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EL SALVADOR ON BRINK OF CIVIL WAR



**OUTRAGE MOUNTS AGAINST RIGHTIST
ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO**

Shah Flees Panama But Can't Escape Protests

By Janice Lynn

Just twenty-four hours before extradition proceedings were about to begin in Panama, the deposed shah of Iran was spirited out of that country. He was flown to Cairo aboard Evergreen International Airlines, reputed to have connections with the CIA.

These events once again spotlighted Washington's commitment to the bloody tyrant. In a secret agreement with the shah last December, the U.S. government guaranteed the shah's security and agreed to readmit him at any time for "medical care." The White House also agreed to continue helping the shah's children, who attend school in the United States, and to assist the empress in entering the country.

But Washington's plans to readmit the shah were thwarted when forty-seven families of the fifty-three Americans being held in Tehran signed a letter warning Carter not to allow the shah back in.

"One dirty deal," was how Virgil Sickmann, father of hostage Rodney Sickmann, described the possible return of the shah.

"Trying to help the shah has led to nothing but trouble," said the mother of another hostage.

So Egypt was selected for the shah's next hideaway.

On March 25, crowds estimated at more than 50,000 demonstrated outside the U.S. embassy in Tehran denouncing Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and American imperialism. Demonstrations also took place in other cities throughout Iran. Tehran radio reported the protests had "spread throughout the nation."

Demonstrators chanted, "People of Egypt, rise and overthrow Sadat" and "The Shah must be returned." Some carried banners supporting trials for those American hostages who have been implicated in CIA activities by documents the students discovered in the embassy. A resolution read at the mass demonstration in Tehran condemned the shah's transfer to Egypt as "an action based on getting the fugitive Shah out of the Iranian people's grip by American imperialism."

Meanwhile, protests against Sadat's harboring of the shah have been growing in Egypt, as well. On March 26, several thousand students at Cairo University protested the shah's presence, even though security officials closed the gates to the university to prevent people from attending the rally.

"The shah is corrupt and by welcoming him we are drawing corruption to us," said

one student speaker. The students have continued their protests, distributing leaflets demanding that the "killer shah" leave Egypt.

Al Chaab, organ of the opposition Socialist Labor Party, charged that Sadat was "protecting [the shah] against the will of his people."

On March 29, in the city of Asyut, 235 miles south of Cairo, several thousand protesters demanding, "The shah must leave" were attacked by police who broke up the demonstration with tear gas. Several of the demonstrators required hospitalization.

Even in Egypt's virtually hand-picked parliament, eight members voted against the shah's stay in Egypt.

In every country to which the shah fled, his presence spurred protests, demonstrations, and debates. Working people demanded an end to protection of the royal torturer.

In the United States, his stay added more fuel to the growing discussion about Washington's role in putting the shah in power, organizing his secret police, cover-

ing up his crimes, and supporting him to the bitter end against the Iranian people.

Many Arab nations have attacked Sadat for welcoming the shah. The pro-Syrian newspaper, *Al Sharq* of Beirut, Lebanon, said Sadat would "soon find that his isolation from his own people has deepened."

In the United States, the White House is preparing to announce economic and political sanctions against the Iranian revolution. These are said to include an embargo on U.S. trade with Iran; requesting other countries to take economic sanctions against Iran; and ordering Iranian diplomats out of the United States. Some press accounts even mention the possibility of a naval blockade of Iranian oil shipments.

The Carter administration has also admitted sending two written messages to Iran through the Swiss government. "The two messages," according to the March 31 *New York Times*, "were toughly worded and warned the Iranians of the retaliatory measures that were planned."

A third message, released by the Iranian government, has so far been disavowed by White House officials. It contained passages acknowledging past "mistakes" in U.S. policy toward Iran.

The Iranian students occupying the U.S. embassy continue to explain that the Americans there will be released as soon as the shah and his wealth are returned to Iran. But Carter is more interested in suppressing the truth about the U.S. role in Iran than in meeting this simple and just demand. □

Israeli Regime Pushes Its Luck

By David Frankel

Events over the past few weeks should have shattered any remaining illusions that the Camp David accords can bring peace to the Middle East or justice to the Palestinian people.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin reasserted his attitude March 10 by appointing Yitzhak Shamir as foreign minister. Shamir, a former assassin for the Zionist Stern Gang, refused to back the Camp David treaty because he felt it gave up too much!

The following day, Begin's regime expropriated 1,000 acres of Arab land in occupied East Jerusalem and announced that it would build a Jewish colony with 10,000 housing units on the stolen land.

And on March 23, in the most brazen move yet, the Israeli cabinet voted to build a \$2.5 million complex intended as the first step in the Zionist colonization of Hebron. Until now, Zionist colonies in the occupied territories have been established outside Arab towns and cities. But the latest project will be situated in the center of Hebron, which is the home of more than 50,000 Palestinians.

Protest rallies in the occupied territories were organized immediately after the decision on Hebron became known. A dispatch in the March 26 *New York Times* reported that Palestinians "closed businesses and schools and suspended public transportation in East Jerusalem and throughout the West Bank" to protest the new land grab.

Begin's decision to push ahead with new settlements in East Jerusalem and Hebron came despite pressure from Washington. In three separate meetings with Begin, special U.S. Ambassador Sol Linowitz had advised a moratorium on Israeli settlements until May 26, when an agreement on Palestinian autonomy is supposed to be reached, according to the Camp David accords.

Although U.S. policymakers are just as opposed as Begin to any independent Palestinian state, they badly need the appearance of progress in the autonomy talks. This is both because they are still hoping to draw King Hussein of Jordan into the Camp David framework, and because they want to take some of the pressure from the rest of the Arab world

off Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat.

Washington's March 1 vote in the UN Security Council, resulting in a unanimous condemnation of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, was cast in this context. Leaving aside its impact on the presidential election campaign and on the image that the U.S. government would like to project internationally, the Security Council vote and President Carter's retraction of it reflected the basic contradiction of U.S. policy in the Middle East.

The imperialists need the Zionist state as a bulwark against revolution there. At the same time, however, they want to make greater use of the Arab governments in the region. These are forced to take their distance from Washington because of its support to Israel.

With the Iranian revolution still shaking the Middle East, the State Department is clearly afraid that the whole Camp David framework may come apart unless Begin treads more carefully. Protests against the shah of Iran's presence in Egypt were a warning sign for U.S. officials. As the editors of the *New York Times* commented March 25:

The former Shah of Iran and Prime Minister Begin have landed in the wrong places at the wrong time, for both Egypt and the United States. The Camp David accords were fragile enough without the Shah in Cairo and the Israelis in Hebron—adding to the inflammations of the Moslem world. . . .

In the confusion, altogether too many American burdens are being heaped on the shoulders of Mr. Sadat. The sturdiness that may be foolhardy in him would be admirable in the United States. As it is, we are reduced to admiring him, with fingers crossed.

King Hussein gave his estimate of the future of Sadat and Camp David March 26 by publicly declining an invitation to visit Washington.

Meanwhile, the Egyptian workers are not the only ones worrying U.S. policy-makers. Inflation in Israel is running at a rate of more than 140 percent; outlays for education and social welfare in the 1981 budget were cut from 8.2 percent to 5.6 percent; and unemployment is expected to rise by about 50 percent over the coming months.

Begin's following has plummeted to 17 percent in some polls, and the settlement program is becoming more and more unpopular among Israeli Jews. Some 20,000 Israeli farmers recently demonstrated outside the Israeli parliament, demanding that the government spend less money on settlements and more on agriculture.

The international isolation of the Israeli state, the pressure from the workers and peasants of the Middle East—with the Iranian masses and the Palestinian freedom fighters in the vanguard—and the developing class struggle within Israel itself, are all making themselves felt.

During a recent debate in the Israeli

cabinet, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman reportedly declared: "We can't go on like this. We're just making everyone sick of Israel."

Weizman's assessment is a good sum-

mary of what has been happening in regard to the Israeli state since the October 1973 Middle East war. The past few weeks have seen some further steps in this process. □

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Outrage Sweeps El Salvador Against Murder of Archbishop

By Fred Murphy

Troops Massacre Participants in Romero Funeral

MANAGUA, March 30—More than 100 people were killed and at least 600 wounded in San Salvador today when the Salvadoran armed forces and extreme rightist paramilitary groups launched a massacre against participants in the funeral of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

Eyewitness reports were broadcast live on Radio Sandino here. The attack began at 11:40 a.m. when a small army tank opened fire on the peaceful march of some 80,000 persons that had been organized by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM).

The marchers were filing into the square outside the Metropolitan Cathedral, where some 400,000 people had already gathered from all parts of El Salvador.

Four powerful bombs went off near the square immediately after the tank opened fire. Snipers posted on the balconies of the National Palace and in other surrounding buildings directed their

bullets at the multitude. Continual bursts of automatic weapons fire were heard.

Panic swept the massive crowd. Despite efforts by priests and CRM monitors to maintain calm, thousands pressed to gain refuge inside the cathedral, while others fled down sidestreets. Many were trampled under foot.

The shooting went on for more than four hours.

Hundreds of religious figures, journalists, and members of official delegations from many countries were trapped inside the cathedral. They were finally able to walk out cautiously in single file with their hands above their heads.

The Salvadoran junta has issued an incredible statement denying that any of its armed forces were present in the plaza, and blaming the CRM for the bloody events. Raids on the homes of CRM leaders are reportedly under way, and the junta has threatened to declare martial law.

—Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Outrage at the assassination of the outspoken Catholic archbishop of El Salvador, Msgr. Oscar Arnulfo Romero, has fueled the struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship there and its policy of "repression with reforms."

By March 27—three days after Romero was gunned down in a hospital chapel—a general strike had shut down much of the country's industry, commerce, transportation, schools, and government offices. In the countryside, peasants and farm laborers were erecting barricades on the highways and holding political meetings.

Soon after Romero was murdered, tens of thousands of Salvadorans began to converge on the capital city of San Salvador to pay their final respects to the religious leader who was known as a defender of the exploited and oppressed. On March 26, some 50,000 people took part in a procession transferring Romero's body to the Metropolitan Cathedral.

The general strike to protest Romero's murder and demand a halt to government repression was called March 26 by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM) at a combined news conference and rally. It was attended by

Who Wanted Archbishop Romero Dead?

MANAGUA—In the final months of his life, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero had become a more and more uncompromising critic of the brutal repression and exploitation suffered by Salvadoran workers and peasants at the hands of the capitalist oligarchy and its military governments.

When right-wing dictator General Carlos Humberto Romero was ousted by a supposedly reformist, military-civilian junta last October, the archbishop withheld his endorsement. It didn't take long to recognize that the new junta had no intention of halting repression by the military and paramilitary right-wing terrorist gangs.

In response, Msgr. Romero declared that "in a moment when all roads are closed . . . the people have only the road of legitimate insurrection—legitimate because years of crimes and suffering, of injustice and oppression lay behind it." (November 7, 1979,

interview with Stella Calloni of the Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno*.)

Later, when a number of reformist political forces withdrew from the government and denounced the continuing repression, Romero called on the Christian Democratic Party to do likewise. He exposed the brutal attacks on peasant communities that have accompanied the junta's so-called agrarian reform, and he hailed the growing unity among opponents of the regime.

In late February, Romero wrote to President Carter, urging him to halt Washington's military aid to the Salvadoran regime. According to a statement released here March 25 by a group of Nicaraguan Jesuit priests, "Carter's personal envoy at the Vatican complained to the Pope's secretary of state about Msgr. Romero's 'political and proviolent attitudes.'"

Threats against Romero's life began to step up after his letter to Carter.

In what was to be his final message, given at a mass celebrated on Sunday, March 23, Romero declared that the junta's "reforms are worthless if they come stained by so much blood. In the name of God, in the name of this people whose lamentations rise more tumultuously to the heavens each day, I ask you, I beg you, I order you in the name of God to halt the repression."

Romero issued "a special call to all the men of the army, of the National Guard, of the police" to heed "the law of God that says do not kill. No soldier is obliged to obey an order that goes against the law of God. No one has to comply with an immoral law."

The armed forces high command immediately issued a statement calling the archbishop's statement a "crime" and accusing him of "meddling in the internal affairs" of the army.

Within thirty-six hours, Romero was killed by unknown assassins while celebrating mass.

—Fred Murphy

some 1,000 activists from the four organizations that make up the CRM.

Leaders of the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR), United People's Action Front (FAPU), February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28), and Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN), declared that the CRM was now "on a war footing" against the dictatorship. They called for the formation of

popular committees to organize the strike.

The CRM also called for a mass demonstration to be held after Romero's funeral on March 30 (see box for update).

The murder of the archbishop and its aftermath also brought about a fresh crisis in the military-civilian junta. On March 28 the Christian Democratic ministers of

economy and education, and the vice-minister of agriculture, all resigned and fled the country. They declared that the junta had proven incapable of restraining the "fascist" elements in the armed forces or of halting the repression. Unconfirmed reports on March 29 indicated that two Christian Democratic members of the junta itself had resigned as well. □

U.S., CIA: Hands Off El Salvador!

By Steve Clark

"In view of the fact that Archbishop Romero was under permanent police surveillance," states an Amnesty International spokesperson, "questions must arise as to how the assassin was able to carry out the murder."

That's a good point.

Yet merely one day after Romero's assassination, a U.S. State Department official assured Congress that Washington will continue to support the repressive Salvadoran junta that should be the key suspect in the murder.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Bushnell told a subcommittee of the House of Representatives that the junta "is committed to basic economic and social reforms and to the improvement of human rights."

Bushnell failed to note that the junta is also responsible for more than 700 deaths since the beginning of 1980 according to Archbishop Romero. His office reports 110 killings in the week ending March 22 alone, as the result of military attacks on peasants.

"Army occupations of rural areas in the guise of carrying out the agrarian reform have brought the deaths of many peasant leaders," says the March 28 *Latin American Weekly Report*, "in what appears to be a highly sophisticated counter-insurgency operation."

Since the Carter administration is currently seeking \$5.7 million more in arms for the Salvadoran regime, it has tried to hide exactly what such weapons are being used for.

Instead, Washington points the finger of blame for violence everywhere but at itself and the Salvadoran junta.

The most recent example is the attempt to blame El Salvador's revolutionary organizations for the massacre during Archbishop Romero's funeral. Some accounts in the big business media even hinted that the left was responsible for Romero's assassination.

And the U.S. Defense Department charges that Cuba is behind the violence in El Salvador.

"Cuban influence on El Salvador and Honduran leftist organizations is longstanding," a top official told the House

subcommittee, "and there are clear indications the Cubans are assisting these groups in their attempt to overthrow the current government of El Salvador."

He charged that Cuba is using bases in Honduras to train and arm the Salvadoran freedom fighters.

Cuban President Fidel Castro has made no secret of that country's solidarity with the fight of the Salvadoran workers and peasants. But Washington's allegations are a shabby attempt to distract attention from the real crimes committed by the junta *it supports* and with the weapons *it supplies*.

Archbishop Romero, who hypocritical officials in Washington now claim to mourn, was ignored by them when he appealed for the cutoff of U.S. arms aid to the junta.

"Undeniably, [Romero's] death supplies powerful posthumous impetus to his . . . appeal to Jimmy Carter to retract its pending offer of military aid to the civilian-military junta," admitted an editorial in the March 26 *Washington Post*.

But the *Post* warns against jumping to such a rash conclusion: "His murder, however, would seem to underline how intolerable it would be for the United States to abandon the center now and leave the field to the two extremes."

This is the public excuse Washington has been using all along for its aid to the blood-drenched regime.

But it is a transparently fake justification for U.S. support to the brutal suppression of the Salvadoran workers and peasants, who are struggling to free themselves from impoverishment and tyranny and their country from imperialist domination.

U.S. Rep. Thomas Harkin, a Democrat from Iowa, points out that U.S. aid to the junta is "another signal to everyone in El Salvador that the United States sides with the military. In turn, that strengthens the military in its conviction that it's all right to repress certain segments of the population, beginning with the left."

Reports from a number of sources—including an ex-member of the Salvadoran junta, Héctor Dada—put the number of U.S. military advisers in the field in El

Salvador today at more than thirty. The Pentagon is said to be building three special helicopter bases in the countryside



Lou Howort/IP-I

for use in counterinsurgency operations against peasant struggles.

Opposition forces also charge that Washington is secretly assembling an army of intervention using Puerto Rican and Venezuelan troops. The Venezuelan defense department has denied involvement. But the Venezuelan Congress has set up a special commission to investigate Salvadoran-Venezuelan relations, "above all in military affairs."

The Salvadoran regime has already received \$50 million in U.S. "economic" aid, and the U.S. Agency for International Development announced March 28 that agreements have been signed to provide another \$13 million.

In addition, the junta is receiving light weapons from Washington's French and Israeli allies.

And this comes on top of decades of U.S. aid and counterinsurgency training to the Salvadoran army under previous dictatorial regimes.

"The bullets that killed Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero had 'Made in USA' stamped all over them," the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant* correctly stated.

All those anywhere in the world who are outraged by the murder of Archbishop Romero and the massacre of hundreds of other Salvadorans should raise the demand:

U.S., CIA out of El Salvador! □

Tens of Thousands in Managua Protest Romero Assassination

MANAGUA—Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans filled the Plaza of the Revolution here March 25 to protest the murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of El Salvador.

Trade unionists, government employees, participants in the National Literacy Crusade that began here March 24, and others took part in the open-air funeral mass and solidarity rally.

The Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction decreed three days of mourning for Archbishop Romero. And it recalled Nicaragua's ambassador from San Salvador immediately following the assassination.

Managua Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo conducted the mass.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Fr. Miguel D'Escoto told the crowd that Msgr. Romero "was also one of ours." He said that the Nicaraguan government had offered asylum to Msgr. Romero when rightists issued their first death threats a month ago.

"As a pastor I cannot stop accompanying my people, which for me is an invaluable inspiration," Romero replied in a letter that D'Escoto read at the mass. "And it makes me quite happy to accept with the people the risks of the moment."

As the mass concluded, chants of "Nicaragua won—El Salvador will win!" rang throughout the plaza.

That same day, thousands of Nicaraguans attended another mass and solidarity rally in León. Students at the National University here in Managua have initiated a special fund collection for El Salvador. The communications media of the Sandinista National Liberation Front have all sent special correspondents to El Salvador and are devoting nearly half their news coverage to events there.

FSLN Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock read a message from the FSLN National Directorate at the Managua rally. The full text of that message follows.

* * *

From the National Directorate of the FSLN to the people of Nicaragua and the world.

In face of the brutal murder of Msgr. Oscar Arnulfo Romero, archbishop of San Salvador, the Sandinista National Liberation Front declares its most energetic condemnation. We unite in solidarity with the indignant sentiment that is today being taken up by the Salvadoran people and that our Nicaraguan brothers are making their own.

A man such as Archbishop Romero, the ardent defender of the cause of the humble, could only have been assassinated by the enemies of the Salvadoran people, the oligarchs and exploiters that are seeking foreign intervention in that country to

hold back the desires of the majority for liberation.

This horrendous crime, which Salvadoran reaction perpetrated against Msgr. Romero, is also a crime against the struggle of the Salvadoran people and against all the peoples of the world who struggle for their liberation. Thus, we repudiate the murder. We call on our people to join in the manifestations of protest already made by the government of National Reconstruction and to express their own condemnation of the shameful crime against this priest, a symbol of the true values of Christianity.

Since the first military junta of government was installed October 15, our organization has been following with great concern the events in El Salvador.

We were witness to the crisis of this government in face of its incapacity to give a satisfactory response to the demands of the Salvadoran majority. The new junta that was installed in January of this year has even stepped up the repression against the people, despite its efforts to present itself as a progressive and reform-minded government.

That was the situation that Msgr. Romero was denouncing when he solidarized with the process of unification recently initiated by the people's revolutionary organizations of El Salvador, because the "reforms" are unacceptable if they are

in a framework of repression and crime.

Neither for the Salvadoran people nor for us does the government junta now have credibility when it fails to take on itself responsibility for the brutal repression that has been launched against the people and in the midst of which Msgr. Romero was murdered yesterday.

The repression has left intact the paramilitary organizations of the right-wing and the reactionary oligarchy. And the only things that have been attacked are the Salvadoran people, their revolutionary organizations, and their defenders, such as Archbishop Romero. The dead, the tortured, the jailed, come only from the side that is demanding true freedom and justice.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front rejects and condemns this genocide being committed against the Salvadoran people and denounces the efforts at military intervention and strengthening of the Salvadoran junta by the U.S. government or any other force, against which the martyred archbishop energetically declared himself.

His blood, like that of thousands of Salvadorans, was not shed in vain. We are certain that the Salvadoran people will win and that at their side will be all the forces of El Salvador and the world that love peace, freedom, and social justice.

Patria Libre o Morir! □

Junta's International Isolation Deepens

MANAGUA—The murder of Archbishop Romero and its aftermath have deepened the international isolation of El Salvador's military-civilian junta, especially in Central America, and further exposed its dependence on Washington.

On March 28, the Christian Democratic Party of Honduras called on its Salvadoran counterpart to "condemn the massacre their people are being submitted to and abandon the government. . . ."

That same day, Mexican foreign minister Jorge Castañeda said that his government was urging "respect for the principle of nonintervention" in El Salvador. "We do not agree with the U.S. State Department" about its charges of "Cuban intervention" in Central America, Castañeda said.

As for the charge made by a top U.S. general that the Castro government has designs on Mexico's oilfields, Castañeda said that was "a stupidity."

Opposition parties in Mexico have called on the López Portillo government to break diplomatic relations with the Salvadoran junta. On March 26, thousands of workers

and students marched in Mexico City to back up this demand and express solidarity with El Salvador.

In Panama, the ruling Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) of General Omar Torrijos said in a March 27 statement that "El Salvador is part of the general crisis of U.S. domination in Central America."

Meeting in Santo Domingo March 26, a special conference of the Socialist International on Latin America and the Caribbean, attended by top European Social Democrats such as Willy Brandt and Mario Soares, unanimously adopted a resolution that said in part:

"The people of El Salvador are the only ones who have a right to decide their destiny. Therefore, this conference condemns the military aid provided by the United States of America to the government and armed forces of El Salvador.

"This conference reiterates its solidarity with the struggle of the Salvadoran people to gain a democratic regime with an authentic popular base with the participation of all the progressive political forces of the country." □

Grenada Celebrates One Year of Revolution

By Jerry Hunnicutt

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada—"As revolutionaries, we cannot be bought. As revolutionaries, we will stand on our feet and face the world," Prime Minister Maurice Bishop declared here on March 13 at a mass rally marking the first anniversary of the Grenadian revolution.

"Our revolution is for democracy, for justice, for equal participation by the people of our country in all the decisions which affect their lives. The revolution has reminded us of a great truth of history, that a people who are united, a people who are conscious, a people who are organized can defeat dictatorship, can defeat oppression, and can defeat imperialism."

As Bishop spoke, he was repeatedly interrupted by applause, cheers, and chants from the crowd of 30,000 that filled Queen's Park on the edge of St. George's, the capital of this small Caribbean island.

When Bishop praised Cuba for its aid to Grenada and pledged that the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada would try to follow Cuba's example of giving assistance to struggling peoples around the world, the crowd erupted into loud chants of "Long live Cuba! Long live Cuba!"

The spirit of the rally and its size—more than one quarter of the country's entire population—were indications of the

strength and popularity of the Grenadian revolution.

It was only one year ago that Bishop's New Jewel Movement (NJM) led an insurrection here that toppled the hated dictatorship of Sir Eric Gairy.

Since that time, the People's Revolutionary Government, headed by Bishop, has taken numerous steps to improve the living standards and social position of the workers and toilers of this island.

Over the past year, the vast bulk of the working class has been unionized. Economic assistance has been given to poor farmers. Educational and health facilities have been significantly upgraded. Women have won new rights and workers have won legal protection against victimization by employers.

Most of Gairy's old repressive apparatus has been dismantled, and a new People's Revolutionary Army and People's Militia were established to help defend the country from counterrevolutionary attack and imperialist pressure. The population is being mobilized and organized through unions, women's groups, youth organizations, and village committees.

The first anniversary of the March 13, 1979, insurrection has given the NJM leadership an opportunity to demonstrate the vitality and strength of the revolution



Jerry Hunnicutt/IP-I
Maurice Bishop and Daniel Ortega.

and to help push the revolutionary process forward.

The "Festival of the Revolution" lasted for nearly two weeks, from March 2 to March 13. In addition to four major rallies, it included numerous panel discussions, press conferences, arts and crafts exhibitions, and cultural performances. Days of solidarity were held with the peoples of Africa, Latin America, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Cuba, and Jamaica. About 1,000 international guests attended, some from far away, but many from other countries in the Caribbean.

Upon arriving in the country at Pears Airport, visitors were greeted with a large billboard reading, "Welcome to Revolutionary Free Grenada." Throughout the island were similar billboards, among them ones that read, "Peoples of the Caribbean Unite," "Freedom for Southern Africa," "No Revolution Is Worth Anything Unless It Can Defend Itself—Long Live the People's Militia," and "Workers and Farmers Unite." The slogan of the revolution, "Forward Ever, Backward Never," was everywhere.

Most houses and buildings bore two flags, the Grenada national flag and the flag of the revolution. The Cuban flag and the flag of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua were also quite common.

I asked Grenadians what they thought about Cuba's assistance to the Grenadian revolution. One young worker just out of high school told me, "We would not have been able to accomplish half of the things



Anniversary rally of 30,000 in St. George's.

Jerry Hunnicutt/IP-I

that we have if it had not been for the Cuban assistance."

International Women's Day

For the first time in Grenada, International Women's Day was celebrated on March 8. It was the second major rally of the festival (following a youth and students' rally a week earlier). Some 10,000 women and men turned out at Seamount, an old racetrack just north of the eastern town of Grenville, to celebrate the gains that women have made since the beginning of the revolution and to discuss the problems that women still face and how to solve them.

The central theme of the rally was summed up in the slogan, "Towards Justice and Equality for Women."

The first speaker was Nouri Francis, a leader of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA). "The revolution has given women a new role to play," she told the audience. "Women are playing an equal role in defending our revolution alongside men. Women are leaders of the PRA and the militia. We are patrolling the beaches and the countryside. And we are prepared to defend our revolution against Gairyism and against foreign aggression."

Lucy Strong, representing the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, one of the main unions in Grenada, declared that "working women all over the world have the same oppressor—world imperialism." She said that her union recognized "that our problem in society does not stem from individual men, but that the same problem keeps men oppressed also: the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression, and imperialism." She concluded by saying, "The only way forward for women is to unite with our male co-worker in the fight against imperialist domination."

Greetings were presented by women from St. Lucia, Jamaica, Guyana, St. Vincent, the United States, and other countries.

One representative of the NJM National Women's Organisation declared, "When we call for national liberation, we call for an end to all forms of exploitation and injustice. The only system that can bring true liberation is socialism."

Prime Minister Bishop was the keynote speaker at the women's rally. He outlined the role of women in the formation and development of the NJM and explained the crucial role that they play in the revolution. He pledged that the People's Revolutionary Government would continue its efforts to fight against discrimination in the workplace and to press for equal pay for equal work for women. He announced the drafting of a law to grant three-month maternity leave to women workers, with two months at full pay; the proposal is now being circulated among trade unions and village committees for discussion.

The following day, a rally of 12,000 trade

unionists and small farmers was held in Point Saline, in southern Grenada, at the construction site for a new international airport.

As the hundreds of buses, vans, cars, and trucks filled with demonstrators arrived at the site, they were greeted by a huge billboard that read "Workers and Farmers Unite Against Imperialism!"

Unionists were identified by tee-shirts bearing the names of their unions, such as the Bank and General Workers Union, the Commercial and Industrial Workers Un-



Che Guevara commemorated at March 13 rally.

Jerry Hunnicutt/IP-I

ion, and the dockworkers union.

Evidence of the substantial Cuban support for the airport project was evident in the scores of Cuban trucks, bulldozers, and other construction equipment that was on display at the rally.

Selwyn Strachan, the minister of labor, works and communications, pointed to the construction of the airport as an example of the government's determination to develop Grenada's economy. "This one project," he said, "will aid our fight against poverty and backwardness and push us further in the direction of greater production, education, and liberation."

Unison Whiteman, the minister of agriculture, outlined the steps that the regime has taken to aid working farmers. State assistance and loans to farmers have been increased, and new feeder roads have been built in outlying areas to make it easier for farmers to transport their crops to market.

"The society that we are trying to build," Whiteman said, "is one where everyone who is looking for work can find it, a society where everyone can have decent housing, a society where all workers can get good wages, a society of true justice and equality."

The next speaker was Vincent Noel, the president of the Bank and General Workers Union and the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union, as well as a member of the People's Revolutionary Government.

"Throughout the history of our country," Noel pointed out, "we have seen the workers and farmers exploited. But we are now

bringing that to an end." He explained how all the anti-working-class legislation that existed under the Gairy regime had been abolished and how workers were given the right to strike and the right to organize "fighting trade unions that will defend workers." Since the beginning of the revolution, Noel said, more than 1,000 new jobs have been created.

As an example of the support among workers for the revolution, Noel noted that the dockworkers in St. George's had voluntarily donated the equivalent of one-day's

work by unloading without pay a ship bringing Cuban construction equipment for the airport project.

'You Can Count on Cuba'

One of the highlights of the rally was a speech by Jesús Montané, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, who delivered greetings from the Cuban government.

"This revolution," he said, "was one of the most important events in the Caribbean and the Americas in the last year. It dealt a most powerful blow to imperialism and reaction around the world. This is proof that in our time the importance and political influence of a country cannot be measured by its size, its economic or military power, or its millions of inhabitants. It shows that a small country with a strong revolutionary determination and clear positions can become a true giant in the battles of the workers and other progressives of the world. What we see looking at the people of Grenada is a giant that is rising up in the Caribbean, holding high the banner of social justice and people's revolution."

Answering the imperialist charges that Cuba was meddling in the affairs of Grenada, Montané stated, "Each people will rise up to make its own revolution. None of them will need to be told when and how. It is a law that when people are oppressed, they will rise up and fight that oppression."

Montané added, "It is also a law that

free and revolutionary peoples express solidarity for one another." He stressed that Cuba had every right to extend its solidarity to Grenada, a right that "no one, no country, can deny Cuba."

"Brothers of Grenada," said Montané, "you can count on Cuba for our firm and militant solidarity." The crowd responded with thunderous applause.

Montané was followed by Maurice Bishop. The prime minister denounced the imperialist threats against Grenada, especially regarding Grenada's ties with Cuba. He rejected such interference in Grenada's affairs and reaffirmed his government's right to establish ties with whoever it wants to.

"The revolutionary government and fraternal people of Cuba have helped us in many areas, in health, in education, in the fishing industry, and in the airport," Bishop said. "But when we look at Cuba, we don't just look at the material aid. What we look at first and foremost is the revolutionary example that Cuba has set for Latin America and the Caribbean. We see Cuba's example as a beacon of light in our area for over twenty years.

"We are the first to recognize that if not for the victory of the Cuban revolution there could be no Grenadian revolution or Nicaraguan revolution."

The audience broke out with chants of "Cuba! Cuba! Cuba! Cuba!"

Pointing to Cuba's solidarity with and assistance to anti-imperialist struggles around the world—and to Grenada's own gestures of solidarity—Bishop declared, "We look forward to the day when we can join with the countries of the socialist world like Cuba and give real assistance to peoples struggling for their freedom."

Inspiration to Sandinistas

The Festival of the Revolution culminated with the March 13 rally in Queen's Park, the largest single mass mobilization

in Grenada since the beginning of the revolution a year ago.

Besides the speeches, an important feature of the action were parades by members of the People's Revolutionary Army, the People's Militia, and the national police. The parades were held as a display of the Grenadian people's determination to defend their revolution from Gairy supporters and from U.S. imperialism.

International struggles took a prominent place in most of the speeches at the March 13 rally. Besides Bishop, the keynote speakers included Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley and Nicaraguan Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

Ortega presented greetings to the Grenadian people on behalf of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Noting that the overthrow of Gairy came several months before the ouster of the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza, Ortega explained, "While we were still fighting in the final offensive against the vicious dictator Somoza, we were inspired by your victory."

"The peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada have the same enemy—Yankee imperialism," Ortega said. "But we all know that the strength of our peoples is greater than the strength of our enemies. Our enemies are concerned because they do not want to see more Grenadas and more Nicaraguas."

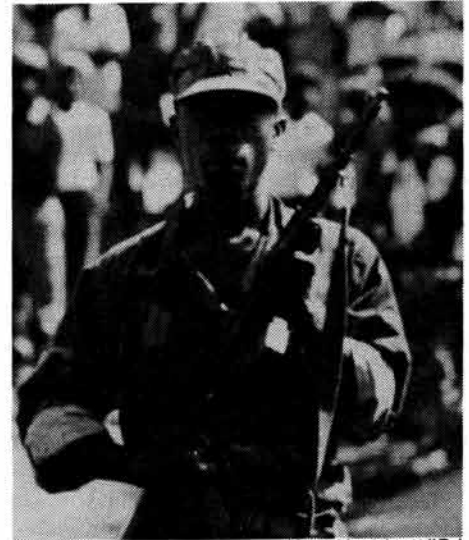
When Ortega finished speaking, he presented Maurice Bishop with an automatic rifle in a display of solidarity with the Grenadian revolution.

Internationalism was also a central theme of Bishop's speech.

Standing up to the pressures from Washington, he affirmed, "To those who continue to believe that the United States or elements in the United States have the right to regard our region as a lake, as an extension of America, as part of their

backyard, we say: No!" The crowd responded with chants of "No way!"

Bishop condemned the legacy of colonialism in the Caribbean, which divided up the region and left it politically fragmented into numerous states. He made a strong plea for Caribbean unity, maintain-



Jerry Hunnicutt/IP-1
Soldier of People's Revolutionary Army.

ing, "We have one basic history and one basic cultural background. We have one future."

Bishop called for an end to all foreign military bases, installations, and military task forces in the Caribbean and Latin America, a demand directed at Washington, which has troops scattered throughout the region.

He affirmed Grenada's support to the right of all peoples to self-determination and underscored his government's solidarity with those in the Caribbean still suffering from colonial and neocolonial rule.

"We give our firm and unwavering support to the people of Puerto Rico in their fight for independence," he declared. Referring to the presence of Haitian revolutionists at the rally, Bishop also stated, "It is our revolutionary duty to support the people of Haiti" against the Duvalier dictatorship.

"There is a new world that is emerging," Bishop said, citing the examples of Zimbabwe, Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, and other countries. "We saw that the meaning of this new emerging world is that imperialism can be defeated. Imperialism is not invincible. The people of the region can in fact unite and organize to begin the serious task of taking control of their own national resources."

"We in free Grenada will never compromise," Bishop went on. "And we will always stand with any people in any part of the world who are being oppressed. Those fighting for their freedom, for their independence, for their national liberation will know that they are able to find in Grenada true friends and true allies." □



Part of crowd at International Women's Day celebrations. Jerry Hunnicutt/IP-1

Ultraright Cuban Terror Group Operates Openly in U.S.

By Gus Horowitz

A tragedy was narrowly averted March 25 when a chauffeur for Raúl Roa Kouri, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, spotted a shoebox under Roa's car. The shoebox was filled with plastic explosives—enough, the New York City police said, to have blown up an entire city block if it had gone off. Omega 7, the Cuban counterrevolutionary organization, claimed responsibility for the bomb.

In a letter to the White House the following day, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Andrew Pulley demanded that President Carter "direct federal authorities to arrest and prosecute the Omega 7 killers today—before more lives are lost.

"Continued inaction will brand you as complicit in the Omega 7 terror campaign," said Pulley.

Articles published recently in two New York newspapers have shed new light on U.S. government policy toward Omega 7, which has also claimed responsibility for bombing the Cuban mission to the United Nations twice in recent months, along with the Angolan mission and the Soviet mission, and the New York City offices of the Soviet airline Aeroflot.

Omega 7 also claimed responsibility for the murder in Union City, New Jersey, last November 25 of Eulalio José Negrín. Negrín, a thirty-seven-year-old Cuban-American, was a member of the Committee of 75 that negotiated with the Cuban government to arrange travel by Cubans living here to visit their families on the island.

The March 3 *New York Times* carried an article by Robin Herman in which United States government officials are said to be giving "highest priority" to the capture of the anti-Castro terrorists.

FBI officials told the *Times* that they now regard Omega 7 "as the most dangerous terrorist organization in the United States." The FBI said, however, that it was experiencing "unusually difficult problems" in penetrating the organization and gathering the evidence for a conviction.

These assertions were disputed by Jeff Stein in the March 10 *Village Voice*, who reported that the federal government claims "are met with considerable skepticism by local and regional officials, who still complain that the Justice Department has failed to assemble a national strike force for the effort."

Stein's article, as well as an earlier article he wrote in *New York* magazine (September 10, 1979), are a devastating indictment of government inaction and covert encouragement of the terrorists.

"There is little doubt," he reports, "that both local and federal intelligence agencies have known for years who the key Omega 7 figures are." And he goes on to cite names, dates, and places—much of the information provided to him by federal and local police investigators.

Even the *Times* article reports enough of this information to discredit the government's claim that it cannot dig up the evidence.

The picture of unbridled right-wing terrorism that emerges is ominous.

In the New York City area alone, Omega 7 has claimed responsibility for at least nineteen bombings in the past five years, in addition to the Negrín murder.

The New York area group has links with similar groups in Florida and Puerto Rico. In total, they have carried out over a hundred terrorist actions in recent years. These include the April 28, 1979, murder in Puerto Rico of Carlos Muñoz Varela, who was also a member of the Committee of 75; and the bombing murder of Chilean exile Orlando Letelier and an associate, Roni Moffitt, in Washington, D.C., on September 21, 1976.

The greatest loss of life occurred in an international operation: the bombing of a Cuban airliner off Barbados in October 1976, killing all seventy-three people aboard.

From the newspaper accounts it is not clear whether Omega 7 is a distinct organization or simply a code name used by various anti-Castro groups to sign their terrorist acts. There seems to be no doubt, however, that the main organization linked to Omega 7 in the New York area is the Cuban Nationalist Movement (CNM), which maintains public offices in Union City, New Jersey.

The current leader of the CNM, and the reputed head of Omega 7, is Armando Santana, who served two years in jail for an attempted bombing in 1974. Santana assumed leadership of the CNM after the former leaders, Guillermo and Ignacio Novo, were convicted in connection with the murder of Orlando Letelier.

Also linked to Omega 7 is Abdala, a youth group with headquarters on Twenty-ninth Street in New York, and a chapter at Rutgers University in New Jersey.

Important in the Miami area is Brigade 2506, originally composed of exiles who took part in the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

The *New York Times* article points to "extortion of Cuban businessmen" as one source of funds for the terrorist groups.

Stein reports that Robert Carballo, until recently the head of Brigade 2506, "is also said by Dade County police officers to be on a personal retainer to [ousted Nicaraguan dictator] Anastasio Somoza, now in exile in Paraguay."

A connection also exists with officials of the Union City government, which in the past eighteen months spent \$30,000 in city funds for advertising in Cuban counterrevolutionary papers, including \$6,000 to *Guerra*, the paper of Brigade 2506.

Julia Valdivia, who is officially an aide to Mayor William Musto, but who is generally conceded to be the real power in the city, is a CNM sympathizer.

She describes Guillermo Novo, who was convicted in the Letelier murder, as "a friend," and she appeared at rallies in his defense. "He believed in what he was doing, and I respected what he did," she said.

In view of the public knowledge of groups and individuals linked to Omega 7 and the additional information supplied to the *Times* and *Voice* reporters, how can the lack of prosecutions be explained?

A Cuban government official suggested the following to Stein: "We believe that it is more than coincidental that this violent campaign resumed against us in 1976. We believe the U.S. wants to punish us for our Angolan involvement."

Investigating this point, Stein reports:

"In the Dade County police department, terrorism experts exchange smiles and look down at their hands when you ask them if the CIA's involved with exile anti-Castro activities. They look to each other to answer first, clear their throats, shift in their seats. The answer is yes."

In New York, a police official tells him: "You get just so far on a case and suddenly the dust is blown away. Case closed. You ask the CIA to help, and they say they aren't really interested. You get the message."

The conclusion is inescapable. Nothing is being done because neither the federal nor the local governments really wants anything to be done.

As long as this is so, then Stein's observation will remain in force—that "the bombers believe the police are on their side." □

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Twenty-One Years of U.S-Inspired Violence Against Cuba

[The following partial chronology of twenty-one years of U.S. imperialist-inspired aggression against Cuba, against Cuban citizens and diplomats abroad, and against those having commercial or political contact with Cuba is based on a list compiled by the Cuban press service, *Prensa Latina*. Some additions have been made by IP/I.]

* * *

1959

February 2: U.S. citizen Allen Robert Maller is arrested for illegally having flown a light plane into the country and planning to kill Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro.

March 26: Cuban authorities uncover plot to kill Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro.

April 26: Viscous airliner hijacked and pilot forced to land in Miami.

June 14: Four counterrevolutionaries hijack DC-3 plane and take it to Miami.

July 23: U.S. citizen John V. Martino is arrested for counterrevolutionary activities.

August 8: Stanley F. Wesson, a U.S. diplomat in Cuba, is arrested as he is presiding over a meeting of counterrevolutionaries planning a series of sabotages.

August 13: C-46 plane bringing ten men and many weapons from the Dominican Republic is captured in Trinidad, province of Las Villas.

October 11: A plane drops two incendiary bombs on the Niagara sugar mill in Pinar del Río province.

October 19: A plane drops two bombs on the Punta Alegre sugar mill in Camagüey province.

November 4: Three pirate planes drop bombs on various points in the province of Oriente.

1960

January 21: A plane drops four 100-pound bombs on Cojimar and Regla, Havana.

February 18: U.S. pilot Robert Ellis Frost dies when a bomb goes off on board his plane as he is raiding the España sugar mill.

March 4: French steamer *La Coubre* explodes while unloading arms in the port of Havana. It was proved that U.S. Government agents had taken part in the sabotage.

March 17: President Eisenhower directs CIA Director Allen Dulles to train armed troops to invade Cuba.

July 4: President Eisenhower orders a substantial cut in the Cuban sugar quota.

October 14: Six Cuban planes are hijacked.

October 19: United States bans exports to Cuba, "except medicines and food."

1961

January 3: United States breaks off diplomatic relations with Cuba.

January 5: Voluntary teacher Conrado Benitez (eighteen) murdered.

February 24: A light plane sets fire to cane fields in Camagüey.

March 13: Pirate vessel attacks Santiago de Cuba oil refinery.

March 31: President Kennedy cancels Cuban sugar quota for 1961.

April 13: CIA agents set on fire and destroy El Encanto department store in Havana.

April 15: B-26 bombers coming from Guatemala bomb Ciudad Libertad and San Antonio de los Baños airports in Havana, and Santiago de Cuba airport in eastern Cuba.

April 17: A mercenary force of more than 1,500 men lands at Playa Giron. Invasion wiped out within seventy-two hours.

April 24: President Kennedy admits full responsibility for mercenary attack on Cuba.

August 13: Cuban authorities disclose plans for U.S. fake attack on Guantánamo naval base: attack on the life of Major Raul Castro, followed by fake attack on naval base marking the beginning of a grand-scale armed struggle that would justify U.S. intervention in Cuba.

September 24: CIA agent Luis Torroella, who had infiltrated Cuba with the mission to kill Fidel Castro, is captured.

November 7: State Security reports on counterrevolutionary plan including acts of sabotage and attempt on life of Prime Minister Fidel Castro at the welcome for Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos on his return from a tour of socialist countries.

November 26: Literacy campaign teacher Manuel Ascunce Domenech is brutally tortured to death in Escambray Mountains along with peasant Pedro Lantigua.

1962

February 3: White House announces total embargo on U.S.-Cuba trade.

June 7: Two CIA agents die while trying to enter Cuba through Baracoa, in the island's easternmost province.

August 19: Top U.S. Government officials openly discuss plan for attempt on life of Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro.

August 24: Armed boats shell Sierra Maestra Hotel, the Chaplin Theater (now the Karl Marx) and several residences in the Miramar section of Havana.

October 22: President Kennedy orders naval and economic blockade against Cuba, giving rise to the October Crisis that jeopardized world peace.

1963

April 26: Two-engined plane drops bombs and incendiary materials on Nico Lopez oil refinery in Havana.

May 28: U.S. Navy turboprop plane attack on Cayo Francés, on Cuba's north coast, reported.

August 18: Oil tanks in Puerto Casilda, on Cuba's south coast, bombed by mercenary plane.

August 19: Landing craft attack power plant and sulfuric acid plant in Santa Lucía, Pinar del Río province, with antitank rockets and machine guns.

December 17: CIA saboteurs using underwater demolition equipment sink Cuban navy launch off Isle of Pines.

1964

May 19: U.S. Department of Commerce prohibits shipping of medicines to Cuba.

May 29: Ballons of various sizes carrying bacteriological agents are dropped over the region of Las Villas.

September 24: Spanish freighter *Sierra Aranzazu*, carrying a shipment of toys for Cuba is attacked seventy-five miles off Cuba. Captain and two crewmen killed in the attack.

1965

January 26: Four armed CIA agents, among them Eloy Cutierrez Menoyo, who revealed U.S. plans against Cuba, captured.

November 11: Pirate motor crafts attack Havana's seafront section. Counterrevolutionaries residing in Miami take credit for action.

1966

March 1: Rolando Cubelas, involved in plan to assassinate Fidel Castro, is captured by State Security agents.

March 5: Plot to assassinate Fidel Castro discovered. CIA participation in plot confirmed.

March 27: Attempted hijacking of Cubana Airlines plane foiled. Pilot and guard killed and copilot seriously wounded.

May 29: Pirate launch lands two CIA agents, then engages in combat with and is sunk by Revolutionary Navy torpedo boat.

September 29: Pirate light plane drops three bombs on thermoelectric power plant construction site and other work sites on the north coast of Camagüey province.

November 13: U.S. plane drops three bombs on Raul Cepero Bonilla (former CUBANITRO) plant, in Matanzas.

1967

May 3: Fragmentation bomb explodes inside the car of Cuban ambassador in Mexico. Kidnaping of Cuban boats continues.

1968

January 8: Bomb planted inside mail bag from U.S. goes off.

March 5: Fire breaks out in Patricio Lumumba tannery. Losses estimated at 1,000,000 pesos.

September 4: FAO specialist R.S. Vasudevo arrested after it was proved that he had introduced a virus harmful to coffee into Cuba. The blight caused enormous damage.

There were numerous fires in 1968: eleven in stores, five in agricultural sheds and forty-six in schools.

1969

May 3: Several CIA agents led by Amancio Mosquera ("Yarey") infiltrate Cuba and are captured.

September 12: CIA agent José A. Quesada infiltrates national territory and is captured along with weapons and equipment for espionage.

1970

Between 1969 and 1970 the U.S. treated the clouds with chemicals in an attempt to ruin the Cuban sugar harvest. Between March and April a number of saboteurs were captured in the 10 de

Octubre and Ciro Redondo sugar mills.

April 17: Group of mercenaries from the U.S. lands in Cuba. Four revolutionary fighters die in ensuing clash.

October 5: Cuban-born counterrevolutionaries and two U.S. citizens infiltrate national territory and are captured.

1971

February 24: The U.S. Coast Guard vessel Cape York kidnaps several Cuban fishing boats in international waters.

May 26: A U.S. Coast Guard vessel kidnaps four fishing boats in international waters.

July 12: Miami-based counterrevolutionaries claim responsibility for an act of sabotage causing a railroad accident in Guantánamo.

October 12: A mother ship and an armed boat attack the village of Boca de Sama, on the eastern part of the country. The toll: two dead and four wounded, among them, two children.

1972

April 4: Bombing attempt on the Cuban commercial office in Montreal, Canada.

October 10: Two armed boats attack two Cuban fishing boats and kidnap the fishermen.

December 1: A powerful bomb explodes in the Cuban consulate in Mexico.

1973

June 21: Dynamite sticks are hurled at the Cuban commercial office in Chile.

August 27: Three bombs are thrown at the homes of functionaries of the Cuban commercial office in Santiago, Chile.

September 11: The Cuban merchant ship *Playa Larga* is shelled by Chilean Navy ships in international waters.

October 4: Cuban fishing vessels are shelled in international waters.

December 3: A powerful bomb explodes in the Cuban consulate in Mexico.

1974

January 20: A powerful explosion causes extensive damage to the Cuban embassy in Mexico.

March 26: Bombs are thrown at the Cuban embassy in Kingston, Jamaica.

April 9: A bomb destroys the Cuban consulate in Madrid.

May 14: Two bombs explode in the Cuban



Nearly 100 people were killed and more than 200 injured in the *La Coubre* explosion.

consulate in Merida, Mexico.

July 3: A bomb explodes at the door of the Cuban embassy in Paris, France.

August 1: Three CIA infiltrators are captured. Rifles, grenades, ammunition and espionage equipment are confiscated.

1975

November 28: A bomb explodes in the automobile of the Cuban ambassador to Mexico.

1976

April 22: A bomb explodes in the Cuban embassy in Lisbon, Portugal.

June 6: A bomb explodes in the Cuban mission to the United Nations. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

July 9: A bomb explodes in the luggage about to be loaded on a Cubana plane in Kingston, Jamaica.

July 23: Artaignan Diaz Diaz, a technician, is assassinated in Merica, Mexico, when two individuals attempt to kidnap the Cuban consul.

October 6: Cubana de Aviacion's CUT-1201 is criminally sabotaged, exploding in mid-flight off the coast of Barbados. All seventy-three passengers die.

1977

January 9: The New York daily *Newsday* says the CIA was involved in introducing a virus into Cuba which in 1971 caused an outbreak of African swine fever.

January 15: A U.S. senator demands that CIA Director George Bush provide information about bacteriological sabotage against Cuba.

December 20: Bombs are set off at two stores named Almacen el Español, one in Union City and the other in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Both had been sending medical supplies to Cuba. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

1978

September 9: A bomb explodes at the Cuban mission to the United Nations. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

October 5: A bomb is exploded outside of New York City's Madison Square Garden to protest the appearance of Cuban boxers there. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

December 29: Bombs explode at the Cuban

mission to the UN and at Lincoln Center where a Cuban orchestra was giving a concert. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

1979

March 25: The Office of Cuban Affairs in West New York, New Jersey, is bombed. Almacen el Español in Union City, New Jersey, is bombed as well. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

April 28: Carlos Muñoz Varela, a leader among Cubans abroad who advocate normalization of relations and an end to the U.S. blockade against Cuba, was gunned down by counterrevolutionary thugs in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

September: The Carter administration unleashes the so-called Caribbean minicrisis.

October 17: Twenty-two hundred marines land at the Guantánamo naval base as part of the U.S. campaign to intimidate Cuba.

October 27: A high-powered bomb explodes in front of the Cuban UN mission. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

November 25: Eulalio José Negrín, an opponent of the U.S. blockade against Cuba and a participant in the Dialogue between Cubans abroad and the Cuban government is murdered by rightist goons in Union City, New Jersey. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

December 7: The Cuban mission to the UN is bombed. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.

1980

March 13: The Angolan mission to the UN is firebombed by Omega 7, protesting Cuban aid to Angola.

March 25: Enough plastic explosives to have blown up a city block is placed under the car of Raúl Roa Kouri, Cuba's ambassador to the UN. Omega 7 assumes responsibility.



French merchant ship *La Coubre* was blown up in Havana Harbor on March 4, 1960.

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Hugo Blanco Campaigns for Working Class Independence

By Will Reissner

On May 18 there will be national elections for Peru's first civilian government following twelve years of military rule. Voters will be faced with sixteen candidates for president.

The bourgeois parties are divided between two major and nine other candidates. On the left, two electoral coalitions—the Revolutionary Left Alliance (ARI) and Left Unity (UI)—broke apart shortly before the registration deadline for slates. As a result, there will be five leftist slates.

Peru's discredited military regime began talking about the return to civilian rule four years ago. They hoped to turn the government over to a strong bourgeois regime able to impose the draconian measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund in return for loans. These measures involve driving down the wages of working people and imposing ever harsher austerity programs.

The military's plans hinged on the ability of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) and its leader, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, to win an overwhelming mandate in the elections. APRA, a bourgeois party with a populist background, retains an important base of support among the masses, especially in northern Peru.

The military's pledge to restore a civilian regime was prompted by its growing isolation and the hostility with which it is seen by Peru's impoverished masses.

Since the early 1970s, Peru has been in a deep economic crisis. Recently there has been some short-term improvement in the economy as a result of rising prices for copper and silver exports. But in the last half-decade, the purchasing power of Peru's workers, peasants, and urban poor has dropped 35 percent, leading to a radicalization of these sectors.

Massive general strikes in July 1977 and May 1978 shook the ruling military junta. Struggles were on the rise in the country's vital minefields, among industrial workers and public employees in the cities, as well as in the countryside.

On June 18, 1978, elections were held for a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution and election procedures. In those elections, APRA won slightly more than 35 percent of the vote and the Christian People's Party won some 26 percent.

But to the dismay of the generals, three left-wing slates received a total of 22 percent.

Two broad electoral coalitions—the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP) and the Democratic Peo-

ple's Union (UDP)—had been established to run in the Constituent Assembly elections. In addition, the pro-Moscow Peruvian Communist Party (*Unidad*) ran its own campaign.

Hugo Blanco—the Peruvian Trotskyist and peasant leader who received the highest vote of any left candidate—headed the FOCEP slate. He and many other leftist candidates had spent years in jail and forced exile. Some, including Blanco, were again deported only weeks before the election. Moreover, the regime denied voting rights to illiterates, who comprise some 35 percent of the population, as well as to Indians who don't speak Spanish. Given these undemocratic conditions, the 22 percent vote for the left-wing slates was impressive.

Following his election to the Constituent Assembly, Blanco used his seat there as a platform to defend workers and peasants struggles and to aid them in whatever ways possible.

May 18, 1980, Presidential Elections

As 1980 opened, the military dictatorship's hopes for a strong bourgeois civilian regime were crumbling.

Following the death of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in August 1979, APRA degenerated into feuding cliques struggling for power. In fact, APRA was only able to nail down its slate for the coming presidential and parliamentary elections at the last moment before the filing deadline.

Acción Popular (AP—People's Action), the party of former President Fernando Belaúnde Terry, was also embroiled in tremendous internal disagreements.

When the dust had settled, APRA had nominated Armando Villanueva, the AP had nominated Belaúnde, and nine other bourgeois candidates had also filed. This makes it highly questionable that any bourgeois candidate will be able to win the 36 percent of the vote required for victory under the new constitution. If no candidate receives that amount, the president will be chosen by the parliament elected the same day.

Such an outcome would result in a minority government that owes its existence to wheeling and dealing among the contending parties in parliament. The generals and the capitalist interests they represent would then confront the question of how to react to the prospect of such a weak regime.

By mid-January the Peruvian left had coalesced around two electoral fronts for the May 18 elections.

Left Unity (UI) was a multiclass bloc made up of the Communist Party (*Unidad*); a small faction of FOCEP headed by attorney Genaro Ledesma, who had broken with FOCEP's call for political independence of the working-class movement; and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), a bourgeois nationalist group composed of leading officers from the military regime of General Velasco Alvarado in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The UI's ticket was headed by Ledesma for president.

The Revolutionary Left Alliance (ARI) was made up of a wide range of Trotskyist, centrist, and Maoist forces, and was backed by unions and other mass organizations influenced by those forces. Its presidential candidate was Hugo Blanco.

By the end of February, however, both of these fronts had shattered.

The Formation of ARI

The original proposal for the establishment of a united working-class campaign came from Hugo Blanco's Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Peruvian section of the Fourth International. The PRT called for setting up the broadest possible electoral front of workers organizations that both explicitly, and *in practice*, would be for the political independence of the working class from the capitalists and the military.

Such a front, the PRT maintained, would permit each member organization to put forward all its own political positions during the campaign.

The PRT's proposal won wide support for two reasons. One was the desire and the pressure of the mass of workers and peasants for unity and for a candidate that symbolized their struggles against the government, the landlords, and the other capitalists.

The second reason was the immense popularity of Hugo Blanco, the "natural candidate of the hungry" as he is described in the Peruvian bourgeois media. Blanco is a popular symbol of intransigent defense of the interests of Peru's exploited.

In 1963, as a peasant-union organizer, Blanco was sentenced to death by a military court for his part in militant land occupations. Although a huge worldwide defense campaign prevented the military from carrying out the sentence, Blanco remained in prison until freed under a general amnesty in 1970.

Since then, Blanco has been deported from his homeland three times by govern-

ments that oppose his work among the peasants and urban poor. In the last decade he has spent eight years in forced exile.

The establishment of ARI on January 18, 1980, was seen by the Peruvian masses as a big step forward. Members of the participating groups began to collaborate in united activities throughout Peru.

For example, on February 22 and 23 union elections took place in Chimbote, the country's most important mining center. Spontaneously, members of the various organizations in ARI got together to run a single slate in the union elections. As a result, the ARI slate got two-thirds of the vote in what had traditionally been a stronghold of APRA-led unionism.

While ARI's political basis was limited, given the programmatic differences among the component groups, the unity agreement specifically stipulated that "no bourgeois formation can participate in the alliance."

Hugo Blanco, as the presidential candidate and main spokesperson for ARI, consistently put forward the governmental slogan "For a workers government—without bosses or generals."

Maoist Forces

This political thrust rankled the Maoist forces in Peru, who favor building a political alliance with the "progressive" national bourgeoisie and "reformist" generals. Nonetheless, the pressure for working-class unity from the masses and Hugo Blanco's immense popularity convinced a number of the Maoist groups that they would risk total political isolation if they did not join ARI.

The largest of the Maoist groups, Patria Roja (Red Homeland) and its front, the Revolutionary Left Union (UNIR), had initially hoped to run a "Marxist-Leninist" (Maoist) slate. UNIR joined ARI only after the slate had already been established and involved some of the groups UNIR was after.

Within ARI, UNIR continually tried to blunt the front's thrust toward independent working-class political action.

Several days after joining ARI, UNIR was given legal status by the military dictatorship; this meant that UNIR could run alone in the elections if it wished. This government decision was in sharp contrast to its attitude toward Blanco's own party, the PRT, whose initial petitions for legal status were rejected, despite containing far more signatures than required by law. The regime also tried to keep the Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party (POMR), another group in ARI, off the ballot.

The rapidity with which the military legalized UNIR was part of a pressure campaign waged on many fronts by the regime to try to break up ARI. The last thing the ruling generals wanted was a united electoral slate behind Blanco—who many polls predicted would receive

more than 20 percent of the vote—and his call for a "workers government without generals or bosses."

Once UNIR received legal status, it began a provocative offensive against the original agreement upon which ARI had been founded. UNIR demanded that all the groups in ARI adopt the governmental slogan "for a nonaligned and people's democratic government." This slogan, which expressed the Maoist concept of a "bloc of four classes" including "progressive" sectors of the Peruvian bourgeoisie, clearly negated the independent working-class political basis of ARI. It was unacceptable to Blanco, the PRT, and other forces within ARI.

UNIR also demanded that the Socialist Revolutionary Action (ARS), a small group that some in ARI regarded as bourgeois, be included in the coalition, despite the fact that the ARS had been excluded by name in the founding agreement.

In addition, despite all the differences that existed among the groups in ARI, UNIR demanded that it function under "democratic centralism"; its aim was to thereby prevent the PRT, Blanco, and others from campaigning for working-class political independence. UNIR also tried to pack provincial legislative slates with its own members, in violation of the original agreement that the slates would be divided 50 percent for the "Socialist Bloc" (basically the PRT and other forces describing themselves as Trotskyist), and 50 percent for the Maoist and centrist currents.

The aim of UNIR's offensive was clear: if ARI could not be turned into a class-collaborationist front, it would have to be destroyed.

The other Maoist and centrist currents in ARI were unable to lead an effective fight against UNIR's offensive. The centrists, politically unclear on the question of working-class independence, tried to use the fights in ARI to increase their share of parliamentary candidates.

Within ARI only the PRT, and initially the POMR, consistently stuck by the initial political and organizational basis of ARI against UNIR's attack.

A few days before the deadline for registering slates, it looked like the Maoist offensive to change ARI's character had been decisively turned back. The provisions of the original agreement were reconfirmed, and the ARS was definitively excluded.

At this point, however, the POMR made a sudden about-face in its attitude to ARI.

Why the POMR Changed Its Position

To understand the POMR's sudden change of position, it is necessary to review some political developments that took place outside Peru.

Late in 1979 an international grouping calling itself the Bolshevik Faction split from the Fourth International. Within

Peru, the local affiliate of the Bolshevik Faction is called the Socialist Workers Party (PST). The PST was the only Peruvian group claiming to be Trotskyist that did not participate in ARI. Claiming that ARI was a class-collaborationist "popular front," the PST engaged in constant sectarian maneuvers, trying first to prevent the establishment of ARI and then to sabotage it.

The POMR is the Peruvian affiliate of an international grouping called the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI). The OCRFI is made up of groups that refused to participate in the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963.

Late last year the OCRFI encouraged the split of the Bolshevik Faction and another sectarian current from the Fourth International. These international groupings then got together to set up a "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International."

This "Parity Committee" calls for building a "democratic centralist" Fourth International. But in Peru, its two constituent members, the PST and POMR, were initially on opposite sides on whether to join ARI.

So, the "Parity Committee" intervened to insist that the POMR get in step with the PST by pulling out of ARI. The POMR accepted the ultimatum without making any serious public explanation.

The Maoist UNIR forces seized on the opportunity this afforded them to go onto the offensive again inside ARI. They began demanding political and organizational hegemony and a greatly enlarged share of the candidates.

Centrists Try to Drive Out UNIR

While all this was going on, some centrist forces—mainly grouped around the weekly newspaper *Amauta* and the organizations Revolutionary Vanguard (VR) and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR)—also began calling for a redivision of the parliamentary slots, proposing that their share be boosted at the expense of both the "Socialist Bloc" and UNIR.

Their object was to use Hugo Blanco's prestige to boost their own parliamentary representation, even if it meant that UNIR left ARI as a result. (Under Peru's proportional representation system, a party or front gets the same percentage of parliamentary seats as its percentage of the popular vote. Thus, if ARI got 20 percent of the vote, it would get 20 percent of the seats to divide among its member groups.)

The PRT was now the sole force fighting to keep ARI together on its original basis. Faced with the POMR's de facto withdrawal, the sabotage by UNIR, and the maneuvers by VR and the MIR to increase their share of the seats and drive UNIR out, the PRT publicly announced that unless the ARI slates were fixed forty-eight hours before the final filing deadline (Feb-



Miguel Fuentes-IP/I

Blanco addresses rally during Constituent Assembly campaign.

ruary 28), it would have no alternative but to run on its own or with the POMR and PST.

This forty-eight hour deadline was chosen because slates have to be filed in person in each one of the provincial capitals. Without at least that amount of time, Blanco and the PRT could have ended up without any ballot status at all due to the factional squabbles within ARI.

Hugo Blanco—PRT Candidate

Finally, forty hours before the filing deadline, and following three days and nights of inconclusive round-the-clock meetings in ARI, the PRT decided to run its own candidates, under its own name, and on its own program. This had become legally possible as a result of the battle that forced the dictatorship to legalize the PRT.

At the same time, UNIR and other Maoist forces named a slate headed by Horacio Zeballos, a leader of the teachers union SUTEP. VR, the MIR, and a few smaller groups decided to run their own slate, although they were offered places on the PRT ticket. Carlos Malpica of the MIR is the slate's presidential candidate.

The PRT had battled to the end for the unity of ARI on the basis of the founding agreement. But it contended that there were only two choices in the elections: either *broad unity around a limited program capped by political independence of the working class*, or a *PRT campaign open to other forces that agree on this key question*.

The PRT rejected any intermediary solution, such as running a coalition campaign with only a narrow portion of the ARI forces.

Given the new situation, the POMR and PST quickly decided to back the PRT's campaign. They agreed to run under the PRT's name, and they agreed that the campaign platform would be the joint

platform the three groups had earlier proposed for FOCEP.

Blanco is the candidate for president, and the candidates for the two vice-presidencies are Ricardo Napurí of the POMR and Enrique Fernández of the PST.

The PRT pointed out in its newspaper *Combate Socialista* that the responsibility for the break-up of ARI lies "with the centrist and Maoist groups who were unable to reach an agreement regarding the division of parliamentary candidacies."

But *Combate Socialista* added that the PST and POMR "share a lesser responsibility for it. With them inside the alliance it might have been possible to create a relationship of forces favorable to maintaining the unity of ARI despite the hunger for parliamentary seats."

The Break Up of the UI

UI, the other electoral bloc involving left-wing parties, broke up several days before ARI. The CP (*Unidad*) and the PSR had originally agreed to let Genaro Ledesma of FOCEP-Independiente head the UI slate as presidential candidate.

Ledesma, a labor lawyer, had been titular head of FOCEP when that slate won the highest left vote in the June 1978 Constituent Assembly elections. At that time, FOCEP had run on a clear platform of working-class political independence from the bourgeoisie and generals. It was popularly seen as Hugo Blanco's group.

As the presidential elections approached, however, Ledesma began to break with FOCEP's program of working-class independence, captured FOCEP's name through a legal maneuver, and ended up in a common slate with the PSR's "reformist generals."

The PSR and CP (*Unidad*) hoped that Ledesma's misuse of the FOCEP name would attract FOCEP supporters to UI. When that did not happen, they an-

nounced to Ledesma that FOCEP-Independiente did not deserve the large share of UI candidacies that it had originally been allotted. Ledesma then quit and announced his own candidacy on a FOCEP slate.

While this was the official reason for the breakup of UI, there was a more fundamental political reason—the desire by the class-collaborationist CP (*Unidad*) and PSR to make some possible short-term gains by throwing whatever parliamentary votes they get to one of the bourgeois candidates if the presidential election is thrown into parliament.

APRA has already been openly courting the CP (*Unidad*) and the PSR, calling them the "responsible left." Although the CP (*Unidad*) has not taken an official position on the question, it is clearly ready to throw its votes to APRA's Villanueva, as is the PSR.

Despite Ledesma's break with class independence, the CP (*Unidad*) did not feel he was a secure partner in carrying out this strategy. So, both the CP (*Unidad*) and the PSR decided to dump him and run Gen. Leonidas Rodríguez of the PSR for president.

Leonidas Rodríguez was one of the main figures in the first years of the Velasco dictatorship. He was responsible for a number of repressive attacks on the workers movement. CP leader Jorge del Prado will run as a vice-presidential candidate.

Ledesma's campaign was kicked off with a slanderous attack on Hugo Blanco as a "CIA agent," showing that his brief and unsuccessful collaboration with the Stalinist CP (*Unidad*) did have some lasting effect on him.

What Blanco's Campaign Can Do

The PRT is using its election campaign to aid and help unify the workers struggles against the dictatorship that are already taking place.

As *Combate Socialista* notes, "this election campaign must serve to educate the workers in a basic principle: the emancipation of the workers will be the job of the workers themselves. We can have no confidence in any bourgeois sector making the revolution, no matter how 'progressive' or 'democratic' they try to make themselves look. This is the meaning of working-class political independence, and that is why we are fighting for a workers government without generals or bosses."

The PRT is running a slate made up of workers in order to show that "in parliament as well, the best representatives of the workers are the workers themselves."

A major theme of the PRT campaign is that the struggle of the workers and peasants will not end when the elections are over, and that it is important to use the elections to lay the basis for the on-going struggles by building and consolidating the combat party of the working class throughout the country. □

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Working Women's Struggles Marked in Quebec and English Canada

By Joanne Murphy

The demands of working women rang out across Quebec and English Canada March 7 and 8 as thousands marked International Women's Day with teach-ins, rallies, and marches.

In Montreal, 4,500 people marched through the city. A contingent of 200 members of the Communications Workers of Canada (CWC), currently on strike against Bell Canada, sold buttons and passed out leaflets explaining their struggle.

Striking Montreal city workers also had a contingent in the demonstration, which was organized by the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ), and the Montreal Labor Council.

"March 8, May 1, Solidarity!" and "Cols Bleus, Femmes, Solidarité" (Blue Collar Workers, Women, Solidarity) were popular chants, along with slogans and banners for equal pay, day care, maternity leaves, abortion rights and contraception.

An all-day teach-in March 8 at the University of Quebec featured discussions of the common struggles for the women's movement and the unions. Among the displays and literature tables was one on the defense campaign of three women unjustly fired last November by Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Ltd. in Montreal (see article on facing page). The defense committee collected more than 500 signatures on petitions demanding that Pratt rehire the three women.

Solidarity with the striking Bell workers was the focus of the March 8 demonstration in Toronto. Many of the 2,000 marchers wore bracelets of bells distributed by the March 8 Committee. The Bell strikers led the march, which stopped in front of the main office of Bell Canada in Toronto to hear a speech by CWC local president Janice McCullen.

Union contingents made up about a third of the Toronto march. There were women who have been on strike since September from Radio Shack, which is refusing to sign a contract with the Steelworkers union. United Auto Workers (UAW) members, mostly women on strike against Blue Cross, also participated.

More than forty organizations participated in the March 8 coalition, including the Ontario Federation of Labor and the Women's Committee of the Ontario New Democratic Party, the labor party in Canada.

One union that had a contingent in the demonstration for the first time was from

the McDonnell Douglas Canada aerospace plant in Toronto. UAW Local 1967, which organizes the plant, bought 200 March 8 buttons to build the action. The local union newsletter carried an article on the march with the headline, "Fight for Equality of Women in Industry."

On March 7 over 400 people attended an International Women's Day rally in Hamilton, Ontario. The rally was organized by the Women Back Into Stelco Committee which has been campaigning to force the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco), the largest steel producer in the country, to hire women. Many women worked there during World War II, but most were pushed out after the war. Since 1961, the company has refused to hire women at all for production jobs.

Other actions were organized in Alberta and British Columbia.

Thousands March for Jobs and Abortion in Australia

March 8 was celebrated in Australia with meetings and marches throughout the country. In Sydney, nearly 3,000 women marched carrying banners and chanting slogans such as "Free Safe Abortion on Demand" and "An End to Discrimination in Employment, Education, and Child Custody."

In Adelaide, 2,000 marched for "Every Woman's Right to Work" and "Repeal of All Abortion Laws." Other actions took



Marion Hill/Direct Action Wollongong demonstrator.

place in Brisbane, Newcastle, and Melbourne.

In Wollongong, "Jobs for Women" was the theme of a march of more than 100

people on March 6. A leaflet at the march explained, "If women are to get jobs in Wollongong, they must have the right to get jobs in the steel and metal industries [the main employer in the area]."

Chilean Military Dictatorship Arrests Women's Day Demonstrators

Some 130 Chilean demonstrators celebrating International Women's Day were arrested in Valparaíso and Santiago. Twelve have already been sentenced to internal exile for up to three months, which means they will be sent to small, isolated communities.

Chile's human rights commission charges that some of the Women's Day prisoners were held incommunicado and were interrogated illegally by security officers.

The March 8 demonstrations had been banned on political grounds by the dictatorship. Those arrested included journalists and many trade unionists.

Amnesty International has recommended that telegrams be sent urging the "release of all those detained for the peaceful exercise of their right to freedom of expression and association on 8 March."

Appeals can be sent to S.E. General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, Presidente de la Republica, Edificio Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile.

March 8 Protest At Armagh Jail in Northern Ireland

In Ireland, International Women's Day was commemorated in front of Armagh Jail, the women's prison in Northern Ireland. It is here that thirty-two Irish Republican women prisoners have been demanding political prisoner status. Armagh has become known as the "women's H-Block."

During the last month, these prisoners have been suffering brutal treatment from authorities. They are confined to their cells for twenty-three hours a day and are refused washing and toilet facilities.

An estimated 500 women and men picketed outside the jail. A delegation of some 250 British feminists, including members of the International Marxist Group (IMG), traveled to Belfast to express their solidarity.

The March 13 *Socialist Challenge*, a weekly sponsored by the IMG, reported: "International Women's Day clearly had a special significance when women stood shoulder to shoulder with men in the

struggle for national liberation in Ireland."

Demonstrators chanted, "1, 2, 3, 4, Open up the H-Block door, 5, 6, 7, 8, Open up the Armagh gate." Speakers included two former Armagh prisoners, Rita Bateson and Geraldine Crawford; former H-Block "blanket man" Joe Maguire; Marie Maholland from Women Against Imperialism; Marie Moore from Sinn Féin; and Christine Carney from the National H-Block Committee.

The Republican newspaper *An Phoblact* reported, "Indeed, the most moving moment of the hour-long picket was when a yellow garment appeared dangling through the bars of an open window. . . ."

"Later on, the banging of cell doors could be heard, presumably from the protesting prisoners themselves."

French Women Demand Right to Full Employment

Demonstrations and other activities marked International Women's Day in eleven cities throughout France. The two main themes of this year's events were the right of women to full employment and the right to free abortions without restrictions.

In Paris 6,000 marched and rallied, with several banners from women workers leading the march. Some of the slogans were "There is no independence without financial independence" and "Temporary work and part-time work are unemployment in disguise."

Black, Arab, Spanish, and Latin American women also participated, declaring, "The struggle of women knows no borders."

In another display of internationalism, a collection was planned in order to bring representatives from the Association of Nicaraguan Women to France for a series of solidarity gatherings.

In Marseille, 300 to 400 women demonstrated; 200 turned out in Rouen; and several hundred in Lyon.

The French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* points out that because of the policies of some of the feminist groups organizing the demonstrations, little effort was made to involve the unions in supporting and mobilizing for the March 8 activities.

U.S.: Women and Labor Join Forces to Build May 10 ERA Protest

In many U.S. cities, International Women's day actions launched the buildup for a May 10 national march and rally in Chicago, Illinois, for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

Called by the National Organization for Women, the May 10 demonstration has broad support from the powerful steel, auto, and other industrial unions in the Chicago area and throughout the Midwest. It will be preceded by a labor conference for the ERA on April 26, hosted by the Illinois component of the U.S. labor feder-

Quebec Unions Fight Discrimination at Pratt & Whitney

By Janice Lynn

Impressive union support has been won for three women who were "laid off" November 16 from Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Ltd. in Longueuil, a section of Montreal.

The three—Suzanne Chabot, Katy LeRougetel, and Wendy Stevenson—were fired just days before the end of their probationary period. As members of the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Canadian section of the Fourth International—they were well known to their co-workers as feminists and political activists.

The company claimed it had a surplus of personnel. Yet, over the last few months it hired more than 800 new workers.

The three women are backed by their local union, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 510, as well as by UAW Local 1163 at the Sainte-Thérèse General Motors Plant.

Local 510 has filed a complaint with the Quebec Human Rights Commission challenging the layoffs as discriminatory. It intends to take the case to arbitration.

The February 29 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, French-language newspaper of the RWL, reports on the numerous requests the three received to speak at various union-sponsored March 8 Inter-

national Women's Day Activities.

The women's commission of the Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ) held a lengthy discussion with the three on the right of women to better paying industrial jobs, from which women have been traditionally excluded. The commission unanimously adopted a resolution of support for the three.

The March issue of *Le Monde Ouvrier*, monthly magazine of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), contains a back page article entitled, "Political and Sexual Discrimination at Pratt & Whitney in Longueuil." It explains that the three women were dismissed because of the company's policy of refusing women access to skilled and better paying jobs (one of the women is a qualified machinist and another a machine operator) and because of their well-known political and trade-union involvement.

Additional support has been won from the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and from well-known unionists in both Quebec and English Canada.

For more information and to send financial contributions, write to the Committee to Defend the Three Pratt Women, 4271 Chambord, Montreal.

ation AFL-CIO.

The Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 8 rally, attended by 250 people, focused on the ERA and women in the labor force. It was sponsored by six National Organization for Women (NOW) chapters and endorsed by the Minnesota AFL-CIO and nearly twenty union locals.

In Chicago, nearly 250 women and men gathered for a program sponsored by the Chicago Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The event focused on winning ratification of the ERA in Illinois. Illinois is the only major industrial state that has not yet ratified the amendment. In order for the ERA to become part of the U.S. Constitution, it must be ratified by three more states prior to a June 1982 deadline set by Congress.

In New York City, 300 women marched to the site of the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist fire in which 140 workers, nearly all women, died in the infamous garment sweatshop. Later, some 500 people gathered at the United Auto Workers District 65 headquarters for an afternoon program. Other March 8 events in New York included a program on Cuba and a tribute to the heroic women of Nicaragua.

In San Francisco, 4,000 turned out March 8 for the fifth annual Day in the

Park for Women's Rights. Among the speakers at a rally for the ERA were national NOW president Eleanor Smeal; Addie Wyatt, national vice-president of CLUW; and Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. Support for the May 10 ERA demonstration in Chicago was a central theme of the rally.

Swiss Women Protest Job Discrimination

Women's rights in employment and opposition to job discrimination were the themes of March 8 demonstrations in Switzerland.

In Lucerne, 3,000 demonstrated, and in Geneva some 700 women attended an International Women's Day event of speeches and entertainment.

The Swiss Trotskyist newspaper *La Brèche* reprinted a call for a united women's movement adopted at the Geneva gathering. Pointing out that in Switzerland women earn only one-third of what men earn, the statement calls for a campaign around equal rights in employment; revision of the federal old age and survivor's insurance, which presently discriminates against women; and for women's right to abortion and contraception.

The New Antidraft Movement and U.S. Politics Today

By David Frankel

[First of two parts]

When President Carter proposed January 23 that American youth once again be required to register for a draft, he was taking aim against the struggles of workers and peasants around the world. He hoped to assure U.S.-backed dictators from Thailand to Guatemala that Washington will come to their aid if they are challenged by popular rebellion.

But Carter's registration proposal was also a double-barreled attack on the American working class. First, it was a move to reimpose conscription, which was halted in 1973—one of the victories of the massive struggle against the war in Indochina. At the same time, Carter proposed a *qualitative extension* of previous conscription programs by demanding that women, as well as men, be forced to sign up.

Response within the United States to Carter's attack was immediate. Demonstrations and teach-ins erupted from one end of the country to the other. A number of points should be noted in regard to these protests.

- First, they were widespread. Protests took place not only in places such as New York and Berkeley, but also in cities such as Morgantown, West Virginia; Olympia, Washington; Middletown, Connecticut; and Manchester, New Hampshire.

- The actions were also large. On March 22 alone, some 25,000 people marched in Washington, D.C., while perhaps 10,000 protested in other cities.

- These demonstrations were part of a spontaneous upsurge that marked the entry of a new generation of activists into political life. No significant antidraft movement existed prior to Carter's proposal. But within days of its announcement, thousands of young people stepped forward and created new organizations and new coalitions virtually overnight. Although some of these young activists had taken part in protests against nuclear power, many of them had been children at the time of the last anti-Vietnam War actions seven years earlier.

- Despite the repeated claims in the capitalist media that the American people have left behind the legacy of the Vietnam period and have overcome their "Vietnam syndrome," the identification of these young people with the antiwar movement of the 1960s and early 1970s, and their assimilation of many of its lessons, was evident. One banner at the March 22 demonstration was from Kent State University, where four antiwar protesters were murdered by the National Guard in May

1970. It said:

"Kent Students Say: Remember the Past, Continue the Struggle. No Draft, No War."

- These new activists have a good idea of whose interests Carter is trying to protect. Slogans such as "We won't die for Exxon!" and "Hell no, we won't go; we won't fight for Texaco!" were popular everywhere. This identification of the registration proposal with the needs of big business was in contrast to the general level of consciousness during the Vietnam period.

- The demonstrations took place in the midst of and in opposition to an intense propaganda campaign intended to line up the American people behind the aggressive military plans and policies of the ruling class.

- Although the antidraft demonstrations have so far been composed mainly of high school and college students, they have struck a responsive chord among young workers, who express strong opposition to the draft. Antidraft petitions have been well received in workplaces around the country. A number of trade union bodies, such as the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) in California, have passed antidraft resolutions.

This is a far cry from the situation during the first years of the war in Vietnam, when the prowar labor officialdom was able to set the tone in the unions.

But the union bureaucracy is still criminally defaulting on this issue, which is literally a life-or-death question for many workers. A majority of top officials have lined up behind Carter's proposal, and those who haven't are doing little to mobilize union power behind the antidraft fight.

For this reason young workers, who overwhelmingly oppose the draft, still tend to look for individual solutions. "They're not going to draft me!" is a common response, or even a half-serious "I'll go to Canada first!"

This points to the importance for the American labor movement of actions such as the March 22 demonstration, which help spread the idea of the need for collective struggle against government policies.

Support for 'Service and Sacrifice'?

Far from reflecting a new mood of rampant militarism and belligerent superpatriotism among American working people, Carter's draft proposal has come up against the same antiwar sentiment that the U.S. ruling class has been struggling to reverse for the past decade.

A February 10 editorial in the *New York Times* frankly expressed the hopes of the rulers. It declared:

"At the moment, we see only one powerful reason to ask young Americans to register for an eventual military draft: to demonstrate that the public, and especially the generation that grew up with Vietnam, is once more ready to contemplate conscription for military action abroad.

"... the country should want registration postcards—and from virtually every family—to signify support for the *idea* of service and sacrifice in defense of national interests."

But Carter has simply not been able to forge such a consensus.

It is certainly true that the capitalist offensive around events in Iran and Afghanistan has made an impact on American workers. But from the point of view of the rulers, the results have hardly been a great success.

In the case of Iran, for example, Carter's attempt to whip up chauvinist sentiment following the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran is now backfiring. The extent of anti-Iranian hysteria was exaggerated from the beginning by the capitalist media, and now it has virtually disappeared.

Instead, the months-long crisis has given rise to widespread discussion and debate over CIA intervention in Iran, why Carter won't admit the repressive character of the shah's regime, why the shah was let into the United States in the first place, and why Washington seems more concerned about the prestige of a tyrant than the return of the hostages. The result has been another lesson for American workers about the aims of U.S. foreign policy.

Carter has had slightly better luck around the issue of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Most American workers believe that in moving troops there, Moscow did something bad. Distrust of the Soviet Union has been heightened.

But confusion around what is happening in Afghanistan is mixed with the deep suspicion that the whole story is not being told; that Washington must also have its fingers in the pie; that there's something shady about the Afghan "rebels"; and that even if Moscow is doing something bad in Afghanistan, it is not the place of the U.S. government to intervene militarily. The American working class is simply not about to go to war in Asia—or anyplace else.

Commentators claiming that there is a swing to the right among the American



March 22 antidraft demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Lou Howort/IP-1

people (the existence of polarizing attitudes among different *classes* is consciously obscured by these commentators) point to opinion polls. For example, a Gallup poll published March 2 found 59 percent of those questioned favored a return to the draft, compared to 45 percent a year earlier.

Such polls, however, have very limited political significance. Throughout most of the Vietnam War, the opinion polls continued to claim that a majority of the American people opposed the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The prodraft sentiment registered in the opinion polls today is *passive* and it is *shallow*. There is no movement in favor of the draft, no rallies, no meetings, no demonstrations. Nor are there likely to be. Workers who say they are for a draft, as a result of what they read in the capitalist press or hear from Carter, are open to discussion. They are interested in hearing the arguments against Washington's war moves. And they often change their minds.

What about the impact of the opposition?

Carter Complains of 'Overreaction'

So sharp were the protests against his registration proposal that Carter complained in a nationally televised news conference February 13 that draft-age youths were "overreacting." He didn't even try to claim that the protests were the work of a small minority—the usual ploy of rulers faced with mass opposition to their policies.

Striking a rather defensive tone, Carter insisted: "I have not called for and do not

anticipate calling for a draft. The best way to prevent having a draft in the future . . . is to be prepared. . . .

"We are not advocating the draft. We are advocating registration for a draft."

Two days later Carter appealed to more than 250 student leaders who were invited to the White House. He urged them to support his registration scheme. As *New York Times* correspondent Steven R. Weisman noted, "His pleas did not appear to change their sentiments against registration and the draft."

Washington Post commentator Haynes Johnson reported on his impression of the mood among youth after travelling to a number of northeastern campuses. "What's coming to the surface," he said February 15, "are examples of how strongly the legacy of Vietnam has affected the attitudes and outlooks of students to whom that war was, at best, a half-remembered event."

A typical opinion voiced by one student, according to Johnson, was: "I don't feel we have to go into another country and fight for Mobil Oil or the Chrysler Corp. or any of these businesses that control our country."

The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* felt it necessary to answer such arguments with a major editorial. "Safeguarding the Middle East oil supplies is not a favor to the big oil companies," they insisted February 21.

In the midst of an election year, Congress has not been so eager to rush through Carter's registration plan. A House Appropriations subcommittee refused to approve funds for registration of men in a February 27 vote. The *New York*

Times reported March 4 that "the plan to register young women appears to be dead and the Administration is struggling to keep the proposal for registering young men alive in the House committee."

An indication of the real relationship of class forces in the United States is the contrast between 1965, when Lyndon Johnson was able to pour thousands of marines into the Dominican Republic at the first hint of a threat to imperialist interests there, and the situation today, when Carter has been unable to intervene directly with U.S. troops against the unfolding revolutions in Central America.

Washington has certainly been hard at work seeking to crush the struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador by withholding aid to the Sandinistas, while pouring in money, arms, and "advisers" to the Salvadoran and other Central American military regimes. But compare this to the record of the French government over the past several years. French troops have been sent into Zaïre, the Central African Republic, and Chad, and French military units have also intervened in Tunisia, Western Sahara, and Saudi Arabia, among other areas, without any protests approaching the scope of the antidraft movement in the United States.

Those who fall for the line of the capitalist media, which pretends that the "Vietnam syndrome" is a thing of the past are giving up the battle against the reassertion of U.S. militarism before the fight has really been joined. □

[Next: Socialist policy in the antidraft movement and the proletarian military policy today.]

Stop Murders of Turkomen Leaders

HKE Demands Commission of Inquiry

[In the last week of February, the bodies of at least twelve leaders of the Turkomen people were found dumped in various places around Gonbad-e Kavus, the main town in the oppressed region of Turkmenistan. There are unconfirmed reports of the discovery of other bodies.

[The March 6 issue of *Kargar*, newspaper of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), raised the call for an independent commission of inquiry to investigate these murders, Major excerpts from the statement follow.]

* * *

Despite the conflicting reports about these killings in the press and the attempts of the authorities to confuse the issue, this matter is being discussed by many of the militant Muslim people engaged in the great struggle against American imperialism.

They are asking what was behind these tragic killings and how to aid their Turkomen brothers and sisters in their struggle against the big landlords, who are the local allies of imperialism.

In fact, a lot of reports . . . indicate that the conflict in the region is between the peasants trying to take back their land through their village councils and the landlords who are resisting this. The resistance of the landlords is what is causing the bloodshed and fratricide. Clearing up the truth about these tragic events is not just a task for political groups. It is the task of the working people of the entire country. . . .

The answer to all these questions can only be provided by an independent commission of inquiry. Above all this commission must have the confidence of the Muslim Turkomen people.

So, this commission can only be made up

of representatives of the organizations of the toilers themselves and those who have their confidence—honest intellectuals who support the revolution and elements of the clergy who are taking an active part in the struggle alongside the masses.

The support of President Bani-Sadr is needed for this commission. It will only be possible to form an independent commission of inquiry with real credibility if it has the support of the president and the Revolutionary Council.

The work done in exposing the imperialists by the Students Following the Imam's Line can serve as a good model for the work of such a commission. It should put all the facts before the people.

Only in this way can the toilers throughout Iran fulfill their duty to the Muslim Turkomen brothers and thereby unify and reinforce our battlelines in the struggle against imperialism. □

Kurdish Refugees: 'We Need the Help of All the Peoples of Iran'

Since the establishment of a truce in Kurdistan toward the end of 1979, continuing clashes have been reported between Kurdish nationalists and the armed forces of Iran's central government.

Reporters for *Che Bayad Kard* (What Is To Be Done), the weekly newspaper of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS),* interviewed a group of Kurdish refugees from one of these clashes. Their account was published in the February 23 issue.

Most of the population of the town of Kamyaran in the mountains of eastern Kurdistan fled after fighting erupted there in early February. A large number of them took refuge in the Mullah Uisi Mosque in Sanandaj, about thirty miles to the north.

On January 29, a car load of Revolutionary Guards opened fire on a jeep carrying a night patrol of Komala, one of the more radical Kurdish groups. The driver of the jeep was killed, along with some other guerrillas.

Two survivors brought word of the incident to nearby Kamyaran, and all the guerrillas in the town rushed out to respond to the attack.

In the meantime, the Revolutionary Guards and their local supporters, operating under the name of the "Kurdish Muslim Peshmergan," mounted an attack on the town. The refugees recalled:

"For every round that the guerrillas fired

at the attackers, they fired thirty or forty back. The unarmed population fought back, with the help of a few armed guerrillas from the Komala and the Kurdish Democratic Party, until 5:00 a.m. But they were finally forced to retreat for lack of guns, ammunition, and trained fighting men.

"At 5:00 a.m., moreover, army helicopters arrived to support the Guards. At the same time, several villages around Kamyaran were strafed. . . . In addition, an army column moved in from Abadi Qala' to reinforce the Guards. . . .

"The population began fleeing the city. Women and children tried to take refuge in the nearby villages. . . . They were strafed from helicopters. The air force fired flares lighting up the entire area.

"More and more Guards, army units, and collaborators came in from other regions to reinforce the attackers. The welfare center in the town and the houses around it came under mortar fire. . . . Many women and children were hit. . . . Government military forces mounted attacks on nearby villages."

The refugees continued: "Then, on February 1, the anniversary of Khomeini's return to Iran, the Revolutionary Guards forced the old men and women, who had been unable to flee because of infirmity, to go into the streets and carry pictures of Khomeini. They forced them to chant, 'Long Live Khomeini, Death to Ezzedin Hosseini [a leader of the Kurdish People].'

"Young children started to run through the streets, shouting 'Long Live Sheikh Ezzedin.' The Revolutionary Guards and

the collaborators attacked them with clubs.

"The Guards tried to threaten the old people and to bribe them, telling them, 'We will give you money and cooking fat. Those who fled are infidels without any religion.'"

The most recent refugees reported that the few old people remaining in Kamyaran were still being subjected to intimidation. "They tell the people to point out the houses of the teachers and the Communists, and they say that if they do not do it, they will take them to Kermanshah, and [Judge] Khalkhali will sentence them to death. They have thrown the books and furniture out of the houses of many teachers."

The refugees said that they would not return to Kamyaran until the occupation forces were withdrawn. "What do we need these Persian Revolutionary Guards for? They are corrupt and parasitical, defenders of the big landlords and the capitalists. We drove these people out of Kamyaran before by big mobilizations. We are not going to let them come back now by force of arms. All Kurdistan supports us."

The refugees from Kamyaran appealed for the support of the working people of Iran, of all nationalities.

"We need the help of all the peoples of Iran. They must understand that the Kurdish people are fighting for democracy in all of Iran. They must also understand that up till now the government's Special Committee has not conducted serious negotiations with any of our political forces. There is no peace in Kurdistan." □

*The Socialist Workers Party (HKS) and Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) are two wings of the Iranian section of the Fourth International.

India: Behind Gandhi's Electoral Victory

[The following statement on Indira Gandhi's victory in the January Indian elections was issued February 15 by the Communist League (CL), the Indian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

For more than a decade, bourgeois parliamentary democracy in India has been operating under increasing stresses and strains. This political instability flows, in the last analysis, from the steady erosion of the material and ideological resources at the disposal of the Indian bourgeoisie. The recessionary economic crisis of the late 1960s; the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971; the intensification of class struggles culminating in the railway workers' strike and mass struggles in Gujarat and Bihar in 1974; the engulfment of the Indian economy by the worldwide economic recession of 1974—all these blows brought an already staggering bourgeois democracy to its knees and resulted in the proclamation of emergency in 1975 and the brutal suppression of the struggles of the masses.

The March 1977 general elections resulted in the defeat of Indira Gandhi's emergency regime. But the post-1977 evolution of bourgeois-democratic politics in India was marked by an incessant struggle for political hegemony between industrial and agrarian capital within the ruling power bloc that had taken over the central government through the establishment of the Janata Party.

This power struggle revealed the failure of the bourgeoisie to evolve a viable political structure with a two-party system. It was marked by a growing erosion of the authority of bourgeois governmental institutions, and by political fragmentation among the bourgeois parties.

This period also registered a rise of class and mass struggles, a decline in the rate of growth of industrial production, and the increasingly assertive political role of agrarian capital, leading ultimately to a new political crisis for the ruling bourgeois power bloc.

The interregnum of 1977-79 was also characterized by a lack of any independent working-class alternative on a national scale.

The results of the January 1980 general elections signify a change in the complexion of the central government. Once again, with Indira Gandhi at the helm of affairs with a massive mandate, Congress (I)¹ has emerged as a cohesive political party of the

Indian bourgeoisie. This was due mainly to the lack of a viable independent proletarian class alternative before the voters.

Congress (I) has replaced the loosely knit coalition of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, agrarian and industrial interests, that had been gathered in the Janata Party. Once again, industrial capital has acquired political hegemony in the central government, thereby vindicating the Marxist thesis about the dominant mode of production. In so far as agrarian capital had succeeded in articulating its interests politically in the form of a party—the Lok Dal—its challenge has been successfully contained by the industrial bourgeoisie. For the moment, the independent political expression of the interest of agrarian capital in the central government has been routed. The 1980 general elections have done away with the power bloc at the center.

The Indian bourgeoisie was able to once again stabilise its political rule in New Delhi without any direct challenge from the working class due to the class-collaborationist policies pursued by the left parties. For the moment, the bourgeoisie has succeeded in resolving its crisis of political leadership. In a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, one virtually bordering on a crisis, the bourgeoisie has been able to channel the expectations of the masses towards hopes in a stable and strong central government.

Such a central government, in a country as vast and diverse as India, with its separate state governments, is a prime requirement for the bourgeoisie if it is to expand its home market. This requirement was rendered more acute by the failure of the Janata regime to provide a strong government. It coincided with a growing instability in voting patterns, as the voters sought some way to improve their standard of living.

The 1980 general elections revealed the complete bankruptcy of the policy of the various left parties in the fight against authoritarianism. Their policy was to support one or another section of the exploiters, relying on them to fight authoritarianism, instead of encouraging independent mass mobilisations, democratically structured and under the leadership of the proletariat. This was especially evident in the case of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which has been supporting the capitalist Lok Dal since July.

This policy helped Indira Gandhi—who was singled out as the main authoritarian danger—to emerge stronger and capture the central government. As the election manifesto of the CL stressed, authoritar-

ianism stems from the backward capitalist social system dominant in India. The CL pointed out in its various resolutions and statements in the 1977-79 period that the Janata regime was also repressive. It is not correct to associate authoritarianism with particular individuals, groups, or parties. The repressive policies of the Janata-Lok Dal regime were the result of inherent socioeconomic pressures.

Finally, the CL has frequently stressed that authoritarianism can be combatted by proletarian methods of struggle around the central axis of independent proletarian politics. This is what is needed in India today.

With their projection of a multiclass bloc (called the Left and Democratic Front), the left parties failed to provide an all-India alternative to the parties of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, they could not expand their base and influence outside their traditional regional and electoral strongholds. Neither the CPI(M) nor the CPI² emerged as a national party. Their unity efforts certainly reflect the working class movement's desire for unity. But their politics continue to be governed by political class collaboration.

Neither a social nor a political revolution occurred in India in the January 1980 elections. Indira Gandhi's government is a bourgeois government meant to run a capitalist state apparatus and to stabilise and consolidate the capitalist economy in India at a time when that economy is afflicted with many structural ills and is in the midst of a world capitalist crisis of both inflation and recession.

Indira Gandhi has been installed in power at a time when the political and economic compulsions that impelled her to declare the state of emergency in June 1975 have become even sharper.

Already the Indian economy is being ravaged by continually rising prices of raw materials and essential commodities. The regime runs with a budgetary deficit of nearly Rs3,000 crores.³ The economy is now registering a decline in industrial growth, and the growth of investment in the private sector has slowed down. Exports have dwindled in the face of stiff competition and inflation and recession around the world. With the purchasing power of the masses declining due to rampant inflation,

2. The CPI—Communist Party of India—and the CPI(M)—Communist Party of India (Marxist)—are both Stalinist parties, the CPI being traditionally more pro-Moscow.—IP/I

3. One crore equals ten million. The deficit of thirty billion rupees is equivalent to \$3.78 billion.

1. The Congress Party split in early 1978; the wing headed by Gandhi is referred to as Congress (I), for Indira.—IP/I

the thinking of economists and policy makers is dominated by the expectation of recession. The solution to the crisis of the infrastructure—as manifested by shortages of power, coal, transport facilities, etc.—is nowhere in sight.

In these circumstances, and in view of the volatile mood of the voters (as expressed in their readiness to ditch the Janata Party within months of its coming to power), very little room to maneuver is left to the government. This is especially true because the regime is armed with draconian measures that the masses expect will be used to strike effectively against the entrenched interests and to provide the people with a modicum of relief. Popular disillusionment is bound to set in, and authoritarianism will be necessary to curb the militant manifestations of this disillusionment.

Meanwhile, clear indications of what the bourgeoisie expects from Gandhi are available in speeches and reactions of leading industrialists and their organisations. They are pressing for an early reorientation of the government's entire labour policy. Drafts for such a policy have even been printed in the newspapers.

The bourgeoisie is seeking a total moratorium on strikes, and it wants any bonus or wage increases to be linked with productivity.

Most bourgeois leaders have waxed eloquent over Gandhi's return to power. They have expressed confidence in her and pledged their support to her efforts to revive the sagging capitalist economy. They think that prospects for vigorous industrial growth and a marked improvement in the investment climate have brightened, and they are hopeful that Gandhi will provide them with sizable incentives.

Indira Gandhi is known for her hard stand against militant class actions of the workers. In view of the economic situation, it is very likely that she will resort to stern measures and make serious inroads on the trade-union rights of the workers in order to ensure continuity of production. Already demands for outlawing go-slows and gheraos,⁴ and for permitting lockouts and layoffs, are being aired in interested quarters.

In carrying out their normal trade-union activities and in defending their democratic rights, workers are likely to come to a head-on confrontation with the regime. It is necessary to prepare them for such struggles. It is necessary to oppose all efforts to link bonus or wage increases with productivity, or to increase profits through speed-up or rationalisation of labour. It is necessary to develop struggles

4. Gherao is a Hindi word meaning "surround." Large numbers of workers often "gherao" company executives or government officials, keeping them confined to their offices until the demands of the workers are met.—IP/I

to oppose any ban or moratorium on strikes, or any attempt to freeze wages, and to close ranks and form a united front of all working-class parties, groups, and individuals to fight on these issues.

The CL calls on all the left parties to forge a fighting united front to fight on all these issues and to resist the imminent attack of the bourgeoisie on the working-class movement in India.

Various groups and organisations to protect democratic rights and civil liberties are coming into being all over India. The CL proposes that a united front of all these groups and organisations be forged to fight together against any violation of these rights and liberties.

At the moment, the dissolution of duly elected state assemblies and state governments controlled by parties other than the Congress is an immediate threat. Youth Congress leaders have specifically threatened to topple the West Bengal government.

This talk of overturning the West Bengal government, which is led by the CPI(M),⁵ is a dangerous portent for the future, especially since the CPI(M) not only secured the majority of the parliamentary seats in West Bengal in the 1980 election, but also considerably increased its percentage of the vote in those elections. Gan-

dhi's claim that the parties opposed to the Congress (I) have forfeited the confidence of the people does not apply in the case of West Bengal.

Nevertheless, at the present moment it is very likely that the attack on democratic rights will assume the sinister form of forcible ouster of state governments not controlled by the Congress (I). While the CL has never placed any political confidence in these governments or extended its support to them since they are capitalist governments administering a capitalist state, the CL opposes any move by Gandhi to dissolve or oust them. The CL urges all left parties and civil liberties groups and mass and class organisations to initiate a mass movement to oppose such sinister moves.

The CL also opposes and condemns the preventive detention ordinance and any move to enact such draconian measures.

5. Gandhi took a first step in this direction February 17, dissolving nine state governments controlled by opposition parties. The central government took over all powers in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Orissa, and Gujarat; it did not, however, replace the government of West Bengal.—IP/I

Dublin Protest Backs H-Block Prisoners



An Phoblacht/Republican News

One thousand people took part in a March 1 protest in Dublin against the abuse of political prisoners at the Long Kesh concentration camp in Northern Ireland. The demonstration demanding restoration of political status for Irish Republican prisoners, which was revoked in 1976, was sponsored by the National H-Block Committee.

AROUND THE WORLD



Taiwan Dissidents Face Death Penalty

Eight Taiwanese dissidents, staff members of the liberal opposition *Formosa* magazine, are currently on trial for sedition, a capital offense. The eight are charged with organizing an opposition Human Rights Day demonstration in Kaohsiung in December 1979. Cops provoked a clash with the demonstrators, and the regime claims they planned "to gradually escalate the scale of the violence" with the ultimate goal "to overthrow the Government."

The original prosecution indictment urged "leniency" for the defendants on the grounds that they had "shown repentance." But military prosecutors reversed themselves March 26 and asked for the death penalty. This occurred after seven of the eight defendants claimed in court that confessions had been forced from them through deprivation of sleep and other pressures.

On February 28, several weeks before the trial opened, the mother and two young daughters of Lin Yi-hsiung, one of the defendants, were found stabbed to death in their home. Initial reports by the police and the government-controlled press sought to blame the murders on elements in the opposition movement seeking revenge for Lin's "confession."

This attempt at a new frame-up was exposed, however, and the police were forced to retreat from their original story. The murders had taken place on the anniversary of the 1947 Taiwanese rebellion against the dictatorial rule of the Kuomintang, and money and valuables in the house were left untouched. These facts clearly indicated that the killings were an intentional act of political terrorism by backers of the regime.

In the trial of the eight *Formosa* staff members, the Taiwanese government is probing to see how much further it can go.

Carter's Olympic Boycott in Trouble

The British Olympic Association dealt a heavy blow March 25 to President Carter's campaign for a boycott of the Moscow games. The committee voted to defy Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the Tory-dominated Parliament by deciding to "accept forthwith" the invitation to send a team of British athletes this summer.

Thatcher has been by far the most outspoken among imperialist chiefs of state in backing Carter's anti-Soviet

moves. Her government has banned special leaves for civil servants and members of the armed forces who planned to go to Moscow, and it urged the boycott in a formal Parliamentary vote.

However, the British working class and British athletes have not bought her line. And the decision of the Olympic Association was backed by the Labour Party.

The British move will have a big impact in Europe. Olympic committees in France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Ireland, Sweden, and Finland have already vowed to send teams to Moscow regardless of the stand taken by their governments. Others may now join this grouping. So far, the Norwegian Olympic Committee is the only one in Western Europe that has agreed to the boycott.

Meanwhile, President Carter appealed to American athletes at a special White House meeting March 21 to support his call for a boycott. After Carter's statement the athletes voted 44 to 29 against his position, with 24 abstaining.

Anti-abortion Bill Defeated in Britain

On March 14 the anti-abortion bill introduced into Parliament last year by John Corrie, a Conservative, was defeated by a vote of 147 to 140. Britain's 1967 abortion law, despite many restrictive clauses, is still one of the most liberal in Europe. It has been under fire by rightist forces for years.

However, British feminists militantly defended the right of women to choose whether to have children, and in 1977 the Labour Party went on record in defense of the 1967 law. On October 28, 1979, the Trades Union Congress, Britain's central labor organization, sponsored a march of 40,000 people against the Corrie Bill.

Apparently the Tory government, currently in the midst of a confrontation with British steelworkers, decided that the abortion issue was one battle it would prefer to fight another time.

Protests Force Chilean Butcher to Cut Short an Asian Tour

Hours after Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet arrived in Fiji March 22 for what was to have been the opening of an eleven-day tour of Asia, the butcher was forced to cancel his trip. Instead of the propaganda victory he had hoped for, Pinochet was given a fitting demonstration of the hatred

with which he is viewed by the workers and peasants of the world.

Thousands of protesters turned out for his arrival in the Fijian capital. Meanwhile, trade unionists in the Philippines issued leaflets denouncing Pinochet's regime as "the most heinous and repressive government in South America." They demanded that their country not "be desecrated by the presence of such a plague on mankind."

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, taking note of the protests, abruptly decided that he had urgent business outside of Manila and cancelled Pinochet's visit. The Chilean dictator, apparently fearful of a similar reception in Hong Kong, turned around and went home.

Correction

[The following two paragraphs were inadvertently omitted from the resolution, "The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International," published in a special supplement to *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* earlier this year. They should have appeared on page 32 of that supplement, at the very end of section entitled, "V. The Crisis of the Class-Collaborationist Bureaucracies."]

* * *

29. The Chinese leadership has proved itself incapable of retaining any important influence within the proletariat of the imperialist centers. The larger centrist groupings in capitalist countries that began with a Maoist orientation have been unable to make a major impact on the mass reformist parties. They have wavered between adventurism and opportunist adaptations. A notable case in point was the course followed by the "Mao-centrists" during the revolutionary upsurge in Portugal.

The small sects that attached themselves to Mao Tse-tung Thought now stand in shambles. Whom are they to support, the nefarious "Gang of Four" or the "capitalist roaders" now in power? Are they to applaud the attacks on Vietnam and Albania? What should be said of the shamelessly open sycophancy displayed by both Mao and his treacherous disciples to imperialism? These Maoist groups face the choice of disintegrating and going down to oblivion or turning toward Trotskyism, the only movement that has stood firm on the program of revolutionary Marxism.

Roots of Revolution Run Deep in El Salvador

By Michel Rovere

El Salvador is undergoing a creeping civil war.

In 1979 there were more than 1,000 political deaths and disappearances. Many of the victims were killed when the repressive forces opened fire on demonstrators, striking workers, or peasants occupying the land. Others were union activists and members of left organizations who were kidnapped and murdered, often after having been brutally tortured, by paramilitary gangs such as the White Warriors Union (UGB) or particularly the powerful Democratic Nationalist Organization (ORDEN). The network of ORDEN informers (the "ears") and killers extends throughout the Salvadoran countryside.

All these paramilitary organizations, modeled on the notorious pattern of the Guatemalan military's White Hand, have close ties with every level of the state apparatus, the army, the Treasury Police, and the National Guard.

Military and police violence has been a constant theme in the history of El Salvador, which is now the longest-running military regime on earth.

Ever since 1931, without interruption, the army—at the general-staff and officer-corps levels—has regularly decided who would occupy the National Palace, and has enforced these decisions through coups, edicts, and rigged elections.

The preeminence of the "military party" in public life was established in the period of political and social difficulties that the oligarchies encountered after the onset of the 1929 worldwide depression. But this preeminence should not blind us to the strength of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie. It is far stronger than the bourgeoisie in any other Central American republic.

The Fourteen Families

The strength of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie is due primarily to its concentration. The "fourteen families," with their associates and allied families, control virtually all the country's business.¹

1. The fourteen families are Dueños, Regalado, Hill, Mesa Ayau, de Sola, Sol Milet, Guirola, Alvarez, Meléndez, Menéndez de Castro, Deiniger, Quiñonez, García Prieto, Vilanova.

The Mesa Ayau family has the beer monopoly. Benjamin Sol Milet is the principal stockholder in the Agricultural and Commercial Bank. The Meléndez family controls electric power. The Quiñonez family imports tractors and agricultural equipment. The Dueños family is the largest coffee grower. (See Marcel Niedergang's *Les vingt Amériques latines*, p. 110 and *passim*.)

Their wealth is primarily built upon ownership of the land and cultivation of coffee, which replaced indigo in the nineteenth century as the main export crop. El Salvador is the sixth largest coffee producer in the world, and the third largest coffee exporter after Brazil and Colombia. Coffee provides two-thirds of the country's foreign currency earnings.

The concentration of land ownership is stunning. Although there are about 300,000 landowners, 40 percent of the cultivated land is owned by less than 2,000 owners. Thirty families (including seven of the "fourteen") each own more than 1,000 hectares (one hectare equals 2.47 acres). The largest landowner, the Dueños family, annually harvests nearly 9 million pounds of some of the best coffee in the world, and owns nearly 60,000 acres, which is more than 1 percent of the entire surface of the country.

At the other end of the scale, the 130,000 farmers whose holdings are under one hectare cultivate only 5 percent of the farmed land.

The wealth of the coffee barons, which has allowed them to become involved in banking, manufacturing, and the export-import trade, flows from the harsh exploitation of the landless workers, who are hired on a seasonal basis. According to Marcel Niedergang:

The secret of the record productivity of the coffee plantations is simple: the Salvadoran *peons* are extremely hard workers. They live in *ranchos de paja* [huts], bare footed and dressed in shapeless rags. Each day they eat two or three tortillas, a handful of beans, and, luckily, some wild plants that are rich in vitamins. When they work, they receive incredibly low wages—an average of less than two francs [\$0.50] a day.

"When they work," because the other side of the coin that has forced the agricultural laborers to accept such conditions for so long is the reality of 45 percent unemployment among landless peasants.

For several years in a row, the income of these landless peasants declined absolutely. From 1965 to 1970, for example, their income fell from 1,230 colóns a year to 1,140 colóns, while the income of the large landowners, those with holdings of more than 200 hectares, rose 24 percent (186,130 colóns to 232,270 colóns).

Partial Industrialization

In the mid-1970s a United Nations aid mission found that fewer than 5 percent of the housing in the countryside had sanitary facilities, the peasants consumed virtually no meat or poultry, and the illiter-

acy rate in rural areas was nearly 75 percent.

The diversification of the Salvadoran oligarchy's economic interests began quite early—at the end of the 1930s. But the partial industrialization of the country got two big boosts in the 1950s. In 1952 the "Law to Encourage Manufacturing Industries" permitted duty-free importation of machine tools and raw materials. And in 1959 the establishment of the Central American Common Market provided an enlarged market for production.

El Salvador was in a more favorable position to take advantage of the establishment of the Common Market than its Central American competitors precisely because of the already existing tremendous concentration of wealth in the hands of the "fourteen families."

Alongside the agribusiness sector,² a major assembly industry (electronic components) and subcontracting industry (cheap clothing) developed, particularly after the creation of the "free trade zone," which is an imperialist enclave.

From 1960 to 1977 industry's share in the Gross National Product rose from 15 to 20 percent. By 1977 exports of manufactured goods represented one-fifth of foreign currency earnings.

The industrialization and transformations that took place in agriculture spurred urbanization. It also led to the growth of an industrial working class, which rose from 3.6 percent of the workforce in 1950 to 11 percent by 1971.³ (Despite the continuing exodus from rural areas, however, improvements in medical care and the resulting rise in the population growth rate has caused the pressure on the land to remain constant.)

Of course, the partial industrialization that has taken place, initially based on "import substitution," was unable to bring the country out of underdevelopment. Nor could it solve the two great structural problems linked to underdevelopment: massive unemployment and inequality in income distribution.

Nevertheless, the increased urbanization, and the growth in the industrial working class that resulted from the partial industrialization, help explain the

2. In addition to processing coffee and sugar for export, El Salvador is the second largest producer of beer and cotton in Central America.

3. Eduardo Colindres, *Fundamentos económicos de la burguesía salvadoreña*, Edición Universidad Centroamericana.

growth of workers struggles in El Salvador. For the first time in Salvadoran history, the center of gravity of class struggles has moved from the countryside toward the cities.

The condition of the Salvadoran working class was worsened by the economic difficulties caused by the 1969 "football war" between El Salvador and neighboring Honduras. As a result of the war, relatively underpopulated Honduras expelled 100,000 Salvadoran workers from the country and closed its borders to Salvadoran exports.

The workers have also been hit hard by the repercussions of the worldwide economic crisis on the Central American Common Market.

A History of Class Struggle

There has been a long history of class struggle in El Salvador. The revolutionary movement began to develop in the 1920s. At that time, it was largely made up of artisans, peasants, and some university students. It was influenced by the far-reaching reverberations of the Russian Revolution, as well as the nearby agrarian mobilizations of the great Mexican revolution.

In 1924 the first "regional" union of Salvadoran workers was formed. At that time the initial structures of the workers movement in the area were organized on an all-Central American basis. By 1932 the Salvadoran "regional" workers organization had 72,000 members.

The Communist Party of El Salvador was founded by Farabundo Martí in 1930, at the height of the Comintern's ultraleft "third period."⁴ Martí—who closely followed the Mexican revolution and then became an associate of "the general of free men" Augusto César Sandino in Nicaragua—quite correctly articulated the connection between anti-imperialist struggle and socialist revolution.

The Salvadoran CP soon became one of the major forces within the Salvadoran trade-union movement. In particular it developed a base in the peasantry, particularly in the Indian communities of the central and western regions of the country, where the agricultural workers were crowded onto the large coffee plantations.

4. The "third period," according to the schema proclaimed by the Stalinists in 1928, was the final period of capitalism, with revolution just around the corner. The Communist International's tactics for the next six years flowed from this assessment and were marked by ultraleftism, sectarian "red" unionism, and refusal to build united fronts with other working-class organizations. The Stalinists abandoned this policy in 1934, and the following year adopted the People's Front policy.

According to the Stalinist schema, the "first period" was 1917-21 (capitalist crisis and revolutionary upsurge); the "second period" was 1925-28 (capitalist stabilization).

Land Reform and Bank Nationalizations

The land reform announced by the Salvadoran junta in early March, which is the main point in its reform program, is a limited measure designed to rationalize the capitalist system. The land reform is combined with repressive measures aimed at stopping the development of the independent mass movement of poor peasants and agricultural workers.

At this stage of the reform, 500 hectares (1,235 acres) has been set as the maximum landholding, and land in excess of that amount is expropriated. Even in its final phase the reform is not designed to affect holdings of less than 100 or 150 hectares (247-371 acres), depending on the quality of the land.

The expropriated landowners are to be indemnified with "State bonds," which will be redeemed for the full amount of any investment made in the industrial sector. This measure is identical to the one carried out by the "reformist" generals in Peru.

But the junta wants to ensure that the partial expropriation of the landholdings of the "fourteen families" does not lead to the development of very

broad peasant movements. This is shown by the fact that the Salvadoran army has occupied the ninety large estates involved in the reform, as well as by the maintenance of the network of far-right terrorist organizations in the countryside, particularly ORDEN, and by the continuation of the repression.

The nationalization of banks has the same thrust. The junta needs to have banking and financial instruments at its disposal that allow it to carry out its "reforms." We should point out, however, that not a single foreign bank (and particularly no U.S. bank) was touched. At any rate, 94 percent of the deposits in the nationalized banks were made up of government funds, which had been put at the disposal of the oligarchy of fourteen families for their own investment needs.

The real policy of the bourgeoisie and imperialism in El Salvador is shown by the military preparations that are being made. It is significant that the ruling junta announced the declaration of a state of siege at the same time it announced the land reform.

Michel Rovere

The 1929 depression and the drop in coffee prices had reduced this poverty-stricken agricultural proletariat to starvation. From its founding, the CP's goal was to organize an insurrection by this agricultural proletariat, an insurrection that would reinforce the Sandinista guerrilla struggle then taking place in Nicaragua.

The insurrection broke out on January 22, 1932. Peasants armed with machetes took control of the villages of Sansonate, Sonzacate, and Nahuizalco, and executed the big landlords. But the Salvadoran army, in power since 1931, had been aware of the plans for the insurrection all along, and responded with ferocious brutality.

The revolt was smashed in a few days. The Communist leaders were executed, and the trade-union movement was decapitated. To reestablish order, the dictator Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, known as "the Sorcerer," had 30,000 peasants executed.

The 1932 insurrection and the bloody repression that followed were to leave a deep mark on the collective consciousness of the Salvadoran masses. The uprising took place around slogans for "all power to the soviets" and the establishment of a socialist federation of Central America.

The repression by the oligarchy and the army was one of the greatest massacres of the twentieth century—and set the tone for the next half century of the "military republic," with its exactions, repression,

and massacres. The repression further weakened any illusions the mass movement might have had about the progressive role that the "national bourgeoisie" or "nationalist" sectors of the armed forces might play.

The CP never fully recovered from the effects of the 1932 defeat. Moreover, in World War II its new leadership adopted the same line as all the other Latin American Communist parties: that it was necessary to ally totally with U.S. imperialism against the main enemy, fascism.

Furthermore, when the Communist International closed the book on the "third period" and turned to the policy of establishing People's Fronts, the Salvadoran CP concluded that the 1932 insurrection had been an adventurist action.

The CP's line made it incapable of capitalizing upon and giving form to the new rise of the mass movement that took place in El Salvador, as in other Latin American countries, at the close of World War II. As a result, the overthrow of the "Sorcerer" Hernández in 1944 was carried out to benefit the new industrial sectors of the oligarchy, while the workers movement was unable to intervene in any way in this family quarrel within the Salvadoran bourgeoisie.

Impact of the Cuban Revolution

The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 reshuffled the cards within the Sal-

vadoran workers movement.

In an attempt to counter the rise of the revolution in Latin America, the U.S. government under President John Kennedy launched the Alliance for Progress. In 1960-61 in El Salvador a short-lived civilian-military junta tried to carry out a reform plan: agricultural workers were to be paid for Sundays, rents were lowered 30 percent, and the Central Bank was nationalized.

But the oligarchy's opposition and the junta's inability to carry out fundamental reforms (especially in agriculture) set limits on and put an end to this first experience with a "reformist" military regime. (The Salvadoran experience foreshadowed the experience of General Velasco's government in Peru in 1968.)

The July 26 Movement's military victory over the Batista dictatorship and the deepening of the Cuban revolution and establishment of the Cuban workers state gave clear evidence of the profound degeneration of the Latin American Communist parties, at a time when a wave of struggles was unfolding throughout the continent.

Drawing support from the public criticisms the Cuban leadership levelled at the CPs for their legalistic attitudes and their concept of revolution "by stages," a left-wing tendency developed within the Salvadoran CP. Between 1962 and 1969 there was a constant confrontation between the "trade unionists" who defended legal work, and the "integralists" who favored politicizing economic struggles and developing them into armed struggle organized around guerrilla nuclei.

A split took place in 1969 as a result of the war with Honduras. The right-wing majority in the CP leadership lined up

whole hog behind their own national bourgeoisie in the conflict. The "integralist" minority, which included many working-class cadres, broke with the CP. Many of these people were to play a leading role in the formation of the first political-military organizations.

Many became involved in the Fara-bundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL). In fact, one of its leaders was the former first-secretary of the Salvadoran CP. Another group, the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP), developed out of the radicalization of progressive Christian currents.

The FPL and the ERP soon found themselves in a strategic impasse due to their concept of establishing small rural guerrilla groups (focos), which was further complicated by the geographic conditions in El Salvador.

El Salvador is a tiny, densely populated country, with no mountainous region where a rural guerrilla force could survive against a highly trained repressive apparatus with an excellent communications network at its disposal.

In spite of their courage in action and the widespread sympathy toward them among the Salvadoran masses, the guerrilla organizations left the field open for the electoral maneuvers of the bourgeois opposition and reformist sectors. In 1972 the head of the Christian Democratic Party, José Napoléon Duarte, ran for president, supported by a "multiclass" coalition of bourgeois groupings and the CP (with the CP operating under the cover of the Nationalist Democratic Union, the UDN).

The oligarchy and army had to resort to blatant electoral fraud to get their candidate, Col. Molina, "elected." The workers



El Salvador is in midst of creeping civil war.

and the small peasants voted massively for Duarte.

Under Col. Molina the repression deepened. He patterned himself on the model of the other Central American military dictatorships. His minister of defense was Gen. Humberto Romero, who was in charge of the repression.

The experience of the 1972 elections provoked an intense period of debate over strategy in the far left. These debates were also spurred by the radicalization of the mass movement. For the first time a "progressive" sector, opposed to the oligarchy, appeared within the Salvadoran Catholic church. (In 1932 the church had hailed the bloodbath as an example of God's justice against satanic Bolshevism.)

Sections of the labor movement were beginning to break from reformism, or at least from the official union movement. In 1972 the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) was formed when eighteen unions split from the pro-government General Federation of Unions. In 1974 the powerful teachers union (ANDES) and the Christian Federation of Salvadoran Peasants (FECCAS) participated in the establishment of the United People's Action Front (FAPU), and then in 1975 joined the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR).

In the countryside peasant unions began to be established in 1975-76, under the influence of far-left organizations that had broken with focoism and were turning toward mass work. In a few years the far-left organizations wrested control of most of the trade-union and peasant movement from the Communist Party.

Three Currents in the Revolutionary Left

There are three main currents in the Salvadoran revolutionary left. Each has an underground political-military organization as well as a mass organization that



Armored car in front of university in San Salvador.

R. Sylvain/IP-1

takes advantages of all the legal opportunities. (In the interests of simplicity we will refer to them by the initials of the mass organization.)

The largest current is the Farabundo Martí Peoples Liberation Forces (FPL) and its mass organization the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR). It was characterized by a sectarian rejection of any alliance with the reformists (the CP). The BPR has a strategy of "prolonged revolutionary war," with the formation, over a rather long period, of a workers and peasants army. It calls for the immediate establishment of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" following the victory.

Very sectarian toward the two other currents of the revolutionary left until very recently, the BPR is unquestionably the organization that has historically had the closest ties with the Cuban leadership.

The other two currents are the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) whose mass organization is the United People's Action Front (FAPU), and the Revolutionary People's Army-Party of the Salvadoran Revolution (ERP-PRS) with its mass organization the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28). FAPU and the LP-28 both arose out of an internal crisis in the ERP in 1974-75.

FAPU is mainly based in the urban milieu, among workers and students. The LP-28 has more influence in the agricultural proletariat, especially in the eastern part of the country.

The political positions of these two currents are quite similar. They call for a "workers and peasants people's government" and advocate an alliance against the dictatorship that would be the Salvadoran counterpart of the FSLN's policy in Nicaragua. It is important to stress that they *advocate* such an alliance, because given the specific character of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, it is hard to imagine any sector of it actually participating in such an alliance.

The LP-28 has a clearer position than the FAPU on the socialist character of the Salvadoran revolution, and it stresses the importance of coordination among Latin American revolutionary forces.

Despite its origins in the Maoist milieu, the LP-28 rejects the idea that any sector whatsoever of the national bourgeoisie could play a revolutionary role. It has developed criticisms of Stalinism in China and the USSR, and stresses the importance of "socialist democracy" in preventing any degeneration of a revolutionary government.

The FAPU does not have clearly delineated positions on most of these questions, even though it, like the other two currents, basically follows the Cuban leadership on the international level.

The growth of these three revolutionary currents, which may have as many as 100,000 members and organized sympathizers, has been linked to their ability to

take the leadership of the main union organizations from the CP and to make a new beginning in giving form to and leading the struggles of the poor peasants and agricultural proletariat. They also got a boost from the results of the 1977 election, which the Salvadoran masses saw as



R. Sylvain/IP-1
January 11 meeting that set up the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses.

a setback for the electoralist strategy followed by the Stalinist party.

In the 1977 elections the bourgeois opposition parties—the Christian Democratic Party and the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR)—still had not learned the lessons of the 1972 electoral farce. Loyal to the CP's UDN, they ran an officer, Col. Ernesto Claramount, against the official candidate of the general staff and the "fourteen families," Gen. Humberto Romero. Although Claramount beat Romero in the election, in the end Romero was "elected" through new frauds, and was declared president of El Salvador on February 20, 1977.

Claramount responded by going on a hunger strike, while his supporters issued a call for a general strike. On February 28, 1977, Gen. Romero decreed a state of siege and troops opened fire on the demonstrators, killing several. (The ERP mass organization is named the February 28 People's Leagues in honor of those victims.)

1978 as a whole was characterized by an intensification of class struggles, a resurgence of armed actions carried out by the political-military organizations, police and paramilitary repression, the beginnings of strike movements, and agrarian ferment.

In March 1979 a new stage was reached with the electricians strike (they belonged to FENASTRAS). After twenty-three hours on strike the electricians won twenty-three of their twenty-four demands.

The Impact of the Sandinista Victory

On May 23, 1979 Romero attempted to stem the rise of the mass movement by decreeing a state of siege. But the occupations of churches and embassies continued.

The Sandinista victory over Somoza in July 1979 had enormous repercussions on El Salvador, only a stone's throw away.

Romero, under pressure from the U.S. government, which was worried about the possibility of a repeat of Managua in San Salvador, announced a new political opening, known as the "national forum."

Romero freed some political prisoners and announced to great fanfare that "free" legislative and municipal elections would be held in 1980. He even announced that the official party's candidate for president in 1982 might be a civilian.

But while political discussion began to take place in the barracks and officers' mess, no significant bourgeois opposition groups joined the "national forum." Instead, the Christian Democratic Party and the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement formed the "people's forum," which was supported by the church, and which the Stalinist UDN then joined.

By way of the leadership of FENASTRAS, the LP-28 and FAPU also participated in this coalition with the bourgeois forces. The "people's forum" called for "democratization" of the existing regime. Neither the LP-28 nor the FAPU, however, were locked into this operation, which they basically saw as a tactic. Instead, in September and early October the FAPU and the LP-28 were trying to reproduce the general scenario of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and centered their efforts on preparing for the early outbreak of an insurrection that could finish off the Romero regime.

The October 15 coup that overthrew Romero, which was organized with the open and active complicity of the U.S. State Department, temporarily interrupted these plans, and the reactions to this coup showed the differences between the various forces in the "people's forum."

The Christian Democrats and the MNR rushed to the aid of the new junta, which they called "moderate" and "reformist." Moscow also hailed the military coup (in contrast to Havana's attitude), and a member of the UDN was brought into the government, naturally as minister of labor.

In contrast, FAPU and the LP-28 broke with the "people's forum" on October 18, arguing that the new junta had a bourgeois character, despite its demagogic speeches. The only change in their attitude was that they put the slogan for an immediate insurrection on ice. That was the content of the "truce," the unilateral suspension of offensive guerrilla actions announced by the two organizations.

The meaning was to become clear: FAPU and the LP-28 felt that they had to wait a few weeks or months until the Salvadoran masses as a whole went through the experience of the new junta's inability to respond to even their most minimal aspirations. Once this happened, the crisis of bourgeois leadership would reemerge on a higher level.

And in fact that was what happened. The junta quickly began to show its true

character and the civilian ministers were seen to be simply hostages of the military officers. The fact that the repression continued, and was even stepped up, played a big role in clarifying the new situation.

Following the coup the new regime sent troops in against occupied factories (a wave of occupations began in August 1979 when foreign investors, particularly Americans, began shifting their operations out of El Salvador due to the evolution of the international political situation) and against peasant villages occupied by BPR guerrillas. Dozens of people were killed in these operations.

The paramilitary organizations ORDEN and the White Warriors Union continued to operate with total impunity, while the repressive forces began opening fire on demonstrations with increasing frequency.

Since the junta took power, there have been hundreds of assassinations and "disappearances" of demonstrators, trade unionists, and opposition political leaders.

At the heart of the question, of course, is the military junta's inability to carry out a real program of radical reforms, especially in agriculture, and its inability to satisfy the demands of the masses. In its initial program, the junta announced it would "put an end to the violence and corruption" and would "guarantee the rights of man." We have seen what came of these promises.

The junta also explained that it "was going to adopt measures that would lead to an equitable distribution of the national wealth and permit the Gross National Product to rise rapidly over the short term."

The Revolutionary Coordinating Committee

In December 1979 the political crisis picked up again when all the civilian UDN and MNR ministers quit the government. After the energetic intervention of the U.S. State Department, a new military cabinet was formed, with the participation of the Christian Democratic Party. But the groundwork was being prepared for a real confrontation with the far left.

On January 11 a Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses was set up. It involves the three main far-left organizations—the BPR, FAPU, and LP-28—and the UDN.

Although the platform of the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses includes statements calling on "honest" officers to join it, no sector of the committee (with the possible exception of the UDN) has any illusions at all about the possibility of this call being widely answered.

On the contrary, the coordinating committee is seen by the masses and the vanguard militants as a *united front vehicle*, under the leadership of the far left and breaking with the years of sectarianism, to prepare for the final confrontation with the regime.



Funeral for a victim of January 22 massacre.

R. Sylvain/IP-I

Throughout the entire Romero period, sectarianism was the dominant feature of relations between the CP and the far-left organizations, and among the three main revolutionary organizations themselves.

The BPR totally rejected any unity in action, viewing the FAPU and the LP-28 as "revisionist" organizations. Relations between the FAPU and the LP-28 were entangled in all the acrimony of the dramatic split in the ERP. These relations were hardly improved by the fact that the majority of the FAPU saw unity with the LP-28 as a simple way to gobble it up.

Unity of these three organizations was spurred by two things. First, they were in agreement on the character of the junta—they denounced it. In addition, there was the mass movement's desire for unity and the approaching frontal confrontation with the junta.

In addition to these two factors, there was the model of the reunification of the three factions of the FSLN in Nicaragua in December 1978, which preceded the victory against Somoza by seven months.

The first result of the establishment of this coordinating committee was a revival of the mass movement on a higher level. This was especially evident in the January 22, 1980, demonstration on the anniversary of the 1932 massacre. Some 200,000 people from the four corners of the country participated.⁵ The demonstration was viciously attacked by the police and army.

5. Before the firing started, the contingents in the parade numbered more or less as follows: The BPR contingent had more than 80,000 participants, the majority being agricultural workers. The LP-28 contingent numbered 30-40,000, a majority being agricultural workers. FAPU had about 40,000, heavily working-class. The UDN had some 20,000, divided among workers, clerks, and students.

There are two Salvadoran organizations that

Scores of demonstrators were murdered. A general strike called to protest the repression involved 150,000 industrial workers and 300,000 agricultural workers, according to union sources. This shows the breadth of the revolutionary wave sweeping the country.

Nevertheless, any self-satisfied complacency, any fatalistic attitude about the outcome of the struggle would be, and we are carefully weighing our words, criminal.

To triumph, the Salvadoran revolution will have to overcome enormous difficulties, perhaps far greater than was the case in Nicaragua. It is true that the Salvadoran revolutionary organizations begin with much greater mass influence, and a much greater accumulation of experiences than the FSLN had, even after it reunified in December 1978. But the January accord

continue to publicly claim adherence to the Fourth International, although both have joined the "Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International." That body is mainly made up of supporters of the Bolshevik Faction (BF), which recently split from the Fourth International, and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Each of these groups—the PST (formerly the LOR, which was part of the Bolshevik Faction) and the GSI—had about fifty members. Their support for the BF-led Simón Bolívar Brigade's criminally sectarian adventures in Nicaragua [see the December 24, 1979, *IP/I*, page 1275] has deepened their isolation.

It was undoubtedly to try to cut through that isolation that the PST supported the "People's Forum" last September.

As regards the GSI, it continues to center all its agitation around the slogan for a Constituent Assembly, despite the fact that the establishment of the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses has openly placed on the agenda the preparation of a workers and peasants insurrection against the junta.

setting up the coordinating committee still must be further concretized in these areas.

First, there must be unity of the military fronts of the three organizations, which has not yet been achieved.

Second, there must be progress in building united rank-and-file organizations. Such organizations would be the expression of the reformed unity of the workers and peasants movements that would enable them to confront their tasks. At the same time, they would serve as the melting pot that would cut through the old sectarianism.

And third, the political objectives of the mass movement and the political organizations must be defined in this transitional period before the big conflict to come. We have to recognize that this is undoubtedly the weakest point of the January 11 joint document, even though its stated objective is to prepare the insurrection and the destruction of the state apparatus.

While the revolutionary organizations are making their preparations for the final battle, they are confronted by another camp—imperialism and the Salvadoran oligarchy, army, and paramilitary groups. This camp has also drawn the lessons of

the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua. They know that because of the politicization and the accumulated experience in El Salvador, a victorious Salvadoran revolution would very rapidly radicalize, and the socialist transformation of El Salvador would soon be on the agenda. And they are extremely worried about the impact of a victorious Salvadoran revolution on the other dictatorships in the region—on Honduras, Guatemala, and in the Caribbean.

We must clearly understand the meaning of the latest U.S. decisions to renew arms deliveries and financial aid to the Salvadoran junta. U.S. imperialism has decided that El Salvador will be the crucial test of whether the revolutionary wave in Central America can be turned back once and for all.

Although the political conditions in El Salvador are more advanced than they were in Nicaragua, the military conditions for a confrontation are more difficult. "In El Salvador, whatever the outcome, there will be a bloodbath," Salvadoran activists told us after the Sandinista victory.

The small size of the country, the dense population, the fact that its only two borders are with military dictatorships

(Honduras and Guatemala) that have already massed troops, show that the final confrontation, the open civil war cannot be protracted, as was the case in Nicaragua where it went on for more than six months. The outcome of the battle will be determined in a matter of days, perhaps even hours if there is an intervention by CONDECA troops.⁶

El Salvador could be one of the first tests of strength for the Carter administration. Washington needs a military victory, even if achieved only through Honduran and Guatemalan intermediaries, to reverse the course of American public opinion, which is still affected by the 1975 defeat in Vietnam.

This shows how high the stakes are in the fight to build solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution. The Fourth International has decided to throw all its forces into this fight.

February 15, 1980

6. CONDECA, the Council for Central American Defense, is a military alliance between the United States and the Central American military dictatorships.

DOCUMENTS

Platform of the Revolutionary Democratic Government



[The following "Programmatic Platform of the Revolutionary Democratic Government" was made public by leaders of the Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas (CRM—Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses) at a news conference in San Salvador on February 27.

[The CRM is a united front of the principal organizations of the Salvadoran workers and peasants. Formed in early January, its main components are the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR—Revolutionary People's Bloc), the Frente de Acción Popular Unificada (FAPU—United People's Action Front), the Ligas Populares 28 de Febrero (LP-28—February 28 People's Leagues), and the Unión Democrática Nacionalista (UDN—Nationalist Democratic Union, the legal arm of the Salvadoran Communist Party).

[We have taken the text of this program from the March 4 and 5 issues of the Sandinista daily *Barricada*, published in Managua. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

The economic and social structures of our country—which have served to guarantee the disproportionate enrichment of an oligarchic minority and the exploitation of our people by Yankee imperialism—are in deep and insoluble crisis.

The military dictatorship is also in crisis, and with it the entire legal and ideological order that the oligarchic interests and the U.S. imperialists have defended and continue to defend, oppressing the Salvadoran people for half a century. Victims of their own contradictions, the dominant

classes have failed due to the decisive and heroic action of the people's movement. It has been impossible to stave off this failure, even with the more and more brazen intervention of the United States in support of such efforts against the people.

Unswerving commitment to the interests and aspirations of the Salvadoran people by the revolutionary organizations has led to the deepening and strengthening of their roots among the vast toiling majority and the middle sectors. Being so rooted in the people, the revolutionary movement is now indestructible. It constitutes the only alternative for the Salvadoran people, who can be neither stopped nor diverted from their struggle to gain a Free Homeland in which their vital desires will be made real.

The economic and political crisis of the dominant classes on the one hand, and on the other the forward impulse of the decisive political force in our country, the people's movement, have given rise to a revolutionary process and to conditions in which the people can assume power.

The revolutionary transformation of our society—submitted up to now to injustice, betrayal, and pillage—is today a near and possible reality. Only in this way will our people gain and insure the democratic

rights and freedoms that have been denied to them. Only the revolution will resolve the agrarian problem and generate for the masses of peasants and agricultural wage workers material and spiritual conditions of life favorable to the immense majority of our population who are today marginalized and submerged in poverty and cultural backwardness. It will be the revolution that will gain true political independence for our country, giving the Salvadoran people the right to freely determine their destiny and attain true economic independence.

This revolution is therefore popular, democratic, and antioligarchic, and seeks to conquer true and effective national independence. Only the revolutionary victory will halt the criminal repression and make it possible for the people to enjoy the peace that today they lack, a solid peace based on freedom, social justice, and national independence.

The revolution that is on the march is not, nor can it be, the work of a group of conspirators. To the contrary, it is the fruit of the struggle of the entire people—of the workers, the peasants, the middle layers in general, and all sectors and individuals that are honestly democratic and patriotic.

The most conscious and organized ranks of the Salvadoran people, now multitudinous, are fighting in a more and more broad and united way. The worker and peasant alliance—through its combativity, level of consciousness, daring, organization, and spirit of sacrifice for the sake of the people's triumph—has proven to be the most solid basis for guaranteeing the firmness and consistency of the entire liberation movement. Expressing the unity of the entire people, this movement unites the revolutionary forces and the democratic forces—the two great torrents generated by the long struggle carried out by the Salvadoran people.

The decisive task of the revolution on which completion of all its objectives depends is the conquest of power and the installation of a *revolutionary democratic government*, which at the head of the people will launch the construction of a new society.

Tasks and Objectives of the Revolution

The tasks and objectives of the revolution in El Salvador are the following:

1. To overthrow the reactionary military dictatorship of the oligarchy and Yankee imperialism, imposed and sustained against the will of the Salvadoran people for fifty years; to destroy its criminal political-military machine; and to establish a *revolutionary democratic government*, founded on the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces in the People's Army and the Salvadoran people.

2. To put an end to the overall political, economic and social power of the great lords of land and capital.

3. To liquidate once and for all the

economic, political, and military dependence of our country on Yankee imperialism.

4. To assure democratic rights and freedoms for the entire people—particularly for the working masses, who are the ones who have least enjoyed such freedoms.

5. To transfer to the people, through nationalizations and the creation of collective and socialized enterprises: the fundamental means of production and distribution that are now hoarded by the oligarchy and the U.S. monopolies, the land held in the power of the big landlords, the enterprises that produce and distribute electricity and other monopolized services, foreign trade, banking, and large transportation enterprises. None of this will affect small or medium-sized private businesses, which will be given all kinds of stimulus and support in the various branches of the national economy.

6. To raise the cultural and material living standards of the population.

7. To create a new army for our country, one that will arise fundamentally on the basis of the People's Army to be built in the course of the revolutionary process. Those healthy, patriotic, and worthy elements that belong to the current army can also be incorporated.

8. To encourage all forms of organization of the people, at all levels and in all sectors, thus guaranteeing their active, creative, and democratic involvement in the revolutionary process and securing the closest identification between the people and their government.

9. To orient the foreign policy and international relations of our country around the principles of independence and self-determination, solidarity, peaceful coexistence, equal rights, and mutual respect between states.

10. Through all these measures, to assure our country peace, freedom, the well-being of our people, and future social progress.

The Democratic Revolutionary Government—Its Composition and Platform of Social, Structural, and Political Changes

The revolutionary democratic government will be made up of representatives of the revolutionary and people's movement, as well as of the democratic parties, organizations, sectors, and individuals who are willing to participate in the carrying out of this programmatic platform.

This government will rest on a broad political and social base, formed above all by the working class, the peasantry, and the advanced middle layers. Intimately united to the latter forces will be all the social sectors that are willing to carry out this platform—small and medium-sized industrialists, merchants, artisans, and farmers (small and medium-sized coffee planters and those involved in other areas of agriculture or cattle raising). Also in-

cluded will be honest professionals, the progressive clergy, democratic parties such as the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement], advanced sectors of the Christian Democracy, worthy and honest officers of the army who are willing to serve the interests of the people, and any other sectors, groups, or individuals that uphold broad democracy for the popular masses, independent development, and people's liberation.

All these forces are now coming together to make up a revolutionary and democratic alliance in which the political and/or religious beliefs of all are respected. The organized form to be taken by this voluntary alliance at the service of the Salvadoran people will be the result of consultations among all those who make it up.

Immediate Political Measures

1. A halt to all forms of repression against the people and release of all political prisoners.

2. Clarification of the situation of those captured and disappeared since 1972; punishment of those responsible (be they military or civilian) for crimes against the people.

3. Disarming and permanent dissolution of the repressive bodies—ANSESAL, ORDEN, National Guard, National Police, Treasury Police, and Customs Police, along with their respective "Special Sections"; of the Gotera "Counterinsurgency School" and the so-called Armed Forces Engineering Training Center in Zacatecoluca; of the cantonal and suburban military patrols; of the oligarchy's private paramilitary bands; and of all other kinds of real or nominal organizations dedicated to criminal action or slander against the people and their organizations. The current misnamed security bodies will be replaced by a civilian police force.

4. Dissolution of the existing state powers (executive, legislative, and judicial); abrogation of the Political Constitution and of all decrees that have modified or added to it.

The *revolutionary democratic government* will decree a constitutional law and will organize the state and its activities with the aim of guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the people and of achieving the other objectives and tasks of the revolution. In doing so, the *revolutionary democratic government* will adhere to the United Nations' "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The constitutional law referred to above will remain in force while the Salvadoran people prepare a new Political Constitution that faithfully reflects their interests.

5. Municipal government will be restructured so as to be an organ of broad participation by the masses in managing the state, so as to be a real organ of the new people's power.

6. The *revolutionary democratic govern-*

ment will carry out an intense effort of liberating education, of cultural exposition and organization among the broadest masses, in order to promote their conscious incorporation into the development, strengthening, and defense of the revolutionary process.

7. The People's Army will be strengthened and developed. It will include the soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers, and chiefs of the current army who conduct themselves honestly, reject foreign intervention against the revolutionary process, and support the liberation struggle of our people.

The new army will be the true armed wing of the people. It will be at their service and absolutely faithful to their interests and their revolution. The armed forces will be truly patriotic, the defenders of national sovereignty and self-determination, and committed partisans of peaceful coexistence among peoples.

8. Our country will withdraw from CONDECA [Central American Defense Council] from TIAR [Rio de Janeiro InterAmerican Defense Treaty], and from any other military or police organizations that might be the instruments of interventionism.

9. The revolutionary democratic government will establish diplomatic and trade relations with other countries without discrimination on the basis of differing social systems, on the basis of equal rights, coexistence, and respect for self-determination. Special attention will be paid to the development of friendly relations with the other countries of Central America (including Panama and Belize), with the aim of strengthening peace and upholding the principle of nonintervention. Close fraternal relations with Nicaragua will especially be sought, as the expression of the community of ideals and interests between our revolution and the Sandinista revolution.

Our country will become, a member of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries and will develop a steadfast policy toward the defense of world peace and in favor of détente.

II. Structural Changes

The revolutionary democratic government will:

1. Nationalize the entire banking and financial system. This measure will not affect the deposits and other interests of the public.

2. Nationalize foreign trade.

3. Nationalize the system of electricity distribution, along with the enterprises for its production that are in private hands.

4. Nationalize the refining of petroleum.

5. Carry out the expropriation, in accord with the national interest, of the monopolistic enterprises in industry, trade, and services.

6. Carry out a deepgoing agrarian reform, which will put the land that is now in the hands of the big landlords at the

disposal of the broad masses who work it. This will be done according to an effective plan to benefit the great majority of poor and middle peasants and agricultural wage workers and to promote the development of agriculture and cattle raising.

The agrarian reform will not affect small



R. Sylvain/IP-I

Scores were murdered after the January 22 march.

and medium landholders, who will receive stimuli and support for continual improvements in production on their plots.

7. Carry out an urban reform to benefit the great majority, without affecting small and medium owners of real estate.

8. Thoroughly transform the tax system, so that tax payments no longer fall upon the workers. Indirect taxes on widely consumed goods will be reduced. This will be possible not only through reform of the tax system, but also because the state will receive substantial income from the activity of the nationalized sector of the economy.

9. Establish effective mechanisms for credit, economic aid, and technical assistance for small and medium-sized private businesses in all branches of the country's economy.

10. Establish a system for effective planning of the national economy, which will make it possible to encourage balanced development.

III. Social measures

The revolutionary democratic government will direct its efforts in the social arena toward the following objectives:

1. Create sufficient sources of jobs, so as to eliminate unemployment in the briefest

possible time.

2. Bring into effect a just wage policy, based on:

a. Regulation of wages, taking into account the cost of living.

b. An energetic policy of control and reduction of the prices charged for basic goods and services.

c. A substantial increase in social services for the popular masses (Social Security, education, recreation, health care, etc.).

3. Put into action a massive plan for construction of low cost housing.

4. Create a Unified National Health System, which will guarantee efficient medical service to the entire population (urban and rural). Preventative care will be the principle aim.

5. Carry out a literacy campaign that will put an end to the social defect of illiteracy in the shortest possible time.

6. Develop the national educational system so as to assure primary education to the entire population of school age and substantially broaden secondary and university education. Quality and scientific-technical diversification will be increased at all levels, and free education will be progressively introduced.

7. Promote cultural activity on a broad scale, effectively supporting and stimulating national artists and writers, recovering and developing the cultural heritage of the nation, and incorporating into the cultural assets of the broad popular masses the best of universal culture.

* * *

It is the unanimous opinion of the popular and democratic forces that only through realization of the measures contained in this platform can the deepgoing structural and political crisis of our country be resolved in favor of the Salvadoran people.

Only the oligarchy, U.S. imperialism, and those who serve their antipatriotic interests are opposed to and are conspiring against these changes. Since October 15, 1979, various parties and sectors have vainly attempted to use the government to carry out a large part of the measures we propose without first overthrowing the old reactionary and repressive power and without installing a truly revolutionary and popular power. This experience has confirmed with full clarity that only the united revolutionary movement in alliance with all the democratic forces can carry out such a work of transformation.

The moment is approaching for this historic and liberating victory, for which the Salvadoran people have struggled and heroically shed so much of their blood. Nothing and no one will be able to prevent it.

For the unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces!

Toward the conquest of the revolutionary democratic government!

STOP NUCLEAR POWER!

'Three Mile Island Is Not Over'

Some 500 angry neighbors of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in Middletown, Pennsylvania, packed a March 19 hearing by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). At least 200 more were turned away.

"TMI is not over," proclaimed T-shirts worn by many participants. Many others had stickers publicizing the March 29 rally at the state capital in Harrisburg marking one year since the accident.

NRC officials tried to explain their plan—decided on in secret—to vent 57,000 curies of radioactive krypton-85 gas into the air as the first step in "cleaning up" the damaged reactor. In addition, strontium-90 and other dangerous radioactive isotopes could be released.

The hatred and frustration caused by a year of nuclear terror exploded into uncontrollable fury.

Chants of "No release!" and "Keep your krypton!" broke out repeatedly during the five-hour meeting.

Workers in Belgium Occupy Reactor

At the end of February, the Tihange 1 nuclear reactor in eastern Belgium was shut down as a result of a strike—probably the first time the workers at a reactor have forced a shutoff themselves.

An interview with shop steward Jan-Marie Woit appeared in the March 6 issue of *Klassekampen*, the weekly paper of the Revolutionary Socialist League, Danish section of the Fourth International.

Woit explained that the workers had been fighting for an early retirement age because of the "risky" nature of the work. He said:

It's not just talk to call it risky. We had an accident here in 1976. Over fifty workers were exposed to radiation. It turned out that the radiation was not as serious as we feared.

But that's the way it is all the time on the job. It's only when you are checked over coming off the job that you find out whether you were exposed to dangerous radiation or not.

When the company rejected the workers demands, they decided to take over the control room.

Two shop stewards cut production by 10 percent. . . . The management responded by firing the two. And now it is demanding that every worker sign a paper promising never to do anything like this in the future. They are making this a condition for employment at Tihange. We consider this an attack on trade-union rights.

We are not going back to work until the two workers fired have been reinstated.

It became clear to people at the meeting that the NRC had chosen to vent the krypton gas because it was cheaper and faster than other available methods.

"Let me tell you what the real decision factors are likely to be," said an NRC official.

"Money, money, money," the crowd shouted back.

Neighbors of the crippled reactor reported school children's "chronic sinusitis," or running noses, which doctors can't seem to treat with any known antibiotics.

A woman who breeds champion dogs told of a puppy born with no eye sockets.

A farmer told of the spontaneous abortions and still births among her farm animals. One calf that lived was blind and unable to stand or walk.

"These things never happened until the accident," she said. "What is happening to the animals is going to happen to us. You have to close the nuclear plants."

A week after the first occupation, we took over the control room again. The management decided to shut the reactor down.

The company claimed that special restrictions were necessary on the rights of workers in the nuclear industry.

The company started up a hysteria campaign in the mass media against us, claiming that we were creating a grave danger to public security by occupying the control room. That is a bluff. The two workers who cut production by 10 percent knew their jobs, and they knew exactly what they were doing. Most of us live in the area, and so naturally we would not do anything to make the risks any greater than they already are.

"If the company gets away with restricting our union rights because of the dangers involved in running nuclear reactors," said Woit, "they will extend this tomorrow to other sections of power workers."

After twenty-four days, the Tihange workers voted by a 7 to 3 margin to end their occupation. Although the two shop stewards will be reinstated eventually, the agreement reached restricted the workers' right to strike. It stipulated that the workers would abstain from any future actions that would "compromise security" at the plant, other than a legal strike conducted outside the site. The workers' other demands are to wait until new legislation is passed at the end of December.

60,000 Rally Against Plogoff Reactor, Win Freedom For 9 Breton Activists

More than 60,000 people rallied at the proposed nuclear reactor site in the Breton village of Plogoff March 16 against construction of the giant nuclear facility, according to the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*.

The demonstration was organized by the Cornouaille (south Brittany) Coalition, which included the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International; the Socialist Party; the CFDT (one of the main labor federations); and a number of Breton nationalist organizations.

French authorities had tried to intimidate protesters by police attacks and arrests. Nine demonstrators had been hauled off to jail at a February 29 demonstration.

All nine were released the day after the huge March 16 rally. More than 7,000 people had turned out that day to demonstrate outside their trial. (For background on the Plogoff struggle, see last week's *IP/L*.)

Swedes Vote on Nuclear Power

An antinuclear proposal won 38.6 percent of the vote in a March 23 referendum in Sweden. One of the two pronuclear initiatives on the ballot got 18.7 percent; the other—backed by the Swedish Social Democratic Party—won 39.4 percent.

The only real difference between the two pronuclear positions—which together won 58.1 percent—was that the one supported by the Social Democrats called for 100 percent government ownership of the reactors, while the other called for keeping the government's share at 80 percent. The Social Democratic proposal also tried to divide the antinuclear vote by promising to phase out the plants by 2010. (The antinuclear proposal called for a reactor shut-down within ten years.)

Antinuclear forces vowed not to give up their struggle. "We are going to continue our opposition to nuclear power," said Lennart Daleus, a leader of the antinuclear movement. "This is something the politicians will have to take into consideration."

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