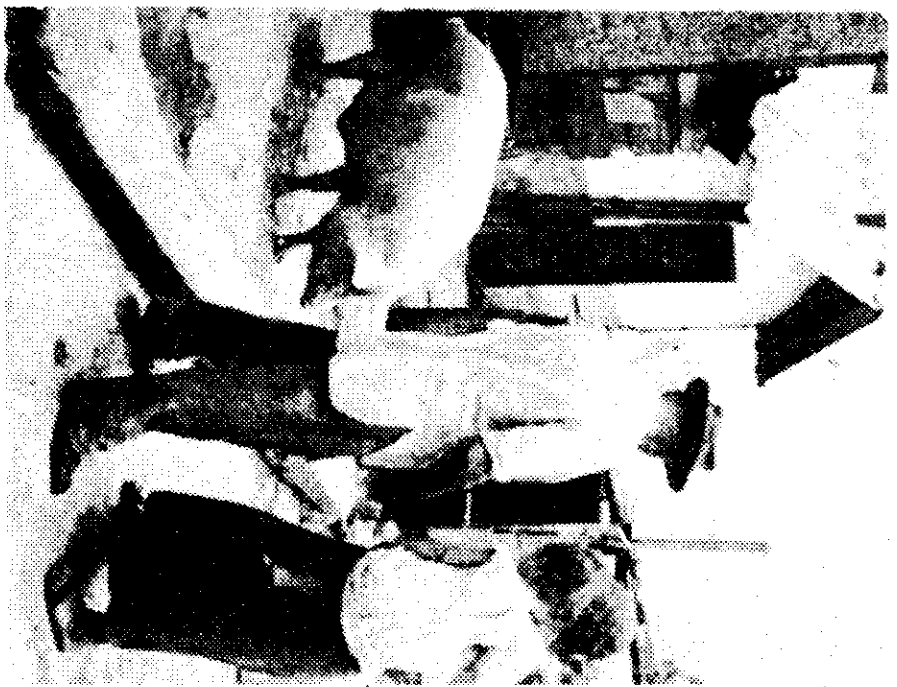
Thus, not only do the Guaranteed Fund Statutes serve to constantly recycle the workforce from the favelas (shanty towns) to the factories and back again, but they maintain the worker under constant pressure to perform the inhuman speedup and intolerably long hours demanded by his boss, lest this meager means of support for himself and his family be snatched away. Since the institution of these laws, speedup and overtime have reached unbearable proportions throughout the industrialized areas of the country. The situation has actually become so desperate in recent months that a caucus within the Metal Workers Union of Sao Paulo has resorted to publishing a manifesto of grievances, containing the following passages:

The Guaranteed Fund Statute makes it easy for workers to be fired; they bring permanent unemployment and persecution toward those who defend their rights. They also bring inhuman speedup, especially where women work, plus long hours of overtime, and high levels of unhealthy conditions.

The metalworkers then go on to describe the results of recycling policies in Brazil:

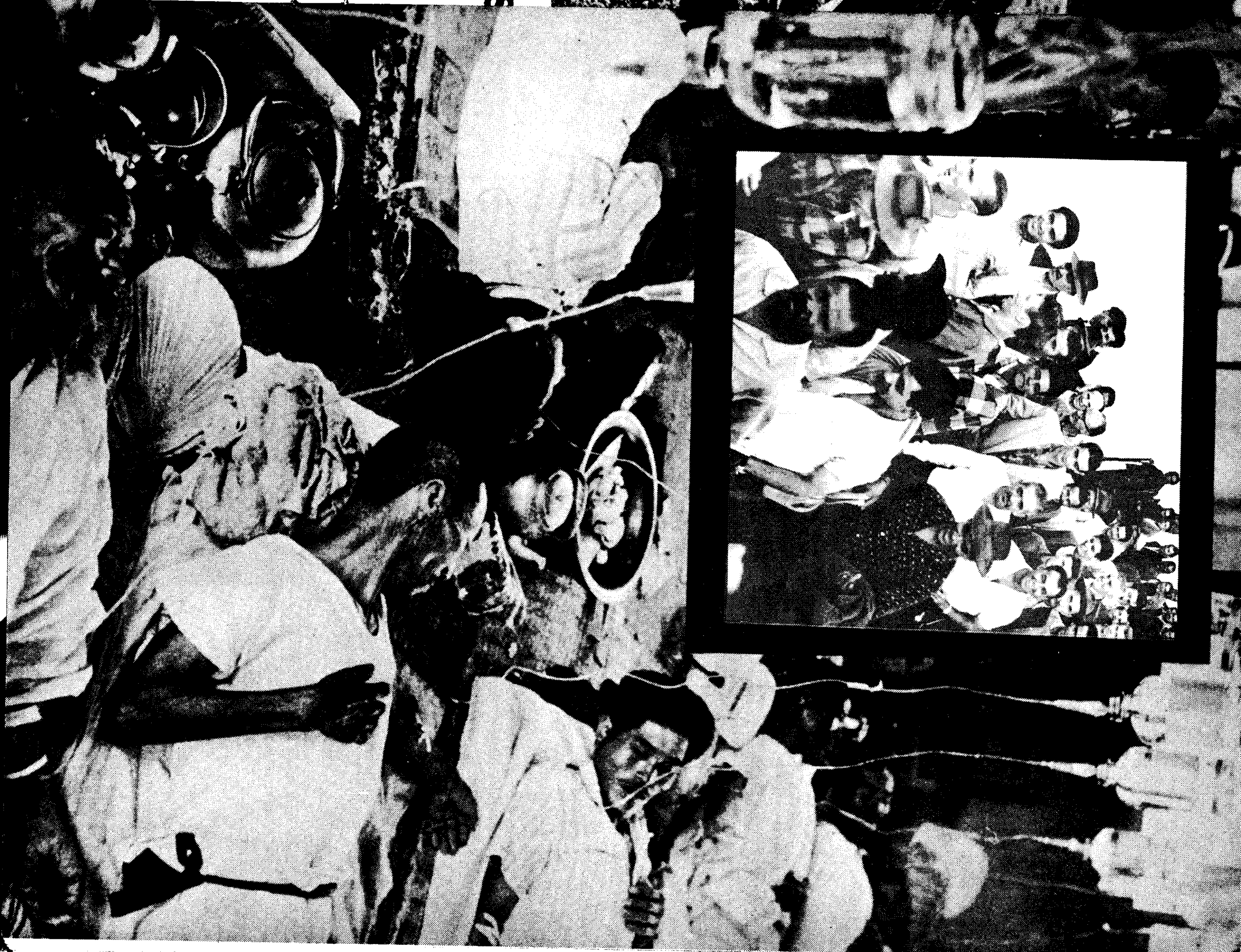
Of the 314,504 workers in the electronics and mechanical divisions, only 5.8% are at the same job for more than ten years. Adding up those who are in our division, out of 366,093 workers, there only exist 26,000 with more than ten years in the industry. The rest of the 341,504 were fired; but today they are all "new" workers.[13]

Murderous health conditions in all plants have resulted from the inability of debt-strapped capitalists to invest in proper maintenance of machinery and in protective devices. In sectors of the economy with extremely hazardous conditions, such as in the petrochemical industry, "large factories, rather than improve health conditions on the premises, fire workers after three months of work in the section with a high degree of health hazards."(14) In other factories where the dangers are not as fatal, protective clothing is sometimes provided, the cost of which, however, is deducted



'Economic Capitalism's Miracle'





from the worker's salary. Since wages are already way too low, often not even sufficient to buy food for the whole family, the worker more often than not simply forgoes the protective clothing rather than lose the money.

In all too many cases, however, the worker has no choice about deductions from his paycheck. In the construction industry, for instance, the bosses provide the worker with food and "housing" which consists of one room shared with eight others in a "cabeca de porco" — a slum tenement. Food and housing plus tools and clothing, are deducted from the worker's paycheck beforehand; this is not to mention governmental deductions for PIS (profit sharing plan), INPS (the phantom social security system) and the Guaranteed Fund itself. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that 73 unions issued a protest statement claiming that in some cases deductions from their members' paychecks are reaching 85% of the total pay due.(15)

What this actually implies is that the Brazilian worker's real salary is little more than a pittance, hardly enough to maintain that worker with the caloric consumption barely necessary to keep him from dropping dead at his strenuous job. Therefore, in order just to minimally attempt to feed his family, he is forced to work long hours of overtime, and his wife and older children must also perform the same destructive work while receiving, in the best of cases, only fifty percent of what is paid to the adult male worker. There are indications that since the 1964 coup, the male segment of the work force has declined by 5%(16), owing to government recycling policies.

A recent report published by Maria Lucia Sobell, a Brazilian home economist, pointed out that in the best fed region of the entire country, Sao Paulo, "the majority of those studied had a food intake which would enable only those in perfect health to continue working."(17) Perhaps most horrifying is the documented fact that large numbers of families, especially in the Northeast, earn so little money, that they can buy sufficient food for only one working person. Wives and children deliberately starve themselves so that the main bread-winner can try to keep body and soul together.

We further cite just a few of the conditions under which various types of Brazilian workers must toil. One is the taxi driver in any of the major urban centers who finds himself forced to work 12 to 18 hours a day; in order not to get fired he must deliver a daily minimum sum to his boss, a sum which itself usually requires at least 12 hours of driving. If his fares do not reach that minimum, he must make up the rest the next day, or he will be fired and replaced by any one of thousands of unemployed.(18) Another example, which is directly related to the massive effort to sell everything and anything that can be shipped out of the country, has to

do with truck drivers bringing agro-goods to the congested ports. These drivers are forced to wait in their trucks in lines miles long; they wait anywhere from one to four days straight without food or drink before unloading.(19) One final example: Dockers along the entire length of the Brazilian coast are presently being faced with a wage-slashing speedup program that intends to limit work crews to ten laborers — when just two weeks ago they consisted of 18 workers. Furthermore, dockworkers' wages will be slashed anywhere from 35 to 65 percent.(20)

The Effects

Statistical data corroborate these general examples. Brazil has the highest on-the-job accident rate in the world, with 4,400 accidents a day. The large majority of these accidents occur during overtime hours.(21) Between 1965 and December 1972, the purchasing power of the Brazilian worker was reduced by 40%, while during that same period the workers' "productivity" index (i.e., the speedup index) increased an astonishing 44%.(22) In other words, the Brazilian working class is toiling 44% harder now, but receiving 40% less in food and other survival items than before the CIA-arranged military takeover.

Already without much effort we can recognize that the Brazilian working class is being systematically eaten away by the capitalist efforts to maintain their credit titles. Yet, we must take into consideration not only the above-mentioned cannibalization of the **present** working class's productive capacity, but also the progressive decimation of the **future** working class through looting areas that vitally affect children, like health, education, and nutrition.

This is the actual criminal significance of the portion of the Brazilian national budget allotted to health care being dropped by more than 70% over the years since the coup.(23) The 70% cutback explains the violent jump in death and disease rates, especially infant mortality rates and predisposition to mental illness among the children of Brazil. Tuberculosis today affects 1.5 million more people per year than before the coup.(24) Anywhere from 3 to 12 million people are infected by Chagas, one of Brazil's worst diseases, transmitted by a roach-like insect.(25) In Sao Paulo, the largest city in all of Latin America, infant mortality has jumped from 67.7 to 83.8 deaths per thousand in just the five-year period following the coup. Of those infant deaths in Sao Paulo, a full 43% were directly linked to malnutrition(26), while in Belo Horizonte 83% of all infant deaths were caused by malnutrition.(27) Out of a total population of approximately 95 million inhabitants, 45 million are victims of diseases transmitted by vermin.(28) Almost half the municipalities have no doctors at all; hence, health conditions are probably much worse than indicated above, since statistics are based on **reported** deaths and diseases.

After over nine years of fascistic cannibalization policies, living conditions are as horrendous as health care. The working class in Brazil's urban centers lives in one of two places: in the barracos, or makeshift shacks in the favelas, if they are very low-paid workers or unemployed; or in the "cabecas de porco" or "casas de comodors" (tenement houses) of the inner city or the "vilas proletarias," if they are working. The favelas (slum towns), which have grown by 42% in Sao Paulo during the last two years alone(29), represent the human junkyards for the urban recycling process. From these favelas come the hordes of youth that spread out through the city snatching wallets, washing car windshields, trafficking in drugs, selling combs, peanuts or just plain begging. Following a campaign aimed at clearing the streets of these youth gangs, police have been given orders to pick up all abandoned or delinquent minors found on the streets, and put them to work.

It has been estimated that 60% of all crimes in Sao Paulo are committed by these minors. The problem, as the leading bourgeois press sees it, is that the present youth detention facilities are totally inadequate for holding all gang members and, therefore, more should be immediately constructed as a means of cleaning up the city. "O Estado de S. Paulo" suggests that 600,000 of these youth should be regimented into these detention centers.(30)

In some cities in the Northeast this program has already been put into operation. At one such "Agro-Industrial School," as these centers are called, at Maragogipe in the state of Bahia, over 300 minors, all collected off the streets of Salvador and other Northeastern port cities, are packed into 15 tiny cubicles. Minors are placed into these centers without the slightest inquiry as to where they live, or whether they have parents or relatives. According to *Veja*, the school at Maragogipe is divided into two areas — the Security House "which reminds one of a concentration camp, where everyone sleeps on the floor," and the Free Zone, a little better, installed with cells with mounds of straw for beds. "Healthy boys of five and seven years old share cells with epileptics, tuberculars, mentally ill and with maladjusted eighteen year olds...the boys get one meal of soupy beans a day."(31) Another leading Brazilian magazine *O Cruzeiro* ran a special feature article on these "Little Big Men" as they described them, which favored the idea that factories open their doors to these youth that had been rejected by everyone else:

With this goal in mind, the "First National Conference of the Empresarial Classes on the Problem of the Minor" took place during the month of October [1972] in Brasilia, where the admission of minors at least 11 years old into private enterprises was discussed. According to the employers, some incentives are necessary for a forthcoming collaboration in resolving the problem of minors. Among the most rewarding are fiscal incentives for the part of the payroll that goes to minors between the ages

of 11 and 14. Besides all this, the minor's salary can be set without restriction, as long as it is not lower than half the regional minimum wage, but not greater than $\frac{2}{3}$ the minimum salary.[32]

Thus, the government is now providing lucrative incentives to those factories that will put the youth gangs to work.

Divide and Conquer

The eruption of this vicious press campaign, directed at stirring hateful sentiment against the favela dwellers, brings to light the way in which the government keeps the "assalariado" (the employed worker) and the unemployed or underemployed favelado at one another's throats. Assalariados, although frequently forced to live in a favela, more often inhabit the "zonas nortes," the "suburbios" and "vilas proletarias" (the working class neighborhoods), which are in such disastrous shape that the only thing that keeps them from being considered favelas is that most of the inhabitants are temporarily employed in the local factories.

The assalariado lives in constant fear of being forced to move himself and his family to the favela, while the favelado on the other hand maintains the hope of being able to move out. The assalariado knows that he is living on borrowed time, he knows that within the space of one year's time he will be replaced at his job by an aspiring favelado. He knows he will not be able to meet the mortgage payments on the BNH (National Housing Bank) loan, even with all his children working. Before a year's time he and his family will be carrying all they own tied in dirty sheets, up the steep path that leads to the favela.

His house will be left standing for the next recycled worker, and the next, and the next and the next. Whenever a favelado replaces an assalariado, the BNH man pays him a visit to offer him a mortgage on an already build house or a "low cost" housing loan to pay for construction materials, blueprints, and tools — a sort of do-it-yourself deal. And if the "ex-favelado" has any friends who are willing to pitch in, all the better: then you have a community self-help project, called a "mutirao" in Brazil. Leopoldina Saraiva, Secretary of the Sao Paulo Department of Welfare, is convinced that "volunteer community labor is the cheapest and most rational way for constructing low-income housing."(33) In many areas of the country fully 90% of all working-class housing is constructed in this way.

During the period that a worker is employed, he sees unemployment manifested in the favelado as the main threat to his and his family's livelihood, while on the other hand the favelado believes he does not have a job because the assalariado does. The "bairro" and the "favela," therefore, merely represent two sides of the same recycling coin, although each blames the other for its present immiseration.

Continued on page 66

THE SEXUAL IMPO

L. Marcus

Left politics in the Puerto Rican culture is a bitter, comic-opera farce. As expressed in the form of the pathetic Puerto Rican Socialist Party, it is a self-confessed farce; what else can be said of a Party membership which sees its own essence in such a buffoon as Juan Mari Bras? There is only one phenomenon to compare with such pitiful caricatures of socialist politics; that is the even more pathetic performance of the Latin-American "Macho" in the bedroom. In fact, the political life of the PSP is the principle of the sexual impotence of the "Machismo" extended into the domain of political **commedia**.

This is not strictly peculiar to Puerto Rico; all Latin politics is permeated with the same pathetic, self-defeating quality. The heroic but partly foolish figure of Fidel Castro speaks of the "Cuban model": year after year, month after month, small bands of Latin American students move out into the countryside, with a handful of small arms and a possible complement of campesinos and lumpens, to be ritually butchered a few days or weeks later. Nor is the problem limited to Latin American culture; the Italian Left ranges from almost as miserable down to more wretched than the Spanish "Machismo." To an equal or slightly lesser degree, the entire population of the capitalist world is infected with the same impotence, and the consequent tendency to make Left political life a thinly-disguised reflection of that same sexual impotence. We speak therefore of such impotence in "Macho" Left politics not to degrade the Latin revolutionaries, but to begin to rid them of this disease. To cure such a disease, especially such a disease of the mind, it is first necessary to identify the disease; to bring about the cure, it is first necessary to acknowledge the sickness.

As for the PSP itself. It has become obvious to us that the organization is not salvageable; there is no possibility that PSP members individually could become revolutionaries so long as they are attached to such a cult of opportunism. What we have to reveal here will perhaps bring about the collapse of that Party — what Latin will wish to advertise his sexual impotence by maintaining a connection to a cult which is itself the publicly-exposed essence of sexual impotence? Some PSPers will rant and rave and shriek: "You are 'counter-revolutionaries' engaged in destroying the Puerto Rican revolutionary movement!" On the contrary, by

debunking the flatulant PSP we are making possible, and in the absolutely necessary way, the establishment of a revolutionary movement among Puerto Ricans. We help such trapped would-be revolutionaries to break with the PSP's cult of impotence, that they may assume their rightful, human, potent role as the active link between the North American and South American revolutionary struggles as a whole.

To accomplish our purpose — to make the truth clear to the readers throughout Latin America (especially) — we organize our presentation in the following main respects. Firstly, we shall identify the scientific basis for our analytical method at some length; we shall define sexual impotence and the general cause for this mental disease in bourgeois ideology and bourgeois family relations. Then, we shall document the impotence of the PSP as an organization. Throughout, we shall state the psychological truth which every Latin can recognize in his own private thoughts as the essence of "Machismo" as sexual impotence. In that setting, we shall show the direct, causal connection between this impotence and the extension of it into the domain of so-called Left politics.

Most important, since we are revolutionaries, not "psychoanalytical" commentators, we shall identify the cure of this disease, offering the first step toward relief to the would-be revolutionaries who refuse to tolerate another wretched night of impotence-ridden despair.

I. WHAT IS MALE IMPOTENCE?

The immediate objection of the hysterical Latin reader to our entire approach here will be, inevitably, "This is not objective politics! We are serious revolutionaries, who have no time to waste in anything but the objective struggle!"

There are two immediate replies to that **pathological** objection. Firstly, as we shall demonstrate, the insistence on "objective politics" is itself the infallible symptom of sexual and **political** impotence.

Secondly, besieged today by a world-wide food crisis, in which millions will starve to death this winter, and tens of millions more suffer bodily depletion — a food

IMPOTENCE OF THE PSP

All prints by 18th century
Spanish artist Francesco Goya

crisis caused not by lack of means for growing food, but by capitalist speculation in foodstuffs — what possible **objective** reason could permit any working-class person or farmer to tolerate the capitalist system another hour? If we are to have food, we must seize the means of production instantly, that we may immediately begin growing today the expanded production of food for tomorrow's survival! There is no objective alternative! Why, then, is it not the case that the world working class is not presently engaged in socialist revolution? Why will the capitalist system still exist tomorrow morning, when every working person and farmer has the most immediate and fundamental motive to be part of an overwhelming force obliterating capitalism today?

The answer, dear comrade, lies in the **subjective** realm! What is this self-defeating, self-destroying flaw seizing the minds of proletarians which prevents them from immediate total mobilization for socialist revolution? What are the chains of illusion which imprison them to capitalism with a force even greater than that of bombs and bayonets? What is this inner terror obviously **so much more powerful a force** of enslavement than the terror of external physical destructive force? **Objective politics** is therefore first of all fundamentally a **subjective** question. To ignore so obvious a fact is itself a kind of hysterical blindness, is evidence of sexual impotence rampant in political life.

The objector now falls back to a weaker, more rearward position of defense of his sexual impotence. He insists, "Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx never pre-occupied themselves with such questions; what has all this to do with Marx, with 'Marxism-Leninism?'" Here, dear comrade reader, you again display your impotence, your impotent reading of Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx...your impotent view of the **potent** Lenin. If you read Hegel's **Phenomenology of Mind**, Feuerbach's **Principles of the Philosophy of the Future**, and Marx's "Theses On Feuerbach" and "Feuerbach" section of **The German Ideology** from the standpoint of our "Beyond Psychoanalysis,"* from the standpoint represented here, you will be shocked to discover that in what we say we do little more than go to the very essence of the German dialectic's development. We merely make empirical what is developed in a relatively theoretical, abstract form in our predecessors' works.

Hegel himself states the principle involved in the

"Preface" to his **Phenomenology**:

While the new world makes its first appearance merely in general outline, merely as a whole lying concealed and hidden within a bare abstraction, the wealth of the bygone life, on the other hand, is still consciously present in recollection. Consciousness misses in the new form the detailed expanse of content; but still more the developed expression of form by which distinctions are definitely determined and arranged in their precise relations. **Without this last feature science has no general intelligibility, and has the appearance of being the esoteric possession of a few individuals** — an esoteric possession, because in the first instance it is only the essential principle or notion of science, only its inner nature, that is to be found; and a possession of a few individuals, because, at its first appearance, its content is not elaborated and expanded in detail, and thus its existence is turned into something particular. Only what is perfectly determinate in form is at the same time exoteric, comprehensible, and capable of being learned and possessed by everybody. **Intelligibility is the form in which science is offered to everyone, and is the open road to it made plain for all...** [emphasis added — pp. 76-77 of Harper edition]

Hegel's Contribution

Our most fundamental principle, and the most fundamental principle of sound clinical work, is set forth in essentials in the "Introduction" to the same **Phenomenology**. It is by applying this principle, as successively corrected by first Feuerbach and then Marx, that we have been able to advance beyond the bare concept as initially developed by Hegel to the elaboration of dialectics as an empirical science. Respecting the ostensibly subjective or psychoanalytical aspects of this empirical science, we have resorted to the correlation between general political behavior and clinical individual and group analysis, to make clear and comprehensible to many what was heretofore only the possession of a few. We have accomplished this necessary advance in the elaboration of science by the very means Hegel variously implicitly and explicitly prescribes: we make the science of dialectics comprehensible to you by demonstrating the psychological truth of dialectics in terms of what you have previously considered the **terra incognita** of your most private reflections. We rip aside the mask not only for what you imagine you are able to conceal about your private thoughts from public knowledge; we also rip aside the mask you employ to conceal the truth of your unconscious motivations and mental dynamics from yourself.

* In **The Campaigner**, September/October 1973.

The fundamental principle of mental science, a principle readily given conclusive empirical demonstration in clinical work, is that the mind of the individual under bourgeois social and family relations is made up of three qualities of consciousness. First, simple consciousness, then simple self-consciousness, and finally what Freudians equate to "pre-consciousness."

First, as Hegel emphasizes, there is the **banal** consciousness, the Ego-state. In this degree of consciousness, there is only the naive notion of the Ego's emotional relationship to objects outside it. This is the degree of awareness of self which is predominant in bourgeois ideology, in individual neurosis, and in sexual impotence. It is **the pathetic banality of simple consciousness** in which the individual is governed, indeed seized, by preoccupation with the "sincerity of his feelings." In this pathological state of simple awareness, he is therefore the naive, clinically infantile victim of whatever moods, emotions, and so forth the devils within him elect to impose upon him. He is the pathetic prisoner of irrational motives.

Yet, that is not the limit of his awareness. The individual is also capable, as Hegel insists, of "going behind his own back," to overlook the Ego-State of infantilism. He can reflect: "I am thinking this, feeling this, and so forth, for what I believe to be the following reasons. I can see the miserable tricks I play upon myself with my infantile feelings." **This is simple self-consciousness.**

The Agony of Self-Consciousness

The difficulty most persons experience in being simply self-conscious is that self-consciousness sits like a helpless spectator at the bull-ring. In the arena, the Ego, the matador, passes through the customary, disgusting ritual of assassinating the bull — itself a practice coinciding with the bestiality of the Macho psychology, bull-fighting is a clinical correlative of male sexual impotence! The spectator sees all this but is unable to intervene to stop the recurring nightmare being performed.

Night after intervening night, the Macho beds his whore-wife with an inner sense of bloody violence and self-degradation. In the morning, this miserable existentialist arises from the bed of disgust and self-disgust. He looks with disgust at the sleeping figure of the woman with whom he has shared self-degradation, and trudges, bearing an awful load of **anomie**, back to the house where he lives with his madonna-wife and her children. He needs a drink so desperately, to seem to wash the wretched taste from his mouth, but the drink merely begins the cycle of the new day's recurring nightmare. Tonight, he will sleep beside his madonna-wife, after an evening of being patron to **her** children, and Friday night the homosexual, he will be back with his whore-wife again.

It is a nightmare of his pathetic Ego-state infantilism, which goes on until psychosomatic physiological impotence frees him from even the possibility of relief with his whore-wife. He sees all this, but finds all his self-conscious wish to end the **commedia** as impotent as he is.

Tell the Macho his type is often a schizoid, make this clear to him, show him his miserable childhood swarming with sadistic mother and sibling and other surrogate-mothers, and his self-consciousness will acknowledge all this to be the truth of the bloody, tiring matador of an Ego in the bull-ring below. Yet, he whimpers, becoming angered at the person who has afflicted him with such self-knowledge: "I am helpless but to behave so. Don't you see; I can act only on the 'sincerity of my feelings?'" "

He will confess more. **His self-consciousness will confess more.** He has never had a self-conscious sexual relation **with an actual woman.** When he is in bed with a woman, his sexual performance is under the control of **a fantasy.** What he has always demanded most of the woman is that she do nothing to interrupt his fantasy, lest he instantly lose his apparent physiological potency. Indeed, the more women he has bedded, the more acutely painful and real to him is the fact that he has never maintained a sexual relationship in which the woman was the conscious subject of his desire for her **as she is.**

He will also admit — his self-consciousness will admit — that it is the same with the women with whom he has shared such a bed of alienation. Too often, he has heard a woman's voice in the darkness, asking him, "Are you finished?" in either such plain words or words which mean the same to his self-consciousness.

Probe his unconscious processes more deeply, bringing up for him what he has barely concealed from himself for so long, and his self-consciousness will know that all these women, his madonna-wife and his whore-wives, are surrogates for his possessive, sadistic mother. It is merely necessary to connect his infantile feelings from the ages of between approximately two and five to his adolescent and adult fantasies, and he must shriek with agony of despair that this, too, has always been true.

He will also immediately understand that the preoccupation with the cult of the Virgin Mary is the cult of female sexual impotence, the cult of female sadism, and he will thereby also understand the feelings of bloody violence he has for all sexual acts, and the sense of rape he experiences in sharing the bed with his madonna-wife.

His self-consciousness can be made to know all such things, but it nonetheless sits the helpless spectator

around the bull-ring, muttering, "But I am helpless-but to do the same again. I must respect the 'sincerity of my feelings.' "

This **terror of truth**, this **terror of self-consciousness** is close to the fundamental experience of male sexual impotence.

More deeply, it becomes a sense of psychological death. More deeply explored, the infantile love of the Macho for a woman is often reified hatred of his infantile, sadistically possessive mother. It is reified because infantile hatred toward the mother is associated with a powerful dependency, such that infantile love and infantile hate become thus mixed, confused. The need to love becomes also the need to destroy, to degrade; one can love only a degraded woman (the whore-wife) and one can love the madonna-wife (the mother of her children) only by sensing this to be an act of degrading the Virgin. His madonna-wife must be chaste (i.e., a certain kind of Virgin), so that she does not deprive him of the feeling of rape in her bed. The woman, especially the madonna-wife, is a pure sadist in bed — she lures and rejects, both as her labile, sadistic mother lured and rejected her, as her mother lured and rejected her father, and taught her thus the way of a madonna with men. The whore-wife artifies the madonna-wife as caricature, as parody; she is sadistic, but is always finally conquered, the payment of price the veiled homosexual's consummate act of degradation of both the man and herself, the payment of the "gift" to the mistress her certification as a whore. For the mistress, to discard the lover's gift is to destroy him totally — he never existed. He is merely an object, **without inner life; he is dead.**

Self-consciousness can be readily made to see such ugly truth, but it cannot so simply will itself to leap out of the spectator's stands and end the bull-ring farce. "The nightmare must go on. I must act on the 'sincerity of my feelings.' "

Out of the Agony

In Hegel, self-consciousness acts only non-sensuously, by abstracting itself and the Ego from the domain of actual sensuousness. Hence, Feuerbach's genius. (Hence, also, Feuerbach's impotence—as we shall see.)

In individual psychoanalysis, or the more powerful processes of competently-led group analysis, this impotence of self-consciousness is overcome, to a varying, greater or lesser, extent, by the substitution of social love from the individual analyst and members of the group for the dependency upon the internalized image of the mother within the victim of Ego-states. "Can't you see what you are doing to yourself?" from a member of the group is an address **to the self-conscious self**, and represents the fixing of emotion (the emotion of love between the self-conscious self and the speaker)

to self-conscious knowledge. When this feeling of love for the self-conscious self is sufficiently strengthened, the self-conscious self develops the power to act in opposition to the "blind sincerity of feeling" associated with the simple state of Ego-consciousness. "Say this to..." and "Immediately perform this act," become the arena-issue of a struggle between self-consciousness and the Ego-state. Provided that the specified act corresponds to an act against the negativity of the Ego-state infantile impulse, the person who thus acts for self-consciousness has to that limited extent freed himself (or herself) from being so entirely the helpless prisoner of blind, infantile emotion.

Such a step forward and potency are one and the same thing. To actually love another person is to use one's lovingness toward them to enable them to attach emotion to self-consciousness, under circumstances in which blind emotion is impelling them to either action or inactivity of a sort which is contrary to their self-consciousness. **To love is to first awaken the other's self-consciousness**, to enable that person to "see" the self-degrading fallacy of "sincere feelings;" that is the first step of **potent** love. The next step is to strengthen the mere self-conscious knowledge newly awakened by offering loving support for the individual's new wish to be able to escape the pathetic spectator status, to be able to end his or her imprisonment by self-degrading "sincere" feelings. For the loved person to act according to awakened self-consciousness, and to reciprocate by speaking or acting in a way which acknowledges the self-consciousness of the other, **is potent love.** To bring self-consciousness thus sensuously into communication with self-consciousness is potent love; the inability to accomplish this, the compulsion to react from blind emotion to another's blind emotion, is impotence.

The dialectical method is immediately, empirically, a change in the state of mind, in which control by "sincerity of feeling" is ended, and in which the self-consciousness of the individual comprehends the self-consciousness of others internally in a kind of internal dialogue between the "I" and the "Thou" (of Feuerbach's **Principles...**). The dialectician is the person who has overcome sexual impotence (e.g., "Machismo") by locating the sensuous motivation of his or her actions not in blind "sincerity of feeling," not in the Ego-state of infantilism, but has attached emotional force to self-consciousness, such that he (or she) characteristically acts against the "sincere feelings" or absence of feeling in the Ego-state of himself and others. He defines his relationship to others not merely in terms of his self-consciousness of their Ego-states, not as contemplation of their pathetic infantilism; he defines his relationship to others as one of addressing their self-consciousness, educating their self-consciousness to will to act contrary to their previously-existing "natural" inclinations of blind "sincerity of feeling."

This state, a dialectical world-view, is thus a condition of acting according to self-consciousness of the self-consciousness of others. The relationship among two persons, each looking at the other from this dialectical point of view, yet each acting in common as a combined self-consciousness of the self-consciousness of third and fourth, etc., persons, **is the emotion of love, of potent or self-conscious love.**

A Fundamental Discovery

The subsumption of self-consciousness in many, in this fashion, by two or more persons in self-conscious relationship to one another, results in what must first appear to be an unending series of the following form: We are self-conscious of our mutual self-consciousness of the self-consciousness of others. The more others are subsumed by this self-consciousness, the greater the enumeration of self-consciousness of self-consciousness of self-consciousness, etc. Yet, this enumeration implies nothing but a "bad infinity" in the sense of that term as given variously by Hegel and the mathematician Georg Cantor. Cantor's notion of "bad infinities" and transfinite existences has, as mathematicians know, an immediate, "projective" correspondence to the Riemannian theory of manifolds. The following, several, interconnected primitive principles arise from such universe-shaking observations.

Firstly, in empirical clinical work, the states of self-conscious (or, dialectical) relationships results in a "tingling" awareness which recent German clinical experiences have identified as an "unheimlich," approximately in English, "eerie," "uncanny," feeling of a higher state of awareness. In Freudian usages this "unheimlich" feeling corresponds dynamically to **pre-consciousness** and descriptively to the **Superego**. This is the most important of all clinical phenomena, to which we now turn more concentrated attention.

The effective psychoanalytical group leader depends upon the developed power to abstract Gestalts from the intra-group dynamics, Gestalts which correspond to **potential images** for the **unconscious** feeling-states of various group participants. Through knowledge of such Gestalts, the group-leader is able to force the participants to bring forth from unconscious processes corresponding conscious images of their unconscious states. This initial advance then results in the manifestation of new Gestalts, which, when identified, call forth the next layer of emotional imagery from the participant's unconscious processes as conscious images. The effect on the participant is as if the group leader were reading his unconscious mind, which, to a large degree is exactly what is occurring. As the group process advances, through closer interconnections among the unconscious processes of the participants in this way, the group leader is able to operate through the internalization ("within his head") of a collection of Gestalts, each corresponding to the essential inner self of the participant associated with that image.

It is as if the group-leader had each participant's mind inside his own, to the extent that he is able to follow the unconscious thoughts of participants through two devices. Firstly, every bit of **mime** by a participant becomes immediately comprehensible to him; secondly, he is able to internally predict the internal reaction (unconscious reaction) of each participant to any new developments in the group process. At this point of development of the group process, the leader is situated to plunge certain of the participants down into the very depths of themselves in a strictly scientific fashion. (He is limited, most of all, by the extreme physiological drain on himself occasioned by the degree of concentration and effects on his ACTH dynamics of containing so much replication of so many others' profound emotion within himself.)

There is no voodoo or jiggery-pokery in this process. Everything can be empirically demonstrated.

The whole process begins as a kind of poking a stick into dark waters. Gradually, in the typical case, certain semi-amoeboid forms begin to be distinguishable as Gestalts. The analyst begins to make out the lawfulness of the way each individual's sense of social identity regulates his or her behavior, and to also sense similarly the determinants of this sense of identity — chiefly through identity-strengthening and depressing reactions.

Occasionally, he encounters such a "harder" shape, a potential psychosis. In such latter instances, the individual's physiological mental processes obviously include a parasitical entity, not in the sense of a tissue formation of the ordinary notion, but as a process-Gestalt. These entities, seizing upon the physiological processes of mentation of their victims, act as if they were independent intelligences, which must be trapped and otherwise outwitted if one is to free the victim of this parasite.

These "hard" parasitical formations are so definite that names can be given to them. "The witch" is a not-uncommon form of such a "Poltergeist," in both men and women, since the more common potential psychoses and extreme manic-depressive "parasites" of this sort are modelled upon a parody of the mother-image. (The labile, possessive mother, or the "Schwaermerei" of a variety of surrogate mothers is a common basis for a "witch" image.) In no case is such an inferred image a mere construct; in all cases, discovery of such a Gestalt of a mental parasite-entity permits empirical demonstration of the existence of precisely such an entity. Indeed, the afflicted individual has often been aware of such a parasite within himself or herself long before, and in many cases the ingenuous appellation of the name of the parasitical entity has been made by close acquaintances (e.g., "she's a witch") before then.

Only hysterical fools would imagine that competent psychoanalysis is not a rigorous, empirically-grounded science.

These discoveries of Gestalts are demonstrable in a variety of interconnected ways. Most obviously, by observing distinct personality-changes in the affected individuals, and more to the point by the group leader's ability to lawfully determine the succession of such personality changes. (For example, to recall the self-conscious person from under seeming total control by the personality of a parasite-entity.) Once these experiences of clinical settings are applied to the observation of behavior in life generally, the insights and powers of insight acquired in the clinical setting become most efficient insights into the behavior of everyday situations.

In general, the individual's sense of identity is associated with such images of definite "shape" and behavior within his or her mind. The inner mind of man contains a large hall, with benches running up the sides of the room, and a large arena-like area, flanked by such rising benches, before a podium. At the podium are usually found parodies of mother and father images, with the mother usually the most massive figure. Along the walls are seated a mass of other figures, sometimes seeming to be ordinary human images, but easily exposed as the sort of images one sees in the elder Breughel, Bosch, or the "dark period" of Goya. One knows, after a few entries in such halls within the mind of others (and oneself) whence Breughel, Bosch, and Goya secured the models of the monsters in their paintings. One sees the Ego standing in the pit, confronted mostly by the mother, looking with fear of the mother at the father, and sometimes at the semi-human monsters (sometimes turned into rats or gigantic insects) along the flanking benches. Above, self-consciousness watches this horrid trial of the Ego, and sees with tearful fascination the fashion in which the images in the hallway terrorize the individual ego into self-degrading acts of "sincerity of feeling."

One plunges through the layer of mind in which fantasy is generated into the deeper regions in which the need for fantasy of so definite, characteristic a form is determined. At this point, nothing is secret; there is only blindness, which alone prevents all from plainly seeing what should be obvious enough.



At this point in the proceedings of group work, the leader's mind is subjected to a gross experience of the "unheimlich" feeling, the feeling of being always able to reach the next order of self-consciousness above that he presently experiences, and on and on. I self-consciously think this; I can be self-conscious of my thinking this. I can do so by projecting my present experience of self-consciousness to the others here and then, in turn, being self-conscious of my act of communicating that self-consciousness. The essence of this is already in Hegel's **Phenomenology!**

Now, we have met Hegel's **Logos!** It is identical with what Freud terms the **Superego** or the experience of **pre-consciousness**. It is a concrete state of mental awareness of the process of enumeration of higher degrees of simple self-consciousness of the self-consciousness of others. The group leader experiences this in terms of his internal mental dynamics respecting the "I"—"Thou" relationship among his self-consciousness and that of the Gestalts of the others. His knowledge of his ability to communicate his experienced state of self-consciousness to the others becomes what is for Cantor a **transfinite** consciousness, a concretized comprehension of such a process of self-conscious relationships. Most important, this concrete form of transfinite consciousness can be replicated in others and thus itself experienced. This defines a new series of

first-order transfinite self-consciousnesses, and...“unheimlich”!...a new order of transfinite self-consciousness. Then...“unheimlich”!

If one has understood that — actually comprehended it — then one has **the bare conception of Hegel's Phenomenology!**

The Discovery Elaborated

It is most useful, now, to introduce consideration of a common query from among critics of Hegel, et al. “How is it possible for the human mind to conceptualize totalities except as collections of definite object-images, discrete object-images?” This is no digression, but rather provides us an immediate access to the most fundamental conceptions to be comprehended.

The argument, obviously enough, abstracts from consciousness — from simple, Ego-state consciousness (Cf. Hegel, **Phenomenology...**, “Introduction,” “Sense-Certainty”) — only the object-images of naive sense-certainty, and on such premises falsely argues that thought itself is limited to object-images. Hence, ignorant opinion vehemently insists, science must always begin with commonly-acknowledged definite (discrete) object-images as the primitive constituents of all human knowledge. That conceit is itself rigorous proof of sexual impotence in the credulous advocate of empiricism or existentialism, as we shall demonstrate.

Is it then possible to have thought without emotion? In certain instances of extreme sexual impotence, it might be reported (as by sexually-impotent pure mathematicians) that this is the case. However, clinical work demonstrates that the emotion exists, by virtue of elation and depression phenomena which can only be the results of emotional shifts of the most powerful sort. If the pure mathematician usually imagines that he dreams only in black and white (and the gifted musician in color), this is because the sexually-impotent mathematician has blocked recognition of color (emotion), and thus usually experiences (consciously) only depression, elation, and rage...**emotions!**

Object-images exist for thought as **subjects of emotion; they never exist without emotion, but always uniquely in a cathexed form. Pure object-images do not exist** — contrary to sexually-impotent forms of algebraic and other formal logics. The discrete (the so-called primitive object-image of sense-certainty) does not exist except as a predicate of the continuous, **emotion. Emotion**, usefully linked to the proprioceptive, endocrinal disposition for action, is the intellectual experience of the pure continuum.

Returning from this particular aspect of the matter to the “transfinite,” the experience of the “unheimlich” state of self-consciousness, implicitly manifest as pre-consciousness, is associated with a definite quality of

emotional state, corresponding most closely to what is otherwise known as **self-conscious motives for potent sexual loving**, as distinct from the usual infantile “loving.” The same emotional state is experienced characteristically in the outbursts of thought which can subsequently be “objectively” identified as great creative impulses for discovery and comprehension of new Gestalts. This, as we develop the case in “Beyond Psychoanalysis,” is the emotion of **self-conscious love and of creative mentation.**

It corresponds, as we can readily demonstrate through Cantor's notion of the “transfinite,” to a certain comprehension of the entire universe.

If we break from the notion that the universe is a fixed sort of Riemannian space, to the conception of the historical universe as a nest of successive Riemannian spaces of ever-higher order, then we have a conception of the universe which exactly corresponds to the “unheimlich” state concretized. This would mean a universe which at each historical moment was characterized by an invariant mode of determination of relationship among parts, but in which the quality of the invariant shifted as the next historical moment (next higher-order of space) evolved. The pattern of shifting values thus described would represent a true world-line for the **historical universe.**

This has several fundamental implications. Firstly, if the universe is merely of a fixed order of space (in the special sense employed here), then we are situated in a most perplexing state respecting the possibility of scientific knowledge of that universe. We are implicitly stuck in the continuous universe of simple identity of Joseph Schelling, a universe which is, as Hegel sardonically describes the matter, “a night in which all cows are black.” In such a universe as that it is impossible to simultaneously “reduce” the notion of the entire universe to a single, continuous comprehensive law and retain the actuality of necessary existence of definite object-states in the here and now! (The epistemological essence of the “generalized field problem.”) Only if the universe is organized **not** on the principle of **simple energy** (fixed quality of space in this special sense), but organized on a principle of universal negentropy, in the sense of the nest of successive historic orders of space, does there appear the possibility (the epistemological potentiality) of comprehending the elaborated universe as a single, continuous totality in terms of a single conception of universal law.

Yet, if the universe is of exactly the “nested” historical form of **self-subsisting positive** evolution thus implied by epistemological necessity, the form of possible degrees of self-consciousness of the human mind is in exact correspondence with such a universe, and thus the universe represents a totality which is in precise correspondence with the creative potentialities of the human mind.

This would signify, along the lines developed in "Beyond Psychoanalysis" and **Dialectical Economics**, that the emotion of self-conscious love, the affective state of creative mentation, the fundamental law of the universe, and the Marxian principle of historical materialism, are all "projective" equivalents of one another!

The Case of Marx

Admittedly, Marx himself does not go explicitly so far. We have dealt with the problem of Marx's limitations in **Dialectical Economics**. Marx reduces the issue of the dialectical form of the sensuous act and object to a practical question of revolutionizing human socialized practice, and thus evades as well as avoids the implied issue of the susceptibility of the laws of the physical universe to such revolutionizing. Yet, within that limitation, Marx's notion of historical, positive (self-subsisting) evolution of successive, historically-specific states of social-reproductive practice is nothing but a special case of what we have described above.

Where Marx himself is most definite, as in his **Capital**, Volume III treatment of "Freedom/Necessity," is in his conception of expanded reproduction, as we have treated the relevant issues within the socialist movement in our "In Defense of Rosa Luxemburg." The moment of actualization of the human quality of individual existence, the actualization of universal labor through cooperative labor, is not the simple productive act, but rather the revolutionizing of the mode of production as a whole, first approximated through technological advances which represent, in effect, higher states of negative entropy in terms of $S/(C+V)$. **Universal labor, expanded reproduction, and sexual potency are one and the same at root.** All signify "elitism," all signify the process of fundamentally altering the inner mind of others, and being positively altered in the same way, by creative mentation (**universal labor**).

As we indicated earlier in this, what we have done is to elaborate these conceptions beyond their bare form of conception, utilizing the empirical evidence of the mind and the cited line of achievements of modern scientific knowledge (e.g., the line defined by Riemann and Cantor).



Sexual Impotence Per Se

Everyday rationalization limits the conception of sexual impotence to impairment of the individual's physiological capacity to perform sexual acts or, inclusively, impairment of the capacity for sexual "arousal." In the final analysis, most of these acknowledged forms of psychosomatic impotence are to be regarded as consequences of the more fundamental and pervasive psychological impotence to which we refer here. Hence, the point is made most clear if we confine our attention to the cases of extreme sexual impotence in which there is little or no obvious physiological defect in the individual's ability to **perform** sexually. Indeed, the most revealing form is not given by the case of inability to maintain an erection, or ejaculatio praecox, etc., but rather by the impotent male (for example) who can perform credibly and almost indifferently with women, sheep, large dogs and other men.

The classical case is the sexually athletic Macho who regards himself as a **successful performer** in bed, the Macho who has much to say and think respecting his capacities for various modes of penetration and frequency and cubic centimeters of ejaculations. The ugly secret of the matter is that he is almost totally sexually impotent.

Firstly, his sexual relations are not relations at all, but are essentially sexual performances before an internalized audience. He is admittedly somewhat ambivalent about inviting a large audience to witness his performance with even a prostitute, which does not inhibit his homosexual impulse to recount his fantasy of the performance in the most painstaking detail (somewhat "improved" in the telling) before the first large audience he deems suitable for this purpose. His relationship to the woman is immediately a relationship of himself, as performer in a fantasy, to an audience for this fantasy.

Secondly, the woman with whom he is psychologically mating is seldom (if ever) the woman in bed with him; he is making love to a woman of pure fantasy. The actual woman's relationship to this fantasy is predominantly negative. She must, of course, suggest the woman of his fantasy to him, either by a resemblance to the fantasy-object or by the law of reaction-formation. Her essential duty to the performer is to **play her part** in such a way that she re-enforces and does not unmask the fantasy.

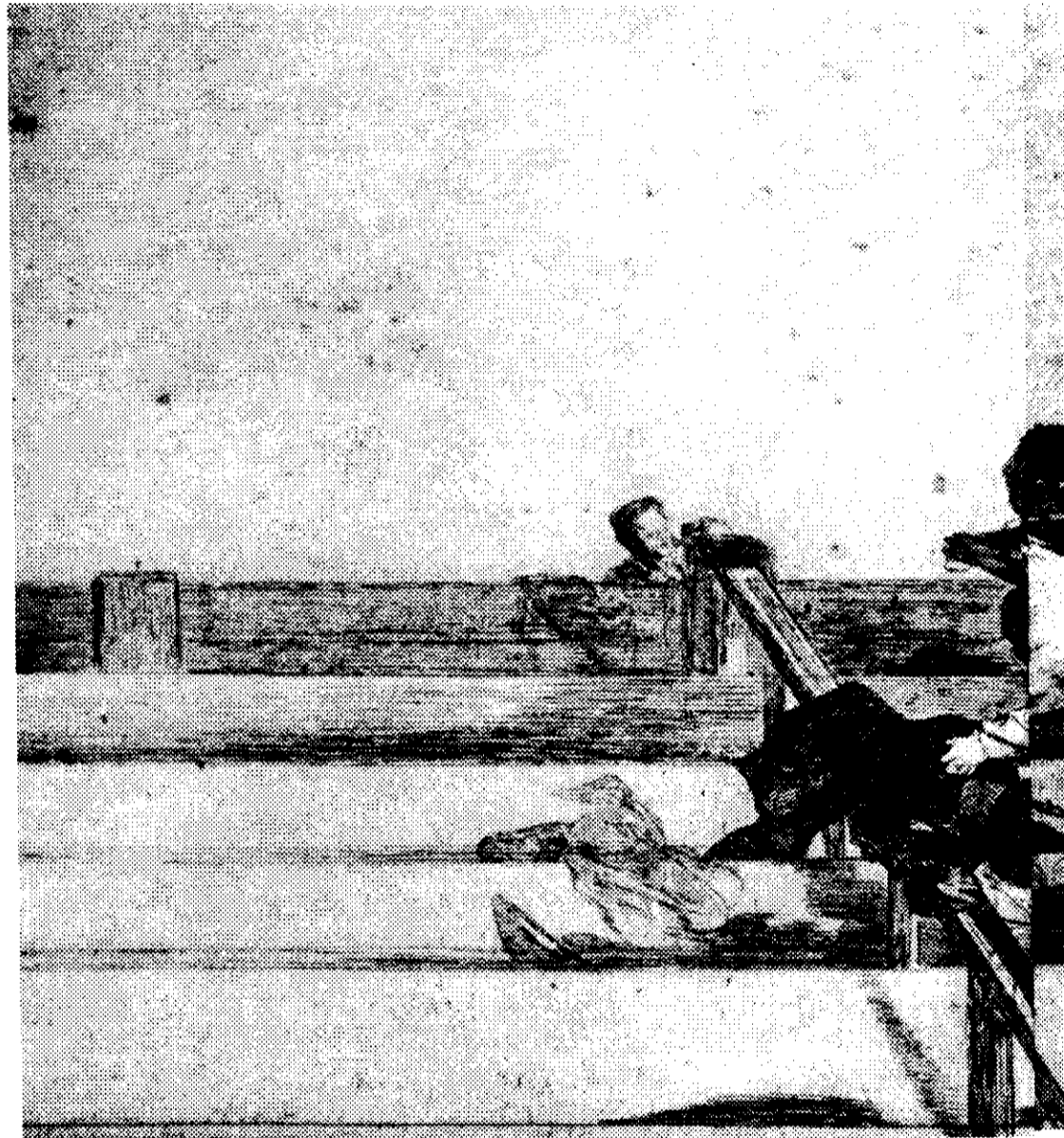
Hence, among the Macho's favorite prostitutes and mistresses, the art of playing various fantasy-supporting roles is the quality which the poor, impotent Macho finds most endearing. She, too, is merely giving a performance, and participating in the game in terms of her own fantasies.

Sometimes — often enough — **her** fantasy is not specifically sexual at all, but rather one of pure female sadism. With the (typically) frigid woman, the gratification of sexual performances originates in the sense of power over the male whom she sees as essentially **pathetic**.

Hence, the fabled "Latin Lover." In public, he is of course the familiar Macho, a total fraud. In private, and the more pathetically so the closer the bedroom, the Latin, especially, turns into a whimpering child, begging for a little love. This pathetic (depressive) aspect of the Macho syndrome gives the sadistic woman the greatest **pathological** joy. Here she has the most suitable of victims, a wretched creature to torment with her "moods." "Come here, Fido," she grudgingly offers him in one moment, and in the next, "Sorry, Fido, I'm not in the mood. Let's discuss art, Fido. Down, Fido, don't you respect me at all!" What pure sadistic delight for her it is to be as impotently capricious as she chooses, to play cruelly with this helpless pet. He perhaps strikes her; she resents the blow, but delights in the evidence of the misery she has effected in him! Here is a man in whom she can evoke the most profound suffering. (Ergo, the attractiveness of the dog-like Latin Lover to the frigid Anglo female.)

No wonder, then, that one morning the man sits on the edge of his bed in profound depression. Sex no

longer represents a satisfying illusion for him. Sex with this woman leaves him feeling even more empty than when he began the affair with her. In the need to escape such a relationship and yet, perhaps, his greater fear of leaving it, **the man thus experiences the awful depressing sense of his essential sexual impotence**. The more women he has bedded, the more insistently the truth of it all comes upon him and depresses him; in none of this did he love, nor in any of this was he loved. The physiological excitement of coitus, the anticipatory sensations of fore-play, were a gigantic fraud, a hoax. He is impotent.



As for the woman: one day, she too, tires of the monotony of tormenting her pet pathetic rapist, her husband. She becomes pregnant, and is now free to distance herself from her husband by exercising that form of more gratifying sadism she learned from her mother — the sadistic possession of her children. Through her sadism, her possessiveness, she turns her sons into Macho dogs like her husband before them, and her daughters into frigid pseudo-Virgin Marys, like herself. She and her husband meet as strangers, as hostile ambassadors from their respective worlds. He, from the homosexual world of his cronies and his whore-wives; she, from the world of the household, where she is the Virgin-Mother possessor of her victim-children.

Motherhood and Impotence

Think back to childhood. If you had a father, recall the hope of joy you often experienced when father came

home in the evening. The stale, grey monotony of "life with mother" was suddenly relieved, the household became illuminated with color — at least, on the better evenings. "Company's arrived — it's father!" Think, then, of the wretchedness of emotional life in the household, Latin or U.S. black ghetto, in which there is no father to come home and bring light to the household, in which every wretched hour of life at home is only the grey, tasteless monotony of mother-mother-mother. Mother grows more oppressively gigantic as the years of childhood succeed one another. Get away from mother! Or, capitulate to mother. The child hangs



between the two awful impulses; to get away from the only identity-giving figure he or she knows into the empty, strange world, or to stay and degrade oneself yet again in this dependency. It is a world of hateful — literally hate-filled, Blah, Blah, Blah and more Blah. It is the awful, terrifying sensation of impotence, the constant inner terror of being suspended half-way between life and looming death below.

To be the child of only a mother is to be the victim of sadism, **no matter how much that mother may wish to love**. The individual possessed by a single other person can experience only being fed and petted. He or she, the child, is the object for the mother's affectionate possession, and therefore only an object. The mother, in turn, is an alien for the child. It is slave-object (child) and master-object (mother). There is no mediating human love-relationship through which the child and the mother can share love as shared self-consciousness of the self-consciousness of another person.

By contrast:

"What are you doing, mother?"

"Baking a cake for father."

"Can I help, mother?"

"Of course."

"Will father like the cake?"

"Father likes this kind of cake very much."

"Oh, he'll be happy when he finds it, won't he?"

"Yes, love, he will be."

"We love father, don't we mother?"

"Yes, we love father very much."

The child experiences thus love for the mother and the mother for the child. They are, in this small but not-unimportant way, sharing self-consciousness of the **consciousness** of a third person. The child is learning the power to love. This can even be self-consciousness of the father's self-consciousness, if it is implied in such a dialogue that father is often depressed (in an unhappy ego-state) when he returns home. They anticipate his enjoyment of the cake not merely as his sense of infantile sensual gratification, but as his self-consciousness of their self-conscious effort to make him self-conscious of their love. That is the way a child learns to love. He sees the mother and father as loving persons, and delights in its own capacity to share the love between his parents.

What, then, when the mother "distances" the father, implies that the father is a "failure," that "men are no good," that men "are always annoying women" as when they wish to sleep, and so forth? What agony for the child.

The possessive mother insists that the daughter is pretty and clever. The father agrees; yes, the daughter is so pretty, so clever. The daughter senses a plunging agony of rejection: father does not love her; he is merely taken in by the "outsidedness" her mother is seeking to impose upon her. It is only where the mother and father can self-consciously love another that their respective relationships to the children become coherent if different expressions of the same universality of loving for the child. Where there is no such love between the parents (especially during the critical first five years of the child's life), the likelihood that the child will ever know love — real love — is enormously diminished.

It is the child's sense of the father's love, especially beginning in the period of late infancy and early

childhood, when the image of the father tends to be more clearly distinguished (unconsciously) from that of the mother, which awakens the notion of love in the child. The child, sensing the coherence of both the mother's and father's loving, is compelled to become self-conscious of their loving self-consciousness of him (or her). It takes at least three to communicate the notion of self-conscious love. No two people by themselves can love one another, except in an infantile, almost bestial way. Love begins as the shared self-consciousness of the self-consciousness of others; love is the self-consciousness of those whom we love together. Love between two is a shared loving toward the self-consciousness or hope of self-consciousness among others in the "outside" world.

Hence, a mother-child relationship, maintained against the "interference" of the father, etc., especially against the father, is inherently a sadistic relationship of mother to child, resulting inevitably in sexual impotence and selfishness in the adult outcome of such a childhood.

We can remedy such hideous outcomes of sadistic, possessive "anti-father" "mother-love" only by self-consciously recognizing and destroying the dependency of the adult to an internalized image of the "mother." This can be accomplished by a general climate of comradely love, within which there is a self-conscious love-relationship to a single individual of the opposite sex who serves as a concrete universal, as the universal, constant reference point of self-conscious social identity in respect to all other human relationships.

Yet, apart from that remedy, which the revolutionary movement must afford first to its own members and through them to the working-class generally, one who has any knowledge of the Latin (or Italian) cult of motherhood, knows that from such monstrously depraved forms of the bourgeois family can emerge only generally such pathetic human wreckage as the Macho.

Admittedly, the problem is not absolutely this or that. In most Latin families, there must have been some small scent of loving by the father, by siblings, some small taste of loving from playmates of the "outer world," from grandparents, and so forth. There are, happily, very few absolutely pure Machos; most Machos have some sense of what real love should be, a small grip on real humanity. It is essential to locate that, to use it as the source of strength to build upon in addressing the Machismo-system victim's self-consciousness, and in thus beginning to free him from his self-degradation.

Yet, for this very reason, it is even more essential that a high priority be given to recruiting Latin women to the movement, and in similarly freeing these women

from the grip of their frigidity, their sadistic semi-bestiality and self-bestialization as potential "mothers."

Relationship to Politics

The banal state of simple consciousness, the ego-state of "my sincere feelings," is the reduction of the self — and other selves — to virtually unchangeable objects. "I have my nature." The belief in magic, in astrology, or existentialism are thus infallible symptoms of bestialization of the impotent individual. "I cannot be changed." "You must not try to change me." "accept me as I am." "I have my psychological needs." "They have their psychological needs." "We must not impose our 'elitist' will on the workers." "The workers, through their experience, are the only ones who could know what they really desire; we must not impose our values upon them, since we do not have their experience." All of these and similar symptoms are evidence of sexual impotence and its political correlatives. Similarly, "Local control," and "nationalism," are also expressions of impotence in their appropriate symptomatic expressions as politics.

The will of the worker must become the will to do that which is in the historic interest of the world's working-class as a whole; nothing else. If the workers passionately cling to any contrary sentiment of imagined self-interest, that sentiment must be seized upon and ripped out of them. No human being has the right to believe or "feel" anything except that which impels him to act in the historic interest of the world's working-class as a whole.

This does not deprive him or her of **individual** rights; to act for the human race is to actively express a certain quality of self as capacity, as developed individual human powers. The political working-class properly demands that each of its members enjoy those individual rights, including leisure and material consumption, which are essential to the individual to develop his or her individual human powers to the "level" corresponding to what the individual must do for the working-class as a whole. The individual who fights ruthlessly for his family's consumption, their education, their leisure, to **such historic ends**, is not being "greedy," but is being class-conscious. Yet, this very fact only more forcefully demonstrates that there is no rational basis for tolerating any beliefs or "feelings" in anyone which would impel that person to act contrary to the historic interests of the political class as a whole.

There exists no (heteronomic) individual, local, or "national" self-interest which is to be tolerated (as "legitimate") if it conflicts in the least with the historic interests of the world-wide working-class as a whole.

To the extent that anyone is impelled by false belief or simple consciousness of irrational "feeling" to the

contrary, that person's beliefs and "feelings" must be ripped out and replaced with appropriate human beliefs and "feelings." To do just that is an act of potent loving; to avoid that, to fail to undertake just that task, is an act of sexual and social impotency.

"You don't understand my wife. She's a devout Catholic, like her mother."

"Then, change her. Do not permit her to remain a degraded creature as her mother was. Love her; change her inside."

Any politics which panders to "national" sentiments, to "localism," to backwardness is the expression of sexual impotence in politics.

Let it be clear here: we are not speaking merely of parallels between sexual and political impotency. We insist that there is a direct, causal connection, such that sexual impotency is generally the causal root of Left political impotency.

Firstly, the search for a meaningful sexual relationship is the search for a **concrete universal**, a person of the opposite sex to whom one opens the entirety of oneself, and through that deep interconnection of shared self-consciousness one finds in that relationship something stronger, better than the earlier location of one's identity in being a child of one's parents. The search for this is the most profound and essential dynamic of all individual thought and behavior, a dynamic which is necessarily the basis for every form of social conduct of the individual. Hence, in what the individual expresses respecting the search for a concrete universal, we encounter more than a parallel for what he does in other aspects of life; we encounter in the search for such love the very essence of his behavior in all aspects of life.

As we laid the matter out in "Beyond Psychoanalysis," the unique physiological premise of mentation in the hominid infant (not yet human) is merely **the development of the infant's power of self-development of his powers to exist**. It is this integrating principle — this psychosomatic principle — which uniquely empowers him to develop Gestalts; **perception, conception, recognition**, to determine existent actualities in the form of Gestalts (object-images) from the continuity of experience. Yet, the problem he must solve in order to develop deliberative powers for his existence is the circumstance in which his existence depends upon power over the socialized processes which entirely mediate his individual relationship to nature generally. Consequently, he becomes human (rather than a mere hominid) as his individual powers become entirely social powers. He does not acquire individual (isolated animal) powers over nature *per se*, but rather powers over the forces of his society.

This process begins for him in this culture (in particular) in terms of the mother-image. It is his mother and her surrogates who mediate his relationship to the world; thus, he must solve the problem of the mother-image, must learn deliberate control of the mother-image, as **his initial development of socialized powers**. Because he develops the power to recognize himself as the object for the behavior of another (the mother-image), he develops a conception of identity — social identity, not pure individual identity — and thus accomplishes the evolution from hominid to human being. (Theologians may consider the issue of infant baptism settled accordingly; only a bestial (e.g. feudal) society could tolerate infant baptism.)

Accordingly, there develops a cathexis between his primary psychosomatic emotion and the interconnected recognition of the images of his mother and his mother's object, himself. The approach of the mother-image becomes the opportunity to exercise his developing deliberative powers; his sense of identity is thus more strongly awakened. He is elated...unless...

"No, it is not the mother-image; it is some creature who does not respond as the mother-image does! It is a **hateful image**;" the sense of identity recedes, and the capacity for determinate thought (conception) is shrunk, overwhelmed by a **Schwaermerei** of half-digested images and other sensations.

We elaborated a bit of the process by which this infantile relationship to the mother-image is **properly** superseded in later infancy — the onset of childhood — by the emergence of actual self-consciousness, usually through relationships to the father, other siblings, grandparents, and so forth. Yet, the location of the sense of identity in the mother-image remains.

Increasingly, it becomes apparent to the systematic observer that the actual woman, the mother, and the child's internalized mother-image are not the same person. The mother-image is the product of the relationship of the mother to the child, and also mixed with the relationship of mother-surrogates to the child, for which relationships the mother-image is "blamed." In later childhood, the internalized mother-image is modified, but the basic personality of this image remains that formed, with decreasing force of change, throughout the period up to about five years of age.

In later life, it becomes necessary for the individual to be psychologically weaned, to supersede the mother-image with (in the case of the male ex-child) another woman who performs for him as adult the same essential function as the mother-image in childhood. It is the concrete universal he seeks, the person to whom his inner self is entirely opened, the person whose existence is the internalized and externally actualized location of his sense of identity. His impotence, including his sexual impotence, is his inability to establish just

such a relationship; yet, that impotence does not end his searching, but only intensifies the empty-feeling agony of his bad-infinity searching. This is both the concentrated essence of everything else he seeks in every aspect of social life and is the point of reference to which he refers every question from other aspects of personal social life. Inevitably so, since this search is a search for affirmation of his inner sense of identity.

What is thought? It is the judgment which is regulated by the increase or decrease of the sense of identity. One acts not merely to attain fixed objects, fixed sensuous acts, but to obtain those objects, actualize those thought-acts which mediate an increased sense of identity. In the pathological state, the force of judgment is regulated by an internalized babble of images, dominated usually by the mother-image. With small effort, one can bring up the mother-image either re-enforcing or reducing the sense of identity as an immediate regulator of "sincerity of feeling" in the adult. It is the same in politics.

In this sense, the neurotic adult must be systematically regarded as a pseudo-adult — either as the victim of individual neurosis or of that collective neurosis recognized as bourgeois ideology. His sense of identity is pathologically determined by childish fantasies, and not by self-consciousness of his positive basis for adult existence. By contrast, the revolutionary is essentially the only **true adult** by contrast with the pseudo-adult children about him. The neurotic loves his wife as a surrogate for his mother; the adult loves his mother and father not as internalized images, but as actual human beings, and loves his wife as an actual human being in her own right. He has put aside his mother and father, who becomes specially-loved peers on the outside of his identity, and locates his identity in the adult woman who has become the focus of his sense of identity.

The Macho, for example, is not a true adult man, but only an overgrown, neurotic "little man," "his mother's little man." The secret of the Macho, or of the kindred petit-bourgeois Italian Left intellectual with his citric Weltschmerz, his pathetic existentialism, is that he, relative to his "Northern" class brothers, is less civilized, less socialized. Latin culture is relatively a culture of uncivilized, barely-socialized children; remove the thin veneer of civilization from the infantile little beast of mother-love, and pure beast emerges — the beast of the bull-fight, the beast we see in the murderous, torturing juntas and the sadistic peasants who perform such hideous, bestial tortures.

It is, of course, true that the butchers of Latin America are the agents of the U.S. State Department, CIA, and international cartels. It is also true that in Latin America the CIA finds such excellent butchers for its purpose, and populations which not only tolerate such bestiality, but in which the Left itself has such a necrophiliac fascination with sado-masochistic submis-

sion to death by torture. The Macho Leftist is little concerned to wipe out the butchery; his image of the revolutionary is the sacrificial victim baring its chest to the bullet, the victim submitting to the ultimate homosexual masochistic fantasy of being sodomically raped to death. He is the most pathetic of Christians, especially when he deludes himself he is an atheist; the prototypical Macho revolutionary is the revolutionary priest reliving the Passion of Christ in submitting to the most degraded tortures and death, indeed almost begging to be sodomically raped in such a fashion. The Macho Left will then make gigantic bull-fight posters of the victim, eulogizing the "beauty" of this sodomic death-rape; they will parade pictures of the victim's mutilated body to the credulous Machos who dream of themselves achieving the same Passionate perfection of "being a true revolutionary." The imagery of Macho Left poetry and painting is so painfully self-revealing — and disgustingly abominable!

It is time to end this nightmare, this recurring nightmare of infantile Macho Leftism, its abominable, self-degrading fascination with mutilated bodies — its homosexual fantasies respecting the sodomic death-rape of human bodies, fantasies which so often, not accidentally, pervade the Macho's sexual fantasies as such. It is time for childish Latin would-be revolutionaries to break free of such sadistic mother-love, such Machismo, and to become human adults.

Rats

The essence of Macho politics is the fear of rats. This is, of course, characteristic of all bourgeois culture, and is only intensified among Machos. "Honor," "Manhood," and so forth, the entire disgusting paraphernalia of "Latin courtesy," reveal this. "Intrude upon my honor, my sense of manhood, and I will kill you!" "Try to psychoanalyze me and I will kill you!" The impotent Macho is trained by his pathetic culture to take the other person at the outward value that person seems to place upon himself; that is the condition for "being accepted." Break "the code" and the entire peer group suddenly turns into a horde of rats, attacking "the violator of honor."

What is "Honor"? What but the guilty knowledge that underneath the facade of outer pretenses the "inner person" is a worthless, degraded beast. Look beneath the surface and you have seen what no "honorable" person will endure to be revealed about himself; this guilty knowledge must be destroyed by destroying the person who possesses it.

Yet, revolution is nothing but the subjective activity of probing most deeply into the inner selves of others, in order to rip out self-degrading "sincerity of feelings," to awaken self-consciousness, and to fundamentally change the other persons, into the adult, actually human beings they are capable of becoming. To respect

“Honor,” “Manhood,” and so forth is to be impotent. To “respect the chastity of women” is to be impotent: sexually and politically. The Macho, who is not capable of being a real man or a revolutionary, does not know love, does not know humanity; he knows only either masochistic submission to the eternal chastity of the Holy Mother or rape, especially homosexual rape.

Macho Left politics is a pathetic mixture of “Latin courtesy,” “Latin posturing,” and unimaginative childish insults. Nothing is more typically pathetic on this count than the empty posturing of the PSP.

Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx

There are three degrees of relative freedom from sexual and political impotence, respectively associated with the names of Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx. What distinguishes these three — and those associated with their humanist faction — is their conception of the political organizing process as one in which self-consciousness defines itself by creating self-consciousness of the same quality and actualization in others. The respective ways in which Hegel, Feuerbach, and Marx propose to realize that human quality is their respective distinctions from one another.

In Hegel, self-consciousness is limited to the roles of the classroom educator or enlightened official. Reality exists for him only in the form of **abstractions from reality**, which he mistakes for the essence of reality. Actual, sensuous relations among actual persons do not exist in Hegel’s system.

In Feuerbach, a great advance is made. Feuerbach exposes the great fraud of Hegel, the fraud of the **abstract Logos**. Feuerbach — in our adopted terms of clinical reference — insists on the psychoanalytical principle of cathexis: ideas do not exist detached from emotion; the abstract Logos of Hegel is the grey, lifeless abstraction from the universality of **love=creative mentation**. For Feuerbach, and this is the kernel of his genius, the thought exists as actualizable thought only as its determined object-image is the impulse for a sensuous act in the sensuous world.

Feuerbach’s great flaw — his relative impotence — is that he cannot get beyond the role of the “explorer of nature.” His individual is able only to select sensuous acts from nature as given by nature. Feuerbach is thus a **petit-bourgeois democrat** where Hegel is an **enlightened Prussian official**. For example, to apply the petit-bourgeois principle of Feuerbach’s relative impotence to Left politics, Feuerbachian impotence is exemplified by support of a specific, fixed objective, such as support of the specific objectives of a strike. When the strike is finished, won or lost, the mobilization of self-consciousness for continued class struggle is aborted — is revealed as impotent. Support of “national revolutionary” objectives is similarly a political expression of sexual impotence.

Marx, beginning with the first of his “Theses On Feuerbach,” cuts through sexual and political impotence.

The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism — that of Feuerbach included — is that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the **object** or of contemplation, but not as **human sensuous activity, practice**, not subjectively. Hence it happened that the **active side**, in contradistinction to materialism, was developed by idealism — but only abstractly, since, of course, idealism does not know real, sensuous activity as such. Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, really differentiated from the thought objects, but he does not conceive human activity itself as **objective activity**. Hence, in the **Essence of Christianity**, he regards the theoretical attitude as the only genuinely human attitude, which practice is conceived and fixed only in its dirty-judaical form of appearance. Hence, he does not grasp the significance of “revolutionary,” of “practical-critical” activity.

We cite that passage here because it has absolutely not been understood by any known philosophical critics or “Marxist-Leninist” babblers.

It signifies that, for Marx, the act, the sensuous object, exists in reality only as the mediation of self-consciousness, only as a connection between one degree of self-consciousness and a still-higher degree of self-consciousness. This identifies the semi-genius of Trotsky’s conception of “permanent revolution” — semi-genius because Trotsky himself, to say nothing of his so-called followers, never fully understood the deeper implications of his half-discovery. The act must not be an end in itself, otherwise we are back at Feuerbachian “democratic” politics, back at Feuerbachian “dirty-judaical” preoccupation with possession of the fixed goal, back at Feuerbachian political — and sexual — impotence. The act must be only the necessary mediation through which higher states of self-consciousness for higher qualities of mediating sensuous practice are attained.

This Marxian principle is uniquely located in the **principle of socialist expanded reproduction**. The person who proposes a “socialist society” based on “equitable distribution” is **ipso facto** sexually and politically impotent. The person who proposes to “seize the factories” is also impotent. Expanded reproduction means the positive development of the self-subsisting form of the productive forces, through uniting the world-wide working-class into a single political unit and accomplishing the technological development of the productive forces at the most rapid rate, subject to the included development of the intellectual and productive powers of the working-class individuals.

This means to organize the working class forces (workers and their political allies) both against infantilism, against Ego-state “sincerity of feeling,” and for

self-consciousness of the universal task of appropriating and developing the world's productive forces. It means, above all, to fundamentally change the inner self of the workers.

In contrast, that Left politics which proceeds from "existing realities," from the appealing to the existing prejudices of workers, etc., from pandering to "nationalist" prejudices, from admiring the infantile sentimentalities of the "popular forces," etc., is viciously anti-Marxian, viciously anti-dialectical, viciously sexual impotence in the domain of Left politics.

The most comi-tragic expression of this is the pathetic *commedia* called the PSP.

2. The PSP As A Phenomenon

Since its previous phylogenetical state of larval existence as the MPI, the PSP has always been distinguished unfavorably from most Left groupings by its notorious and most extraordinary degree of **opportunism**. This opportunism is most conspicuous inside the organization itself, where various bitter factions of self-styled "Marxist-Leninists" are set buttock to buttock with a varied assortment of "Puerto Rican Nationalists." There is no principled basis in belief for most of the PSP members to be in the same organization with one another, except that principle which otherwise unites the prostitute briefly to her client. The only common essence binding such a varied assortment together in the Party is opportunism: the desire to have a "large organization." It is Saturday night, and the PSP Macho wants the political equivalent of an im-



tent sexual embrace, so desperately that he does not look closely at the qualifications of those persons who consent to perform the desired service for him.

The essence of PSPers' "politics" is simple: this Macho desires only a big movement of the "Puerto Rican Popular Forces." This desire for the political equivalent of the Macho's sexual orgasm he identifies as the irrational **feeling** of being regarded (and self-regarded) as something exciting, something dangerous — a Rrrrrrrrevolutionary! He wants to bring together a horde of the Puerto Rican Popular Forces, and then they will all share one big political orgasm, which is called "independence."

Economic theory? He shrugs his shoulders; he is essentially a revolutionary of **feeling**; besides, since he regards Puerto Ricans as full of **duende**, and thus emotional rather than literate, it is not compatible to introduce such a **gringo** quality as "intellectuality" into the movement of the Popular Forces. How will this independent revolutionary island feed and clothe the people? He shrugs; he has a **feeling** that this will be no major problem. He argues: There is enough, if we have the **feeling** to seize it for the people. To **impose** a program of expanded socialist reproduction upon the people would be **elitism**; it is necessary to respect their **feelings**. It is necessary to regard the "ignorant people" as already possessing all the "natural," "racial" intellectual and other qualities necessary for "revolutionary independence."

"Culture"? He **feels** that the Puerto Rican people already have a culture, of which they must merely be proud. To him, the "natural culture" endemic to the people is already "Marxist," and "revolutionary," and hence axiomatically the struggle for this endemic culture (whatever that appears to be to him at the moment) is already self-evidently an anti-bourgeois culture, an anti-capitalist "liberating" culture.

He ignores the fact that the Puerto Rican people are deprived of any culture of their own. The comprador caste of educated and semi-educated Puerto Ricans (from which the PSP leadership is recruited) has a heritage chiefly of the **reactionary** side of Spanish culture, and a family and school cultivated link to the Spanish language and literature, as is the case with the Spanish upper classes and the cognate comprador classes throughout Latin America. The Puerto Rican people also have a heritage of peasant culture, of the idiocy and bestiality of rural life. The comprador classes have also a large dosage of **Yanqui** culture, the culture of Fomento, Coca-Cola, Rancheros, and similar autochthonous productions of the Puerto Rican people. Yet, the proletarian masses do not even have a language, neither Spanish nor English, nor a Puerto Rican syncretism of the two, but only argot, a **Schwaermerei** of a language which is neither quite Spanish nor English

nor anything else, but only a slave-language, a **lingua franca** of the slaves.

The PSPer ignores the fact that the Puerto Rican masses are denied **the right to a culture in which they can identify themselves as collectively contributing to the enrichment of the intellectual life of the world.** Their "culture," like most of their food, is whatever their semi-colonial master arranges to have imported from other places.

The picture of the PSPer respecting "Puerto Rican culture" is like that of the enlightened colonialist "cultural relativist" or slave-master who sees the oppressed subsisting on refuse. He says, "That is what they like. Do not impose alien values on them. Their preference for garbage from hotel kitchens is an outgrowth of their cultural experience, like their preference for the shacks of the barrio." The colonialist, like the thinly-disguised comprador petit-bourgeois of the PSP leadership, always explains: "The slaves are happier to keep their own little ways." He sees the masses deprived of culture, making a poor imitation culture of whatever refuse decaying Spanish heritage or Yanqui imports have discarded into the streets; the PSP petit-bourgeois smiles indulgently: "That is the people's culture."

The wretched comprador petit-bourgeois mentality of the PSP leadership is in no way more pathetically displayed than in its ritual worshipping at the cult of "Island Independence."

It is a fact: Puerto Rico cannot feed itself, and could not feed itself. **Very well, independent Puerto Rico will import food.** From whence, with what means of payment? From the proceeds of the Yanqui plants which are already running to the cheaper labor of the Dominican Republic Fomento? What if the Yanqui semi-colonialists close down their plants? What would "independent" Puerto Rico export merely to secure sufficient food for its people; it could export **only its people!** Indeed, it has been exporting its people for decades!

The PSP almost pretends that the recent electoral results did not occur. On the contrary, the Puerto Rican worker finds the present political status of the island advantageous to him because this status is part of the basis for the tax and other conditions which have made the island attractive to Yanqui employers running from the political (statehood) conditions of the mainland. The majority of voting Puerto Ricans reacted against the stupidity, not the "revolutionary extremism" of the independence parties in the elections.

The Puerto Rican who is so zealous in celebrating the purely religious idea of independence on weekend festivities has an opposite view of independence from his other, secular vantage-point in the real world of

food, employment, housing, and so forth. He knows, from the labels on the imported food, from the names of the factories and other places where he is employed, that Puerto Rican material existence is possible only as an extension of the U.S. economy. In practice, outside the "churches" of the independence parties, and their rituals, he knows that his existence is located in a special political-economic arrangement for Puerto Rico within the U.S. economy, and he votes accordingly.

The popularity of the purely religious fantasy of "independence" for the same Puerto Rican who votes against political-economic independence, is a natural expression of slave-mentality. The slave exists by being a slave, and desires to continue being a slave because that, for him, is the only existent possibility for his material existence. Yet, he hates slavery nonetheless; he hates slavery in his dreams, his rituals, his purely unearthly occupations. He hates the Yanqui face, the Yanqui language, the Yanqui exploitation — with a deep, **religious** hatred. Just, as he hates the mental image of his sadistic, possessive mother, on whom the Macho is so fearfully dependent for his inner sense of identity. **He hates his mother-image by devoutly worshipping it!**

The Puerto Rican independence organizations thus function as special "religious" bodies, having little to do with the material actualities of this earth. Their function is not to change the world, but only to assist in creating those fantasies by which the oppressed mind seeks to preoccupy himself with the mere illusion of another world — that could never be. Accordingly, it is no miracle that the PSPer (and other independence factioneers) are so euphorically transported in their rhetoric when they speak of "Puerto Rican culture," of "independence," and the **chillastic** "victory of Popular Forces." They become pathetic, foolish, only when they make the pitiful blunder of attempting to bring their silly Heaven to Earth. To attempt to bring a wild fantasy into the real world of everyday practice is to make a pathetic mockery of that fantasy.

Similarly, the Macho is in transports of delightful fantasy when he thinks of the glories of coitus; it is when he attempts coitus with an actual woman that he becomes so pathetic, so obviously impotent. He is at liberty only with the loose woman, with the prostitute, with the mistress he secretly knows is "had" by other men. Thus, he conceals his homosexual impulses, his hatred of women, by degrading them in the name of love, and by thus performing the homosexual act of sharing coitus with a woman with another man.

(The prostitute, of course, at least unconsciously knows this secret of her Macho client. She does not object to this? Why should she? The prostitute thereby serves her own lesbian need to share the sexual act with the man's wife. The angered, sadistic woman revenges herself on a man by bedding another, by thus implicitly

subjecting the hated lover to a homosexual relationship.)

The idea of "independence" is hence an unconscious act of self-degradation of the Puerto Rican peoples, akin in this respect to the popularity of "local control" among self-hating U.S. ghetto blacks. "Local control" of what? "Of our poverty, our slums, our degradation!" What is the ironic mythos of "self-help" prevalent in the U.S. black ghettos since the 1950's? It is noting but the looting of one black neighbor — of clothing, TV sets, and so forth — to sell this loot to another neighbor, sometimes in the same neighborhood within almost the very hour it was stolen: "self-help," "local control." The essential, unconscious notion involved: "We are so inferior that we can achieve a sense of equality only by separating ourselves from our superiors." It is the profound, colonialism-induced poverty, ignorance, lack of culture, and so forth, of the oppressed Puerto Rican which induces him to believe that he would be equal only if cut off from all direct comparison ("competition") with the higher-ranking species of man. By playing up to this belief in independence — this belief in inherent inferiority of the Puerto Ricans — this self-degrading mythos of "independence," the PSPer, notably expresses his petit-bourgeois comprador's belief in the innate superiority of Coca-Cola.

In this connection, it is most useful to compare the pervasive preoccupation with "Spanish culture" among Latin-Americans to the attitudes among democratic and socialist revolutionary Germans over a century ago. The revolutionary Germans, typified by Kant, Hegel, Marx, seized upon the **more advanced culture** of their immediate oppressors (Napoleon's French, the English), and made a gigantic advance in capitalist culture over the heads of those from whom they appropriated such things. By contrast, the Latin-American petit-bourgeois (e.g., from the comprador classes), seizes upon that which is most **bathetically** backward in the world; he claims his right to the rubbish of the world — as that which, alone, he considers peculiarly fit for the inferior Latin peoples. This "cultural relativist" seeks in Indian relics, in the misery of the mestizos, in the pathetic possessions of the backward, ignorant and oppressed, that which is peculiarly suited to the perpetuation of a culture of inferiority, of oppression.

The "Glories of Spain"?! Peron's friend, Francisco Franco, perhaps? That wretched, debased crew of present-day Spanish upper classes and bureaucrats who typify and subsist on the most backward culture of Western Europe, who could not "compete" in a world in which peasants and workers were not so miserably oppressed and debased as they are in Spain today!? The Spain of the Conquistadores? Bankrupt Spain of the sixteenth century, ignorant, priest-ridden, horse-ridden, almost bestial baboons of Conquistadores,

raping, illiterate butchers? All to pay the debts of Charles V to Italian, German and Low Countries usurers? The Spain of the Inquisition?

Cervantes and other products of the Moorish-Latin heritages? Yes. Even the minor composer, Soler — yes. Goya? Absolutely! These are world-historical figures who rose above parched, miserable, hungry, priest-ridden, bull-baiting Spain with its Burgundian-Hapsburg bestialities.

These achievements of the great Spaniards are not what fascinate the Latin-American comprador.

Rather, he is fascinated by the wretched Spain, the cheap, inferior Spain, the only Western European culture (barring the wretched Portuguese) which is miserable enough to be within the price of the Yanqui's Latin slaves...unless one considers also the most degraded existentialist, structuralist offal of decaying Parisian "culture," which can be had for no price by anyone sufficiently lacking in respect for himself. The fascination with Spanish culture is primarily a preoccupation with the world of the Spanish-language ghetto, it is the self-image of the Latin comprador as an inferior person in the world.

Pathetic Lorca, imbecilic Neruda. The gifted Cortazar self-degraded into composing Parisian buffoonery. Marquez's genius slipping into pathetic existentialism. What is wanted is a true revolutionary spirit in Latin culture, which self-situates the best spokesmen of an oppressed people in the proper role of world-historical figures, leading not merely the "inferior" people of the vast Spanish-speaking ghetto of the world, but participating as equals in the remaking of the entire world. The world wants Latin Goethes, Hegels, Heines, and Marxes.

Of such human aspirations, such revolutionary aspirations, the petit-bourgeois comprador mentalities of the PSP leadership have absolutely no sensibility. Hence, their contempt for the human potentialities of the Puerto Rican people, and — not incidentally — the Macho's deep contempt for himself, in the pathetic cult of Puerto Rican "independence."

Like everything else about the PSP, even the comprador pose of its leading strata is a pitiful parody of the Latin-American Left political farce in general.

In the major Spanish sectors of Latin America, the comprador families who rule the country for the Yanqui send their sons to the university. At the university, the sons and cousins of the leading families begin their roles as future Yanqui's satraps by political assortment. One son assumes the traditional political pose of "comprador orthodox politics" — **caballero** conservatism, — another becomes a future colonel, another becomes the fiery democrat, another becomes a populist publicist, another, or perhaps a cousin, becomes the family's

“official Marxist-Leninist” firebrand. These sundry roles are, naturally, reviewed with suitable courtesies at all family gatherings. It is all a family affair — from extreme Right to extreme Left — every department of political life duly put under the supervision of some member of the comprador family. A guerrilla nephew may take a conservative uncle hostage: “Excuse me, uncle; this is merely political.” The uncle may, in turn, politically shoot the Leftist nephew and then weigh the delicacy of appearing at the family wake; or, the nephew may, after ending his term of temporary service to the family in the Left, be pensioned off as minister of education to his uncle’s Popular Democratic government.

In certain poorer, rural-mentality-ridden sections of the U.S., it was once fashionable for young plebian ladies to join sororities based on the local public high school, in pitiable emulation of the university sororities to which their parents could ill afford to send them. On the same principle, the PSP leading strata attempt to pitifully emulate the comprador traditions of the political life of Venezuela, Colombia, etc. What contemptible little charades of a show of respect for the **prestige** of the other leader! What a picaresque charade! Poor, plebian, faceless PSPers attempting to play at the courtly manners of the comprador “aristocracy” of more auspicious Latin regions. One is astonished that the PSP’s **Claridad** does not write of **Don Juan Mari Bras!** Thus, the PSP of poor Puerto Rico parodies the comprador farce of other Latin regions.

CLARIDAD Attacks Casals

If one searches his knowledge for the name of a contemporary Spanish artist of present-day world-historical importance, the obvious choice he could unquestionably defend would be that of Pablo Casals. Casals was the world’s great instrumentalist of the cello for several decades of this century, generally now more reknowned more for his more significant musicianship. He was the guiding spirit of the world’s greatest musical event of the past quarter-century, the Perpignan “Casals Festival.” He unquestionably ranks high both as a leading Spanish humanist and among the greatest figures of the Spanish artistic heritage, certainly the outstanding contemporary world-historical figure in Spanish art. Otherwise, up to his recent death he was the only notable person of genuine world-historical importance living in his adopted home of Puerto Rico.

It happens that with a good taste rarely exhibited among the dilettantes of the Puerto Rican comprador caste, Casals was the honored figure of a New York City “Fiesta Puerto Rico.” The pathetic, contemptible reaction of the PSP’s **Claridad** weekly to Casals’ participation in this concert is most revealing.

The weekly’s June 24, 1973 editorial denounced the festival’s inclusion of Casals as “Cultural Aggression,”

denouncing in particular, “Twenty-five thousand dollars stolen from the workers of Puerto Rico to sponsor a program which was not representative of what is our culture.”

The editorial continues, characterizing the concert in the following terms:

...clearly another attempt to force us into “another cultural bag.” The implication was clear: that part of the program which was termed “folkloric” was seen as being inferior; it was the classical part of the program which “saved” the event. But we no longer believe such fairy tales. As Puerto Ricans, but especially as revolutionaries struggling for a new society, a socialist society, we understand the importance and necessity of all peoples developing their cultures.

Our anger is not directed at the classical music of Europe, but at the attempt of the imperialists to force it upon us, and imply that our music is inferior to it...It is the culmination of this genocidal process which will convert all Puerto Ricans, whether here or in Puerto Rico, into a national minority...

What degrading, pathetic philistinism! “European” music? What of the Spanish language, which is also European? What of mathematics, textile manufacturing methods, modern types of vegetables and meat, the automobile, the airplane, etc., which are also presumably the efforts of the “imperialists” to impose a “culture” upon the native islanders?

Or, in a similar vein, is it “cultural aggression” upon Puerto Ricans that **gringo** “Rock” and “folk” fads are spreading through the island today; is the growing popularity of Mexican Macho ballads in the island to be construed as an example of Mexican “cultural aggression”? The following three examples of Mexican popular song lyrics are exemplary of the genre now sweeping the island.

I.

Nada importa haller la muerte
en la reja de una ingrata,
o llevar en la conciencia
otra culpa por matar.

En los Altos es de machos
respetar la valentía
y su ley son unos ojos
que enamoran al mirar.

Tienen fama sus caballos
que los charros jinetean,
y sus chinas son luceros
de belleza sin igual.

Por sus besos van sus hombres
sin temor a la pelea,
entre sangre de sarapes
y cortadas de puñal.

II.

...
y los machos de Jalisco
afamados por entrones
por eso traen pantalones.

Vengo en busca de una ingrata
de una joven presumida
que se fue con mi querer,
traigo ganas de encontrarla
pa'enseñarle que de un hombre
no se burla una mujer.

Se me vino de repente
dando pie pa'que la gente
murmurara porque sí,
porque a ver hoy que la encuentre
y quedemos frente a frente
que me va a decir a mi.

III.

¡Ay Jalisco, Jalisco
tus hombres son machos,
y son cumplidores
valientes y ariscos
y sostenedores,
no admiten rivales...
en cosas de amores.
¡Ay Jalisco no te rajes!

...
Yo fui uno de aquellos
"dorados" de Villa
de los que no tienen
amor a la vida,
de los que a la guerra
llevamos nuestra hembra,
de los que morimos
amando y cantando,
yo soy de ese bando.*

The two cited examples of popular "folk culture" from Mexico illustrate not only what is so readily assimilable as Puerto Rican "folk culture," but in that way we have illustrated two other points of general importance here. Firstly, considering the psychopathological content of these songs — and therefore the self-degradation of the persons to whom these songs appeal — we are illustrating the point that most so-

called "folk art" of this sort is principally significant as clinical evidence of the self-debasement of an oppressed people. However, secondly, sometimes the very articulation of psychopathology in such "cultural" forms does attain to the status of art.

Some development of this latter point is relevant to the PSP attack on Casals.

In the case of the psychological portraits of the older Goya, the material displayed by the artist is nothing but the content of his own mind. Goya's chimerical figures are not sheer concoctions, not strictly fictions; they are what any qualified psychoanalyst would recognize as psychological truth, accurate representations of the horrible images one finds in the process of deeper probing of unconscious processes. Hence, in the case of these portraits (or, similarly, the psychologically important bull-fight sketches of Goya), or in the similar psychological revelations of Hieronymous Bosch, we have artistic works which are great art exactly because they exemplify the artist (and, implicitly, the audience) gaining self-conscious wilful control over those hideous forces through which his society oppresses him, bestializes him internally.

Is the psychopathological behavior of the street-corner Macho therefore also "artistic" on such grounds? On the contrary, his performance, and the exemplary celebration of that self-degradation in Mexican ballads, is an act of strengthening and perpetuating the degradation expressed by this behavior. Art focuses on psychological truth, and hence often enough on portraying the hideousness within man, but to the effect of liberating man from that hideousness. Great art often "gets out" the representation of the hideousness within man to the either explicit or at least implicit end of enabling man to master, to conquer that self-degradation through self-consciousness.

The essential feature of great art is that it is a product of more or less direct and self-conscious recall and application of the special kind of emotion to which we refer in the concluding summary of this present article. It is the application of the emotion otherwise identified with creative mentation or with "oceanic" impulses of "non-erotic loving" to the effect of liberating the individual from the sort of banality of feeling expressed typically in vulgar "folk culture."

However, this is not to brush aside all of what is sometimes termed "folk art." Most of the great musi-

* "I. It doesn't matter to find death/at the gate of an ingrate,/or to carry on one's conscience/the guilt of another killing. — In Los Altos all machos/respect bravery,/and its law is a pair of eyes/whose look is bewitching. — Famous are its horses/that the charros ride,/and its women are stars/of unequalled beauty. — For their kisses, their men go/without fear into a fight,/amidst blood of sarapes/and dagger wounds. II. .../and the machos of Jalisco/famed for getting everything,/that's why they wear pants. — I come in search of an ingrate/of a conceited young girl/who left with my love,/I want to find her/to show her that a woman/never mocks a man. — She came to me suddenly/giving people a reason/to whisper,/we'll see today when I find her/and we meet face to face/what she tries to tell me. III. Ay, Jalisco, Jalisco/your men are machos,/and they always come through/brave and tough/and sturdy,/they don't admit rivals.../in matters of courting women./Ay Jalisco, don't back down!... — I was one of those/"Golden ones" of Villa,/those who have/no love of life,/those who take/their females to war,/those who die/living and singing,/I'm one of that gang." Source: Aramoni, Aniceto, *Psico-analisis de la dinamica de un pueblo (Mexico, tierra de hombres)*, Second Edition, Mexico: B. Costa-Amic, 1965

cians of the past, Beethoven notably included, have seized upon so-called "folk songs" and other elements of popular music (dance-forms) as a **point of departure** for artistic production. In such instances, they do essentially what Goya did in his psychological portraits; they abstract, so to speak, from these "popular forms" of experience for the purpose of revealing a truth otherwise concealed behind the ordinary experience.

Sometimes, a naive, uncelebrated person, thus termed a "folk artist" because he lacks formal credentials in fine art, applies the same essential personal, less-developed gifts to some of his productions, lacking only the depth of training required to express the accomplishment in better than a clumsy fashion. Yet, despite the predominant banality of, for example, the resulting folk-song he produces, there is an offsetting element of "genius" in his work which enables it to serve an artistic purpose in the exertions of a gifted performer.

Hence, **since there is only one set of standards for judging all art**, the question of what should have been represented as the achievements of "Puerto Rican culture" at the New York "Fiesta" is a concrete issue. Is there, today, some outstanding Puerto Rican composer whose work was ignored (i.e., suppressed)? Was there some particular song, etc., some group of musical works from Puerto Rican sources which was of equal merit to that featured in the Casals segment of the "Fiesta" program? If not, then all that could have been offered in decency was the best possible interpretative performance of great "European classical music" by the most gifted residents of Puerto Rico aided by their friends from all parts of the world.

Unless there is some work of unusual artistic merit buried in Puerto Rican popular musical entertainments, then **the really oppressive feature of the "Fiesta" was the inclusion of the actually inferior "folkloric" trash.** To hold up the pathetic "folkloric" works of Puerto Rico as exemplary of the human qualities of the Puerto Rican people is the most contemptible sort of imperialist patronizing. A comparison can be obtained from the tasteless wealthy dilettante father who arranges a major exhibition for the productions of an ungifted daughter who "paints" without a semblance of creative talent.

There can be no doubt that the editors of **Claridad** do express exactly such patronizing contempt for the Puerto Rican people. The attempt to contrast the "classical music of Europe" to a "native culture" of pathetic Macho ballads, etc., already says several things of decisive importance respecting those editors. Firstly, in terming the greatest music of the modern world "European" in this sense, they are insisting that Puerto Ricans are so inferior in mental and emotional potential that they are not a part of world culture, and could not possibly rise to such levels as to master Bach, Mozart,

or Beethoven. When **Claridad** writes of the need of all peoples to develop their own native culture from the standpoint of the apotheosis of "native" trash such as the Mexican Macho songs we cited, it is the editors who are expressing the dominant philosophical world-outlook of the most reactionary imperialists.

Just as drunken capitalists used to go "slumming" in the U.S. black ghetto, and as white racists thus developed the myth that black people are "naturally good at" jazz, and have "soul" (i.e., have emotions, not intellectual competence), the post-war imperialists developed the reactionary fad in anthropology called "cultural relativism." "Cultural relativism" is the groundless, racist theory that each people is genetically predisposed toward a certain kind of culture, that different national groups and races are merely different species of talking cattle, and therefore do not require the same quality of nutrition, housing, education, and rights as the wealthiest capitalist families. ("The happy-go-lucky slaves must be left to enjoy their own quaint customs.")

It is the editors of **Claridad** who insist that Puerto Ricans are intellectually and emotionally inferior people. **Claridad** insists that a world-historical genius in music, Casals, could be understood only by wealthy, well-educated "Europeans." Puerto Ricans, **Claridad** insists, are not capable of any higher intellectual and emotional level of "culture" than psychopathological ballads and quaint dances.



Notably, the "revolutionaries" of **Claridad** make no protest against the invasion of Puerto Rican cultural life by "Rock music," a form of pseudo-music which celebrates and exacerbates the bestialization of intellect and emotion.

When the editors write that they are not attacking "classical music," they are lying. It is precisely "classical music" — and all other serious forms of art and intellectual life — to which the obviously philistine, sexually-impotent moral cretins of the weekly are most violently opposed.

CLARIDAD On "Tango"

The exact form of the philistinism behind the PSP attack on Casals is revealed by a lengthy review of "Last Tango In Paris" appearing under the by-line of Carmen Vazquez Arce in the July 15, 1973 issue. (Notably, **Claridad** does not balk at the efforts of Arce to commit the "cultural aggression" of imposing Parisite existentialism upon the weekly's Puerto Rican readers.) Arce seizes upon everything in the film which expresses the most degraded form of bourgeois, bestial sexual relations and holds this up as a purgative "revolutionary" attack on bourgeois morality.

Existentialism, the point of view of the film, is both a professed "philosophy" and a psychopathology. The difference between the literary argument and the disease is located in the fact that many leading existentialists (notably Jean-Paul Sartre) are not entirely consistent exponents of the psychopathology which is otherwise the axiomatic kernel of their world-outlook in the writing; in writing, certain existentialists such as Sartre are "afflicted" by intellectual gifts and social conscience contrary to their otherwise prevailing mental illness, thus introducing into literary existentialism contradicting elements which preclude a simple equivalence between the philosophizing and a consistent exposition of the essential world-outlook expressed in the philosopher's axiomatic assumption.

There is nothing strained in any respect in our terming existentialism as a disease ("French disease"?). There is the development of R.D. Laing's cult out of Sartre's existentialist psychology and the parallels to this in the advocacy of insanity by such structuralists as Foucault and Althusser, as well as the advocacy of insanity (although in milder terms) in Sartre's psychological writings themselves. (A "structuralist" is an existentialist suffering from an overdose of grammar.)*

To make short of the point at hand in respect to the "Tango" review, in cultures in which the alienation of the individual is most extreme (France, Italy, Latin America, etc.), the sense of unreality of the self-conscious self is especially acute. For example, the case of the Macho, who is fanatically determined to conceal his "inner self" from all external access. As a result, the infantilism rampant in the culture is relatively more extreme in the form of a preoccupation with the individual sensual experience per se. The "strong feelings" of rage, fear, elation of object-possession, characteristic of the alienated (emotionally blocked) individual are perceived by the victim as purely-individual feelings demanding individual (heteronomic) sensual expression per se.

Correspondingly, just as in the Macho's "extra-curricular" sexual relations there is absolutely nothing personal respecting the woman being used at the moment, the ideal of the existentialist lover is to "have" a woman without an exchange of names, to engage in a purely animal sensual relationship with the woman — without either of them knowing who the other is or incurring any other sense of a continuing social relationship — a "purely sensual" relationship, or, otherwise, a purely bestial sexual relationship a la D.H. Lawrence.

The bestialized person such as Carmen Vazquez Arce, imagines that because the existentialist sexual relationship is nominally "dirty" and "immoral" by bourgeois standards, that such a degraded form of sexual relationships is therefore somehow anti-capitalist and hence "revolutionary." Arce overlooks the fact that "dirty" and "immoral" prostitution is already an honored bourgeois institution, **especially in Latin American culture**. (The Latin father introduces his son to a prostitute — a sort of Latin "bar mitzvah." Later, the son, reared to sex in relationships to prostitutes, rapes his bride on their wedding night, a bride whose entire sexual education was probably at the hands of nuns. The Latin father is seldom offended by his son's "whoring around"; the Latin is offended only by treating a "madonna" as whore. Typically, in cultures — e.g., Spanish, Italian — in which this "noble" existentialist tradition of chastity prevails, the male feels most secure in "whoring around" with a woman from another language-group, etc.)† Is prostitution, the self-subsisting form of existentialist sex, therefore a "revolutionary" institution? We may judge that Arce speaks authoritatively for the editors of **Claridad** in holding up sexual impotence and sexual degradation as the official political policy of the weekly.

* The case of R.D. Laing will be reviewed in a forthcoming issue of **The Campaigner**. Laing has been selected for this, rather than Foucault and Althusser, on grounds that Laing's version of existentialist psychology involves the hysterical perversion of actual clinical insights, and hence his version of existentialist insanity-mongering has a connection to investigation of psychopathological life entirely lacking in such outright quacks as Foucault and Althusser.

† This is most visible in the U.S.A., where the "good Italian" cazziste limit their "whoring around" to non-Italian girls, e.g., Irish girls, and the Irish, Polish, etc., "Machos" reciprocate in kind.

In short, there is an obvious direct connection between Arce's professed sexual self-degradation and the weekly's countercultural hostility to "classical music" and great Spanish artistic achievements. **Claridad's** policy, on culture as well as politics generally, is that Puerto Ricans are an inferior people, who should never be subjected to important tasks of intellectual or emotional life.

Island Politics

The cases of the **El Mundo** newspaper strike and the general strikes adequately identify the total impotence of the PSP in its island politics. Unlike the now-defunct Puerto Rican Socialist Party of the 1930's, the leadership of the same party (as Marx would say, "repeated as farce") which has taken its name militantly denies the fact that Puerto Ricans are an oppressed minority within the U.S.A. (e.g., editorial, June 24, 1973). Thus the PSP pretends that it is unnecessary for island Puerto Ricans to constantly link their own class struggle to that of the mainland working class. Like all reactionary nationalists, the PSP hostilely rejects class principles whenever the "national question" is posed. It treats the U.S. working-class generally as almost equally "imperialist oppressors" together with the mainland capitalists.

The reactionary side of Puerto Rican nationalism shows most clearly as impotence whenever the PSP leadership is confronted with a situation which demands connecting the Puerto Rican workers' struggles to the mobilization of class struggle forces in alliance with mainland workers generally. By thus cutting off Puerto Rican workers from the of mobilizing mainland workers generally, the PSP (like other "left" nationalists) ensures the absolute crushing defeat of all island class struggles. As if half-conscious of this counter-revolutionary aspect of its nationalism, the PSP attempts to cover up its counterrevolutionary role of impotence with the most astonishing charades and double-talk.

The following summary prepared by a leading staff member in charge of the Island intelligence file, makes the essential case.

The EL MUNDO Newspaper Strike

From the first days of the strike in early February, both island and overseas capitalist firms put forth a united front with the newspaper to break this strike. They intended to use that strike-breaking as an example for on-going and future strikes. Therefore, the first picket lines were met with police clubs and the arrest of the strike leadership and rank and file.

Realizing the strength of the strikers, **El Mundo** decided to rent five helicopters to airlift the paper from the plant and to import scabs. When a legal challenge by the union failed, the "Armed Commandos of Liberation" (CAL), a petit-bourgeois

nationalist terrorist group, bombed the five helicopters. CAL is viewed sympathetically by the PSP-MPI.

Labor Upsurge

General public sympathy for the **El Mundo** strikers was indicated by the rapid decrease of the newspaper's readership up until the point management opted for a lockout. Moreover, the United Workers Movement (MOU), a PSP front organization of progressive trade unions, mobilized their rank and file, especially the Teamsters, to join the picket line and to distribute propaganda about the strike. Similarly, students, intellectuals, and professionals organized rallies and marches in support of the strike.

During the seven-month **El Mundo** strike there were four other major strikes — by independent truckers, bus drivers and maintenance personnel, electrical and water services workers — and forcible land seizures by dispossessed people. In the first six months of 1972, there were more than a hundred strikes of more than 75,000 strikers. This figure is about twice the annual average in Puerto Rico.

All of this presented a clear opportunity for the Left to intervene in this mass-strike process. Immediately an island-wide strike-support organization could have been created to put forward a common interest program of expanded jobs, housing and necessary services by taxing capitalist income. In that period, such a Puerto Rican vanguard effort could have been made effective by spreading the struggle to the U.S. mainland.

Government Countermeasures

The local and "Yanqui" capitalists were very aware of the explosive potential of this strike wave. On June 23, the associate commissioner of the Industrial Commission of P.R. suggested the creation of a native Pay Board composed of eleven "authentic" union leaders selected by the rank and file. On the first week of August, 1972, the government of Puerto Rico (New Progressive Party) initiated a strike-breaker plan to temporarily replace the striking water services workers. The Civil Defense, the police, firemen, the Department of Public Works and Water Service would act as strike-breakers in this and other strikes in the near future. Although these two plans never materialized, it gives us a concrete expression of how aware the capitalists were of the potential mass-strike process going on.

Left's Response

In December 1971, Juan Mari Bras, the General Secretary of the PSP, said at a New York City lecture that his party had organized an "aspirant" group among **El Mundo** workers. Thus, by the outset of the strike on February 9, the PSP had an active militant caucus inside the Puerto Rican Newspaper Guild (UPAGRA).

The aims of this PSP-led caucus were to move within the union to more radical "pure and simple" trade-union positions, while the PSP militants played the role of the honest and humble "friends of workers."

At the time of the lockout (last week of June) the President of "El Mundo" Corp. sent a letter to her employees which was answered by the Workers Affairs Secretary of the PSP as follows:

In the present stage of our struggle, the strategy for economic strikes is set up by the workers headed by their own trade-union leadership. It is within this strategy that our support began to function. That is why we always insist that the terms of our support be determined by the workers. This is what is in harmony with the working-class-conscious development of the Puerto Rican workers and the ideological development of the most advanced trade-union leadership. [Claridad, July 2, 1972, p. 9]

Thus, the only nominally socialist party on the island decided to throw politics out of the window at precisely the point where a government-employer front was developing to generate a political approach to crush the strike wave.

The soup-pail method of the PSP in the **El Mundo** strike reached its climax when, rather than seeking outside political support, the PSP sent its best cadres all over the island in a "Salvation Army" effort to collect the \$10,000 fine slapped on the union through a Taft-Hartley injunction which banned mass picketing in front of the plant gate.

During this period all the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) had to offer was its cultural-nationalist militant image toward the bourgeois election. Even the potentially proletarian faction in the Political Education Secretariat (at that time) was forced to play the party's opportunist election game. PIP had approached the **El Mundo** strike and all other interventions in the class struggle with this same gate-receipts perspective.

Although the **El Mundo** strike was in the PSP's "territory," for the second time the PIP decided to expand its vote-getting campaign into the PSP's area. It organized May 1 activities with massive pickets at the newspaper's plant culminating in an electoral rally. Even though the vice-president of the PIP was directing the truckers' strike at that time, his party refused to seek outside political support for either this or the **El Mundo** strike — because the PIP's sole concern was to win elections — not working-class battles.

At the time of the lockout, the PSP, unable to orient the labor upsurge, chose to interpret it as a "workers' victory;" workers who instinctively knew how to recognize lockouts as powerful weapons were told: "The regaining of the Fatherland means courage and sacrifice."

July General Strike

The island's firemen went out on strike July 4, 1973. They were followed by the Irrigation and Electricity Workers Union (UTIER) of the island's Water Resources Authority (AFF). A few days later the San Juan City Sanitation Workers went out. In addition to these three main strikes, minor ones erupted, among them the workers at Corona brewery and the San Juan Cemetery Workers.

The island's governor, Rafael Hernandez Colon, immediately brought the might of the government against the strikers. Injunctions were issued, along with bench warrants for the arrest of the strike leaders. Colon mobilized the National Guard against the firemen and the AFF workers soon after they went on strike. For the first time in Puerto Rican labor history, the National Guard was used to break a strike. This made it only the third time that the capitalists have wielded the National Guard in Puerto Rico as an active force of repression. (The first National Guard action was an attack against nationalists during the 1930's and 1950's). With this move the capitalist class had declared open warfare against the Puerto Rican working class.

Hernandez Colon had to call the National Guard to demonstrate to the capitalists that he could deliver the payments on debt obligations; and given the strike conditions, he could hardly afford to make concessions to the Puerto Rican workers.

The Puerto Rican workers responded very militantly but ineffectively to this declaration of war from the capitalists. Under the leadership of the United Workers Movement (MOU), demonstrations were held to protest government repression and to demand the withdrawal of the National Guard.

However, at no time did either the PSP or the PIP present the workers with a fighting method or a programmatic alternative to Hernandez Colon.

The AFF strike exemplifies this problem. The AFF provides most of the electricity used on the island. It also has debt payments which amounted to \$38 million in 1972, and were to reach close to \$40 million this year. Both the PSP and the PIP limited their organizing to "pressuring" the government not to be repressive, asking it to make concessions.

The PSP's newspaper **Claridad** cheered on the worst anarchistic behavior of the strikers, including acts of sabotage which only caused more misery for other workers. One of the places where the power failure first hit was the only hospital of Utuado, a town of 50,000 people.

At no point did they attempt to expand the strike perspective so that it could become a class struggle. They let other sectors of the class stand by and watch a "bunch of greedy workers" who would cause their bills to go up. The left forces never presented the whole population with a class program, which in the case of the AFF would have called for the expropriation of all form of debt held on public utilities and the use of those resources to increase the wages of the strikers and reduce the cost of electricity for everybody.

Lacking this class perspective, the strike failed to gain support. Many other sectors of the class actively supported the use of the National Guard. The activity of both the PIP and the PSP oscillated from reformist pressure politics to the worst extreme of workerist anarchism, as the AFF strike showed.

What, then, but such PSP antics of political impotence is the basis for the growing political credibility of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD), while at the same time the PSP-

MOU-UNT (National Workers Union) have also strengthened their influence on the organized labor?

During 1971-72, the PSP was forced to develop "semi-independent" political practice toward the PPD because they wanted to "polarize" the Puerto Rican population (pro-statehood vs. patriotic forces), while they also began penetrating the trade-union movement. During this period also, a potential mass strike process was developing, as organized labor, the land seizure movement, and students launched a united attack against the New Progressive Party (PNP), which culminated in the seven-month **El Mundo** strike.

Unlike the PPD in 1973, the PNP was unable to launch a frontal attack against these strike waves because of the constant outside support and the bourgeois election which was just around the corner. All this working-class ferment was polarized into the PPD, due to PSP electoral vacillations toward the PIP. After the PPD electoral victory, the PSP began tailing the "autonomous local control" faction of the PPD, which had temporarily gained control of the party. This faction began pushing for "Puerto Rican local control" over immigration, the draft, labor relations, and especially for anti-inflation measures. The PSP and a legislative representation of the PIP gave critical support to all these measures. The PSP went so far as to propose joining the government's anti-inflation town committees to police the greedy local merchants. The basic premise of the PPD "autonomous" faction is the same as that of the PSP and PIP: the **immediate** problem of Puerto Rico can only begin to be solved by cutting the cord connecting Puerto Ricans to the U.S.A.

After all these vacillations and blunders, it was no surprise that the PPD could calmly send the National Guard to start their offensive against the Puerto Rican working class. The July general strike was the Puerto Rican "Attica" to show all sectors of the class just what happens when they **rebel**. With the **ebb** of the working-class ferment, the government didn't have to pretend that they were dealing with the soaring inflation on basic food products; the PSP could now go back to its ritualistic politics — campaign against the construction of an oil super-port, the right for self-determination at the United Nations and at the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Nations.

The Badillo Affair

The most prominent feature of the impotence of the PSP on the U.S.A. mainland is the general refusal of the leadership to consider linking the struggle of Puerto Ricans in the U.S.A. to the general class struggle here. In fact, the PSP has no perspective at all for Puerto Ricans living in the U.S.A. but the general chiliastic hope that somehow these workers will rally to contribute money and adulation to the mainland branch of the party. It insists on the separation of even the mainland Puerto Rican struggles from the struggles of other ("non-Third World") workers, but has absolutely no revolutionary goal which it proposes to these workers except a vague implication that all will one day flock back to an "independent" Island nation. If that silly

proposal is not explicitly made, since the Island could not support such a population, by virtue of implication and lack of anything else it is the de facto perspective the silly PSP leaders hold out.

This general policy is epitomized by the queer conduct of the PSP leadership here respecting the 1973 Democratic primary mayoral candidacy of Herman Badillo. Internally, the PSP voted up a resolution denouncing Badillo in relatively appropriate terms. However, during April and May, 1973, the period of primary campaigning, especially, the party refused to either publicize this denunciation or to act in any way according to such a policy.

Claridad later went so far as to criticize the Communist Party for supporting Badillo (in a primary run-off), but refused to "reveal" its own policy on Badillo to its readers. When hooligans working for Bronx honcho Velez attacked PSP members physically, **Claridad** did denounce Velez, and did make allusions to Velez's connections to Badillo, but even then refused to publicize its internal position.

Is there anything more typical of sexual impotence? "Inside myself, I do have certain values and attitudes toward important matters in the real world, but I never act on or let anyone see this part of myself." Attack the PSP leadership for failing to publicly denounce Badillo, and they become most indignant; "We have our position on Badillo." Insist that they state it if they have it, and they draw themselves up with Macho pride; **they will not be forced to act upon what they think**. What they think deep inside has no relationship to what they do in the outer world.

One is reminded of the Macho "lover" who has had a long succession of women in bed with him: there is nothing **personal** in any of these affairs; he is sexually impotent — the PSP is absolutely politically impotent.

It is not difficult to locate the motivation for the PSP's refusal to reveal its internal resolution on Badillo.

If the PSP leaders would be Machos in appearance, they are at the same time political whores in reality. During the early months of 1973, the mainland group concentrated on the effort to build a gigantic organization by calling together any individual who had once given as much as a friendly smile in the direction of either the PSP or its predecessor, the MPI. As for the neglected old whore stalking unchallenged through the lonely night, the effort failed, but the desire continued.

The PSP leadership, which represents a pitifully small mainland organization, pretends **loudly** to be "The Big Revolutionary Organization of Mainland Puerto Ricans." Like the Macho whistling at girls on the street-corner, the PSP must keep up appearances. It must not estrange any possible supporter — in its

desperate fear that it might lose the potential financial contributions of some Puerto Rican, or that someone might be motivated to say bad things about its virility. Since a large proportion of New York City Puerto Ricans support Badillo, the PSP must not risk "alienating" them by telling the truth about Badillo.

Such Macho "revolutionaries," who are afraid of the influence of a contemptible hustler as Badillo, imagine themselves to be the brave leaders of insurrections against real bourgeois forces! "Militant whores" so "revolutionary" they are afraid to say "bad things" about the neighborhood corner pimp!

The following extracts from our file on the activities of the mainland organization make the point.

Badillo and the PSP

The PSP in the U.S. uses the Puerto Rican population as a commodity in two ways: first, as a fixed pressure group, and secondly to financially accumulate from them the funds that the PSP needs in Puerto Rico. It is in this context that we must analyze their impotence in confronting the biggest illusion of the Puerto Rican population in the U.S. — the New York mayoral aspirations of Congressman Herman Badillo.

Badillo was set up by the ruling class at precisely the time when the third generation of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. were beginning to rebel against the conditions in the ghettos. Since that time, he has also been pushing capitalist depression schemes, under the guise of the "special interests" of Puerto Ricans: he supports union-busting minority hiring and "work-study" programs, and lately he has argued that the U.S. federal wage should not apply to Puerto Ricans on the Island.

What is the ideological significance of Badillo? The average Puerto Rican, like all victims of bourgeois ideology, tends to look at things as fixed objects, especially since he is at the bottom of the economic scale. Thus, when confronted with two capitalists like Badillo and Abe Beame as mayoral candidates in New York, he deceives himself by selecting the "lesser evil." "Badillo is a Puerto Rican," he tells himself, "and maybe he can hustle something for us. Anyway, if we're going to get screwed we may as well get screwed by one of us." This was the typical response of Puerto Ricans confronted with Badillo's past record of scab-herding and slave labor. Even Badillo's recent endorsement of "greater evil" Beame has not shattered these illusions.

The Badillo mayoral campaign has also had a significant ideological impact on the Island: it has been used to diffuse labor upsurges there and to portray Badillo as the clever "jibaro" (peasant) who made it in the States.

The PSP, for fear of confronting these illusions fostered in Puerto Ricans since the 1940's, decided not to expose Badillo's capitalist schemes. They were afraid of "alienating" their progressive periphery who buy *Claridad* every week, the same periphery who also support Badillo, Luis Fuentes and other Puerto Rican scabs, simply because all of them repre-

sent different facets of the same cultural family. Like impotent "Father" Albizu Campos, they were more interested in uniting this "neurotic" (class-collaborationist) family, than in settling accounts with the subjective neurosis that generally renders Puerto Ricans impotent when confronted with revolutionary politics.

The PSP knew that to the extent that they exposed Badillo, their best periphery and membership would demand a positive revolutionary alternative from them, an alternative to be used both during the elections and afterwards to build a political machine in the U.S. to concretely support the struggles in Puerto Rico and in the rest of Latin America by building an international revolutionary movement here. But such are the tasks of potent revolutionaries, of cadre who are willing to bust up the "family" and organize around the socialist alternative for the future.

The PSP, however, succumbed to their bedroom manners instead, posturing for the outside world in the same way the Macho takes up a "position" for his woman and the outside family (mother). In the outside world they dared not break up the Puerto Rican happy family by actually organizing against Badillo. In private, however, they followed the typical Communist Party tradition: internally, with the organization, they were able to despise both Badillo and Fuentes, much as they do their own mothers. But making this public, actually organizing on the basis of this "secret" understanding, would mean to shatter the illusions that hold the neurotic family together, especially mother's illusions.

Thus, like good mama's boys, they put on their public personas and wrote "objective" articles about how Badillo was discriminated against by the New Democratic Coalition and Beame. Certainly they also felt compelled to chastise Badillo and especially his henchman Velez for stealing funds from poverty corporations, but only after Velez directly threatened them by hitting two PSPers who were selling *Claridad* outside his office. And to actually organize a revolutionary alternative to expose him and his kind?

Why, mother would blush at the very thought!

Furthermore, this would mean inviting "strangers" inside the household, outsiders who would certainly disrupt the internal affairs of the family. The powerful strangers, to the PSP, are the American working class as represented by the U.S. Labor Party and the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The U.S. Labor Party mayoral campaign and RYM are the real fears of the PSP, precisely because they are confronting the very illusions among Puerto Ricans and others that the PSP skirts entirely: the felt need of Puerto Ricans to view themselves as isolated, fixed commodities, and to block out the crude reality of the ghetto by constantly glorifying the myth of someday going back to the island. It was this fear that drove the PSP to refuse to join with the U.S. Labor Party in debating Badillo last February, and to reject a joint campaign to expose the Beame-Badillo candidacies.

Now, with Badillo's endorsement of Beame and the PSP's continued silence on the matter, the PSP has completed their surrender of the Puerto Rican, black, and white working class

to the man that Rockefeller has appointed to implement slave labor in New York City.

3. Bourgeois Family/Bourgeois Ideology

The apotheosized model of U.S. worker-husband trudges directly to and from his job. If he is a "good husband" he returns directly to the house, or to a second job. In the house the "good husband" becomes an appendage of his mother-wife; he reprimands the children at her command — he becomes the stern, reproving father at her command, and ceases this mock-Jehovah role also at the command of the ruling mother. He carries out the garbage, runs the errands, and otherwise certifies the supremacy of the bourgeois household, his pathetic, secondary role as a mere appendage of wife-mother's house.

If he lingers at the bar, or returns late in a drunken rage, his delay is merely a pathetic act of rebellion by "mother's little man." (Often enough, the "good husband" goes out once or twice a week — to spend the allowance wife-mother has given him for this purpose.) His male rage is guilt-rage, and often the image one sees in his contorted features are those of his mother in one of her rages.

In the bar or in the kitchen, he discusses "politics" and the "affairs of the world in general," all to no consequence. He almost never **does** anything about "politics" or the "affairs of the world;" he merely has "little manly" opinions which it pleases him to be able to air.

Behind him, wife-mother cynically giggles at men "with their political discussions," and in due course calls an end to the "little boys' chattering": "The world will just have to get along without your wisdom for a while," she asserts, "it's time to get washed up for dinner." This, to her, is realism. She occasionally giggles at men and their silly political discussions during her chattering with other women: "Talk, talk, talk," she chatters on about the men's conversations, until she brings the discussion back to housewifely gossip.

The reactionary content of women's ideology is often most directly and succinctly revealed in the family difficulties between the Left-political husband and the apolitical wife. She insists that the ordering of their personal lives be settled without regard for political obligations: "Don't drag politics into this," she often insists. Is it "politics" whether her children are fed? Is it "politics" whether she and her family are sent into slave labor, or die in a fascist concentration-camp? Is it sane for this pathetic woman to assert that there is such a thing as "personal" matters separate from politics in this period? Is her mental sickness not most clear in just such situations?

No woman has a right to drag her husband — or herself — out of an active socialist political life, for any reason. Any man who permits himself to submit to such "obligations to my wife" is a pathetic, degraded spectacle, a virtual Judas to the human race; any woman who succeeds in such a counterrevolutionary act is not only counterrevolutionary, but a vicious oppressor of her children. If her children go hungry, if her husband, her family are victimized by depression, by slave labor, or die in concentration camps, that woman is responsible for such atrocities to the limit of her influence — to that extent, the woman successfully makes herself less than human.

Any man who permits his wife to drag him down in such a fashion is also permitting her to degrade herself to something less than human; he is thus degrading her.

What is the essence of the matter? What is it that makes wifely womanhood, motherhood so pervasively a reactionary "molecular" political force in capitalist culture?

Bourgeois life for the worker is essentially a family-centered life. The center of the worker's life is the mother's or wife-mother's home. Father runs errands into the "outer world" to get food and so forth for mother. **It is a strange, unreal outer world, governed by mother's magic.** "Behave as your mother teaches you," "Be guided by your mother's fears," "Respect your mother's fears," "and you will survive in the outer world." ("Don't step on a crack; you'll break your mother's back.") "Mother's magic" is the secret of religion. Organized religion is the supersensuous essence of the universal form of bourgeois mother's magic — mother's home remedies, mother-wisdom, "old wives'" remedies. Religion is for and by mothers, who conspire at religion with pseudo-men (priests) and impose the Mother-Church upon the household.

For bourgeois mothers, the object of consumption is not a creation of self-consciously acting humanity; for mother's household, the object of consumption is a magical object secured because mother's husband "is a good provider," because "mother's prayers" are protecting the family from want, etc. The object of consumption is thus a magical object. Only mother's world, the family circle, is real; the outer world is alien, unreal, unpredictable, unsafe without the protection of mother's magic, mother's religion, mother's "law and order."

Hence, the mother-centered household existence, which denies the objective reality of the world outside the household, is the active principle of bourgeois ideology. The real processes by which the real world is determined, the political-economic processes which determine the material conditions of life, are depicted by mother as somehow unreal, a matter of "little boys'

silly talk," whereas the pathetic, impotent individual household, the impotent isolated family, the infantile self-conception of the family, is defined as the only reality — the only domain for exercise of the individual will.

The reductionist world-view, the formal expression of bourgeois ideology, is essentially symptomatic of such mother-alienation in two interconnected ways.

Since mother portrays father as impotent, and **since father is a creature of the outer world**, there can be no real emotion in the outer world, but only rituals, poses, masks, mime. **Color** (emotion of the will) exists only in the family, in mother's world — in personal relations; the real world, i.e., the subjective world, exists only in close personal relations. Outside close personal relations, the world is **merely objective**, i.e., without real emotion, i.e., merely a black-and-white world of self-evident objects, a world of inexplicable abstracted predicates.

In the outer world, the son or daughter who becomes a professional or wage-earner, does so (except in certain woman's surrogate household professions, such as teaching, secretarial — office-wife, and similar occupations) by utilizing the image of father (or a surrogate father-image) for the **persona** worn. However, since father is viewed as essentially impotent by the child, the child attempting to act in the outer world models himself or herself on the image of an impotent father, a creature of formality, **objectivity** — impotence.

Secondly, as we have already emphasized, the outer world itself is seen as magical by the victim of the family tradition, a world of inexplicable objects, of objects controlled by mother's witchcraft, not objects whose existence is wilfully determined by a lawful social process. The essential relationship of the bourgeoisified (i.e., mothered) individual to the objects of the outer world is essentially a fetishistic, i.e., propitiatory relationship. One does not attempt to change the outer world, "silly little man!"; one **propitiates** the outer world by ordering one's life **according to mother's prescriptions** for a proper son or daughter of her household.

Hence, the important, vicious psychoanalytical flaw in Feuerbach's great **Essence of Christianity**. Poor genius Feuerbach, afflicted with his mother-image, could see the outer world only in its fixed-object aspect as a given world to be explored, a world of a fixed

reality to which self-consciousness could only submit respecting the fundamental order of things. Feuerbach's great flaw, in his **Essence of Christianity**, is akin to the flaw of the superficial psychoanalyst, who permits himself the consoling delusion that fathers, not mothers, are the underlying secret of neurosis, ideology, religion and the deity. Hence, for Feuerbach, the object could not be seen in other than its "dirty-judaical" or fetishistic quality, as a fixed sensuous object, an object of mother's magic. (Hence, the "feminine" feeling of Feuerbach, vis-a-vis the "fatherly" Gestalt of Marx.)*

To recapitulate this essential point. The formal essence of bourgeois ideology is the mother's belief in the unreality of the "outer world." The outer world is unreal precisely because the victim of capitalist ideology denies the fact that the material conditions of life are totally the wilful creation of human practice and can be changed according to the wilful change of human practice. Bourgeois ideology sees the outer world as essentially given, as something to be propitiated, not to be changed. The recurring origin of this ideology is the bourgeois family, notably the infantilism of sadistic mother-possession of the infant and child, and the degradation of woman, emotionally and intellectually, into the appropriateness to become bourgeois mothers and wives. The most notable dynamic feature of the interconnection between family and ideology is the separation between family life (real) and the outer world (the alien realm for mother's propitiatory magic — religion), such that the individual imagines himself without power over the wilful determination of the outer world as a whole.

The most conspicuous single feature of mother's oppression of the son, daughter, and husband is her fears, her fear of rats — her demand that the family — out of respect for her fears — keep the house free of "strangers," and do nothing to bring down the rage of the outer world upon the house. Thus, "I love and respect my mother" becomes the expression for the very essence of bourgeois ideology — and ultimately even the essence of fascism.

The Remedy

The situation is not hopeless. To the extent that the male worker finds a meaningful social-productive role in the outer world, and his children thus see him as a potent producer of wealth in a social way, his children, as workers, sense the possibility of non-childish adult

* The argument that "God the father" reveals "male-dominated" religion is entirely specious. The male deity is not an abstract essence of ordinary males in general. The "typical male" of capitalist society is a pathetic figure, reduced to fury at his mother and wife. The "father figure" of the deity is derived from the image of the King, from the magical potencies of society. Exemplary, in the New Testament we have cuckold Joseph left outside the bedroom as the Virgin Mary is being impregnated by the visiting Angel Gabriel. "God the father" is not adduced from the wife's husband, but from Washington, D.C., Big Corporations, and other potencies of established authority. In recent U.S. history, President Eisenhower epitomizes the image from which modern notions of "God the father" are sustained. The male Deity, whether Christian or Judaic, is Mammon, is the abstract maleness of established capitalist authority — is the Big Corporation Executive who sleeps in mother's bed while cuckold father is at work in the corporation's plant. He is mother's not-so-secret lover, the same figure of "law and order" which mother warns her children to "respect and obey." The **paterfamilias**, the moral cuckold of the household, merely pathetically, impotently echoes her: "Do as your mother says."

life as **potent** producers of the material conditions of life.

Clinically, this point is borne out in a perverse way by the obvious increase in sexual impotence in the current U.S. youth generation over that of their parents' and especially their grandparents' generation. In the sort of case identified for this purpose, one notes the young scions of suburbia whose grandparents were workers, but whose mothers and fathers degenerated from workers (potency) into petit-bourgeois professionals, shopkeepers, paper-shufflers, and — morally, the lowest of the low — salesmen (impotence). This dismal phenomenon extends into even the ranks of the children of skilled and semi-skilled workers by the post-war U.S. deemphasis on productive development, the imposition of Zero-Growth-type "anti-materialism" (petit-bourgeois paper-shufflers' cultural norms) upon the household standards of the working-class family, principally through the influence of the "upward-mobile" working-class wife. The more the emphasis on productive values lessens (less potency) the more impotent, the more "feminine" (in that sense) the culture becomes.

The same point is to be made respecting Latin culture. In that culture, we have both the peasant tradition, in which the bestial principle of the isolated family versus the unreal outer world is most extreme, and the backwardness of the capitalist development, such that working-class values (potency) are less developed for the males than in a developed industrial culture. The male Latin culture is objectively (productively) more impotent than the male in Germany, Britain, the U.S.A., or Canada generally. Latin culture is permeated with peasant, **latifundista**, bureaucratic mentality and morality, in which the male is objectively impotent, in which the mother is objectively more relatively potent than her husband. Hence, Latin culture's underdevelopment (Italy, Spain, Latin America — and also peasant-petit-bourgeois France) is associated with the pathetic image of the "Latin lover" and of the squatting, infantile, sadistic Latin mother. Hence, Latin culture's predilection for Catholicism, the most vicious expression of the Mother-Church, cultural backwardness, and sexual impotence.

However, respecting remedies, what is true for the male is more than equally true for the female. If the male is to free himself from the oppressive, emasculating mother-image, he must replace the mother-image as the central internalized figure of his identity with a real woman, his wife. This cannot be accomplished unless the wife is a liberated woman, a woman whose liberation from the bestial "witch" or "cow" mother-image within her depends upon the reciprocated support and commitment of a socially potent husband.

It is not the woman (wife or mother) who is the original oppressor, nor the man. The oppressor is the mother-image, an internalized monster within the mind of the child, a monster based not on the existent

woman, the mother, but the mother's bourgeois-family relationship to her husband and children. The male does, as we have noted, mediate oppress the woman who mediate oppresses him and the children — by encouraging, even forcing the wife to retreat into a banalized (sadistic) role. As every self-conscious wife knows, bitterly, the agency within the husband which is most responsible for her husband's oppression of his mate is the mother-in-law, the internalized image of his mother within him (unfortunately, too often assisted by reinforcement from the existent mother-in-law). Similarly, the wife's oppression — sadism — toward her husband and children is immediately generated from the control of the internalized mother-image within her (sometimes assisted by reinforcement from her actual mother). Indeed, the oppressive feature of most bourgeois marriages is that the puppet-victims of that institution are largely proxies suffering the actual "marriage" relationship between the two mothers-in-law.

Women's Liberation Versus "Feminist" Self-degradation

This will undoubtedly produce rage from the so-called "radical feminists." The woman who is banalized and otherwise degraded by capitalist culture is stripped of every possible power over society except the role of the female sadist. Until she is confronted with her real oppression — her banality — and her real oppressor — her internalized mother image, and unless she is also offered a real alternative, human role in society, she will cling with rage **and terror** to the one power — female sadism — bourgeois society offers her. Hence, hyper-neurotic petit-bourgeois women, frustrated with their own impotence, frustrated with the collapse of the traditional woman's institution, the family, lacking a real, alternative, potent role in the real world, feel the terror of their meaningless lives, and locate the cause for that terror in the form of whatever hysterical rationalizations their internalized mother-images will permit them.

If the healthy woman's liberation struggle against objectively oppressive customs and practices is pathologically extended as a thing-in-itself into such quackery as "consciousness-raising" sessions led by incompetents, what will be dredged up by group sessions will be nothing but an almost psychotic reinforcement of the fundamental neuroses: in the form of "man-hatred" and lesbianism (complete heterosexual impotence). (This is quite distinct from the human dynamics of homosexual pairings.)

This ought to be the ABC of any competent clinician. Along the lines indicated earlier in this article, the essence of clinical work is the successful counterposition of the will of self-consciousness to the infantilized impulses of the Ego-state. If group sessions are constituted on the basis of socially reinforcing the Ego-state impulses in opposition to the "ego-ideals" of self-consciousness, then the result of the group sessions can only be to exacerbate neuroses, and to even

harden mere neuroses into actual psychoses. The correlates of such quackery "consciousness-raising" sessions are a marked increase in selfishness, accompanied by deep personality changes and intensified infantilism generally — as is the typical outcome seen in those who have subjected themselves to the degradations of the "extreme" wings of the women's movement, a "radical feminism" whose literature verges upon or even into the most blatant paranoid-schizoid expressions.

The task of real women's liberation is to generally strengthen women's self-consciousness and their power and opportunities to act upon self-consciousness. It is necessary to add something to what must be done for man on this point. Since the woman has a special, doubly-hard struggle to realize a socially potent intellectual life, it is necessary to go beyond mere self-consciousness of adult individual roles, to self-consciousness of the process of struggling against the special kinds of problems which confront women in their efforts to play a positive role in the socialist movement.

For example, the most vicious problem immediately confronting any woman who has resolved to overcome her past banality is the general lack of any suitable, prospective male who will struggle with her for a mutually-self-conscious human mating relationship. The sexual banality of the available prospective mates constantly threatens the woman's self-consciousness, impelling her to compromise with her self-consciousness out of the urgency of being loved. She finds herself agonized by the temptation to accept infantile expressions of male love as the only visible alternative to no love at all. Once women begin to struggle against their own self-oppression in this way, it becomes absolutely impermissible to tolerate banality (i.e., mother-image domination) among the majority of males in the movement.

Thus, the vicious problem confronts us. As long as Latin would-be revolutionaries remain Machos (i.e., mother's "little men") the Latin woman has poor hope of finding a full life as both a revolutionary and a woman within the movement. Yet, without such women, struggling for self-consciousness against banality, the Latin male would-be revolutionary has virtually no hope of freeing himself from his mother-image, his Macho impotence. Hence, the coordinated, simultaneous, ruthless attack on the mother-image in both the male and female young would-be revolutionaries is the essential precondition for building a mass-based vanguard force of genuine Latin revolutionaries.

We have merely indicated the scientific form of the problem and its general solution. Beyond that, we are not entirely so original: all important Latin American literature, whether otherwise reactionary or revolutionary in intent of the author, shrieks out the images of the

special psychological oppression of the Spanish-language man and woman. The great novels and poetry of Latin America have contemplated this monstrous problem; now is the time to change it.

The Clinical Form of "Love"

As the writer emphasized in "Beyond Psychoanalysis," the short-term focal objective of the Labor Committees' work in applied psychology is the wilful development of powers of creative mentation in a growing plurality of the organization's cadres — with the further objective of replicating that achievement among a vanguard of the broader working masses. Limited success to this end has occurred for a portion of the participants in the special psychoanalytical groups established to date. In general, these results have been encountered in less than fifty hours of sessions, in each group's cases. Otherwise, study of the present writer's materials on psychoanalysis and certain other subjects has produced parallel reactions meanwhile among a few persons outside the sessions of the several groups now in progress. The clinical results obtained in that way clarify the most urgent positive features of the present critique of Latin ideology.

The direct conscious perception of the fundamental emotion (love=creative mentation) has been brought forward in two different but fundamentally connected ways. In some of the cases, it has been classically identified by the subject as an overwhelming ("oceanic") **and absolutely terrifying** "non-erotic" feeling of "love-death" (Yes, the opening — storm at sea — and famous duet of **Tristan and Isolde** are of extraordinary clinical relevance). In a few other cases, the identical emotion is brought forward by concentration on certain key features of the writer's papers, in connection with the conceptualization of a **self-perfecting continuum** as a "true infinity." In both types of instances, the quality of feeling is identical with the most fundamental emotions brought forward in depth analysis of individuals.

Ordinarily, outside the Labor Committees, there are dangers in exposing a person to such an overwhelming emotion. The program is safely undertaken in the NCLC, where it could not be so with laymen, since the LCer has a self-conscious identity in the world, which the ordinary layman lacks. Under some unfortunate circumstances, this experience, absolutely the most terrifying the human mind can know, can prompt suicides, or provide the impetus for psychotic collapse.

The danger is not located in the emotion itself; it is not the emotion involved which is "bad" or "dangerous." The popularized "Eros-Thanatos" thesis is absolutely nonsensical, even though the surface form of the phenomenon in bourgeoisified individuals is normally that of "love-death" or "love-insanity-death."

The danger is located in the fact that the initial outpouring of such an unleashed emotion dissolves all ordinary sorts of mental object-images, **including the infantile form of the bourgeois individual ego itself.** Hence, if the individual has no sense of personal identity apart from his identification with the infantile form of the ego, the outpouring of this emotion is indeed therefore the sense of death. The fact that this emotion is also the overwhelming sense of what the feeling of love ought to be results in the ambiguous judgment that this is the feeling of Love-Death.

There is no actual distinction between "Eros" and "Thanatos" in mental life; the feeling is identical — Love-Death is merely a name appropriate to the single **fundamental emotion of identity** from the standpoint of the bourgeoisified infantile ego.

The point is probably clarified for a larger number of readers if we introduce the following explication with the aid of a metaphor. If one imagines the infantile ego-object to be like a rock jutting out from the sand at the low-tide line, imagine the effect of holding firmly to this rock during the incoming tide. If one can swim, or even float, the gentle incoming tide is no danger; however, if one is chained to the rock, one must drown — die. It is "holding onto" the infantile ego which causes the incoming tide of the fundamental emotion to be so terrifying — and destructive.

Exemplary is the "Werther"-type model of adolescent suicide. The love-object of adolescent infatuation is an infantile ego's surrogate for the mother. Adolescent love is infantile mother-love-seeking. This feeling brings up, however — or tends to bring up, a sense of the fundamental "oceanic" feeling of Love-Death, whose prescience the adolescent recalls usually from the earliest years of post-infantile childhood. The attachment to the ego through the idea of the love-object's giving (infantile) identity to that ego, and the overwhelming sense of "oceanic" feelings, lacking an object (person) to attach to those feelings, causes the threat or actuality of the psychological death of the ego. Under special circumstances, this experience of psychological death can become either a will to enact death or to realize psychological death in the form of psychotic withdrawal. That account is of course oversimplified out of respect for the principal objects under consideration in this paper, but the gist of the point is nonetheless accurately, if metaphorically made.

Unless the individual has developed a durable sense of self-conscious identity in the world as an alternative to the infantile ego of "family life," the outpouring of the fundamental emotion is the experiencing of "psychological death."

The self-conscious identity is readily located. In respect to Goya's psychological portraits, this identity is not one of the figures in the portrait, but is the eye of

the painter looking at the portrait. It is, as Hegel defines it and as we noted before, the self which can come up behind the back of the ego.

This ultimate terror of the fundamental emotion is also the experiencing of the emotion of potent love, properly the form of love between self-conscious identities, the affective concomitant of wilful creative mentation, and the emotion associated with cognition of the most powerful of the great classical musical compositions. (Indeed, many persons who never experience this emotion enjoyably under any other circumstances, including those who never experience it in sexual relationships, have fairly frequently experienced it in connection with certain musical compositions. Parts of Bach, the early passages of the Mozart **Requiem**, Beethoven's **Grosse Fugue** are typical of the more moving compositions through which a certain degree of the fundamental emotion is more frequently experienced. The case of the gifted pre-adolescent musician who loses his or her intimate relationship to music in adolescence and later is also relevant.) What is the greatest imaginable terror for the ideologized individual of bourgeois culture is identical with the emotion giving the greatest serenity to a Spinoza — or to any other person who has known either potent loving or wilful creative mental life.

In the case of the individual clinging to the bourgeois infantile ego, either through the mediation of the mother-image or the love-object of a banalized sexual relationship, the experiencing of even a significant outpouring of the fundamental emotion is an experience of psychological near-death. The "threat" of the emotion is associated with the shrinking of the ego down to a "point," surrounded by a "Schwaermerei" of fragmented thoughts and feelings. In such instances, where they occur in a clinical setting, the problem is resolved by bringing the self-conscious identity to "wakefulness" at the same time that the individual is disassociated from whatever infantile preoccupations are causing strong attachments to the infantile ego.

One should add, for emphasis, that there is a direct connection between this sort of phenomenon and the remedying of even severe psychosomatic illnesses. Intestinal psychosomatic involvements and migraine headache syndromes are among the most accessible to remedy in this way. (Indeed, the variety of disturbances falsely deemed of organic etiology which are susceptible of remedy or significant improvement through analysis indicates that psychosomatic medicine is of far greater importance and engages much more of the realm of "organic" disorders than is usually admitted even by professionals. If the "organic" problem can be remedied or checked by psychoanalytical clinical methods, then the case for its probably psychosomatic origins has been strongly made.) The link between psychological disorders and somatic disorders shown to be connected to this psychopathology is through the

mediation of the fundamental emotion, which is obviously linked to proprioceptive and ACTH dynamics.

Much more could (and, soon enough will have to) be written on this set of phenomena. For the present, we confine ourselves to that which is essential to the topic at hand.

Limiting ourselves momentarily to the general incompetence of self-professed "Marxist theoreticians," the progress of the movement demands two interconnected competences from leading cadres (from especially the leading cadres).

Formally, there can be no competent strategic and tactical analyses nor competent economic program until the notion of "expanded reproduction" has actually been conceptualized. This conceptual problem is identical with that otherwise posed by the case of the "perfection" theorem of Descartes (as we develop it in "Beyond Psychoanalysis") and the connected problems of physical science in developing a "unified field theory" from the standpoint of a negentropic principle connecting the historic succession of nested manifolds. In sum, the ability to conceptualize expanded reproduction in more than descriptive terms demands that the individual locate within his mental processes a referent which is not an object-image, and which is not merely simple continuity.

The only referent which exists in the mental processes which corresponds to a self-perfecting continuity, to such a notion of infinite negentropy, is the emotion of creative mentation, the so-called Love-Death fundamental emotion. Hence, it is no metaphor to insist that the leadership of the PSP (in particular) is shown to be characterized by sexual impotence on the sufficient grounds of its anti-intellectualism and its correlated banalized hearsay knowledge of the existence of Karl Marx's writings.

The same form of conceptual problem is encountered in the second aspect of the matter. It is impossible to uncover and conceptualize the dynamics of social processes without making the same fundamental emotion conscious and agreeable to deliberate usage.

This is no broad descriptive generalization. In the Labor Committees we have been able, and recently with increasing precision, to locate the exact points of reasoning at which members are blocked from going the next step to a direct conceptualization of expanded reproduction and social processes. Typically, the affected member is able to formulate the problem to be conceptualized in ample scholarly, statistical, etc., terms. The result of these preliminary exertions is to locate the notion to be conceptualized, not directly but by a process of circumnavigation of the idea to be seized. Then, the member attempts to leap mentally directly into the middle of the circle or ellipse he has

defined, to seize the subject he has circumscribed in that way. It is at just this point that various sorts of blockages occur, usually with definite physiological correlatives: sleepiness, fainting, choking sensations, etc. Where these physiologically-linked phenomena are clinically explored, the block proves to be a block caused by the threatened onrush of the fundamental emotion.

The isolation and analysis of this blockage is one of the most important clinical discoveries in the history of psychological science. It represents what G. Riemann identifies as a case of "unique experiment." We already know from epistemological analysis (Cf. *Dialectical Economics*, *passim*; "Beyond Psychoanalysis," Sections 2,3) that the necessary form of both the fundamental law of the universe and the "a priori" physiological principle of human mentation are of an equivalent form, the form of Cartesian self-perfection identified by the notion of self-moving negentropy as invariant for an historic nesting of manifolds. It is therefore the most important breakthrough in empirical scientific knowledge to discover that the attempt to directly conceptualize the notion of negentropy is identical with the effort to self-consciously bring forth the most fundamental emotion, and that the block to conceptualizing the dialectical method is related to the blocks causing sexual impotence.

Both tasks, that of programmatic and social-process conceptualization, absolutely demand the cadres' ability to wilfully call forth and apply the "terrifying" fundamental emotion. For, to conceptualize it is necessary to locate a comparable quality within the mind for that external reality which must be cognized. The only quality of inner mental life which corresponds to actual expanded reproduction or to actual revolutionary transformations of social processes is the fundamental emotion.

Ordinarily, victims of bourgeois ideology and social relations are blocked (by anticipated terror) from directly and consciously experiencing this emotion, and most victims are unable to experience any emotions at all but the three bourgeois-feeling-states of **fear**, **rage**, and **elation of object-possession**. (For example, **rage** is the primary emotion employed in mathematical logicizing and most chess-play, etc.) The difficulty of conceptualizing a negentropic true continuum or, analogously, actual extended reproduction or dialectical method, is entirely a result of commonplace, vicious neurotic (ideological) blockages, blockages characterized by a determinable dynamic of suppressing more fundamental emotions. Hence, the direct connection between neurotic blocks of intellectual life and sexual impotence. For example, it is strictly accurate to diagnose the interest in "analytical philosophy" rampant on campuses today as conclusive evidence of sexual impotence in academic life.

There is nothing accidental about the blockage or the sensation of terror. The blockage of the fundamental emotion does not arise directly from capitalism's intention to produce sexual impotence as such, but from capitalism's implicit concern to prevent creative mentation in the general population. For, a person who operates from creative mentation is necessarily characterized by hubris toward "established authority," and is motivated by his sense of identity to change things constantly in a fundamental way. Apart from the immediate terror of the "death of the infantile ego" which the experiencing of the fundamental emotion involves, the implication of acting upon that emotion (upon self-conscious identity, Spinozan identity, motivated by such emotion) is to change the outer world drastically, and to act in concert with a mobilized creative humanity to change the world into that which our powers of reason dictate that world must become. To experience the fundamental emotion is to leave the protection of the illusions of the alienated bourgeois family and to enter into the outer world, to find one's identity in positively changing the world rather than in the infantile consolations of the compartmentalized "family life" or infantile "love-relationships." The terror which the fundamental emotion thus presents to the infantile ego is thus both coherent and in projective relationship to the implicit objective terror resulting from acting upon the dictate of the fundamental emotion.

Self-consciousness experiences discovery, and the self-conscious self, once knowing that the discovered act is a socially-necessary act, is suddenly and brutally

repelled by the charge of hubris (usually from the mother-image's sneer: "Who are you to consider doing that? Be yourself. Stick to what you are" — mother's little baby, mother's "little man.")). The discovering mind is so plunged into despair, and snuggles into the warming consolations of the family hearth, resolved never to go to the cold slopes of mountain-ascent again.

There is therefore a direct and necessary correlation between the sexual impotence of the PSP and its banality, a correlation between that sexual impotence and the consummate cowardice of the PSP in political life. Like any petit-bourgeois schoolboy of a cowardly bully, like any cowardly Macho, the PSP mistakes courage for mere bullying and insolence (indeed, even the Puerto Rican dialect expresses pathetic psychological truth by equating "coraje" only with anger — insolence). The miserable "objective" political record of the PSP exemplifies its pathetic cowardice in face of the mere threat of popular criticism from among the ranks of the Puerto Rican majority. The PSP cowards lack the moral conviction to attack the self-degradation of the oppressed Puerto Ricans. Hence, the sexually-impotent PSP is incapable of a single gesture in direction of an actually-revolutionary act. **The PSP schlimms are determined not to even suggest a single change in the dominant self-degrading ideology of Puerto Ricans!**

The PSP loves Puerto Ricans in the way a whore loves her clients, which absolutely does not entail freeing them from impulses of moral self-degradation.

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The police, of course, are always there to spur on conflicts between these two sections of the working class, by taking advantage of the crime problem. The "assalariado" considers the favelados to be the source of crime and drugs in the neighborhood. In one incident in Rio, two boys from a nearby favela were caught robbing a bakery by an angry crowd of workers who, with the aid of the military police, tied the boys to a post and nearly beat them to death.

Last March, the Guanabara State government announced plans to move the favela population to the north of Rio, as a way of facilitating the replacement of the same worn-out assalariados living in the Zona Norte. The first exodus will be from nine specially selected favelas, encompassing over 200,000 inhabitants. They will be transported to one huge super-slum 30 miles north of the city. Each favelado will have to pay from between 100 and 510 cruzeros in monthly installments for his home — which means that each household must put enough members to work to bring home between one and three minimum salaries. Yet 80% of the entire Brazilian population presently makes less than this amount! Furthermore, the government promises that 200,000 jobs will be provided! Some may in fact be provided by the new Alfa Romeo automobile plant to be constructed within the area, but the rest will undoubtedly be the jobs presently held by the assalariados, who will be forced to migrate to smaller interior cities where even more brutal conditions exist.(34)

Outside Rio, the Brazilian Federal Government has even bigger plans for the rest of Brazil's unemployed population. Since last November, VASP, Brazil's major domestic airline, has been making regular flights airlifting favelados from Sao Paulo and other urban centers to work camps in the Amazon jungle. INCRA (the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform) selects favelados who have "agricultural experience...work initiative...and several children over twelve years old, needed to increase labor output."(35) From the jungles of the Amazon basin, however, there will be no more recycling for the favelados: their early death is virtually assured.

Recycling in the Countryside

PIN, the Plan for National Integration, was created by presidential decree on June 16, 1970. It represented the official cannibalization program for those sections of the Brazilian working class which had already been wrung through once, or which could not be immediately fitted into the urban industrial recycling program in the Southeast of the country.

According to PIN's schedule, the program will last from 1970 to 1974. The first-phase objectives are first, to establish a network of highways criss-crossing the

Amazon Basin in order to provide the infrastructure necessary to quickly loot the area; and second, to construct an irrigation system for the drought-plagued Northeast so that new areas can be brought under cultivation in order to increase agricultural exports.

Development of the road infrastructure will ensure efficient pillaging of rich mineral deposits and lumber products; also, infertile jungle soil along the highways can be cultivated to provide the food supply for laborers in the extractive and manufacturing industries. This policy is intended to take the burden off the coastal and southern agricultural areas, which can now utilize most of their productive capacity for foreign-exchange-gaining exports.

Directly connected to increasing agro-exports is the new agrarian reform program aimed at breaking up large, unproductive land holdings and converting them into medium sized, labor intensive work camps.

Only those workers who are young and fit, or those with children old enough to perform agricultural labor under intense tropical heat and humidity, are being employed in these projects. In fact, colonization of the jungle basins of Brazil is being carried out mostly by the toil of adolescents, who are most likely to survive the longest.

The entire Amazon region is, in effect, being converted into one huge work camp. "Agrovilas," labor intensive farms, are being set up along the expanding trans-Amazonian highways. Each family is given 250 acres of land which must be painfully cleared of jungle growth, a frame house hastily built on stilts and hung only with screens, and credit equal to six months' minimum salary. In return the laborer must agree not to sell the land and to plant crops specified by INCRA. The Amazonian top-soil is so thin that even indigenous plants like manioc yield only one or at best two crops before completely exhausting the soil. After a few such strippings, the land is all but useless — as is the laborer, who, if he has not been worked to death, has probably contracted one of the innumerable tropical diseases. Several million people are to be bled dry in this fashion by 1980.

In accord with the general policy of opening up the country to capital extraction, the Amazon is also being pillaged by a consortium of multinational lumbering and mining industries. By clearing the Amazon rain-forest and loosening the thin layer of topsoil, they are removing the only prevention against this area becoming another Sahara. An additional effect of this pillage has been the enslavement and virtual extermination of the indigenous peoples of the area. Through these fascist economic policies only half the number of Indians alive a mere ten years ago are alive today.

Similarly, laborers left in the Northeast were forced to slave on Nazi-style Labor Fronts (Frentes de Trabalho), building the irrigation, road, and other infrastructural projects needed to bring new landholdings into production of export crops. The health conditions of these workers were so bad, however, that they were literally dropping like flies, and the entire project had to be halted. According to the National Department of Works Against the Drought (DNOCS), accidents and intestinal disturbances were cited as the primary causes of death; other causes included heart attacks, influenza, exhaustion, typhoid fever, hepatitis, dehydration, starvation, and suicide.(36)

Paper vs People

All of these ruthlessly implemented recycling programs have worked miracles for the capitalists, such miracles, in fact, that today almost all available labor and natural resources have been nearly exhausted. Since produce slated for internal consumption has been severely curtailed to make way for the cultivation of high-priced export crops, massive shortages in all types of food supplies have developed in all areas of the country, from wheat, milk and meat, to even the mainstay of the Brazilian diet, black beans. Likewise, shortages of raw materials like steel, aluminum, copper, wood, bricks, etc. have forced threatened industries to resort to competing with favelados over salvaging junk from the scrap piles. Even old housing is being torn down at an alarming rate in order to recycle the building materials into new construction.

Leading foreign and Brazilian newspapers alike have predicted a threat of impending "vertical fall in industrial production." (37) Civil construction and the vast automotive industries are expected to be the

hardest hit, while it has already been predicted that the electric appliance industry could collapse before the end of this year. In a similar manner, because of the over-successful cannibalization of the work force, the president of the Congressional Health Commission was forced to admit that "the country could very well paralyze itself if the spread of disease continues." (38) Given such devastation, frantic last-ditch efforts are now being made to recycle the last remnants of the working class by bringing prisoners (via a new "open prison" system) and mentally deficient, incapacitated and retired workers into the decimated work force through various "Right to Work" programs.

Brazil's yearly debt payments have already reached a level exceeding the amount of exports that could possibly be produced to gain the necessary foreign exchange to meet those and future payments. Faced with this contradiction, the international capitalist class, in an attempt to avoid a world monetary collapse, will continue to strike, as it already has done in Uruguay and Chile, to bring increasingly more advanced areas into the recycling process, the very same recycling process that the Brazilian working class has been so ravaged by during the last ten years.

This, in a nutshell, is the reality of the "Brazilian Economic Miracle." The "boom" so gleefully touted by the bourgeois media is in fact a "boom" merely in credit, stock market speculation, GNP, and other such measures of **fictitious** paper values. More importantly, it is a "boom" based on the parallel contraction of Brazil's **real** human and natural wealth, a primitive accumulation of real value which feeds the cancer of fictitious growth.

We must organize to save the host from the parasite.

Notes

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