

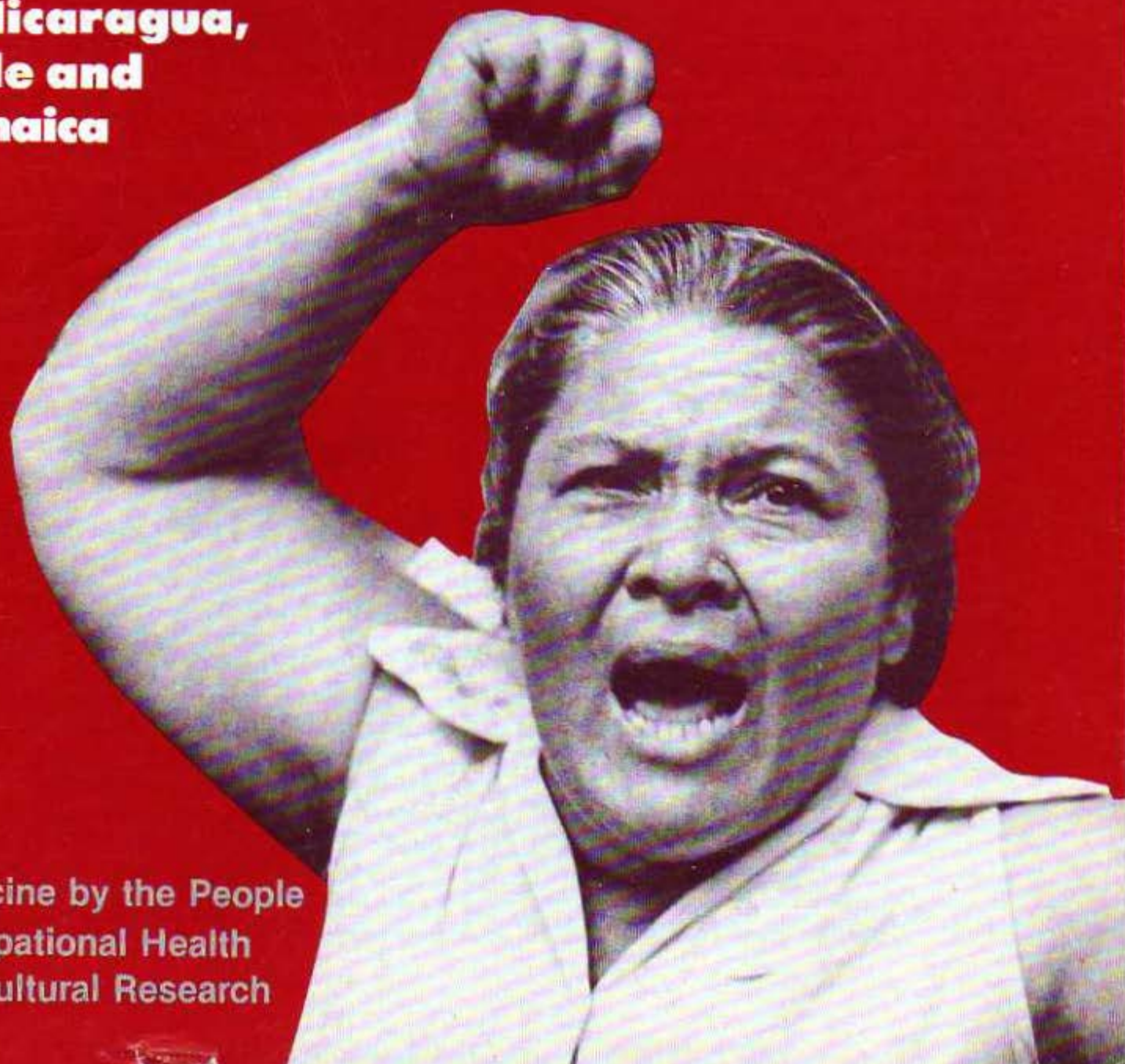
SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE

Vol. 14 No. 1

\$2.00

CIA Psychological Warfare Operations

**in Nicaragua,
Chile and
Jamaica**



Medicine by the People
Occupational Health
Agricultural Research

about this issue

This issue, edited by the Midwest Editorial Collective, contains articles on a wide range of issues. The article by Luc Desnoyers and Donna Mergler (translated from the French by Dr. Mergler) on education and research in occupational health could almost be a Science for the People statement of principles. In it they emphasize the need for scientists to work *with* workers, if we are to create science truly *for* the people. They also stress the necessity of strikes to win improvements in working conditions. They present a case study of a collaboration between several unions and a university group in Quebec, and discuss means by which worker participation in research can be achieved. To us their approach is the essence of radical science: scientists and workers coming together in struggle. The only comment we would like to add is that radical scientists should not consider their role to be over when a study is completed, but should participate in support activities during workers' actions and strikes.

The article by Fred Landis on CIA psychological warfare operations is important at a time when the *Sandinista* government of Nicaragua is facing strong challenges from U.S. imperialism. It clearly documents how the CIA used (and uses) the press in Chile, Jamaica and Nicaragua to destabilize governments unfavorable to U.S. interests. This article is being published concurrently in the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, and we thank them for permission to print it here. We felt it was important to publish this article to rebut criticism of the *Sandinistas* for temporary closing of the newspaper *La Prensa*.

R.C. Lewontin's article *Agricultural Research and the Penetration of Capital* presents a long awaited class analysis of agriculture and agricultural research in the United States. We feel it is particularly useful in distinguishing between farming and agriculture, giving us a better understanding of how agriculture fits into a class analysis of the United States. He answers the question of why farmland itself is not rapidly being bought by multinational corporations. He also shows how agricultural research ends up serving capital, while ostensibly responding to the needs of farmers.

Medicine by the People, by Anthony Weston, discusses the self-care movement in this country as a response to the mystification of medicine by the medical industry. We think he offers important criticisms of cer-

tain parts of the self-care movement, but that he fails to address the fundamental underlying cause of our health care problems: capitalism. We therefore have inserted a box showing how health care under socialism (Cuba) can be more responsive to peoples needs.

Cover: The woman in the photograph is part of a demonstration of Nicaraguan mothers whose sons and daughters died in battle during the more than 20 years of struggle to overthrow Somoza. They are demanding an end to intervention and aggression.

The photograph is by Margaret Randall, copyright 1982, Overview Latin America. Margaret Randall is a North American photo-journalist living Nicaragua.

NICARAGUA LIBRE

Beautiful black and white **Nicaragua Libre notecards** are now available! You can get either a set of cards with photographs of Nicaraguan women (including the one on this magazine's cover) or a set of cards with photographs of women, men and children.

The sets include 9 cards and 9 envelopes. Just send \$3 (add \$1 postage for the first set and 50¢ for each additional set) to Overview Latin America, 9 Sacramento St., Cambridge, MA 02138. Make checks payable to Overview Latin America.

We're Giving Away SftP Subs!!

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Get out a post card or piece of scrap paper right now and jot down the names and addresses of your co-workers, friends, acquaintances, teachers or students. Send them to Science for the People, 897 Main St., Cambridge, MA 02139. We'll start their trial subscription with the next issue!!

FEATURES:**CIA PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OPERATIONS** 6**by Fred Landis**

How the CIA manipulates the media in Nicaragua, Chile and Jamaica.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND THE PENETRATION OF CAPITAL 12**by Richard Lewontin**

A political/economic analysis of farming and agriculture.

EDUCATION AND RESEARCH IN OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH 18**by Luc Desnoyers and Donna Mergler**

A group in Quebec practices science for the people.

MEDICINE BY THE PEOPLE 24**by Anthony Weston**

Self help health care may provide an alternative to modern medicine.

DEPARTMENTS:

About This Issue	2	News Notes	3
Letters	4	Resources	38

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letters

Dear SftP:

I would like to clarify and expand upon Bruno Vitale's letter to the editors (*SftP* Vol. 13 No. 5) about a SftP article about medicine in India entitled "Western or Indigenous Science." The authors of the article suggest that "traditional" or "indigenous" technologies can offer solutions to the maldistribution of modern technological services. Vitale cites examples where people using traditional practices are living miserably, and more, that even traditional practices retain the old cast-exploitative face of Indian society. He comments that the article is often obscure and even contradictory.

The exchange between Vitale and the authors of "Western or Indigenous Science" points to some central problems facing scientists who dabble in social issues. There is an emerging awareness in SftP that technology, both modern and traditional, can be implemented by the ruling classes for their own benefit. This is not enough! More correctly, they *will* be implemented by and for the ruling classes; and conversely, until the people as a whole are the ruling class, technology cannot be made to serve them directly. Failure to understand and stress this central idea consistently leads radical writers to muddle through details without reaching viable solutions to problems.

Socialism is a term connoting political power residing directly in the mass of the population. Only such a system, encompassing strong representation of minorities, can bring the full powers of traditional and modern technology to the people as a whole. But more functionally in the present, radical analyses should distinguish between *immediate* and *transitional* solutions. *Immediate* solutions allow the working people to live in health, and to carry on their struggle for freedom. Accessible health care, and freedom of self-expression are important examples. Scientists and technologists can and do turn their talents to these ends in a big way. Solutions which are *transitional* in nature pave the way politically for the democratic proletarian dictatorship, the first step toward socialism. Democratic because the people freely choose the leadership from their peers, dictator-

ship because the system categorically stipulates that capitalist exploitation is illegal. *Transitional* solutions do not exist within the limits of bourgeois science, although scientists *can* turn their talents to these ends. But this requires a deeper commitment, for it entails putting one's abilities and oneself at the service of the people. Normally, sponsorship and funding from the bourgeois institutions (universities, government agencies, and foundations) will dry up. Even so, scientists must face this, knowing that *transitional* solutions are absolutely critical.

Radical scientists working without a clear perspective of society and framework for action can be marginally effective, at best. The framework for action is threatening to the personal status of radical scientists *vis a vis* their bourgeois employers, but the framework provides the real basis for effecting change. *Enough of hiding behind petit-bourgeois radicalism.*

Phil Rosen
Ann Arbor, MI

news notes

RECOMBINANT DNA GUIDELINES TO BE RELAXED

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) guidelines on recombinant DNA research may soon become purely voluntary. This would unleash federally funded research and the corporate profiteering resulting from it.

In September, the NIH Recombinant DNA Advisory Committee recommended the conversion of the guidelines into a voluntary code of standard practice. The Advisory Committee is expected to make a final, nearly identical recommendation to the NIH director this month. If approved in its present form, the proposal would have the following effects:¹

- Elimination of penalties for violations.

- Elimination of all registration and oversight mechanisms, including institutional biosafety committees.
- Elimination of the "voluntary compliance" procedures for private companies and organizations.
- Elimination of requirements for physical containment.
- Elimination of the present categories of "prohibited" experiments or processes. This change would remove controls from the following procedures: formation of recombinant DNA from organisms such as smallpox, lassa, and yellow fever viruses; cloning of genes coding for the most lethal class of toxins (i.e. botulinum, tetanus, diphtheria, *Shigella dysenteriae* neurotoxin); deliberate release into the environment of any organisms containing recombinant DNA; deliberate transfer of a drug resistance trait to microorganisms that are not known to acquire it naturally, if such acquisition could compromise use of existing drugs; large-scale experiments and industrial processes with organisms containing recombinant DNA.

The Advisory Committee would remain in existence. It is acknowledged, however, that little would remain for it to do. According to the initiators of this proposal, the primary role of the Committee would be "social and political", in other words, the management of public opinion.

In the meantime, more university-corporate combinations are cropping up. Biotechnology and pharmaceutical companies fund research with immediate applications and "technology transfer" companies take care of the rest. For example, University Genetics (UGEN), a Connecticut-based technology transfer company funded by industry and royalty income, is soliciting proposals from university faculty for recombinant DNA research. "UGEN bridges the gap between academic discoveries and commercial products," reads the solicitation letter, "UGEN has been established to provide the most advantageous avenue for the development and commercialization of university genetic engineering inventions." "With... Federal involvement [grants] in basic genetic engineering, it is UGEN's intention to augment, with *development funds*, those university projects which have... commercial

potential." Once again we find ourselves, as taxpayers, subsidizing corporate research toward products with "market potential". The disarming of the NIH guidelines only adds injury to insult.

—Katherine Yih

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1. Taken from "Status of Recombinant DNA Hazards and of National, State, and Local Controls: Report to the Governor's Molecular Biology Task Force," by Susan Wright, Residential College, University of Michigan.

FLOC UPDATE: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), the union which represents farmworkers in the Midwest tomato industry, has been on strike against Campbell's and Libby's for four years now. They are demanding the right to bargain with processors and growers in annual price negotiations, in addition to demands for decent working conditions and fair wages. Although FLOC won contracts with 33 growers from 1968 to 1972, they found that the growers were merely caught in the middle, with the real source of power in the tomato industry residing with the processors. Tomato fields contracted to Campbell's and Libby's were targeted for the strike in 1978, since these are the major processors in the three counties in Ohio where the strike was called. In addition, an international boycott of Campbell's and Libby's products was declared. These events were detailed by *SftP* in 1979 (Downs et al., May/June 1979). This is an update on the progress of this struggle.

There is still no agreement with Campbell's or Libby's, but pressure is mounting as support for the strike and the boycott grows. More than 47 union locals and other organizations have now endorsed FLOC, including the UAW and AFSCME at the international level, and a resolution was passed by the Detroit City Council to remove Campbell's and Libby's from city services. FLOC marched with the United Farm Workers (UFW) and the AFL-CIO at Solidarity Day on September 19th in Washington, D.C., where FLOC Vice-President Fernando Cuevas was interviewed by Studs Terkel for

the PBS television network. FLOC support committees, which help raise funds and publicize the boycott, have been formed in 41 cities nationwide.

The strike is also being felt by Campbell's and Libby's in the fields, as yields have been reduced. In 1981 the companies began to bring tomatoes grown in Southeastern Michigan to the processing plants in Ohio. FLOC pickets moved for a day to the Michigan fields, which had been mapped out by the Ann Arbor chapter of Science for the People. Many farmworkers in these fields did not know that they had been brought to combat the strike. Although one grower agreed not to contract with these corporations next year, scab crewleaders continue to bring unknowing workers into the midwest.

Campbell's has also responded this year by following FLOC speakers on publicity tours from city to city with



Win

speakers of their own. Libby's sold their processing plant in Leipsic, Ohio, to Richard's and Schreiber's of California in an apparent attempt to insulate themselves further from the struggle. They will, however, continue to market all products from that plant.

The corporations are still pushing mechanization (see Vandermeer, 1981, in the Jan/Feb *SftP*) as a means of avoiding their responsibilities to field labor. This is despite an Ohio Agricultural Research and Development Center report that shows that a switch to mechanical harvesting is not an economically sound alternative for Mid-

western growers.¹ In some of its recent publicity, Campbell's claims that farmworkers are no longer used in the tomato fields. However, this is simply not true. Some farmers do not have access to the expensive mechanical harvesters. And the machines are hampered by the rainy, muddy Midwest summers, non-union farmworkers are hired to back them up. Rains caused disastrous flooding in the area in 1981. As Ken Barger (of the Indianapolis FLOC support committee) wrote in the October 2nd, 1981, *Indianapolis Star*:

Recent rains had made mechanical harvesting impractical, and while harvesters sat in the mud, Campbell's tomatoes in this region [Ohio] were hand-picked by migrants. We counted 43% (31 of 67 people) in one crew picking tomatoes for Campbell's who were children. While other children were starting a new school year, migrant children were laboring in the mud, getting paid 28¢ for each 33 lb. basket of tomatoes picked.

For the future, FLOC will continue to strike and spread the boycott. They feel that it is the boycott that will eventually win for them, as the grape and lettuce boycotts did for the UFW. Support committees are being coordinated nationally to persuade schools to discontinue their participation in the Campbell's labels program. While farmworker children work in the fields instead of going to school, Campbell's uses schoolchildren as salespeople and advertisers by 'giving' sports equipment to schools that collect enough product labels. Of course, the profits represented by those labels far outweigh the value of the sports equipment. It is worth noting that the Ohio Educational Association has endorsed the boycott.

Anyone wishing to help can contact FLOC at the address below. In addition, FLOC is looking for organizers to work full-time as boycott coordinators in major cities. If interested, send a resume (c/o Baldemar Velasquez) to FLOC: 714½ St. Clair St., Toledo, Ohio 43609 (419-243-3456).

—Brian Schultz

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1. Schurle, B.W. and B.L. Erven. 1979. The return-risk tradeoffs associated with processing tomato production in Northwestern Ohio. Ohio Agric. Res. and Devel. Center Res. Bulletin. 1111.

CIA PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE OPERATIONS

Case Studies in Chile, Jamaica, and Nicaragua

by Fred Landis

In the last decade, four American nations have chosen a socialist road to development—Chile, Jamaica, Nicaragua, and Grenada. In the first three cases the CIA responded, among other actions, by virtually taking over the major newspaper in that country and using it as an instrument of destabilization. (Grenada closed the opposition newspaper shortly after the revolution for failure to comply with local ownership laws.)

The appropriation of newspapers by the CIA proceeds through certain discrete, identifiable stages. These include: using an international press association, firing many of the staff, modernizing the physical plant, changing the format of the front page, using subliminal propaganda, assassinating the character of government ministers, promoting a counter-elite to replace the socialist government, spreading disinformation, using divisive propaganda to create artificial conflicts within the society, dusting off stock CIA stories and themes, coordinating the propaganda effort with an economic, diplomatic, and paramilitary offensive, and generally following the blueprint for psychological warfare as outlined in the U.S. *Army Field Manual of Psychological Operations*.

The stages the CIA embarks upon in taking over a newspaper, combined with the drastic changes of the front page, are so specific that it is possible to identify the Agency's hand in the effort. When the propaganda offensive is coordinated with economic sabotage, paramilitary terrorism, and other psychological activities using known CIA fronts, one can state positively that a covert operation is underway.

The CIA has access to over 200 newspapers, advised by its World-Wide Propaganda Guidance Desk, which issues a "Bi-Weekly Propaganda Guidance" to every CIA

station, for use in dealing with local media contacts. There is a continuing propaganda effort precisely to avoid crises like Chile, Jamaica, and Nicaragua. The purpose of this article is to describe what a CIA newspaper looks like during a crisis.

I first learned about the CIA's propaganda methodology in Chile in 1973 while I was working on a Ph.D. dissertation on changes in the mass media during the Allende period, especially the newspaper *El Mercurio*. About a year later, the Senate Intelligence Committee chose Chile as a case study of CIA covert action. For the first time, the U.S. government would give official status to a report on CIA covert activity. Also for the first time there were several former CIA analysts on the Congressional investigative staff familiar with CIA methods, who knew exactly the right questions to ask. With copies of my dissertation in hand, they went to CIA Headquarters to ask about Chile. Subsequent studies of CIA covert operations make frequent reference to Chile, and articles on the CIA and the media rely heavily on the case of *El Mercurio*.

During subsequent years I monitored several Latin American newspapers but saw nothing like the *El Mercurio* of 1970-1973. Then in 1980, the *Jamaica Daily*

Fred Landis, a Chilean-born North American psychologist, received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois based upon his thesis, "Psychological Warfare and Media Operations in Chile, 1970-1973." He served as a consultant for the Subcommittee on CIA Covert Action in Chile of the Church Committee. He is co-author, with Donald Freed, of Death in Washington: The Assassination of Orlando Letelier (Lawrence Hill and Co.: 1980), and has contributed to many magazines, including Covert Action Information Bulletin.

Gleaner underwent the same metamorphosis. The Jamaican Press Association launched an investigation focusing on traditional areas of journalistic concern: the firing of journalists from the *Daily Gleaner*, the systematic appearance of fabricated stories, and the violation of traditional ethics of the profession. I was invited to testify before a Commission of Inquiry and explained that these changes were a by-product of the CIA taking over the newspaper. The Press Association issued a 32-page summary of my testimony in booklet form entitled "Psychological Warfare in the Media: The Case of Jamaica."

In May 1981 I helped the Union de Periodistas de Nicaragua with a similar report which appeared in installments in the newspaper *Barricada* July 8-22. The methodology to be discussed here can also be found in my dissertation, "Psychological Warfare and Media Operations in Chile: 1970-1973;" "Covert Action," Volume 7 of the 1975 Hearings of the Senate Church Committee; "The CIA and the Media," 1977-1978 Hearings of the House Intelligence Committee; and the above-cited reports of the Jamaican and Nicaraguan Press Associations.

The Methodology

The first step of the process is to elevate the owner of the target newspaper to the Board of Directors of the CIA-influenced Inter American Press Association. The December 26, 1977 *New York Times* quoted a high CIA official referring to IAPA as "a covert action resource" of the Agency. Next, IAPA lists the country in question as one in which freedom of the press is threatened. The Technical Services Division of IAPA is sent to "modernize" the newspaper. These "technical" improvements nearly always include getting rid of the typesetters, whose union is usually leftist in Latin America. Most of the editorial staff, even including some conservatives, is fired.

The style of the front page of the newspaper is changed dramatically, from that of the conservative *London Times* to that of, for example, the sensationalist *New York Post*. Screaming headlines and huge photos on related themes replace the previous randomness of unrelated news stories. The usual conservative newspaper in the Third World emphasizes what is happening in Europe and the United States. But in a media operation, local news suddenly takes over. Local catastrophes become the only image of the world—a dark, frightening, and claustrophobic place.

Headlines in a newly CIA-influenced newspaper have an exclusively negative nature, blaming the socialist government for all the ills which suddenly befall the country. Where sufficient local problems cannot be manufactured, stories from other times or other countries are made into "news" in order to further a given theme: "Economic

Collapse in Cuba;" "Economic Collapse in Poland;" "Economic Collapse in Nicaragua." The front page looks more like a political poster than a newspaper. The "news" is a carefully selected collage pushing a few simple themes, aimed at discrediting the government and creating divisions among the population.

The first theme is economic chaos, because this is the easiest for the U.S. to create. Foreign aid is cut off; the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank cut off loans; private U.S. banks cut off loans; spare parts for U.S.-manufactured machinery are denied.

The next theme is social chaos. In almost every country there are bizarre incidents which a conservative newspaper normally will not touch. Suddenly this *National Enquirer*-type material fills the front page: Violence, chaos, permanent crisis, unnatural events, omens from heaven, death, gruesome food stories, household pets who eat their masters, children who inform on their parents, servants who turn on their employers, etc. The difference is that after creating a climate of tensions, this situation is blamed on the government: First on the ideology that the government represents (socialism) and then on the government itself; first by insinuation and then explicitly; first with humor and then with terror; first with character assassination and then with physical assassination.

Strategically, the attack on government ministers proceeds like a chess game in which one eliminates the pawns and works up to the king. In Chile, there were no direct attacks on President Allende until all his Cabinet ministers had been individually ridiculed, isolated, discredited, and often forced to resign. In extreme cases, character assassination is followed by physical assassination, as was the case with three successive Chilean Ministers of Defense, Rene Schneider, Carlos Prats, and Orlando Letelier.

Subliminal Propaganda

Indirect attacks on government ministers employ the juxtaposition of photos of the targeted official with unrelated headlines, subliminal propaganda, and pre-selected word associations.

In the December 5, 1980 *La Prensa* in Nicaragua, a photo of FSLN leader Humberto Ortega is adjacent to a photo of a mutilated body. Connecting them is an official Sandinista police badge allegedly found near the body.

During the 1980 election campaign in Jamaica, the *Daily Gleaner* placed the photos of three cabinet ministers over the headline "23 Men Rape 15-Year-Old Girl." The entire page was carefully laid out to produce shock effect. Reading the story carefully it becomes clear that the photos have nothing to do with the headline; but the emotional shock effect has been accomplished.

23 MEN RAPE 15 GIRL

ONE OF 23 MEN WHO LAST night raped a 15-year-old school girl on the grounds of the All Saints All-age school at Studley Park Road was shot and killed by the police this morning and his gun found on his body.

The dead man has been identified as Paul in his early 20s.

Traffic system causing havoc

Members of the Montego Bay Reporter

THE RECENTLY INTRODUCED one-way traffic system downtown Montego Bay

Ministers change

Pronostico más lluvias

El Servicio Meteorológico nacional anunció la tarde de lunes, lluvias para las zonas bajas.

El pronóstico del tiempo es para la Zona del Pacífico Central Segovia: azulado en las tardes y noches, acompañado de brisas y lluvias débiles en horas de la tarde, afectando especialmente la zona sur de la zona del estero y parte norte de la zona Central.

Viento del este con 25 KPH en el Pacífico y del norte a 15 KPH para la región central.

Zona Atlántica: cambiado, vientos ligeros en horas del día, afectando la región Bluefields y sus alrededores.

Viento del este con 30 KPH.

Curso de emergencia psiquiátrica!

El primer curso de Emergencia Psiquiátrica será impartido el martes 7 a las 8 de la mañana en el Hospital Anexo Morales, informó las Juntas Públicas de Salud.

El conclave va dirigido a médicos generales de las Juntas de Salud del país, que recibirán los elementos básicos para el tratamiento de pacientes con crisis.



Un cadáver encontrado en la CBT No. 100 y 1/2 del lago, cerca de los pies de la victima, se halló en un estado de descomposición (animado por la Policía Segovia).

De los 60 millones de dólares de crédito otorgados por el BID a Nicaragua, 10 serán otorgados esta semana.

Aún lo anunció el lunes el Vicepresidente del Fondo Internacional de Reconstrucción y Cooperación (FIRC), Bernardo Chacón.

Cadáver hallado

Un cadáver no identificado en un estado de descomposición fue localizado aproximadamente a las diez y media de la mañana del lunes 6, en la Central Sindicalista de Trabajadores (CST). 2 personas arribaron a la zona.

La noticia fue administrada por una persona no identificada en un momento que se preparaban a recibir información en el Ministerio del Trabajo.

Nuestro informante dijo que ya había dado parte al Cuerpo de Bomberos.

Renuevan un Juez

La Corte Suprema de Justicia, acordó destituir del cargo de Juez Primero Civil del Distrito de Managua, Dr. Arturo Morales Guzmán por serias anomalías en el desempeño de su gestión como funcionario del Poder Judicial, según un comunicado emitido ayer por la oficina.



El comandante Humberto Ortega, afirma que los beneficios para Nicaragua de su viaje a Vietnam.

Presidente del BID confía en el futuro de Latinoamérica

Por: Raúl Zamora

MADRID, ABR. 6 (AFP). América Latina puede ganar la batalla por los alimentos en el curso de esta década, ya que cuenta con los recursos agrícolas y técnicas de base y está disponible los medios financieros internos y externos.

El presidente del BID subrayó el dramatismo de la situación de América Latina y el riesgo de una dependencia económica.

El presidente del BID subrayó el dramatismo de la situación de América Latina y el riesgo de una dependencia económica.

H. Ortega comenta

Conseguir

Pocos minutos después de haber firmado la Carta de la Dignidad, el comandante Humberto Ortega Sa...

EL MERCURIO

Horrible Asesinato de una Joven

Acusación Contra Intendente Joignant

Renunció Ministro de Educación

El Mercurio, September 25, 1972: Story about Minister of Education next to article entitled, "Horrible Murder of a Young Girl."

La Prensa, December 5, 1980: Photo of Humberto Ortega by mutilated body.

Sometimes a semantic association will be involved. On September 25, 1972, *El Mercurio* subliminally associated the rape and murder of a schoolgirl with the Minister of Education. Seven years later in Jamaica, photos of Anthony Spaulding, the Minister of Housing, were placed next to photos of and headlines about houses burning down.

This practice of destroying the moral authority of "enemy" leaders by pictorial insinuation derives from experimentation during World War II in the production of propaganda leaflets. The U.S. Army *Field Manual of Psychological Operations* (FM 33-5), in the section dealing with the preparation of psychological warfare leaflets, recommends the use of pictorial or graphic insinuation as

being more effective among a local population than direct attacks on their leaders, which might be met with resentment and rejection. Paul Linebarger, the Godfather of modern CIA media operations, placed great emphasis on the success the U.S. encountered when the psychological warfare leaflets were prepared in the style and format of a German newspaper. Linebarger studied both Allied and Axis propaganda efforts and concluded that the British were superior, because they *disguised their propaganda as news*.

Among radio, TV, and newspapers, the highest credibility is accorded the print media. Conservative newspapers have higher credibility among all social classes in Latin America than government newspapers, newspapers openly identified with a political party, or populist rags. This helps to explain why, in the three cases examined here, the CIA took over the major conservative newspaper in each country.

The reason the new front page resembles a psychological warfare leaflet is because it *is* a psychological warfare leaflet. The historical progression is clear. First the U.S. Army Propaganda Battalion produced leaflets which attacked enemy leaders by pictorial insinuation. Next, leaflets were prepared in the style and format of an enemy newspaper. Today, the CIA simply takes over the newspaper itself.

The reason a CIA-influenced newspaper changes its front page into a psychological warfare leaflet has to do with the enormous effect which this type of activity is deemed to have. An indication of this magnitude is given in *The War on The Mind*, by British sociologist Peter Watson, wherein he points out that in the single month of May 1968, three hundred million PSYOPS (U.S. Army Psychological Operations) leaflets were dropped on Vietnam. According to Paul Linebarger, several billion PSYOPS leaflets were dropped by the U.S. in the German theater of operations alone. Given the personnel needed to print the leaflets and fly them over enemy territory, it is surprising that so little has been written on the subject.

IAPA-CIA Collaboration

At least during World War II, with bombers dropping the leaflets, the source was evident. Today, the mastheads of the conservative newspapers are used to disguise the real source.

IAPA stands ready, with all its hundreds of cooperating member newspapers, to scream "Marxist Threat to Free Press" if any attempt is made by the target government to restrict the flow of hostile propaganda. In 1969 the CIA had five agents working as media executives at *El Mercurio*, all of whom in subsequent years were elevated to the Board of Directors of IAPA. The owner of *El Mercurio* was made head of the Freedom of the Press

committee, and later President. IAPA bylaws permitted only working owners to be members, so the bylaws were changed to accommodate him. Then many of the CIA operatives at Copley News Service were made members of the Board of Directors of IAPA. Immediately before the campaign to oust socialist Prime Minister Michael Manley, Jamaica *Daily Gleaner* publisher Oliver Clarke was added to the Executive Committee; he has now been promoted to Treasurer. At the last annual convention in San Diego, IAPA elevated Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, Jr., to its Board of Directors. At that time he was not an editor or publisher of *La Prensa*, but the CIA needed him because he had the same name as his martyred father. After his elevation he was belatedly made Assistant Director of *La Prensa*, and when he was recently added to the IAPA Executive Committee, *La Prensa* began carrying the IAPA membership credential in its masthead. At the last IAPA meeting in Rio de Janeiro in October, speeches, including those by Vice-President Bush, were dominated by alarmist references to the situation of the press in Nicaragua.

Obviously the owner of a conservative newspaper in Latin America does not need CIA money to be against a socialist government. The assistance provided by the CIA is primarily technical, not financial. Without CIA help, the local newspaper's opposition would be openly stated on the editorial page in language reflecting the ideology of the local conservative elite. That would be ideological warfare, not psychological warfare. But the CIA is not concerned, in these operations, with local ideology; it is concentrating on the use of its bag of technological dirty tricks. One of these tricks is disinformation.

Disinformation

Disinformation is a special kind of "black" propaganda—the CIA's term for the use of false information—usually supported by forged documents. CIA practice in this area is discussed in a recent article in *The Nation*, "Foreign Policy By Forgery" (April 11, 1981), by Ralph McGehee, a 25-year veteran CIA analyst. Despite CIA censorship and even after numerous deletions, the article notes:

"Where the necessary circumstances or proofs are lacking to support U.S. intervention, the CIA creates the appropriate situations or else invents them and disseminates its distortions worldwide via its media operations . . . Disturbed at the Chilean military's unwillingness to take action against Allende, the CIA forged a document purporting to reveal a leftist plot to murder Chilean military leaders. The discovery of the 'plot' was headlined in the media and Allende was deposed and murdered.

There is a similarity between events that precipitated the overthrow of Allende and what happened in Indonesia in 1965. Estimates of the number of deaths that occurred as a result of the latter [word deleted; probably "deception"] operation run from a half million to more than one million people. . . ."

The principal disinformation agent involved in the Chilean deception was Robert Moss, who seven years later co-authored *The Spike*, arguing that the Soviets had invented this strange technique called disinformation. First Moss wrote of a secret army of Cubans in Uruguay. After the military *coup* in Uruguay, he claimed there was a secret army of 14,000 Uruguayan, Bolivian, and Cuban leftists in Chile. After the Chilean *coup*, Moss discovered a secret army of 5,000 Chilean leftists in Portugal. On October 8, 1979, Moss wrote in the London *Daily Telegraph* that there was a secret army of 5,000 Cubans in Jamaica. This article was reprinted in the Jamaica *Daily Gleaner* under the headline "Castro Plans to Make Jamaica an English-Speaking Cuba." According to the Jamaican government, there were only 420 Cubans in Jamaica, most of them teachers, doctors, and agricultural experts. In the August 10, 1981 *Daily Telegraph*, Moss discovered yet another 5,000 Cubans "deployed" in Nicaragua.

Psychological operations may be divided into two principal types according to purpose: stability operations and destabilization. In the case of a government considered friendly, CIA propaganda is designed to create a positive image of that regime and in general to support its stability. In previous articles in *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, examples of Arnaud de Borchgrave's defense of the Shah of Iran and Robert Moss's fulsome praise of the Chilean Junta have been cited.

Destabilization is a word which entered world currency when former CIA Director William Colby used it to describe what the CIA had done to Chile. Destabilization means that having studied the glue that keeps a society together, one then uses that knowledge to make that same society come unglued. Among the methods used, according to the *Manual of Psychological Operations*:

"To stimulate dissension between military and political estates; to undermine confidence in leadership; to encourage disaffection on the part of religious, ethnic, political, economic and other elements, against the government or against each other; to make friendly leaders stronger and enemy leaders weaker."

Channels of Disinformation

The mere appearance of divisive propaganda, "black" propaganda, and disinformation is *prima facie* evidence of a psychological operation run by a hostile intelligence

agency. One of the methods for determining when it is a CIA operation is to trace the hidden channels for moving disinformation into the target country. I call this process the circulation of non-news or the laundering of "black" propaganda. As described by Philip Agee:

"For example, the CIA station in Caracas can cable information on a secret communist plot in Venezuela to the Bogota station which can 'surface' through a local propaganda agent with attribution to an unidentified Venezuelan government official. The information can then be picked up from the Colombia press and relayed to CIA stations in Quito, Lima, La Paz, Santiago . . ."

If done properly, it is very difficult to trace any of this activity to the CIA. First, the "black" propaganda item is laundered through a reputable news organization in order to disguise the source. Then CIA proprietary news organizations move the story around—the circulation of non-news. One clue in uncovering this technique is the attribution of a sensational news story to a far-away source. In the above example, how could a Colombian newspaper be the first to know about a secret plot in Venezuela?

Let us examine a recent fake headline in *La Prensa* to illustrate the laundering of "black" propaganda. On August 16, 1981 *La Prensa* headlined that Nicaraguan Chancellor Miguel D'Escoto had gratuitously insulted the Catholic Church. D'Escoto categorically denied having made any such statements. *La Prensa* then said its source was the Miami-based *El Diario de las Americas*. This is a Cuban exile newspaper which shares office space with IAPA, and which has a number of CIA agents on its staff. *El Diario's* head, Horacio Aguirre, is the new President of the IAPA Executive Committee. *El Diario de las Americas* in turn attributed the source of the alleged D'Escoto interview to an obscure Mexican newspaper, *El Periodico*, which at the time it carried the interview had been in existence only a short time. It claimed as its source a taped interview made six months previously by one of its reporters in New Delhi. How can a fledgling Mexican newspaper afford to send a reporter to New Delhi? How do they manage to make an eight-column headline out of an interview that allegedly took place six months earlier? When challenged by D'Escoto to produce evidence of such an interview, the reporter claimed that the tapes were garbled, as his batteries had run out.

Symbols

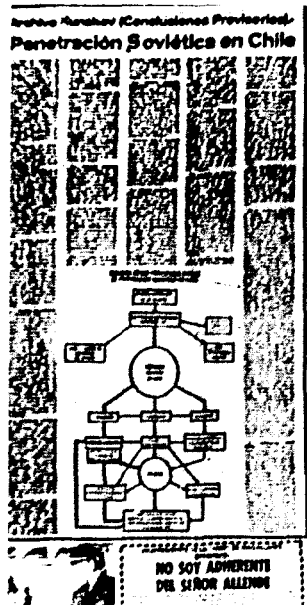
Perhaps the most specific feature of a CIA-controlled newspaper is the abandonment of any attempt to convey its message in the text, and its reliance instead on a few key symbols planted on the front page. The symbols manipulated are those which have strong emotional associations for the target group. By simply placing the

key word near a photo of government leaders, a crude behaviorist attempt is made to condition new associations and new values to familiar personalities.

For the purpose of identifying this kind of propaganda in the following analysis, the items discussed are from the front page only, and within that page headlines, photos, and captions under photos:



La Prensa, March 7, 1981: On Top, the word "cross" (cruz) and the word "peace" (paz); between them the word "leaving" (despide). The message: The cross is leaving Nicaragua; peace is leaving Nicaragua.



El Mercurio, September 2, 1970: A photo of Salvador Allende is placed next to an unrelated story entitled "Soviet Penetration in Chile."



In the middle of the page are three photos of a government leader with a convenient name, Cruz (cross); below there is the headline "Peace Corps Is Leaving." The three photos of Cruz and the caption under the photos all say "cross" over that headline. The message thus repeats the association, "cross is leaving," "peace is leaving." The headline "Peace Corps Is Leaving" was a fraud, in fact, there being no Peace Corps operation in Nicaragua at that time to leave. The leftist press considered the fake headline to be a provocation and ignored the emotional manipulation of cross and peace. In my dissertation there is an entire section devoted to fake headlines in *El Mercurio*. Only later did I realize that *all* the illustrations used were adjacent to photos of government leaders.

For three years President Allende's picture appeared rarely in *El Mercurio*, but whenever it did it was always next to headlines which included the words Soviet, communist, Marxist, violence, or death.

Several other examples, which cannot be illustrated here due to space limitations, can be noted: The August 28, 1970 *El Mercurio* had a photo of Minister of Economy Pedro Vuscovic next to a huge photo of a noose hanging over a baby's head with the headline "Wanted to Strange This Baby." The June 12, 1972 *El Mercurio* has another picture of Vuscovic next to a headline "Mother Raped, Assassinated."

(Continued on page 29)



El Mercurio, March 1, 1972: Another photo of Salvador Allende placed next to a story about a Soviet nuclear submarine based and another story about a "secret mission of the Communist Party."

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND THE PENETRATION OF CAPITAL

by Richard Lewontin

Agricultural production in the United States seems to present a difficulty to political economic theory. On the face of it, it seems that an important sphere of production has resisted the usual advance of capitalist penetration. Although ships and shoes are produced by a relatively small number of corporations of very large size and huge capital investment, the production of cabbages has remained firmly in the hands of 2½ million petty producers. Why is it that the technological change and concentration of capital that we see in the manufacturing, transportation, extractive industries, etc. has not taken over agricultural production as well? An answer sometimes given is that agriculture has simply lagged behind and that monopoly capitalism is finally catching up with it. Thus, the number of farms is decreasing (from 5.7 million in 1900 to 2.7 million in 1975), the average size of farms is increasing (146 acres in 1900 to 404 acres in 1975), and big enterprises are taking over huge acreages (the proportion of all farms that are over 1000 acres has risen from 0.8% to 5.5% in the same period). This answer does not really meet the facts, however. Of the three million farm operators who disappeared between 1900 and the present, 2 million were tenancies. The proportion of all farms run by managers rather than family units has not changed (less than 1% of farms), and big corporations have actually divested themselves of farm land in recent years. There is simply no rush to make farms into immense General Motors corporations.

Farming vs Agriculture

The basic problem in confronting the analysis of capitalist development in agriculture is the confusion between *farming* and *agriculture*. Farming is the process of turning seed, fertilizer, pesticide and water into cattle, potatoes, corn and cotton by using land, machinery

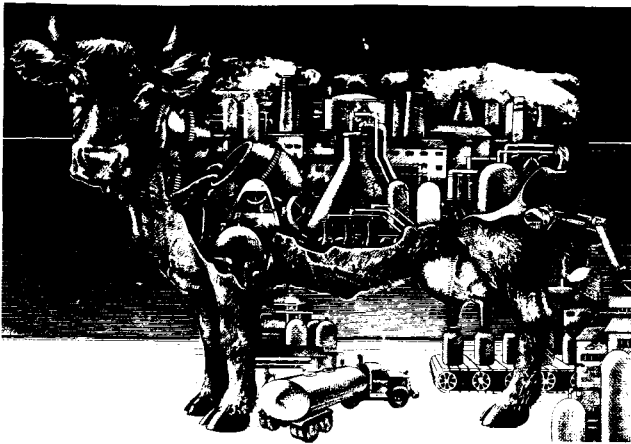
and human labor on the farm. Agriculture includes farming, but it also includes all those productive processes that go into making, transporting and selling the seed, machinery and chemicals that the farmer uses, and all of the transportation, food processing and selling that go on from the moment a potato leaves the farm until the moment it enters the consumer's mouth as a potato chip. Farming is growing peanuts. Agriculture is turning petroleum into peanut butter. It is the claim of this article that capital has completely penetrated agricultural production when viewed as a complete process in the U.S. and that technological change has played the same role in that penetration as it has in all other productive sectors. That is, the owners of large amounts of capital are the ones who control and profit from agriculture. It is a corollary of this claim that agricultural research, although directly responsive to the demands of farmers, is, in fact, carried out on terms set by capital concentration.

Historical Development: Inputs

The most striking change in the nature of agricultural production in the U.S. since the turn of the century is the change in the composition of inputs into farm production. These inputs are the seed, fertilizer, energy, water, land and labor that the farmer uses in production. The total value of these inputs in any year can be calculated by weighting the physical amount of each by its price (adjusted for inflation). This value can then be compared from year to year by establishing some year as an arbitrary base with the index value 100 and expressing all other years relative to it.

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The total amount of inputs into farming rose from an index value of 84 in 1910 to about 100 in 1975, not a very great increase. But the nature of these inputs changed drastically. Inputs produced on the farm itself went from an index value of 175 down to 90 between 1910 and 1975, while the index value of inputs the farmer purchased from outside the farm rose from 38 to 105. That is, farmers used to grow their own seed, raise their own horses and mules, raise the hay the livestock ate, and spread manure from these animals on the land. Now farmers buy their seed from Pioneer Hybrid Seed



Wkbook/cpf

Co., their "mules" from the Ford Motor Company, the "hay" to feed these "mules" from Exxon, and the "manure" from Union Carbide. Thus, *farming* has changed from a productive process that originated most of its own inputs and converted them into outputs, to a process that passes materials and energy through from an external supplier to an external buyer.

The consequence of this change can be seen in the sources of the market value of consumer products. At each stage of a productive process, as a raw material is converted to a partly finished form then to a finished product, and then into an item for the consumer some value is added to the material by the labor expended. Iron and coal are cheaper than the steel that is made from them; the steel is cheaper than the girder made from it; and the girders are cheaper than the bridge built from them. At each stage the transformation of form by the labor expended on it adds value, and the total *value added* is the difference in price between the original raw materials and the final product consumed.

At present, only 10% of the value added in agriculture is actually added *on the farm*. About 40% of the value is added in creating the inputs (fertilizer, machinery, seeds, hired labor, fuel, pesticides, etc.), and 50% is added in processing, transportation and exchange after the farm commodities leave the farm gate. Another facet of this structure of production is that, although

the percent of the labor force engaged in farming has dropped from 40% to 4% since 1900 (a loss of about 4.3 million family workers and about 4 million farm laborers), there has been a growth in those who supply, service, transport, transform and produce farm inputs and farm outputs so that there are now about 6 persons engaged in off-farm agricultural work for every person working on the farm. To sum up, *farm* production is now only a small fraction of *agricultural* production.

Productivity

The second major historical fact concerns the detailed nature of the production process on the farm and of farm productivity. Total farm productivity, measured as the ratio of farm outputs to farm inputs, went from an index value of 53 in 1910 to 113 in 1975. That is, for each dollar spent by the farmer on farm inputs, the value of what the farmer produced more than doubled. It is extremely difficult to estimate total inputs in the 19th century, but labor productivity increased, depending on the crop, by a factor of 2-3. The increase in farm productivity took place in stages corresponding to important technological innovations. The first period, beginning in about 1840 to about the turn of the century, was marked by a tremendous increase in labor productivity because of the introduction of farm machinery. The steel plow, the harvester, the combine and stationary steam engine increased labor productivity in grain production, for example, by up to 8 times in dry regions where full combines could be used. This development in machinery, however, came to a stagnant period around the end of the 19th century because of the lack of traction power. Only small multiple plows could be pulled by horse teams. Stationary steam engines for threshing had to be fed with grain by horse and wagon; rudimentary steam tractors had poor maneuverability. Then, after the first World War, the automotive industry developed flexible, powerful, mobile traction. Internal combustion engines, diesel engines, the differential that allows rear wheels to move independently, and inflatable tires made farm tractors that could pull heavy loads and maneuver in tight places. The final spurt of machinery adoption was between 1937 and 1950.

Chemical Inputs

The third major change was after World War II with the immense growth in chemical inputs into agriculture. This was a consequence of two factors. First, chemical plants had been built at government expense during the war so that chemical companies found themselves with immense unused plant capacity. The price of fertilizer fell dramatically compared with other inputs. Second, export markets increased dramatically because

of European demand, so production had to be increased quickly, and fertilizers were the fastest, cheapest way. Chemical inputs to farming increased by a factor of 7 times between 1946 and 1976.

There are three features to note about these technological changes.

1) They were not the product of agricultural research, but of entrepreneurial capitalism. McCormick and Hussey, who invented reaping machines in the 1830's, were typical inventor entrepreneurs of early industrial capitalism; and the flourishing of the first phase of mechanization was a consequence of industrial capitalism. McCormick was a Virginia farm boy who invented a successful reaping machine in 1831, patented an improved model in 1834, and by 1841 established a large factory for its production in Chicago. The changes in traction power were a direct spinoff of the development of the automobile as the leading American industry, and the fertilizer and pesticide "revolution" was a consequence of the economic structure of the chemical industries and strong export demand.

2) At all times, but especially for mechanization, it is the labor process which is at the heart of the change. Farmers, like other producers, are under a constant pressure to reduce labor costs. The spread of the reaper came 20 years *before* the famous Civil War labor shortage. But, in addition, farmers are under an unusually strong pressure to *control* the labor process, not simply to reduce the payroll. A strike by harvest workers results in total loss of the product, not simply postponement of production. Carelessness causes crop loss or damage. But it is very hard to supervise farm labor and to regulate its speed. Therefore, piece work is common in harvesting. But piece work puts a premium on total speed without quality control. Mechanization provides control over speed and quality, as well as guaranteeing production. No strikes, no shortages. In this connection, it is interesting that the early vegetable farming "machines" were simply large horizontal platforms, pulled by a tractor, on which workers lay to tend or harvest the plants. The farmer or foreman drove the tractor. This reverse assembly line in which workers are moved across the work not only reduced the labor force, but also *controlled* the speed of work and allowed close supervision of the process. It was made possible by Henry Ford.

3) The effect of the technology is to reduce the value added on the farm and increase the value of purchased inputs. That is, *the chief consequence of technological innovation to increase on-farm productivity has been to make on-farm productivity less and less important in determining agricultural value.* Major changes in all aspects of farming technology are in the



same direction. Thus, hybrid seed is a purchased input replacing the older self-generated seed, mechanized irrigation replaces labor-intensive ditching, etc.

It is important to note that all changes in value added on the farm are not the consequence of technological change in agriculture. Changes in factor prices in inputs and processing as a result of technological changes or political changes (oil prices) also change the proportion of value added on the farm.

Agricultural Research

Where does agricultural research fit in? The research carried out by suppliers—seed companies, machinery companies, chemical companies—is clearly designed to maximize the use of purchased inputs. But the same happens in socialized research. Our field studies of agricultural research scientists in state agricultural experiment stations give a consistent picture. Research workers usually come from farm backgrounds or at least small town agricultural service communities. Their ideology is to serve the farmer by making farming more profitable, more risk-free and easier as a way of life. They also say that benefits to the farmer will trickle down to the consumer. In actual practice, most agricul-

tural research is directly responsive to the demands of farmers (what agricultural research scientists call "progressive" farmers, i.e. larger and richer farmers) in the state. But the critical point is that the demands of the farmers are determined by the system of production and marketing in which they are trapped. Thus, the farmer becomes the agent by which the providers of inputs and purchasers of outputs use the socialized establishment of research. Agricultural research serves the *needs* of capital by responding to the demands of farmers, because of the total control by capital of the chain of agricultural production and marketing.

On the production side the influence is obvious. Farmers buy huge amounts of herbicide to replace cultivation. Weed science departments in schools of agriculture spend their time testing and evaluating herbicide treatment combinations, leaching rates and toxicity. Agricultural engineering departments design machines for application of herbicides and redesign other machines for weed-free fields. Plant breeders breed varieties for earliness to take advantage of herbicide treatments. In plant breeding the hybrid seed method has become omnipresent because it makes the purchase of seed from a seed company necessary. But, more than that, the objective of the breeding program is to provide varieties that make maximal use of heavy fertilizer application (short, stiff stalks to prevent lodging, proper root development, etc.). All phases of research are directed by the nature of purchased inputs.

On the marketing side the same dependence is evident. Just as the procession of farm inputs—seed, fertilizer, pesticides and machinery—is highly monopolized, so purchase of farm outputs is in the hands of monopoly buyers (monopsonists). Cargill buys grain, Hunt buys tomatoes, and Anderson-Clayton buys cotton. Cargill pays for soybeans based on the *regional average*

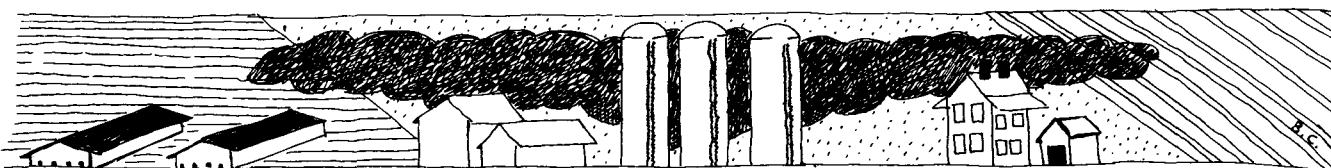
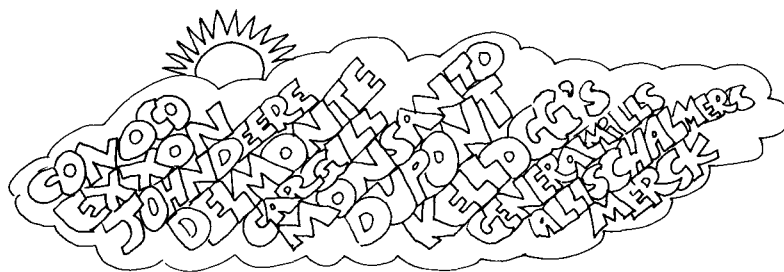
protein content. But there is a negative correlation between yield and protein, so it will not pay a farmer to use a higher protein variety with less yield. Therefore, plant breeders go for yield, not protein. Canneries make contracts with farmers which govern all the inputs and require delivery of a particular type of tomato at a particular time. Again, breeders comply with the "demands of the farmers" for just the right tomato.

In summary, because farmers are a small (although essential) part of the production of foods, the conditions of their part of production are set by the monopolistic providers and buyers of farm inputs and outputs. Therefore, the agricultural research establishment, by serving the proximate demands of farmers, is, in fact, a research establishment captured by capital. The farmers are only the messengers. The messages are written in the corporate headquarters.

Who Benefits?

Next, we can ask who benefits. For most of the period since 1930, farm productivity has risen faster than productivity in other sectors of production and much faster than productivity in services, which are a relatively poor sector in productivity. Who has benefited from this productivity increase?

1) Not the consumer. The average price of food has risen more rapidly than the average of all prices. The ratio of food prices in 1970 to that in 1930 was 2.48. The ratio for all purchased goods and services was 2.33. So food has not become cheaper but relatively more expensive despite a more rapid rise in on-farm productivity! It is very difficult to get reliable information on changes in nutritional levels. Studies are contradictory. The only major change in the last 20 years has been an increase in fat and a decrease in carbohydrate consumption. There has been no long-term change since 1910 in proteins,



Beverly Chorbajian

HYBRID CORN

Hybrid corn is a striking example of how inputs that used to be produced by farmers themselves, are now purchased. In the 1930's, corn was harvested by hand, and farmers obtained the seed they needed for the next year's crop by picking out good looking ears during the harvest, and saving them for seed. Increasingly, beginning in the early 30's, this self-produced seed has been replaced by hybrid corn, the seed for which must be purchased from a seed company every year.

Hybrid corn (or any hybrid crop or livestock) is produced in four stages. First, corn strains are self-pollinated generation after generation to produce so-called *inbred lines* that are each genetically very homogenous, yet different from each other. Second, different inbred lines are crossed with each other in all combinations to look for a hybrid combination that has higher yield than the average. Third, the inbred lines that went into superior hybrids are grown in large numbers to make enough plants for seed production. Finally, the lines are crossed in massive numbers to produce the seed for sale. All of these steps need special isolation fields, lots of skilled labor and some scientific knowledge. No farmer can afford to make his or her own hybrid corn seed, so he or she must buy it from the seed company. Moreover, the farmer must buy it anew every year because the hybrids, if allowed to reproduce, do not breed true. Seed harvested from them in the farmer's field, will not produce such high yields as the original hybrids.

In actuality, seed companies do not carry out the first two stages of this operation themselves. They depend on state agricultural experiment stations, funded at public expense, to find the best inbred lines. Then, the companies take the lines and make the seed and the profit. Most of the hybrid corn seed now used in the corn belt, produced by four different seed companies, derives from a Missouri and an Iowa inbred line developed by the state experiment stations.

Farmers started to use hybrid corn because it gave an initial increase in yield over the open-pollinated varieties that farmers themselves had been propagating. Since the 1930's, immense effort has been put into getting better and better hybrids. Virtually no one has tried to improve the open-pollinated varieties, although scientific evidence shows that if the same effort had been put into such varieties, they would be as good or better than hybrids by now. On the contrary, there has been pressure by seed companies to produce hybrid soybeans, hybrid chickens, hybrid cattle, etc., and to convince farmers that these hybrids will be better. Cargill and Northrup-King, to name two, have spent millions in an attempt to make hybrid wheat that is superior to the usual varieties. They have not yet succeeded, but if they do, millions will be made in annual sales of wheat seed, whereas now, farmers need to go back to the seed companies only every 3-5 years to get new seed.

and the information on calories is contradictory. People are neither eating more, nor are they eating more cheaply.

2) Not the farmer. Total farm debt outstanding in 1910 was \$800 per farm. By 1977 it had grown to \$37,000. Of this 45-fold increase, only a factor of 3 is accounted for by inflation in the same period. Taking account of the growth in the size of farms, the debt per acre has grown from \$3.50 per acre to \$91 per acre. This should be weighted against the inflationary change in average market value of farm land of \$42/acre in 1910 to \$405/acre in 1977. So debt rose from 13% to 23% of the value of real assets. The expense of farm production has gone from 48% of gross receipts in 1910 to 70% at present. Thus, the pressure on farmers and the danger of bankruptcy from variations in price and yield is greatly increased. While the total value of farm real estate has exploded, this is paper value. Farms cannot be liquidated in large numbers, and they have represented a real liability at inheritance because of inheritance tax. Farm risk remains high, hours long. The *conditions* of farm work for family farmers are better to the degree that driving an air conditioned tractor is better than sweating behind a mule. Net income per operator (in constant dollars) has increased 2.5 times since 1910, but much, if not all of that, is from elimination of the poorest farm sector—tenants and sharecroppers.

3) *Input and output capital enterprises*. The providers of inputs have become very rich. This is not a direct product of increases in productivity but of the mode of increase of productivity, high capital inputs. Seed companies are making very high profits and have been acquired recently by major chemical companies. Chemical companies producing herbicides, insecticides and fertilizers have realized enormous profits. At this moment, farm machinery providers, like the automotive industry, are in serious financial trouble, as machinery inputs have leveled off and been replaced by chemical inputs. On the marketing side, there has been a tremendous growth of grain and transportation companies, food processing industries and supermarket chains, all of which have acquired very great capital since World War II. This is the sector that has clearly gained from productivity changes and accounts for the slippage between increases in farm gate productivity and increases in relative cost of food to the consumer.

Why Corporations Do Not Own Farms

Finally, we may ask why capital penetration in agriculture has taken the particular form it has, with monopolistic supply of inputs to, and monopsonistic purchases of outputs from, a vast petty producing population of farm entrepreneurs. Why has capital not taken over the farms themselves?

1) Purchase of farm land ties up huge amounts of capital which has low liquidity, no depreciation value for tax purposes, uncertain market price, and produces a low return on investment.

2) Farming is physically extensive so it is not possible to bring large numbers of workers and productive processes together in a small space.

3) Related to 2, the labor process is difficult to supervise and control.

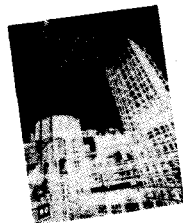
4) The turnover rate of capital is limited by the annual cycle of growth, and this cycle becomes even longer in the case of large livestock.

The test of these assertions is in the exceptional cases such as poultry production which is vertically integrated by large capital entrepreneurs. Vertical integration means that the same corporation operates at every level of production. The same firm produces many of the inputs, does the breeding, grows the birds, slaughters and processes them, and sells them *en masse* to fast food chains and supermarkets. Poultry takes little space, lends itself to factory organization of production

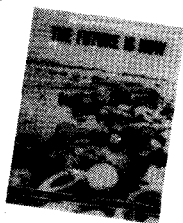
with capital equipment that is depreciable and an easily supervised labor process. Moreover, the cycle of capital does not depend on an annual growth cycle in broilers and can be compressed further and further. Indeed, a main focus of poultry breeding is shortening of the growth period, even holding total feed consumed a constant.

Farmers are, then, a unique sector of petty producers who own some of the means of production, but whose conditions of production are completely controlled by suppliers of inputs and purchasers of outputs. They form the modern equivalent of the "putting out" system of the pre-factory era. They are the conduits through which the benefits of the agricultural research enterprise flow to the large concentrations of capital. Because of the physical nature of farming and the structure of capitalist production and investment, this is a stable situation in capitalism and must be understood not as an exception to the rule of capital but as one of its forms. □

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EDUCATION AND RESEARCH IN OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH

by Luc Desnoyers and Donna Mergler

Within the last decade, in many countries, progressive scientists have begun working in occupational health and safety. Although the context and the conditions within which these activities developed differed from one place to another, they generally arrived at a similar analysis of their role as scientists in this field. The main features underlying this analysis are outlined in the following points.

The first is that the health status of workers is directly related to the overall environmental and organizational conditions of the workplace. Industrial ailments are diseases of the working class. Exposure to asbestos fibers in the asbestos mines and mills is responsible for lung cancer, asbestosis, and mesothelioma, a rare cancer; repeated exposure to silica dust causes silicosis; exposure to vinyl chloride fumes in the plastics industry can result in angiosarcoma, a liver cancer.

The second aspect of this analysis follows logically. The improvement of workers' health will be obtained through an improvement of working conditions. Silicosis will be eliminated by reducing the exposure to silica dust, and not by the development of a new medical therapy.

Thirdly, as several authors have shown^{1,2,3,4} better working conditions are generally the result of struggles waged by workers and their trade union organizations. These battles have been fought not only against employers, for whom increased production is more important than workers' health, but also against governments who resist changing inadequate exposure level limits and who are too often guilty of criminal negligence in not enforcing even the existing limits. Struggles have also been directed against the medical and scientific establishments, whose expertise have primarily served corporate interests.

Role of Progressive Scientists

Faced with this situation, progressive scientists working in occupational safety and health envisage their role first and foremost as providing technical and scientific support to workers' struggles for better working conditions. Priority in teaching and research is given to

the needs of the workplace, as expressed by the workers in their demands.

This is what occurred in Italy where scientist were involved at the Montedison plant in Castellanza.^{5,6} In France, a group of ergonomists (those who study the performance and efficiency of the work process) from the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (National Conservatory of Arts) in Paris,⁷ as well as interdisciplinary groups in Grenoble and Toulouse, work along similar lines. In England, this type of work is carried on by members of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS). In the United States, committees on occupational safety and health (COSH-groups) were set up in many regions in the wake of the work of such pioneers as Jeanne Stellman who began her career with the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW).⁸ In Québec, a group of university professors is working with two major trade union groups.

Such involvement has necessarily led to new forms of scientific practice. Giving priority to workers' needs has brought about changes in the teaching habits as well as the research practices of the concerned scientists. We would like to describe here some of the features of these practices as illustrated in our activities. We work within the framework of an agreement signed in 1976 by the two major Quebec trade union groups, the Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (National Confederation of Unions, CSN) and the Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (Quebec Workers' Federation, FTQ) and the Université du Québec à Montréal (University of Quebec at Montreal, UQAM).

Under the terms of this agreement, the unions have access to the university resources, to its academic and non-academic personnel, technical services and facilities. Through this a number of professors and students have participated in union-organized teaching sessions as well as research projects involving union participation, particularly in the area of occupational safety and health.^{9,10}

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1. Teaching

For several years now the CSN and the FTQ have organized workshops on occupational safety and health. These sessions are aimed at informing and promoting awareness among workers, as well as mobilizing and organizing around issues and actions leading to the improvement of working conditions. The sessions are built around three main themes: identification of the hazards of the workplace, the effects of these hazards on health, and possible union action to bring about changes in the workplace. A session usually starts with a round-table discussion where the participants describe their work process, the tools they use, the hazards involved, and the accidents and health problems that they have suffered. Our role is to show the links between the hazards mentioned and their health status.

This means that the basis of our intervention is the workers' empirical knowledge. First, we need *knowledge concerning their working milieu*. An Italian study¹¹ reports how this practical knowledge could be used to reconstitute the entire work process with much greater precision than the models put forward by management. From this detailed description of the workplace many health hazards that might have passed unnoticed can be identified.

Second, *workers' knowledge concerning their own health* is important. For example, we have heard workers who have been exposed to toxic metals describe in detail the symptoms of their intoxication. They could describe pre-clinical conditions which are not recorded in the medical literature, as well as classical symptoms. Their own experience has led them to ask precise questions on topics such as accelerated progression of symptoms in re-intoxication.

Workers' technical knowledge as well as their perception of body function at work is likewise referred to. Plumbers and maintenance workers know a lot about hydrodynamics. Cardiovascular reactions to heat stress are not much of a problem for them. They understand that the dilation of blood vessels will bring about a drop in blood pressure and that increased heart activity is required to restore the pressure. Another example is workers who use protective respiratory masks and have frequently experienced the stress that these cause to their heart. Wearing these while doing intense physical work may trigger a large increase in heart rate. The relationship between cardiovascular and respiratory systems is not difficult for them to grasp.

These are only examples. They serve to illustrate that in these sessions knowledge does not only come from the scientist or the expert. Of course, the scientists bring their own academic background and training to the sessions. However, for it to be effective, this aca-

demical knowledge has to undergo reconditioning. It has to be free of jargon, whose purpose is more to disguise than to transmit knowledge. The scientist has to come in touch with the realities of the workplace. The workers are important ingredients in this training. This contact leads the scientists to expand their knowledge of scientific, technical, and health problems raised by workers. Textbooks on work physiology, ergonomics, industrial toxicology, etc. do not give all the answers.

There are many aspects of the scientist's role in these sessions. The first is to help workers express what they know about their working conditions and their health. This knowledge, essential for a global understanding of the situation, is underrated in our society. Indeed, the ruling classes have inculcated in us a contempt for popular wisdom; it is used as a justification to establish their power, based on their own form of knowledge, which they describe as scientific. We believe that progressive scientists have an important part to play in validating popular knowledge.

Scientists can also help organize and structure empirical knowledge and complement it with scientific data. During these workshops, the scientist describes how physiological systems are affected by poor working conditions: how dust affects the respiratory and eventually the cardiovascular systems, how noise acts on hearing and creates a stress on the entire organism, etc. The objective here is not to paint a complete picture of clinical symptoms and pathologies, but rather to provide an explanatory framework which the participants can later use to analyze the effects of working conditions on their health.

Another important task is to demolish the myth that it is technologically impossible to improve working conditions. Workers are imbued with a fatalistic notion about job hazards: jobs are inherently dangerous and nothing can be done about it. Building sites are "inevitably" dangerous, asbestos extraction "necessarily" engenders large clouds of dust, and backaches are "normal" in the textile industry, for example. The entire system of employer propaganda intentionally and repeatedly reinforces these notions. Our job is to demonstrate that it is technologically feasible to eradicate a large portion of the hazards. This is not such a difficult job in a society that is so proud of its technological achievements. When scientific know-how can send a person to the moon, and back to a precise location, it should be simple to reduce the noise level on a machine.

In the workshops, we attempt to stress the gains brought about by union struggle. We mention, for example, the considerable reduction in asbestos fiber level in the Québec asbestos mines following the seven month long strike in 1975. The participants likewise put for-

ward their own experience of improvement in working conditions, tools and machinery.

The teaching methods used in these sessions are strikingly different from those currently used in the university. The relationship between scientist and workers differs significantly from a simple teacher-student relationship; the workers know more about the work environment than the teachers. Their concrete empirical experience constitutes an important resource. Questioning, listening, and interacting become the adequate substitute for lecturing, and the "teacher" is constantly brought down to the realities of every day working situations.

2. Research

As a rule, one can say that relatively little information is readily available in occupational health and safety. Progressive scientists who become involved in this field must therefore concentrate their research on the production of such knowledge. We can distinguish two types of research: synthesis research, which aims at establishing a critical synthesis of existing data related to a given occupational problem, and action-research, which is experimental in nature and seeks to analyze working conditions and health hazards in a given workplace or in a specific group of workers.

A. Synthesis research

This is necessary to produce useful documents and educational materials for workers and their union representatives. In other words, it aims at making the most recent scientific data available to workers.

The work done in this field by Jeanne Stellman is a good example of this type of research. Her books^{12,13} serve as references for everyone working in industrial health. Other scientists have used similar methods to produce more specialized monographs. In England members of the BSSRS have published a series of pamphlets on various health problems.¹⁴ We have carried out similar research in collaboration with the *Institute de Recherche Appliquée sur le Travail* (Institute of Applied Research) in Montréal. A brochure on noise in the work environment¹⁵ has been published, and others are being prepared on the subject of visual problems in the workplace. Finally, a research project which will produce five thematic brochures is currently being carried out under the auspices of the UQAM-CSN-FTQ agreement.

These research activities have been initiated to answer needs expressed by workers. If we want the answers to be adequate, a certain number of interactions between scientists and workers are necessary at all stages of the research. This interaction has to develop in the very early stages of the research while defining the re-



Donna Mergler

Workers at "La Pouletter Grise" slaughter house.

search problems itself. Some of the research projects were undertaken after a given problem was raised consistently in educational sessions. Such is the case for a research synthesis on work in a hot environment. The workers and their representatives knew where and how frequently the problem occurred; they could point out some of the discomfort and illnesses, and knew of the inadequate solutions proposed in certain workplaces. On the other hand, the scientist could offer a general framework for analysis and had access to existing scientific data.

The interaction between these two expertises permits those involved to pinpoint the problem and better define the objectives. This has important effects on the methods used in the research which also have to be based on continual interaction. These are two sources of data and both must be exploited. One can get relevant data from workers exposed to the problem. These are completed by visits to the workplace and case studies done on the site. The other source is scientific literature. Analytical and critical work is needed as there are numerous problems.

A major consideration is the lack of available data. Often very little original work has been published on a given problem or the main data was produced in the thirties or fifties. Many very interesting projects have been carried out in socialist countries, but the language barrier is a lengthy and costly one to cross.

Relevance constitutes another problem. In the western world much research has been done on the effects of noise on guinea pigs—much less on the effects



"His chiropractor says it's good for his spine." From a UQAM-CSN-FTQ pamphlet.

of noise on workers. Though much of this data is transposable, analogies between people and guinea pigs have certain limits.

There is finally the problem of the validity of the published data. We have come across fascinating examples of gross errors and outright dishonest manipulation of data, which coincidentally, tended to demonstrate the harmless nature of the working conditions under study. There are cases of control groups selected on faulty criteria, of conclusions based on non-significant differences, and even improper pooling of the data, which unduly favor the author's thesis. The study of such reports involves a great deal of analysis and verification.

The synthesis research we are involved in is closely followed by union representatives. In this way the research activity is carried out with constant reference to workers' needs. This is even more true when writing up the results. The pamphlet or book must answer the questions asked by workers; the language used must in no way be a barrier. Experience has taught us that this can readily be achieved when workers and scientists work together at all stages of the project.

B. Action research

We are often at a loss when faced with workers' health problems because there is little relevant information about the relationship between their health problems and their working conditions.

For quite a few years abattoir (slaughterhouse) workers noticed that many of them were afflicted with warts, suffered pain in their hands and legs, suffered from cold, and many women were subject to severe menstrual cramps. They suspected their job conditions played a part in these problems.

A survey of available literature quickly revealed a lack of relevant scientific data. A fresh approach was needed. That is why the Service de genie industriel and the Fédération du Commerce (Industrial Civil Service and the Federation of Commerce) of the CSN asked the joint committee UQAM-CSN-FTQ to initiate a study of the health problems and working conditions in the abattoirs. At the university, a staff member and two graduate students became involved in the project. A full-time union worker became the fourth member of the team.¹⁶

Worker Participation

The first step was to set up a series of meetings with the workers of the abattoirs. This provided us with an idea of how widespread the problem was and permitted us to discuss with the workers what kind of study was best suited to their situation and needs. It was clear that the health problems mentioned were not those usually referred to as "industrial disease," and that an extensive list of symptoms was needed. It was also necessary to calculate the occurrence of these problems as a basis of comparison with control groups.

In the same way, the relationship between the health problems being discussed and the actual working conditions was not readily obvious. It was necessary to have a complete description of the working conditions, and to identify the organizational factors (pace, posture, etc.) and the environmental factors (noise, temperature, humidity, etc.) that characterized the work station. Once properly correlated, these two sets of facts revealed the relationship between health problems and working conditions. The researchers and participating workers concluded that a successful descriptive study could be carried out by means of a questionnaire.

The questionnaire was developed and refined with the help of small groups of workers and delegates from each of the nine abattoirs involved. Thus the questions would be properly understood by all participants, and everyone would be able to describe fully his or her work area and state of health. The questionnaire was revised several times. The final version comprised 216 questions contained in seven sections:

1. occupational history (age, sex, former jobs, etc.)
2. job description (adapted to each abattoir so that every respondent's job was mentioned)

3. conditions of use of protective devices (steel-mesh gloves, rubber gloves etc.)
4. working conditions (organization, environment)
5. health problems particular to women (menstrual and pregnancy problems)
6. use of medication, tobacco, alcohol
7. health problems

Members of the research team distributed copies of the final questionnaire to workers at general assemblies of union delegate meetings. Its use was explained and it was then completed by the respondents. This approach made participation easy for elderly workers or those who read with difficulty. Then the delegates took charge of distributing copies to the other members, insisting on the greatest participation possible. The delegates were also responsible for picking up the completed questionnaires and sending them back to the researchers.

During this time the researchers took measurements of certain working conditions. Wet-bulb and dry-bulb temperature readings were taken (for humidity), as well as noise levels in the workplace and, in certain cases, readings of carbon monoxide and ammonia vapor concentrations. The researchers thus became familiar with the workplaces, work processes and the work environment.

The workers completed their questionnaires with great care; 54% of the workers participated. The sample was validated according to age, seniority and sex. The answers were then coded and transcribed for computer analysis. The first analytical operations simply involved calculating the frequencies of the various health problems and exposure to various working conditions. The data was then communicated to the various unions so as to keep the workers informed of the progress while the researchers were involved in lengthy analysis.

The group produced a fairly sizeable report: a 115 page text outlining the methodology employed in the study, the processing of data, and the results. But clearly, the simple publication of a voluminous report ran the risk of being ineffectual, taking into account the limited level of schooling of a large section of the workers, and the lack of developed reading habits. The group therefore agreed to hold a special study section jointly with the Federation of Commerce. Rather than sending out the report, it was presented to some sixty representatives of workers from the nine abattoirs.

Results

The study session began with a planning session to present the background history and methodology of the research. The workers were then divided into groups who participated alternately in five workshops to study

the results. Each of these workshops bore a specific theme: problems relating to muscles and joints, dermatology, problems specific to women, etc. In each workshop the pertinent section of the report was outlined with a discussion of the frequency of various ailments and their statistical relationship to factors of work organization or environment.

All the workers assembled thus had the opportunity of gradually assimilating the assembled data and discussing their meaning and implications. Workshop moderators were able to discuss a specific section of the report with all the participants. A final planning session discussed various approaches to solutions of the problems. It was agreed to produce a short succinct version of the report for widespread distribution, including all significant correlations between the 39 working conditions and the 62 major health problems associated with them.

Back at their workplace, through helping spread the research among their fellow workers, the participants are now in a position to play a key role in deciding and setting into motion the necessary means to achieve better working conditions.

This study of the situation in slaughterhouses provides an example of scientific research focused on action. The aims pursued determine choices in methodology as well as the means of presentation and distribution of the results.

Commentary

We should stress that from the outset the research team was concerned that the workers themselves should be involved as participants in the work. In circumstances such as these it frequently happens that researchers consider the workers simply as objects of research. For one thing, they would cut themselves off from the most precious source of information on the work environment and occupational health, thereby limiting the scope and value of their research. At the same time, however, they would help to consolidate the ruling class ideology concerning knowledge, which is that science is a matter for specialists only and that popular wisdom is valueless.

Use of a questionnaire is one means of involving workers in research.¹⁷ It draws upon their knowledge and their evaluation of their working conditions and state of health. While ordinary common sense should tell us that any worker can testify to the conditions of his or her workplace, or count the number of warts on his or her hand, there are many scientists who refuse to bother with anything but the instrument measurements



Donna Mergler

Workers at a workshop on occupational health in Montreal.

they themselves have conducted, or the wart-count conducted by a dermatologist. Groups in Italy, however, have demonstrated the validity of workers' judgements on the environment and health conditions.¹⁸

In such cases, it is the primary responsibility of the practitioner to inform those concerned; yet numerous physicians, particularly those employed by corporations, have in such cases either camouflaged the data or discreetly informed the employers alone.^{19,20,21,22}

For many years, scientific information relating to occupational safety and health remained the private preserve of health professionals and employers. It may be recalled that in Québec from 1918 on, insurance companies stopped selling life insurance policies to asbestos miners: the actuaries had observed the very limited life expectancy of these workers. It took decades of struggle before the asbestos miners obtained access to the medical and scientific data concerning them.^{23,24,25} If such practices are more difficult to indulge in these days, it should not be thought that they have disappeared. The contrary was demonstrated in the 1970s in the case of vinyl chloride.²⁶

Access to knowledge in the field of health and occupational safety will not be obtained spontaneously by the workers. There is need for the active intervention of progressive scientists. No doubt they alone will not change science; but they have special access to knowledge that the ruling classes have interred in university libraries and research centers, and they can at least open the door. □

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Self Help Health Care

MEDICINE BY THE PEOPLE

by Anthony Weston

Ivan Illich argues in his critique of modern medicine that:

a professional and physician-based health-care system that has grown beyond critical bounds is sickening (sickness causing) for three reasons: it must produce clinical damage that outweighs its potential benefits; it cannot but enhance even as it obscures the political conditions that render society unhealthy; and it tends to mystify and expropriate the power of the individual to heal himself and to shape his or her environment.¹

These kinds of criticisms are widely shared on the left, and at least the first is becoming a familiar public complaint. But among all of us there is also a feeling of resignation and pessimism; no one knows exactly what to do to *change* medicine. Small corrective changes seem pointless against the overwhelming special interests and general attitudes which underlie present medical practice.

Still, I think that there is some hope for changing medicine. This article makes one concrete suggestion: the emerging "self-care" tendencies are constructive and ought to be encouraged. I try to explain what self-care is, why I think it can be constructive, and then review some of the presently popular books in self-care and end with a challenge for further work.

What Self-Care Is

Self-care involves developing the competence to do for oneself and one's family and friends many of the things which we now rely on medical professionals to do. Most importantly, it means developing the capacity to diagnose common health problems and to deal with them effectively without going to a doctor and without relying on expensive and possibly dangerous medications. Health maintenance and disease prevention are

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also involved, of course, based upon an improved understanding of the causes of sickness and of one's peculiar susceptibilities; also implied is a greater patient participation in professional care, based on the same understanding.

Self-care in this sense is not new. Most of us deal with everyday colds and sprained ankles without going to the doctor or taking drugs. Several recent studies suggest that as many as 75% of discrete illnesses and injuries are handled without professional intervention.² It is hard to know just how to interpret numbers like this: "handled" may simply mean "suffered through", if



Ricardo Dante

people simply could not afford to get medical help, or if no help was available. Still, most of us know first-hand that much health care is carried out without reliance on professionals.

What *is* new is that there seems to be a growing interest in self care among people previously dependent on doctors, and for more complex problems than we now tend to treat within the family or on our own. There are now about twenty commercially available manuals on self care in general, and many more on specific aspects of it, for example, the use of non-prescription drugs for dealing with back problems. Two or three self care periodicals have also become available. The medical profes-

sion itself is taking note: a 1975 Symposium on Self Care, apparently the first of its kind, was held in Copenhagen, and produced some continuing research and publications.³ Also, the Graduate School of the City University of New York has established a National Self-Help Clearinghouse.⁴

The Potential of Self-Care

Obviously, self-care implies a reduced dependence on medical professionals. If people learn to care for themselves, and to seek help from family and community, they rely less on medical professionals. Visiting doctors are certainly not ruled out, but the emphasis in many currently available manuals is on taking control oneself, and turning to friends and peers when help is needed.

A second and closely related effect would be a reduced mystification of medicine. Self-care requires that one begin to understand what is happening inside one's body, and what can—and, just as important, cannot—be done against it. One's body is no longer a mysterious and alien thing reserved for doctors and medical machines. Presently, even the most well informed lay people are generally ignorant of the mechanisms and proper treatments for more than the simplest sicknesses and injuries. And, of course, few people are this well-informed. People take prescribed pills without any idea of how or even whether they work. The Boston's Women's Health Book Collective's *Our Bodies, Ourselves* includes accounts by mature women who only recently began to even look at their own genitals.

This ignorance, of course, has deeply political causes. Enormous medical incomes are made possible by patients' dependencies. The drug companies have an enormous stake in pill-popping; sexist taboos play a central role in the ignorance of women. This suggests the single most important potential effect of the self care movement: it can heighten political awareness and lead to activism. Increased understanding of the causes of disease may reveal how much of their causation is related to working conditions and the polluted environment. Understanding how difficult diagnosis is, and what a difference long-term and emotional factors make to one's condition, can only put one into conflict with the assembly line, single-symptom diagnosis common in large medical establishments. Understanding how uncertain the effects of drugs are, and how many negative and simply unsuspected side-effects there may be, leads not only to a reduced use of drugs, but into a necessarily radicalized attitude toward the drug companies. Women understanding their own bodies and processes can begin to realize how deeply sexist assumptions pervade the practice of medicine.

Activism toward alternatively-organized, non-authority-based health care options is an obvious first step, and already exists to some extent. But activism within traditional, professional medicine is also implied. Patients will begin to refuse the passivity of the "patient" role: to acquire confidence in their own diagnoses, to refuse drugs, to insist on being fully informed. A few patients who refuse this expected passivity will begin to raise questions in the minds of doctors and medical personnel themselves. It is interesting that the participants in the Copenhagen symposium were quite aware of these possibilities: they are never explicitly stated, but there is an underlying recognition of, and uneasiness about, the "powerful potential of self-care to de-professionalize the health care system" and the possibility, so precisely put, that "professionals, health systems planners, and governmental bodies may have to modify many elements of their philosophies, structures, policies, and procedures to adapt to self-care."

Political Objections

Despite this potential, there seems to be widespread apprehension about self-care on the left. The fear is that self-care ultimately misplaces our political energies. It is seen as a way of "blaming the victim," of making people feel as though the blame for their poor health is only theirs; the fear is that it encourages political quietism and exonerates the real, often social causes of illness. Others criticize it as a substitute for political activity; it



makes us feel as if we are taking control when we are really only withdrawing and leaving the oppressive and unhealthy influences even more firmly in control. Finally, there is the perpetual worry that self-care is only a white, educated, upper-middle class phenomenon and thus benefits only those who need it least, abandoning the less well off.

However, everything depends on how self-care is learned and carried out. The implication, then, is not that we should reject the trend toward self-care, but that we should help channel it in politically fruitful directions. As a first step, I offer a general review of the available self-care literature.

Available Books: Poor and Counter-Productive Types

I cannot review all of the available books individually, since there are a great many of them available and more are constantly coming out. But it may be useful to try to indicate what *features* are poor and counter-productive in them, and I shall use some present books as examples. (The discussion is restricted to books because they are the only resource *generally* available; most of what I say, though, can be extended to classes and self-care programs.)

I suggested that self-care could reduce dependence on medical professionals. Some of the available books, though, preserve the mystique of the doctor and professionalized medicine. Self-care seems to be considered simply a way to take the common (and less profitable) treatments off the doctor's hands. A number of books of the "McCall's Home Health Guide" variety are open to this criticism. Others concentrate only on self-diagnosis and leave all treatments to the professional; these

books might be adequate if supplemented with a good book on treatments, although the best books tend to include both.

Self-care can also help to demystify medicine. But again, certain of the available books fail to do so. Few of the books concentrating on drug therapies, for example, discuss *how* drugs work. Seldom, moreover, do they explain the testing procedures which led to the therapeutic claims so confidently presented as hard fact. Many rely on data from the drug industry, and few of these books discuss the pros and cons of modern drug therapy as such.

Another kind of approach open to the charge of mystification, I think, is what could be called the "smorgasborg" approach, exemplified, for example, by the Berkeley Holistic Health Center's *Holistic Health Handbook*. This book is a catalog of currently popular non-standard medical techniques: acupuncture, American Indian medicine, massage, various "holistic" medicines, and so forth. The objection to such a book is not that it is non-standard; the objection is simply that it does not present any coherent picture of the body and how it works. Nearly every chapter presupposes a quite different paradigm of the body, of illness, and often, of the universe itself. At best one will acquire a number of disconnected techniques that make one "feel good," without any consistent and generally applicable idea of *why*. And quite apart from their clash on the theoretical level, many of these techniques work against each other in practice.

Not to be misunderstood: there is certainly room for "survey" books, which present a wide range of alternative ways of seeing health and the body. But these books should focus on general conceptions and not methods. After one has chosen to work within a particular one of these conceptions, *then* one can turn to methods—with some sense of understanding and consistency.

Finally, there are books objectionable on straightforward political grounds. Most applicable of all is the "blame-the-victim" criticism. Consider this quote from Samuels' and Bennett's *The Well Body Book*:

When the mind holds ideas such as worry, fear, anger, jealousy, hate, etc., your body manifests these feelings as muscle tension, decreased blood flow, and abnormal hormonal secretions. Eventually these states of consciousness result in disease. In this way people literally create their own diseases. . . . When your mind entertains ideas and feelings of love, joy, peace, harmony, and openness. . . . your body manifests these feelings as relaxation, acceptance, radiance, alertness, and a natural flow of blood, energy, and hormones.



HEALTH CARE IN CUBA

by Ivette Perfecto

The health care system in Cuba provides medicine by and for the people in a manner currently not available in the United States. Although the self-care approaches described in the accompanying article are necessary in our system, the approach taken in Cuba is something we can strive for.

The health care program in socialist Cuba is based on a broad concept which includes ecological and social factors. It takes into consideration peoples living conditions, working conditions, social relations, etc. Health care is an integral part of the process of economic and social planning in Cuba.

Health care is no longer a privilege of a few, but a right of all Cuban people. Cuba has made great progress in health care since the revolution. For example, the infant mortality rate has dropped more than 50%, making it the lowest rate in the developing world. Cuban people have a life expectancy equal to the longest in the world. They have eliminated diphtheria and polio. There is no malaria or malnutrition.

Many of these achievements have been accomplished by a preventive approach to health care. However, this does not mean that curative health care has been neglected. There is an equal emphasis on both. The delivery of out-patient care is central to the Cuban health care system. The *Policlinica*, which provides a range of out-patient services, including medical examinations, prescription drugs, pre- and

postnatal care, dental treatment, psychiatry, etc., is the heart of the public health system.

The health care system is structured in such a way that it is placed at the disposal of the entire population, geographically, legally, and economically. All health care is free to everyone. Popular participation is incorporated through the mass organizations. For example, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) organize health campaigns on a neighborhood level. The Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) provides health guidance and classes on natural child birth exercises, and encourages women to have regular pap smears. The Central Organization of Trade Unions (CTC) plays an important role in formulating and enforcing occupational health and safety regulations. These and other mass organizations, along with the Communist Party, and the Young Communist League, elect representatives to the People's Commission on Health, which serves as an advisory committee to the Ministry of Public Health. In this way great participation by the general public setting health care policies is achieved.

One of the priorities in the Cuban health care system has been women's health and birth planning. The "Plan for Mothers and Infants" provides women with:

- Job security during pregnancy and following birth. Cuban law guarantees a fixed maternity leave of six weeks before and after delivery, at full salary, in addition to one month paid vacation.
- Information and services regarding sex education, birth control and steriliza-

tion. Abortion is free on request, as are all forms of contraception.

- Prenatal care and the detection and prevention of high risk pregnancies. These are particularly important concerns of Cuban preventive medicine.
- Health guidance. This is carried out with the extensive participation of the mass organizations.
- An increased number of pediatric and obstetric hospitals and clinics.
- Programs finding the causes of and combatting infant mortality.
- Increased medical personnel, with special emphasis on employing women in this field once dominated by men. Women make up 62% of the labor force in the Ministry of Public Health, and half of the medical students.

In the field of mental health, Cuba's health care system is perhaps the best in the Western Hemisphere. Mental hospitals have no bars on windows, and 90% of the cases are treated without drugs. Treatment is given in a rehabilitation program of work, athletics, and recreation. Patients acquire useful skills that enable them to find employment later.

It is ironic that Cuba, being such a small country with limited resources, can accomplish so much, while in the United States many people go without adequate health care.

Source: "Only the people can perform miracles": Health Care in Cuba. 1975. The Venceremos Brigade, Educational Commission, New York.

This is a healthy state. Through your thoughts and feelings you create your own well body.⁶

In a time when 70-80% of all cancers have been linked to environmental causes, when drastic and deliberate political and economic pressures are a reality for many and a threat for many more, when workplace safety is

being subordinated to increased production and profit, this approach is a cruel deception. But many books are of this sort.

A second political criticism has to do with the idea of "substitute activity." Certain forms of self-care can be criticized in this way. Techniques which demand two

hours a day of special exercises, or expensive and time consuming cooking techniques, may give one a sense of activity while in fact only diverting one's energies. In any case, health is simply not the only thing of value; its value is primarily instrumental. Simone de Beauvoir is supposed to have reproached Sartre for ruining his health while writing *Being and Nothingness*; according to the legend, his response was "But what is health for?"

Finally, it is true that most of the presently available self-care books seem to be addressed to a privileged audience. However, this is not necessarily true. *Our Bodies, Ourselves* shows how effective a self-care approach can be for oppressed groups: how learning self-care techniques is only the other side of recognizing some of the forms of one's oppression, and how recognizing these forms of oppression is, again, the other side of beginning to learn ways to overcome them. I will return to this at the end of the next section.

Available Books: Better Ones

Several currently available books genuinely help to reduce dependence on the professional medical system and to demystify medicine. Two general books of this

sort are the *Healthwise Handbook*, by Toni Roberts, et al. (Doubleday, 1979) and *The People's Handbook of Medical Care*, by Arthur and Frank Sutton (American Book-Stratford Press, 1972).

Healthwise Handbook has its liabilities. It presents its aim as merely to strengthen the "communication and partnership" between patient and health professional. Certain outrageous moral attitudes are presupposed: e.g. that "self-stimulation" is bad. Nonetheless, the main body of the book is a quite clear coverage of common health problems, what their causes are, and how to handle them. Despite the initial bias of the book, the sections on home treatment are quite extensive and adequate, and the points at which calling a professional is recommended generally seem reasonable.

The People's Handbook of Medical Care is written by two doctors from the Medical Committee for Human Rights. Its sections on common sicknesses and treatments are briefer, but it compensates by wider coverage: it discusses how to evaluate a doctor, deals with medical emergencies like gunshot wounds and stabs, and includes a chapter on "social and political medicine" which discusses drug use, tear gas, etc. At some points it

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LAW AND ORDER IN THE 1980'S

The Rise of the Right

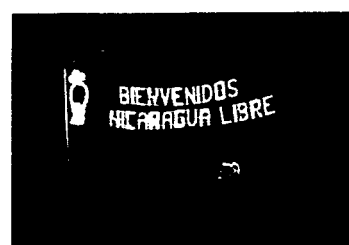
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seems to "over-recommend" aspirin and certain antibiotics, but at other points it makes the pointlessness and even danger of drug therapy quite clear.

There are also some excellent books on specific health problem areas. Most important and well-known is the book *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, already mentioned (published by Simon and Schuster, 1976). Being written "for and by women", it does not attempt to be a general self-care book. It concentrates on the female sexual cycle and organs, contraception, pregnancy, and so on. Third person, biological discussions are often interspersed with first-person accounts. The authors recognize from the start that the problem is in many ways a political one, that women's ignorance is not accidental and that "taking control" means not merely acquiring the needed knowledge but also developing the ability to recognize the oppressive forces at work in medicine and the strength to stand up to them. All of this is discussed in detail, often again, interspersed with short first-person narratives. And the book as a whole attempts to be as supportive as possible and to encourage reliance on other women and the women's support community.

The same group has published two other books, one "for and by parents", called *Ourselves and Our Children*, and one dealing with problems of adolescence, called *Changing Bodies, Changing Selves*. Both books use the interspersed first-and third-person accounts which are so effective in the original book, and both maintain an awareness of the social and political roots of many of the problems discussed.

Still, much work remains to be done. A general book which combines self-care details with a thorough political understanding, as *Our Bodies, Ourselves* does for a specific area, is still necessary. Apart from the particular problems with the Roberts, *et al.* and Sutton books just discussed, those two books affect political awareness at best indirectly. A politically adequate approach to drugs, as well as many other areas is also necessary (and not just a critique but an attempt to come to some sort of reasonable practical conclusions).

Those who can write such material ought to be encouraged to do so. And we ourselves might begin to develop the ability to care for ourselves and for others in these ways, and to try to promote self-care more generally. In the context of a profession which has for so long monopolized such caring, informed human caring can be a revolutionary act. □

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Psychological Warfare

(Continued from page 11)

The March 31, 1980 *Daily Gleaner* carried a photo of Michael Manley next to two unrelated headlines, "Dark Future," and "Reds Took Over." The January 6, 1976 *Daily Gleaner* (during the election campaign) had a photo of Manley next to an unrelated headline, "Policeman, Two Others Shot." This was repeated in the January 6, 1978 issue which carried a photo of a dead policeman with the related headline "Policeman Shot," next to an unrelated article about Manley, entitled "A Cadillac for the Prime Minister."

By the simple juxtaposition of photos with unrelated headlines, government leaders in socialist countries and the ideology they represent are associated with death, plagues, and violence. The new *El Mercurio-Daily Gleaner-La Prensa* are more similar to each other than to their old conservative formats. The immediate reaction of people when shown examples is that the pattern is clear, but how does one know it works? In fact, it has long been an

article of faith among the "small effects" communications theorists that propaganda of any kind has little demonstrable effect on voting and similar political behavior. This unwarranted assumption was being repeated by an unwitting southern Congressman to Dr. Frederick Frei of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Representative was arguing against funding propaganda on the ground that no substantive benefits to the national security derived from such activities. Dr. Frei revealed, however, that actual studies conducted in Chile and Turkey proved the contrary. From the undeleted portions of the censored testimony it was clear that Dr. Frei was referring to the 1964 Chilean elections when the CIA spent a reputed twenty million dollars to stop Allende. While Dr. Frei's testimony may have been self-serving, it can be taken as evidence of a CIA belief that their peculiar anti-Allende propaganda methods do work. In a book published in Venezuela in 1968, *Interviene La CIA en Investigaciones Sociologicas en Venezuela*, by Rodolfo Quintero, Frei was described as a CIA agent.

HAPPENINGS HERE A



PRIME MINISTER MICHAEL MANLEY talks with the JLP Managing Director of National Hotels and Properties at a luncheon given by the Jamaica Tourist Board at the Plaza Hotel in New York recently.

Talking tourism

The importance of tourism to the Jamaican economy was stressed by Prime Minister Michael Manley when he met a group of leading international tour operators, travel agents, and airline executives who attended luncheon hosted by the Jamaica Tourist Board in New York recently.

The luncheon, which was held at the Plaza Hotel was an occasion to mark the beginning of Jamaica's 1979 winter programme. The Prime Minister met several of the persons from the north coast and other areas of the United States who have been major producers of travel business for Jamaica for many years.

In an informal speech, Mr. Manley thanked them for the contribution which they had made to the island's tourism development and shared with them his perceptions of some of the factors which affect the development of the industry and other areas of Jamaica.

He invited members of the audience to share any concerns which they had on events in Jamaica and how they saw the development of tourism. This led to a question and answer period in which a number of issues were discussed.

Among those who spoke for the travel trade was Mr. Joseph Stone, International President of the American Society of Travel Agents (ASTA).

Guests at the luncheon included Jamaican officials: Hon. Jack Treloar, Minister of State for Tourism; Hon. Arnold Barron, Minister of Information, Media, Arts and Culture; Mr. Don Mills, Jamaica Permanent Representative to the United Nations; Mr. Cliff Ryan, President, Jamaica Hotel and Tourist Association; Mr. J. M. Spaulding, Managing Director of National Hotels and Properties; Mr. E. G. Burnett, American Consul General in Miami.

—79

'Plot to assassinate police officers'

Managua Bay Reporter
The JLP has uncovered a PNP plot to assassinate certain politicians and high ranking police officers, and to blame it on the JLP, the JLP spokesman on National Security, Senator Winston Spaulding announced here Sunday afternoon.

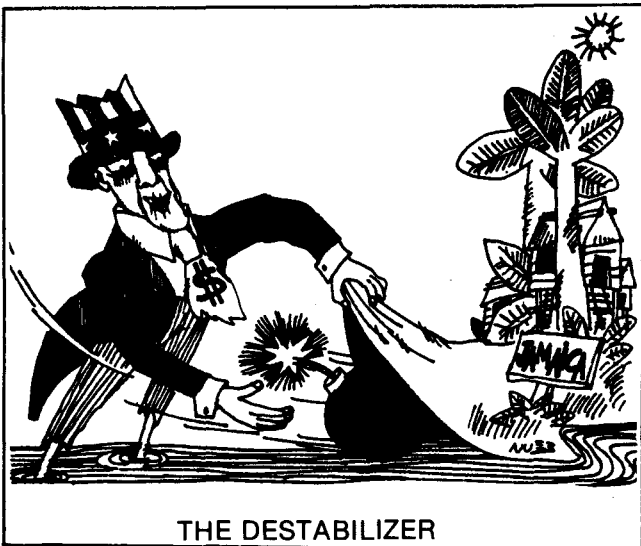
The JLP spokesman said the PNP had been plotting to assassinate certain politicians and high ranking police officers, and to blame it on the JLP, the JLP spokesman on National Security, Senator Winston Spaulding announced here Sunday afternoon.

impairment of a State of Emergency between now and next year.

Spaulding said that he had been in receipt of information that the alleged conspiracy involved "PNP activities. He said that the JLP had been called for an independent and impartial Police Service Commission, and that the JLP had requested the arrest of the police in being more concerned in pursuing crimes. Mr. Spaulding declared: "The PNP is working plus after plot to try and stage the



Daily Gleaner, November 13, 1979: Photo of Prime Minister Michael Manley at a social event is directly above a story entitled "Plot to Assassinate Police Officers."



THE DESTABILIZER

The "Semantic Differential"

Behavioral conditioning by highly selective, emotionally-charged words has come to be the most distinguishing characteristic of CIA propaganda, due to the influence of three men: B. F. Skinner, Charles Osgood, and Edward Lansdale.

During the days of the OSS, the CIA's predecessor, U.S. propaganda was heavily influenced by Freudians. Later the Pentagon and the CIA came to regard the views of B. F. Skinner as being more pragmatic. Skinner wrote a book called *The Behavior of Organisms*, based entirely on observing the behavior of white mice and pigeons.

Modern attitude theory is a branch of behaviorism which views the higher mental functions as explainable in terms of stimuli and response. A mental concept has logical associations, or meaning, and emotional associations, or affect.

Psycholinguists have long believed that the grammatical and semantic features of a given language shape the world view of its speakers. Merely by studying the lan-

Nicaraguan Paper Names 13 As C.I.A. Agents in Managua

By ALAN RIDING
Special to The New York Times

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Nov. 6 — A pro-Sandinist newspaper today published the names of 13 people who it said were Central Intelligence Agency members now attached to the United States Embassy here, prompting a strong protest from the Reagan Administration.

The newspaper, *Nuevo Diario*, listed a total of 40 people that it said were United States intelligence officers who had worked in Nicaragua in recent years. It gave a brief biography of each of the 13 people who it said were C.I.A. employees still assigned here.

The chargé d'affaires at the United States Embassy, Roger R. Gamble, delivered a strong vocal protest to the Nicaraguan authorities this afternoon in which he described the publication as "an act of provocation," and warned that several of those named had already received death threats.

The Nicaraguan Ambassador to Washington, Arturo J. Cruz, was called in by the State Department this morning and, according to United States officials, was reminded that the Nicaraguan Government was responsible for the safety of all foreign embassy personnel stationed here.

A Low Point in Relations

The incident was seen here as marking a low point in United States-Nicaraguan relations, which have deteriorated steadily since President Reagan took office last January.

In recent months, the United States has accused Nicaragua of arming Salvadoran guerrillas and unnecessarily building up its own army. Many Nicaraguan officials are convinced that the Reagan Administration is intent on undermining the two-year-old Sandinist revolution, both economically and politically.

United States officials here linked

today's publication in *Nuevo Diario* to last month's visit here by Philip Agee, a former C.I.A. agent who has frequently published the names of people identified by him as C.I.A. employees stationed in different regions of the world.

"The Nicaraguan Government's support for Agee while he was here gives us grounds to protest to them that their willingness to countenance his activities led to this," an official said. "And this is a provocative act."

The official said that Washington was considering temporarily evacuating the families of embassy officers named today, but those on the list would not leave. "We're not going to run," an official noted.

Nicaraguan officials denied today that the publication had been coordinated with Mr. Agee. They said *Nuevo Diario* had merely published a news agency report from Costa Rica on its own merits.

Editors Will Visit Nicaragua Over Closings of Newspaper

MIAMI, Nov. 6 (UPI) — A group of editors and publishers, led by Charles Scripps, president of the Inter-American Press Association and chairman of Scripps-Howard newspapers, will visit Nicaragua next week.

The mission, with representation from at least eight newspapers in the Western Hemisphere, will arrive in Managua Nov. 10 and meet with authorities over the next two days to express concern over the repeated closings of the newspaper *La Prensa*.

The visit was requested in a meeting of the Inter-American Press Association last month in Rio de Janeiro.

The New York Times, Saturday, November 7, 1981.

guage of a culture it should be possible to uncover hidden psychological processes peculiar to that culture. If, in addition, one analyzed such matters as characteristic word associations and the emotional associations of certain key words, one could use psycholinguistics to prepare psychological profiles not only of cultures but also of individual leaders.

Professor Charles Osgood, whose research was funded by the CIA and used in the Agency's MK-ULTRA program, developed a technique called the "semantic differential" which can do all of the above.

Edward Lansdale, a notorious veteran of both the OSS and the CIA, glorified in *The Ugly American*, operated on the philosophy that in each foreign culture there was some hidden psychological key which, if discovered, would permit the minds of the people to be easily manipulated.

In 1958 the semantic differential became the official method chosen by the CIA to search for this hidden key. Twenty years later the CIA released boxes of previously classified records covering its MK-ULTRA experiments in the field of psychological and mind control research. Based on these documents, John Marks wrote in *The Search for the "Manchurian Candidate:" The CIA and Mind Control*:

"Agency officials saw his research as 'directly relevant' to covert activities. They believed they could transfer Osgood's knowledge of 'hidden values and cues' in the way people communicate into more effective overseas propaganda. Osgood's work gave them a tool called the 'semantic differential'—to choose the right words in a foreign language to convey a particular meaning." [In 1958 the CIA gave Osgood \$192,975 to finance a world-wide study of 620 key words in 30 cultures using the semantic differential.]

The reason for dwelling at such length on the topic of the semantic differential is that it explains a host of phenomena unique to CIA propaganda: why certain words are used and others are not; the use in propaganda of words that *sound like* communism; the attempt at behavioral conditioning of previously positive terms into negative ones by simple physical association; the projection of a highly-polarized world view in which the government is depicted exclusively in terms that reflect not only the expected negative attitude, but also impotency and passivity.

By 1974 I had concluded that whoever was running *El Mercurio* was using the semantic differential. Interestingly, it was Charles Osgood himself who agreed with this analysis and helped me to prove it. The voluminous MK-ULTRA records released by the CIA in 1978 confirm that the semantic differential is the strategic intelligence on

which CIA propaganda targeting is based. It is to CIA psychological warfare the equivalent of the inertial guidance system of an atomic missile.

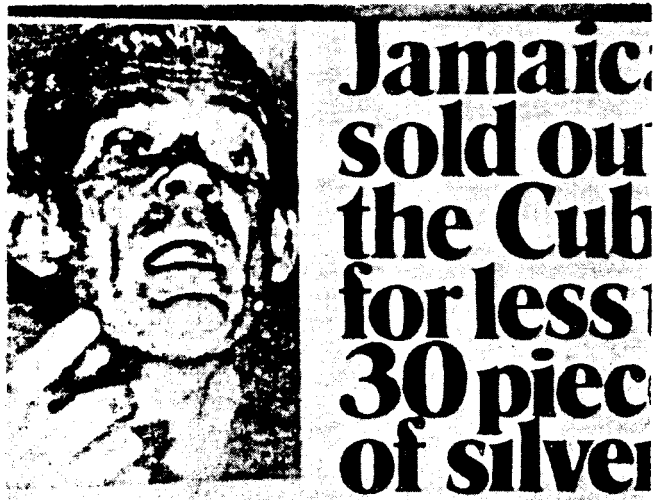
Subliminal Methods

The combined effect of word associations (derived from the semantic differential) with subliminal imbeds is so strong that it displaces any other message.

The intense psychological and physical fear aroused in viewers of the film *The Exorcist* is notorious. Not as well known is the fact that these reactions were the result of the use of very strong subliminal messages, in particular of a death mask. The subliminal use of the death mask in *The Exorcist* has been widely discussed in many publications. It should be noted that William Peter Blatty, the author, has stated that he was involved in psychological warfare operations in Viet Nam.

As described in *Media Sexploitation*, by Wilson Brian Keys, *The Exorcist* was "a brilliant repertoire of visual and auditory subliminal innovations. . . . There is no possibility of rational decision making or defense, since consciousness is bypassed completely. Numerous times during the movie there was a flash of light and the face of Father Karras momentarily appeared as a large, full-screen death mask apparition. . . . At the movie's climax, when Father Karras was possessed by the devil, his face turned white—closely resembling the tachistoscoped death mask."

During the 1980 Jamaican elections heavily retouched photos of Prime Minister Michael Manley looking like a death mask appeared in the *Daily Gleaner*. (Other examples can found in *Psychological Warfare in the Media: The Case of Jamaica*.)



An example of the death mask photos of Michael Manley used by the Daily Gleaner.

Rechazado el Recorrido de La Marcha



Los grandes aplausos se escucharon en la sala cuando el doctor Allende fue operado de un tumor en el corazón. El procedimiento quirúrgico duró varias horas y se realizó con éxito. El paciente se encuentra en buenas condiciones y será dado de alta en unos días.



El Mercurio, April 8, 1972: Color photo of open heart surgery next to picture which includes Allende.

Keys described the physiological impact of *The Exorcist*: "As tension within a person increases, he perceives less and less at the conscious level and becomes more and more susceptible to subliminal stimuli. . . . The tension and release, tension and release, tension and release, always building higher and higher and higher, induced exhaustion and even nausea for many in the audience."

What it feels like to be in a country like Chile or Jamaica during a period of intense psychological warfare is as if one were actually in *The Exorcist* instead of just watching it. Compare the above audience reactions with the following descriptions by visitors to Chile:

Baeza Flores, writing in *Radiografía Política de Chile*: "I arrived like a traveller feeling a bit dizzy from the gas of propaganda and counter-propaganda of psychological warfare, a little seasick from the ideological gas."

Oscar Waiss, writing in *La Nación*: "The purpose of the CIA is to create a national psychosis, including an insane repetition of themes, which could serve as background music for a horror film."

Ralph McGehee stated in his *Nation* article that the CIA attempted to recreate the same psychological mood in Chile as it had in Indonesia in 1965. Note what a newspaper reporter in Djakarta, Arnold C. Brackman, writing in *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia*, later wrote about this mood: "In 1964-1965, this community was subject to 'mental terror,' the popular phrase used by articulate Indonesians to describe the period.... The murders can be characterized as a 'psychological explosion' among a repressed people who had suffered 'mental terror.'"

What the CIA unleashed in Indonesia was a psychological warfare bomb that killed more people than the atom bomb at Hiroshima. It is this demonstrated ability to



El Mercurio, August 13, 1973: The hag, with cymbals, in front of the open door to La Moneda.

create emotional tidal waves and political earthquakes that warrants a careful examination of CIA psychological operations.

On April 8, 1972 *El Mercurio* placed a full color photo of open heart surgery next to a photo of Allende. This is not the sort of thing that Chileans had come to expect with their morning coffee. On November 24, 1972 *El Mercurio* improved on the original by surrounding Allende's photo with four color photos showing the implantation of a radioactive battery in a Chilean heart. The imagery which is intended here is that of (the Marxist) Allende, like the radioactive implant, as an alien element which has penetrated into the very heart of Chile. In this organic model, Chile is a healthy body which will eventually reject the alien Marxist implant (Allende).

On August 13, 1973—one month before the *coup*—*El Mercurio* lifted an omen out of Bergman's *The Seventh Seal*. A sepulchral hag done up in a hooded monkish robe shuffles in front of the Presidential Palace clanging cymbals. *El Mercurio* manages to catch this omen of death come knocking on the door just as it arrives at the portals of La Moneda.

On March 9, 1972 *El Mercurio* presented another photo of Minister of the Economy Pedro Vuscovic; just below: jaws—the hideous face of a growling attack dog jumping straight at the camera. On August 2, 1972, and



Visitador Mario Laburnerie amontona en su lado del galpon las aves muertas por el Newcastle

casez de Vacunas Eleva



e de Caballo Más Cara que el Vacuno.

El Mercurio, July and August 1972: Dead chickens and cows on the front pages of the paper.

for several preceding days, *El Mercurio* manipulated other omens of death in the form of dead cows and chickens. This was coordinated with the distribution of movies and comic books prepared by the CIA based on George Orwell's *Animal Farm*.

Counterrevolution and *Animal Farm*

The symbolism of dead cows surfaced anew in *La Prensa* of Nicaragua in April and May of this year. *Animal Farm* was printed in installments on the editorial page of *La Prensa*, and every vendor had free copies of the comic book to distribute. According to E. Howard Hunt in *Memoirs of an American Secret Agent*, one of his responsibilities while with the CIA was to arrange for the production and distribution of the film version of *Animal*

Repudio a Actuación De Vuskovic



Banzer Inicia Visita a Paraguay



Muskie Ganó La Primaria



El Mercurio, March 9, 1972: The attack dog near the article about Minister Vuskovic.

Farm. In its comic book view of the world, a socialist country is a farmyard in which the pigs have taken over and the victimized citizenry are depicted as cows and chickens. The pigs get fatter while the cows get thinner.

The movie *Animal Farm* is a good example of the advantages of psychological warfare over explicit ideological propaganda. *Animal Farm* has no explicit political message. It is a simple allegory involving familiar farm animals. In a country like Nicaragua, it is a way of reaching individuals who may be illiterate or apolitical with a very strong counterrevolutionary argument. Its central theme is the futility of revolution. The new pigs are just as bad as, and end up looking like, the old master. The hypocrisy of revolutionary rhetoric; the cynicism, greed, and lust for power of revolutionary leaders; all culminating in slave labor, show trials, starvation and death. The CIA does not say Nicaraguan government leaders are pigs; it shows *Animal Farm* and lets people make their own analogies. In the event the desired analogies are not made, the local newspaper will retouch photos of leaders making them look like pigs, contrasted with photos of victimized and emaciated citizens.



La Prensa, March 18, 1981: Photo of "healthy" Minister juxtaposed against photo of hospitalized youth.

On March 18, 1981 *La Prensa* featured a photo of Chancellor D'Escoto taken at a very odd angle, which, together with added shadows, emphasized his double chin. The title under the photo reads, "Overflowing With Health and in a High State of Optimism," contrasting sharply with the photo below, of a victimized citizen lying on a hospital bed, with the headline, "Calvary of an Innocent. Is This What Our People Fought For?"

In May 1981 *La Prensa* began a campaign (later retracted) alleging that cows brought from Cuba had hoof-and-mouth disease. Although no evidence was ever offered in support of these allegations, it skillfully combined the imagery from *Animal Farm* with the already established association of the (Marxist) government with plagues and death.

Divisive Propaganda—The Manipulation of Religious Symbolism

The purpose of a CIA campaign of divisive propaganda is to reduce national unity. In April 1981 a major campaign of psychological warfare began in Nicaragua with an attempt to mobilize protests by Catholics against the government. The first step was to inflame the parents of

students attending parochial schools. A *La Prensa* campaign attacked and polarized democratic nationwide forums to discuss educational reform by using such terms as "Marxist brainwashing," "turning children into guerrillas," "filling children with hatred," "priests who support the Marxist government and betray their allegiance to the True Church," etc.

The manipulation of religious symbolism, especially that of the cross and of the Virgin, was initiated by *La Prensa* and the CIA, not by the Nicaraguan Catholic Church. Although the clear intention of the propaganda campaign was to polarize relations between Church and State, the religious tone which the political struggle acquired was not created by the Church. Alan Riding, in a *New York Times* article of May 29, 1981, entitled "Religion Becomes a Political Weapon for Both Left and Right in Nicaragua," unwittingly perhaps, bolstered the CIA line:

"Thousands of Nicaraguan Roman Catholics trekked to the small village of Cuapa, 100 miles east of here, where the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared.... 'The cult of the Virgin of Cuapa is a response to the fears of Communism,' a foreign priest said."

Before a "miracle" can occur, the way must be prepared. The first recorded CIA plan in this area was by Edward Lansdale. A witness before the Senate Intelligence Committee investigating alleged assassination plots described the plan:

"I'll give you one example of Lansdale's perspicacity. He had a wonderful plan for getting rid of Castro. This consisted of spreading the word that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent and that Christ was against Castro. And you would spread this word around Cuba, and then on whatever date it was, that there would be a manifestation of this thing. And at that time—this is absolutely true—and at that time just over the horizon there would be an American submarine which would surface off Cuba and send up some starshells. And this would be the manifestation of the Second Coming and Castro would be overthrown. Well, some wag called this operation 'Elimination by Illumination.'"

Nicaragua began to be illuminated at Christmastime. *La Prensa* of December 28, 1980 carried the photograph of a young lady with the convenient name Maria Lourdes. Maria was photographed in white raiment against the heavens in the shape of a cross. *La Prensa* found the only spot in Managua where the entire National Cathedral can be shown in the background. She appears as a statue of the Virgin descending from the heavens upon the National Cathedral. The word "Lourdes" borders the photo on

ayer a las cinco de la mañana aproximadamente de jactando el saldo de unas 20 personas lesionadas, dos de ellas de gravedad. El accidente de tránsito se

Masachapa. Según informes preliminares el bus corría a gran velocidad y el conductor no pudo controlar el timón al tomar la curva.

están: Dora Molina, María Luisa Carballo de Narváez, Angélica Bermúdez, Carmen Muñoz López, Irma Gutiérrez de Flores, María Elena Sánchez, Carmen Muñoz

Maritza Campos. En estado sumamente delicado se encuentran Juan José Aragón y María Pastora y c



MARIA LOURDES MEJIA

La Prensa, December 28, 1980: Heavily symbolic photo of Maria Lourdes Mejia.

Familia de Lourdes pide investigación

"A las siete de la noche del 25 llegaron a mi casa dos personas, una señora y una chavala, a decirme que en la Colonia Tendero había ocurrido un accidente. Con ellas me fui al Hospital Oriental y al llegar me dijeron que mi hermana estaba muerta. Que había muerto en el camino. Allí estaba el que vivía con ellas", dijo en LA PRENSA Marisol Mejia

Pastora, hermana fortunada joven y des Mejia Espin recientemente en de la Colonia Tenx circunstancias aun das oficialmente. Marisol, quien muestra oficinas ción en compañía ra madre Vilme Mejia Pastora y c

Gentil visita de Cap. Sánchez

El Capitán Roberto Sánchez, vocero del EPS se presentó hasta nuestra sala de redacción para aclarar dos informaciones aparecidas en LA PRENSA. Respecto a nuestra información de ayer en torno a una supuesta base militar que se estaba trazando cerca de la Comarca Los Castros.

Sánchez informó vamente se está un estudio topográfico delimitar las tierras que pertenecen al INRA en ningún momento se hará desahucio. En algunos momentos la vecindad. Sánchez festo que ya se h

Cruz: Can



La Prensa, March 23, 1981: Headline, "Cruz." Immediately below is an unrelated photo of two Christ-like figures with a cross planted next to each body. In fine print La Prensa admitted that two volunteers agreed to play the role of the dead bodies, while it supplied the two crosses.

LA PRENSA 16 PÁGINAS C\$2.00
AL SERVIDOR DE LA VERDAD Y LA JUSTICIA
Fundada el 19 de mayo de 1977 por el Dr. Amador B. Solís
Editor: Amador B. Solís
Director: Amador B. Solís
Calle 14 de Septiembre, No. 100, San José, Costa Rica
Tel. 222-1111

Visita al campesino de las apariciones

Con Bernardo en Cuapa

Otorgado el placet al Dr. Cruz

Liberan a 25 rehenes

La Prensa, April 3, 1981: Photo of the shepherd and the site of the visions of the Virgin.

each side. Mary, Angel, Heaven, Lourdes, Cross, National Cathedral. . . it is impossible to imagine more heavily-loaded religious symbols being squeezed into one photograph.

On April 1, 1981, a day favored by pranksters, *La Prensa* began the creation of a local Lourdes. They mobilized thousands of the devout to a spot where the Virgin Mary had appeared to a simple shepherd and a *La Prensa* reporter while praying in a circle of roses (rosary). The shepherd's name was Bernardo (echoing the Song of Bernadette). According to the CIA's newspaper, the Virgin was not happy with current affairs in Nicaragua.

Symbolism of the Cross

U.S. Army Field Manual of Psychological Operations:

"142 Symbols

- (1) Among Christians the power of the Christian cross is effective as a symbol because it graphically represents Christ's suffering and death for man."

When *La Prensa* wishes to turn the front page into a religious tableau, it begins by running a headline about the Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Arturo Cruz, never using the title Ambassador, or Doctor, or his other names in order to leave the symbolic "Cruz" (cross). Within a few inches of "Cruz" appears a Christ-like figure and a cross.



La Prensa, April 9, 1981: Headline, "Cruz." Above are two unrelated photos of victims of violence (genuine), with arms outstretched. To the left is an unrelated photo, a retouched composite, with a cross on the top of a hill and, in the caption, the expression, "our long-suffering Nicaragua."



La Prensa, May 9, 1981: Headline, "Cruz." Above is an unrelated photo showing a huge cross awkwardly hung over the back of a youth, with young people in a circle, singing.

The May 9 photo, apart from its association with Cruz, is very interesting. It shows a pastoral scene with happy young people strumming guitars. The CIA distributed a half million copies of a very similar photo in Italy before the 1976 national elections. The thematic content is also the same, where the beatific scene of Christian folk singers is contrasted with code-words for Marxist youth: hatred, materialism, political, conflict.

The Italian version was distributed as ads in the Milan-based newspaper, *Avvenire* and *Il Giornale Nuovo*, and as a pamphlet attributed to the organization "Comunione e Liberazione," identified in the House of Representatives' Pike Commission Report as a recipient of CIA



funding. On election day a new version appeared in which was added the symbol of the Christian Democratic Party (a cross over a shield) and an exhortation to Catholic youth to vote for that political party and against Marxism.

During the 1970 Chilean elections, the same photographic and thematic content appeared in ads for an organization calling itself "Nueva Accion Cristiana" (New Christian Action). An investigation by the Chilean Chamber of Deputies established that this was an illegal, unregistered, non-existent organization invented by executives at *El Mercurio*. This front was incorporated in an ad hoc advertising agency called Andalien, which was shown to have received CIA funds, and whose executives were later identified as CIA agents.

On June 18, 1980 the Jamaica *Daily Gleaner's* front page was dominated by a photo of an open Bible, an arrow indicating where a bullet was lodged. The headline read, "The Bullet and the Bible." Readers were asked to believe that a simple Christian farmer was reading his family Bible when suddenly a communist bullet came whizzing through the window, headed straight for his heart. Personally I prefer Woody Allen's version. He claims a Jesus Freak assaulted him with a Bible which was stopped by a bullet he carried in his vest pocket.



Some time later the *Daily Gleaner* ran a photo of a huge egg covered by an amorphous black spot. The story was that a good Christian farmer found the egg in his chicken coop and brought it to the offices of the newspaper as an oddity. The *Gleaner* was able to identify the mess on the egg positively as a map of the Soviet Union, and the appearance of the magic egg was said to be an omen from God to the people of Jamaica that they should not let their country be turned over to the Soviets.

Campaign Coordination

All of this should not suggest that the CIA just plays games with foreign newspapers. The internal propaganda

campaign is coordinated with an economic, diplomatic, and paramilitary offensive. Eventually, the economic chaos claimed in the propaganda becomes real. Suddenly there really are shortages. Then conflicts develop with bordering states, ancient racial and religious divisions suddenly flare up, communications and transportation are sabotaged.

In Nicaragua, the appearance of the Virgin coincided with the arrival of Morris Zerulo, a right-wing American evangelist, amidst a massive publicity campaign touting his alleged ability to exorcise the demons afflicting Nicaragua. The U.S. cut off economic aid. The State Department accused Nicaragua of fomenting insurgency in El Salvador. Former CIA Deputy Director Vernon Walters visited the hostile neighboring states. Incursions by former Somoza guards across the Honduran border increased, while these same mercenaries were openly trained in the United States. Thousands of Catholics were mobilized against the government and pressures were exerted on the priests serving in the Sandinista administration to resign.

During the 1980 electoral campaign in Jamaica, the character assassination of government ministers in the *Daily Gleaner* was coordinated with actual assassination plots against Prime Minister Michael Manley, Minister of National Security Dudley Thompson, and the General Secretary of the Peoples National Party, Dr. D. K. Duncan. Fake headlines about Soviet planes and Cuban boats landing were coordinated with a real paramilitary terrorist campaign that claimed some 700 lives. A serious but little publicized *coup* attempt occurred in June 1980. U.S. companies closed. U.S. economic aid, public and private, was unobtainable.

On October 1, 1972 the CIA organized the Chilean truck owners to paralyze transportation. The CIA-dominated Inter American Press Association held its annual convention in Chile to investigate the perceived threat to *El Mercurio*. U.S. warships participating in Operation Unitas appeared off the coast of Valparaiso giving symbolic support for dissident military units to act. CIA sabotage squads began blowing up bridges, railway lines, and people. *El Mercurio* called on the armed forces to save Chile.

Conclusion

The stages of psychological warfare are well defined. In fact, the U.S. Army issues Field Manuals for each stage. Interestingly, the primary responsibility for planning and conducting the activities discussed in the first stages does not lie with the military. Like James Bond's license to kill, only the CIA is supposed to engage in "black" propaganda, forging of documents, paramilitary actions, and other such covert operations. [During the early 1970s, however, the U.S. Army was found to have engaged in massive political spying in Europe. This conduct was ruled unlaw-

ful by a Federal court.] The ultimate military objective only becomes evident in the later stages. Psychological warfare is a form of secret unconventional warfare which may, if all else fails, shift to open conventional warfare.

While the terminology varies among different agencies, the Army's somewhat archaic terms for the stages are: Propaganda, Psychological Operations, Psychological Warfare, Civil Affairs, and Reconstruction.

Propaganda consists of presenting a positive image of the U.S. and a negative image of the socialist bloc. The CIA cooperates to some degree in this effort with the U.S. International Communications Agency, soon to be re-named, as before, US Information Agency.

Psychological Operations take place in peacetime and are geared toward throwing elections or moderating the policies of a foreign government.

Psychological Warfare is undeclared war. All the agencies of the U.S. government coordinate their activities as a team, all resources of the U.S. short of overt war are brought to bear. Open and underground resistance groups are set up by the CIA. There is an attempt to mobilize the masses against the government. Paramilitary operations, including terrorism and assassination, are coordinated with subversive propaganda. While instigated by the CIA, their agents are primarily local people. The task is still to manipulate civilians or the military or both indirectly to overthrow their own government.

To arrive at the stage of **Civil Affairs** means that within the goals which have been set for the CIA by the President, they have failed. A conventional military *coup* is necessary or the Marines must be sent in. The principal actors here are regular military forces of the U.S. and of those elements friendly to the U.S.

In the **Reconstruction** stage, forces friendly to the U.S. are in undisputed physical control of the entire national territory. The country has been pacified. A think-tank of U.S.-trained economists, attorneys, and journalists is set up to advise the new pro-capitalist government. Ideally, the economy is restructured according to the theories of Milton Friedman, as in Chile.

Of those examples under discussion, only in Chile has the final stage been reached. That was because the CIA failed in its frenzied efforts to throw the elections of 1970 and 1973. In Jamaica the CIA suffered a defeat in the 1976 elections and came prepared for the 1980 campaign with both military and electoral options.

Contrary to the Chilean example, success was achieved for the CIA in Jamaica in the third stage, psychological warfare. That stage is currently well under way in Nicaragua. Timely and firm defensive measures, and particularly education of the populace to the nature of psychological warfare, can and will prevent a CIA success there. □

resources

EXTINCTION

Seeds of the Earth: A Private or Public Resource?, Pat Roy Mooney, Canadian Council for International Co-operation (321 Chapel, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7Z2 Canada), 1980 (English edition), 126 pp., \$6.00. Also available in French and Spanish editions. A daunting picture of the losses of plant varieties world-wide, and a guide to action.

The 1981 Seed Savers Exchange, Kent Whealy, Seed Savers Exchange (Rural Route 2; Princeton, MO 64673), 1981, 64 pp., \$3.00. Published by an organization of gardeners who are working to save heirloom and endangered vegetable varieties from extinction.

Extinction: The Causes and Consequences of the Disappearance of Species, Paul and Anne Ehrlich, Random House (400 Hahn Road; Westminster, MD 21157), 1981, 306 pp., \$15.95.

The very ecosystems that make up our global life-support systems are being unraveled by the obliteration of animal and plant species at unprecedented rates. By causing the extinction of wildlife, whether consciously or not, humanity attacks itself.

NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AND TECHNOLOGY

The Impact of Microelectronics: A Tentative Appraisal of Information Technology, Juan Rada, International Labour Office (Washington Branch; 1750 New York Avenue, Suite 311; Washington, D.C. 20006), 1981, \$10.00. Considers the implications for employment and for international division of labour. Breaks new ground in examining the possible consequences for the developing countries, which may lose their existing comparative advantages in international trade.

Bridges Across the South: Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries, B.P. Manon, Pergamon Press (Maxwell House, Fairview Park; Elmsford, NY 10523), 1980, 144 pp., \$6.95.

Focuses on how third world nations are building cooperation among themselves to create an equitable world order.

AFRICA, TECHNOLOGY AND HEALTH

Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa, Jack Goody, Cambridge University Press (32 East 57th Street; New York, N.Y. 10022), 1980, 88 pp., \$5.95. An examination of the role of technology in African history and how it affected the means of production in different societies.

Resources for Third World Health Planners: A Selected Subject Bibliography, Philip Singer and Elizabeth Titus, Trado-Medic Books/Conch Magazine Ltd. (102 Normal Avenue, Symphony Circle; Buffalo, N.Y. 14213), 1980, 156 pp., \$9.95.

A comprehensive bibliography on traditional healing.

Health and Society in Africa: A Working Bibliography, Steven Feierman, Crossroads Press (Epstein Building; Brandeis University; Waltham, MA 02254), 1979, 220 pp., \$25.00. 2,800 entries.

Infectious Diseases in Twentieth Century Africa: A Bibliography of Their Distribution and Consequences, K. David Patterson, Crossroads Press (see above), 1979, 251 pp., \$25.00. 3,481 entries.

Medicine, Tradition, and Development in Kenya and Tanzania 1920-1970, Ann Beck, Crossroads Press (see above), 1981, 125 pp., \$12.00.

Health in Colonial Ghana: Disease, Medicine, and Socio-Economic Change 1900-1955, K. David Patterson, Crossroads Press (address above), 1981, 200 pp., \$20.00.

POPULATION DYNAMICS

And the Poor Get Children: Radical Perspective on Population Dynamics, Karen L. Michaelson, Editor, Monthly Review Press (62 West 14th Street; New York, N.Y. 10011), 1981, 288 pp., \$16.00. This set of essays argues that only a radical restructuring of

world capitalist production will allow individuals control over the processes that affect their lives.

MAYAN MATHEMATICS

Math of Mexico, A.R. Davis & Company (P.O. Box 24424B; San Jose, CA 95154), \$4.95, a poster (23" x 35"). This eight color poster shows the Mayan calendar and number system. It is in English and Spanish.



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