

Intercontinental Press

combined with **IMPRECOR**

Vol. 18, No. 15

April 21, 1980

USA 85¢

UK 30p

Behind the New Frame-up of Cuba

“Why such an absurd policy of granting visas to those who penetrate embassies by force, while refusing visas to those who peacefully request them?”

—Granma, April 7, 1980

**Socialist Strategy
and the Working
Farmer Today**

**Largest Outpouring
in Iran Since
Shah's Fall
Answers Carter's Threats**

**An Interview
With Karl Marx
From 1879**

Carter Tries to Whip U.S. Allies into Line

By David Frankel

Faced with revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan, the U.S. government has proved incapable of forcing its major allies to cooperate in common retaliatory actions.

After the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan, President Carter halted U.S. grain sales and other major trade deals with the USSR. He urged Washington's imperialist partners to sharply cut back their trade with Moscow as well. None of them did.

Carter also announced a boycott of the Olympic Games. Officials in Washington breathed a sigh of relief April 12, after the U.S. Olympic Committee bowed to overwhelming government pressure and voted to go along with Carter's boycott. But the British, Canadian, and Puerto Rican Olympic committees have already voted to go to Moscow, and it looks as if teams from most of Washington's allied countries will be represented there.

The record on Iran is proving no less troublesome for Carter. Speaking on European television April 13, he threatened that future U.S. action against Iran "may very well involve military means." Carter added, "We do need the full and aggressive support of our allies."

But to the dismay of the U.S. ruling class, not even economic sanctions, let alone military action, have won support from the West European and Japanese rulers.

Participation by these governments is essential if economic pressure is to be exerted against Iran, since U.S. trade with Iran was halted long before Carter's formal embargo. Carter had demanded that U.S. allies impose their own trade embargo and, as the next step, that they break diplomatic ties with Iran by mid-May if the Americans held there are not released.

Harsh Words from Washington

Cracking the whip against the reluctant allies, one top U.S. official pointedly noted April 7, "we hope others understand it is in their own interest to work with us now rather than force the United States to take unilateral efforts later on at an expanded risk."

Referring the following day to Washington's threat to blockade Iranian ports and unilaterally cut off the flow of Iranian oil to Europe and Japan, State Department press officer Hodding Carter said: "No ally should take what we're saying as a threat, but as a statement of reality."

Disregarding the threats from Washington, the foreign ministers of the nine

Common Market countries met in Lisbon April 10 and initiated still another diplomatic appeal to the Tehran government. At a meeting later that day of the twenty-one-member Council of Europe, economic sanctions against Iran were not even considered.

Fumed one State Department official, "we have appealed to our allies for concrete action and concrete steps are what we expect to see."

Carter himself scolded those governments that "ask for protection but are wary of the obligations of alliance."

Carter's attempts to try to whip the smaller imperialist powers into line is not, as some European officials have charged, an election year maneuver. It has broad support within the ruling circles in the United States.

Henry Kissinger backed Carter in an April 10 speech, saying:

"The Administration has been rightly disappointed in the conduct of many of our allies, in particular the Europeans. It is indeed dismaying that the industrial countries that are more threatened than we by the turmoil in the Persian Gulf are reluctant to accept the risks of a forward policy against the Soviet Union."

Similarly, the editors of the *New York Times* declared April 13: "In their reactions to Iran, as to Afghanistan and the Palestinians, the allies have been competing to appease the very forces they also expect the United States to face down."

A policy that "requires allies to be threatened," the *Times* insisted, is worth pursuing if it forces Washington's reluctant partners "to show a willingness to share the risks and the costs" of combatting the spread of social revolution around the world.

In keeping with this goal, officials in Washington announced April 13 that Carter is asking U.S. allies to accelerate the expansion of their own military forces.

Behind the Reluctance

What is behind the reluctance of the Japanese and West European rulers to follow Washington's lead?

One major factor is their fear that cooperation with Carter's policies might backfire, sparking the spread of revolutionary fires throughout the Mideast.

In regard to Iran, this fear is frequently expressed by referring to the dangers of increased Soviet influence. Thus, *Washington Post* correspondent Leonard Downie Jr., reported April 10:

"The European allies are unlikely to join

HKE Women Prisoners Freed in Iran

The anti-imperialist struggle in Iran scored a victory April 14 with the release of the two remaining imprisoned members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), Mahsa Hashemi and Fatima Fallahi.

"We are very happy that we are freed," said the two women socialists upon their release from Evin Prison in Tehran. "Because now we can join the struggles of our people against U.S. imperialism—the enemy of progress and humanity. We owe our freedom to the anti-imperialist fighters and the supporters of the Iranian revolution inside and outside the country."

The two women had been imprisoned along with 12 other HKE members last June on charges of expressing their socialist views. But since the deepening of the Iranian revolution spurred by the anti-imperialist struggle centered on the occupation of the U.S. Embassy, the HKE militants have all been released.

The release of the two women was reported in the evening newspaper *Kayhan*, as well as in several other Tehran dailies.

the United States in cutting off trade and diplomatic relations with Iran because they fear it could completely alienate the Iranians from the West and drive them into the arms of the Soviet Union, officials in a number of European capitals indicated today."

Trade delegations from several East European workers states have been in Tehran in recent weeks, and on April 8 Iranian Minister for Economic Affairs Reza Salami pointed out that in the event of a U.S. blockade "the only way of reaching the outside world is not the sea way."

"We can get in touch with the outside world by using our northeast and northwest borders," Salami declared, referring to the Soviet Union.

Soviet publications have also made this point, and the French daily *Le Monde* reminded Washington that "twenty years ago President Eisenhower contributed toward throwing Cuba into the arms of the Soviet Union by imposing rigorous economic sanctions."

Moreover, the European rulers remember the wave of anti-imperialist protests in the Islamic world late last year in response to Carter's threats to intervene in Iran. More recently this sentiment was seen after the shah was allowed into Egypt.

Of course, U.S. policymakers are aware of these dangers, too. But they know that in the last analysis only military power can preserve imperialist interests in the semicolonial countries. And, as the *New York Times* editorial put it, "to some

extent, failure to punish Iran not only humiliates the United States but also diminishes its power."

Repercussions at Home

Along with their uncertainty about how the workers in the Middle East might react to Carter's moves against the Iranian revolution, the Japanese and European imperialists also fear the repercussions at home.

They have already seen how close Carter came to a debacle on his call for an Olympic boycott. In order to carry the vote for a boycott even in the U.S. Olympic Committee, Carter had to carry out a blackmail campaign of such crudity that it virtually eliminated the propaganda value of the boycott vote.

Among Carter's extortion techniques were threats to invoke emergency powers to block athletes from going to Moscow; the holding up of contributions by corporations that fund the Olympic Committee and threats to review its tax-exempt status; and moves to prevent NBC television from covering the Moscow events. These measures, which involved a broadside assault on democratic rights, were topped off by a personal "appeal" by Vice-president Walter Mondale on the day of the vote.

Afterwards, American athletes hissed when one Olympic Committee member said he hoped other countries would join the boycott. "Who let him up there? We didn't vote to say that," one athlete said.

A canoeist blasted the committee for having "capitulated to the President." Marathon runner Bill Rodgers said:

"In England, they had an Olympic committee with guts. In America, we don't have sports authorities who are responsible to the athletes. I think the athletes in the United States should stand up and organize to force the Olympic Committee out. I would like to see the International Olympic Committee fire them."

The heat on those in Europe and Japan trying to carry through a boycott is even greater.

But the political risks involved in Carter's economic moves and military threats against Iran are much larger still than those raised by the Olympic boycott. Iran is still supplying 5 percent of Western Europe's oil and 10 percent of Japan's. Moreover, there are vast commercial interests at stake. British capitalists earn about \$650 million a year on trade with Iran. West German trade with Iran amounted to \$1.2 billion last year, and Italian and Japanese corporations are working on construction projects valued in the billions.

Even if the capitalists involved were willing to write off such losses—hardly a likely move—what would be the impact on the already shaky economies of countries like Britain and Italy? And on the world economy as a whole?

At the very least, Carter's decision to present Washington's allies with a public ultimatum could, as the *Times* put it, result in "a new show of Western impotence."

But as the upsurge in the world revolu-

tion continues and the relationship of class forces turns further against U.S. imperialism, none of the options open to the capitalist rulers seem very good, even from their own point of view. □

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Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594). Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

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

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Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

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

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Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 3774, Auckland.

European Subscribers: For air-speeded subscriptions write to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England. Britain and Ireland, send £11.00 for one year. Continental Europe and Scandinavia, send £15.00 for one year. For airmail from London send £22.00. Address subscription correspondence to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 50, London N1 2XP, England.

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

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

Millions in Iran Defy Carter's Threats

By Janice Lynn

In response to President Carter's latest threats against Iran, massive nationwide demonstrations took place there April 11. Reports from Iran indicate that at least 1.5 million people turned out in Tehran. Hundreds of thousands more participated in demonstrations in other cities throughout the country.

Both in terms of their united and militant spirit and the massive size of the turnout, these anti-imperialist demonstrations were comparable only to the huge outpourings in early 1979 that toppled the shah's regime.

In the Azerbaijani city of Ardebil, almost the entire population of about 100,000 participated in the demonstration. In northern Gilan province, demonstrations took place in cities throughout the region.

Although reports of the demonstrations in Kurdistan were not available, the Kurdish Democratic Party had declared the Kurdish people's solidarity with other sections of the Iranian population in the struggle against Carter's moves and U.S. imperialism.

The main theme of the April 11 mobilizations was to reaffirm the need to build the "army of 20 million" to counter Washington's threats. This was proposed several months ago by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and since then military training has begun. "Khomeini, the army of 20 million is awaiting your orders," marchers chanted.

The overwhelming majority of people at the Tehran demonstration were working people, from the working-class districts of south Tehran. Many peasants arrived in truckloads from the surrounding countryside. There were high school and university students as well. Among the most militant demonstrators were the tremendous number of Iranian women who participated.

Slogans at the demonstration defiantly denounced Washington's economic boycott, indicating the Iranian people's readiness to fast every day, if necessary. Marchers hailed the break of diplomatic relations with Washington.

One of the most popular anti-Carter chants went: "You with the weapon of your navy, We with the weapon of our conviction, Fight with us, you faithless Carter."

Another chant indicated that the Iranian masses were prepared to defend their revolution and were receiving military training: "Carter knows nothing about our work and our endeavor."

Some slogans denounced the recent threats by Iraq: "Down with Saddam

Hussein! Long live the people of Iraq!"

At the rally at Tehran University, Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr addressed part of his remarks to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

"Why should our Phantoms face your MIGs?" Bani-Sadr asked. "Shouldn't your MIGs and our Phantoms rather be directed toward Israel, which is attacking south

Lebanon?" The crowd roared its approval of this defense of the Palestinian struggle.

Because the march was so huge, thousands who couldn't get to the rally site marched to the U.S. Embassy. There they gave a rousing welcome to Iranian diplomats who had just arrived after being expelled from the United States.

Several days earlier, the militant students occupying the embassy had released further proof of secret U.S. government spying. They revealed sophisticated espionage equipment used to monitor computers and listen to radio communications. Embassy personnel had even ordered huge electric generators to run the equipment, which had been scheduled for delivery two

HKE Hits Carter's Threats and Iraqi Provocations

[The Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) urged a massive turnout for the April 11 anti-imperialist demonstration in Tehran. Below are major excerpts from the statement the HKE distributed prior to and at the demonstration.]

* * *

[Carter's threats and anti-Iranian moves] are all part of the imperialists' measures to stop the present massive anti-imperialist struggles from reaching fruition.

U.S. imperialism, due to the antiwar sentiment of the American people and people all over the world, has not been able to directly intervene militarily against our revolution. Now, in the provocations by Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime, it has found new hope for smashing our revolution.

Saddam Hussein's regime—with the expulsion of thousands of Iranians and Shi'ite people from that country, the arrest of Ayatollah [Mohammad Bagher] Sadr, and the intensification of the propaganda war against Iran—has fallen into the trap of the murderous imperialist agitation against Iran.

This betrays the Iraqi regime's fear of the deep influence of Iran's anti-imperialist revolution on the masses of Islamic workers and toilers in Iraq.

Unlike the regime of Saddam Hussein, the absolute majority of Iraqi people, the oppressed Kurdish people there, and all the working people of Iraq, are strong supporters of the Iranian revolution. They want to have their share in the sacred struggle of the Iranian people against U.S. imperialism. This is the main reason for the poisonous agitation of the Iraqi regime against Iran.

To answer the new threats and moves of U.S. imperialism, essential anti-imperialist measures must be taken.

The U.S. imperialists confiscated billions of dollars and cut off diplomatic relations with us. To answer this action, we must confiscate all capital and holdings of the United States in Iran, nationalize U.S. companies to the last nail in their shoes, and put them under the control of workers shoras [committees].

All military ties to the U.S. imperialists must be cut and all military treaties made during the regime of the fallen monarchy must be exposed and annulled.

To mobilize the entire population of the country against imperialism, immediate measures must be taken to recognize the rights of all oppressed nationalities in Iran. The fratricide and bloodshed in Kurdistan must be stopped.

Granting the demands of the millions of poor peasants, i.e. the realization of the demand that "the land belongs to the tillers," will mobilize this gigantic mass in unity with the toiling masses in the cities to fight against the U.S. warmaker.

These measures must be combined with the speedy and extensive preparations to build the army of 20 million. Brother *pasdars* and the revolutionary personnel of the armed forces must, by all possible means, provide training and arming for the 20 million army.

In this fight, the shoras have heavy responsibilities to try to organize and extend the united shoras in the factories and workplaces in Iran, as the only way to guarantee the continuity of the anti-imperialist struggle, and widely involve the masses in the struggle.

The HKE declares its support and solidarity with the anti-imperialist unity march Friday and pledges to put all its resources into the service of making the march as massive as possible.

weeks after the embassy takeover.

The students also discovered that a computer building had been disguised as a supply depot, and that aerial photography by a specially equipped U.S. C-12 plane

was being organized out of the embassy.

The demonstrators reaffirmed their solidarity with the militant students in the "spy nest" and the demand for return of the shah. □

Carter's New Moves Against Iranian Revolution

Washington Prolongs Crisis in Iran

By Janice Lynn

President Carter's latest actions against Iran have nothing to do with gaining the release of the Americans being held in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

During the past five months, the Iranian masses have continually made it clear that the Americans would be released as soon as the shah was returned to Iran.

But Carter refuses to meet this simple and just demand. He refuses to even acknowledge Washington's role in imposing the shah's regime in the first place, or Washington's role in backing this dictator for twenty-five years against the will of the Iranian workers and farmers. And it was Carter who provoked the crisis in the first place, by bringing the shah into the United States.

On April 7, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini reaffirmed his stand that, barring return of the shah, "the hostages will be in the hands of the struggling Moslem students until the Islamic parliament decides their fate." He repeated that the hostages were in good health and were not being mistreated. This was also confirmed by the three American clergymen who visited them in the embassy on Easter.

Carter Prolongs Crisis

Carter has now chosen to prolong the crisis. On April 7 he announced a series of measures designed to undermine and prepare the ground for crushing the Iranian revolution.

He broke off all diplomatic relations with Iran, formally imposed an economic boycott, declared that an estimated \$8 billion of Iranian property could be seized by U.S. banks and corporations, and ordered all Iranian diplomats to be out of the country in less than thirty-six hours.

Carter warned that "other actions may become necessary." Administration officials indicated that a next possible step might be a naval blockade that could stop goods from entering Iran and oil from leaving.

Washington already has a twenty-seven-ship task force in the Arabian Sea, off the Iranian coast, that includes two carriers and a contingent of 1,800 combat marines. Such military action could have disastrous consequences not only for the hostages but

for the American working people and Iranian masses as well.

In his statement, Carter declared, "The Iranian government can no longer escape full responsibility by hiding behind the militants at the embassy." Although Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr has expressed his disagreement with the students on many occasions, the government has so far not attempted to defy the overwhelming sentiments of the Iranian masses by moving against them.

One of Carter's goals is to replace this government with one more like that of the ex-shah, which deferred to Washington while trampling on the needs and outraging the deepest beliefs of Iranians for twenty-five years.

Threats From Iraq

Coinciding with Washington's escalation, Iran also faces increasing hostility and military threats from the regime in neighboring Iraq. While trying to maintain a militant image, the Iraqi rulers have moved closer to Washington since the Iranian revolution. They fear the example of the revolution, such as the gains won by Iran's Kurdish minority in its fight for autonomy (Iraq has a large and restive Kurdish population).

As a result of Carter's menacing threats and the flareup of hostilities with Iraq, the Iranian military has been ordered on full alert.

In response to Carter's moves, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini declared April 8, "This is the beginning of the dawn of final victory of a nation against the blood-thirsty superpower which was forced to cut relations."

Several families of the hostages in Iran expressed their opposition to the expulsion of the Iranian diplomats, explaining that the Iranian chargé d'affaires had been one of the few helpful people during the past five months. Most of the families reached expressed the opinion that they were glad Carter was finally doing *something*. But most held out little hope that Carter's actions would measurably shorten the hostages' captivity, and showed little enthusiasm for the new economic sanctions.

"Jimmy Carter's out of his mind if he thinks that's going to improve anything,"

said Alan Graves, the son of hostage John Graves. "The way he's going right now, the next step is war."

Graves added that Carter's measures would only "pay off the companies that got us in this damn mess to begin with."

Even the *New York Times* in its April 8 editorial was forced to admit that "breaking diplomatic relations and moving toward further modest sanctions are not measures likely to win release of the hostages soon, but they may blunt some of Ronald Reagan's charges of appeasement."

Racist Anti-Iran Campaign

Unwilling to immediately end the crisis by returning the shah, the government and media have begun to step up their racist anti-Iranian campaign. This is another attempt to see if the American people can be whipped up enough to free Carter's hands for military action.

They have been unable to reverse the antiwar sentiment that has so far prevented the U.S. military from intervening in Iran or elsewhere. The vocal and growing antidraft movement is evidence of this.

Carter is once again trying to turn Iranian students into scapegoats. He invalidated visas held by Iranians wishing to enter the United States and ordered all Iranians deported as soon as their visas expired.

In Washington, D.C., police SWAT (Special Weapons And Tactics) teams stationed themselves across the street from the Iranian Embassy to be sure Carter's expulsion orders of Iranian diplomats were carried out. They sported bullet-proof vests and sniper rifles, prepared to fire into the Iranian Embassy's windows. Iranian consulates in other cities were closed down by U.S. marshals just minutes after Carter's speech.

The embassy staff began a hunger strike to protest Sadat's conspiracy "against the peoples of Egypt and Iran." and to demand "the extradition of the criminal despot shah." Iranian chargé d'affaires, Ali Agah, explained, "The U.S. government still does not understand our revolution." He added that "the most important achievement of our revolution is the preservation of our human dignity."

Carter's threats against Iran are not in the interests of working people around the world. Our interests lie with the Iranian people who are struggling to rebuild their country free from U.S. domination and exploitation. Carter should immediately lift these sanctions against Iran and resolve the hostage crisis by returning the shah and his wealth to the Iranian people. □

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Behind New Frame-up Against Cuban Revolution

By David Frankel

A vast new frame-up against the Cuban revolution is under way. The U.S. government and media are using the events at the Peruvian Embassy in Havana to smear Cuba as one big island prison.

They claim that the reason thousands have descended on the embassy is that the Cuban government has reversed its alleged previous policy of refusing to let people leave Cuba.

What are the facts?

The policy of the Cuban government, from the very beginning of the revolution, has been to allow those who want to leave Cuba to do so.

It is true that there are people in Cuba who want to get out and can't. The reason is that capitalist governments—in the first place, the U.S. government—are not willing to take them in!

New York Times Havana correspondent Jo Thomas admitted this in an April 8 dispatch. She noted: "The United States and Spain are virtually the only countries accepting immigrants from Cuba, which has granted far more exit permits than there are opportunities to leave" (emphasis added).

The lack of "opportunities to leave" is a polite way of saying that the United States and Spain severely restrict the number of visas they will grant. Since early 1978, the U.S. has admitted fewer than 10,000 Cubans. Most of them were former prisoners or relatives of persons already in the United States.

Open-door Policy

The open-door policy and humanitarian attitude of the Castro leadership have been reaffirmed in practice by the latest events.

The Cuban government has told the people at the Peruvian Embassy that they are free to go to any country that will accept them. It has provided food, water, toilets, and medical care for them. It has offered safe-conduct passes so they can travel back and forth between the embassy and their homes without hindrance.

But why has this dramatic incident erupted so suddenly? What prompted thousands of Cubans to camp out in the garden of the Peruvian Embassy?

The truth is that the latest incident is one more example of how Washington has cynically played on the hopes and fears of Cubans who want to leave their country. U.S. imperialism has used these would-be emigres as pawns in its twenty-one-year-long undeclared war against the Cuban revolution.

Washington uses its blockade against Cuba to try to strangle the island's economy and foment unrest. At the same time, the U.S. government hands out only limited numbers of visas to would-be Cuban emigrants. And the U.S. blockade makes transportation hard to come by.

This means thousands of Cubans who want to leave—and who are free to go at any time as far as the Cuban government is concerned—have no way of getting out.

Those who hijack boats—often taking their crews hostage—are treated as "political refugees" by Washington and do not have to worry about the regular immigration quotas. Thus Washington's policy encourages dangerous and criminal actions, which the U.S. media then trumpet as heroic "escapes" from Cuba.

But Cuba's doors are open—it's the U.S. doors that are closed.

Where does the Peruvian Embassy come in?

Latin American nations have a long-standing diplomatic agreement that political refugees can be granted asylum in an embassy and then safe conduct out of the country. But since their lives were not endangered because of political activity, applicants from Cuba have not been considered eligible for political asylum under this agreement.

Thus, when twelve would-be émigrés sought political asylum in the Peruvian Embassy in January, the Peruvian ambassador determined that they did not qualify for political asylum and turned them away.

But the Peruvian government, like other capitalist regimes in Latin America, had become increasingly worried about the revolutionary upsurge in Central America and Cuban support to the revolutions there. Reversing its previous position, the Peruvian regime recalled its ambassador to Cuba and tried to turn the incident into a diplomatic scandal. The effect was to serve notice on anybody wanting to leave Cuba that if they could pass themselves off as political refugees, they would be allowed into Peru.

The current incident began April 1 when a group of Cubans seeking to prove that they were political refugees crashed through the locked gates of the Peruvian Embassy in a bus. A Cuban soldier was killed.

After Peruvian officials refused to hand over the criminals to Cuban authorities, the Cuban guards around the embassy were withdrawn. The Havana Communist

Party daily, *Granma*, said the Cuban government would not protect "embassies that do not cooperate with their own protection."

Calling Lima's Bluff

The military regime in Lima had been pretending to defend democratic rights, and the right of asylum in particular, against the Cuban government. It reacted with outrage when its bluff was called.

"The Peruvian government," reported a dispatch from Havana in the April 8 *Washington Post*, "has repeatedly stated that the situation at the embassy was created by the Cuban government, by its decision to withdraw guard protection in violation of the Vienna Convention on diplomatic protocol."

In short, the Peruvian generals demanded that the Cubans live up to the slanders in the capitalist press and prevent people who had hopes of leaving Cuba from going to the Peruvian Embassy!

"Now it remains to be seen," said a statement in *Granma*, "how the government of Peru will deal with its illustrious guests, and if its government wants to receive in its country all the antisocial and lumpen elements of Cuba."

Washington Post correspondent Lexie Verdon reported April 6 that the Peruvian generals "were not ready to deal with such large numbers of refugees."

An April 5 *New York Times* dispatch from Lima said the Peruvian Foreign Ministry described the would-be émigrés as "a mob whose motivations and real intentions are not known."

Washington has likewise refused to offer refuge to the people seeking to emigrate. State Department public relations officer Hodding Carter told reporters that anybody wanting to come to the United States had to get to Peru first.

"Once in Peru," Carter generously explained, "they can go to the American Embassy and request visas or begin steps to come to the United States as refugees."

Carter insisted that decisions on admitting the émigrés would be made on a case by case basis.

There is a long history to Washington's manipulation of the refugee issue, and to its attempts to portray Cuba as an island gulag with a ban on emigration similar to the policy followed by Moscow.

Perhaps the biggest lie in the capitalist media was the statement in the April 8 *Washington Post* that "the Cuban offer of

safe passage out of the country was viewed as a stunning reversal of past policy of the Castro government."

Fidel Castro has explained Cuba's real policy many times over the years. In October 1965 he told U.S. journalist Lee Lockwood:

"The Cuban government has always had the same policy since the beginning of the Revolution, of allowing those who want to leave the country to do so freely. Under that policy, tens of thousands of Cubans left Cuba every year, from 1959 until 1962. Right after the Missile Crisis of October 1962, the United States government cancelled daily flights between the United States and Cuba and refused to reopen them, although we protested. . . .

"The United States not only cancelled flights between Miami and Cuba, it also exerted all kinds of pressure on Mexico and Spain to cancel their air service to Cuba. These were the only ones that continued, in spite of the pressure."

Washington's Shift

Explaining Washington's shift in policy, Castro pointed out:

"In the beginning, after the Revolution, America did everything possible to encourage the highest number of people to leave Cuba, both as a propagandistic move against the Revolution and to drain the country of its technicians and qualified personnel. . . .

"After the October Crisis, they decided it was a better policy to prevent people from leaving, based on the hope of an internal uprising taking place in Cuba."

Washington accompanied this policy of choking off immigration with shipments of arms and efforts to form counterrevolutionary groups within Cuba. Its attempts failed completely.

Faced with a situation in which Washington was restricting immigration, encouraging hijackings, and trying to exploit the situation for anti-Cuba propaganda, Castro dramatically turned the tables. In October 1965 the Cuban government opened up the port of Camarioca and publicly announced that Cubans in the

Castro: 'USA Uses Emigration as Political Weapon'

'The U.S.A. uses emigration from Cuba as a political weapon. However, historically, the United States has always been forced to establish restrictions, since people from many countries with lower living standards would like to go there as immigrants. And I can tell you one thing: if before the Revolution the United States had permitted free entrance of Cuban citizens without restrictions, a much larger number would have gone then than the total of all those who have left since the Revolution or who will in the future. To what other underdeveloped country in this hemisphere has the United States offered its citizens an opportunity to immigrate freely? Any other Latin-American country to which it made such an offer would empty out overnight. . . .

'The idea of going to the United States has always been a big attraction for a certain number of people because it is the wealthiest nation in the world. However, in spite of the fact that we are still poor and underdeveloped, the overwhelming majority of our men and women will never abandon their country. So—we'll see. I will not say that all who stay will be with the Revolution. But something which no one can deny is that the great majority of the population supports the Revolution. They are prepared to make great sacrifices, to give their lives for the Revolution. I would ask you how many who live in the United States would be willing to give their lives for capitalism and for representative democracy?'

Interview with Lee Lockwood, 1965

United States could come there by boat and pick up anybody who wanted to leave.

"We were the ones to force the Government of the United States to live up to its moral obligation to those people who, following U.S. policy, had sent their families to the United States and had taken out a passport to travel there," Castro explained in a September 1978 interview.

He added: "About 900 vessels came from Florida, and the Government of the United States had no alternative but to allow those people to make the trip."

Having been boxed in by Castro, Washington was forced to allow the opening of a few regular flights from Cuba to Miami. These lasted until April 1973, when they

were again halted by the U.S. government.

Today, the Carter administration is trying the same con-game of blaming Cuba for keeping people *in*, when it is really Washington that is keeping them *out*.

But, as Castro reminded the imperialists in his March 8 speech this year, the Cuban government has had some experience in dealing with such a propaganda offensive.

Castro noted that "we had to open up the port of Camarioca once. We think it shows lack of maturity on the part of the United States to create similar situations once again, because we hold the view that this revolutionary association is voluntary, voluntary! The struggle for socialism and communism is a voluntary one: that was, is and will be our view." □

Ten Million Choose to Stay

Why Some People Want to Leave Cuba

By Harry Ring

The fact that several thousand Cubans have gone to the Peruvian Embassy seeking visas to leave their country is portrayed by the U.S. rulers as proof that the revolution is a failure.

An editorial in the April 9 *New York Times* was typical. "The Havana Ten Thousand are rendering a verdict on Cas-

troism," it proclaimed. Their message, it seems, was so eloquent that the views of the rest of Cuba's ten million people were not considered.

Is the *Times* correct? The record says otherwise.

The crowd at the Peruvian Embassy is part of a small minority of the Cuban

population. Caught between the determination of the Castro government and the majority of Cubans to maintain their solidarity with revolutionary struggles in Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean—no matter what the economic and military risks involved—and Washington's stepped-up threats, economic pressure, and

military encirclement of Cuba, they are trying to escape.

There are two principal reasons why people are leaving, or want to leave, Cuba. One is essentially economic. The other is political.

Cuba's Living Standard

It is an incontestable fact that the standard of living is lower in Cuba than the United States.

While the Cuban diet is sufficient, food is much less plentiful than here.

And Cubans don't have the cars, boats, color TVs, cassette players, electric hair dryers, blue jeans, and other consumer goods that working people in this country can buy.

From this standpoint, the United States has some attractive power—not only for Cubans, but for all victims of imperialist privation. This is much more true in countries where most working people lack basic necessities of life.

Witness the million or more jobless Mexicans who try to cross the border each year.

Why does Cuba have a lower living standard?

Hoping their readers are ignorant of Cuba's history and economy, the *Times* editorial states that "two decades of Castroism have left Cuba with a stagnant one-crop economy." And it arrogantly asserts that "the plague of shortages, from coffee to cigars, can no longer be blamed on the American blockade"—as though that blockade had suddenly been lifted. "Cuba is poorer today than before the revolution," the *Times* concludes.

Every word a lie.

Revolutionary Cuba is battling to overcome centuries of imperialist domination, first by Spain, then the United States. As a colony, its economy was totally warped. The people were compelled by the imperialists—not by "twenty years of Castroism"—to depend for survival on a single crop, sugar.

This meant riches for the oppressors and terrible poverty and dictatorial oppression for the masses.

Peasants were driven off their land so that, without means of livelihood, they would be compelled to work in the sugar harvest.

That meant four months of back-breaking, low-paying work and then a "dead season" of mass unemployment the rest of the year.

People lived in floorless, thatch-roofed huts. Hunger and disease were widespread.

Under the best of circumstances, such a legacy could not be overcome in two short decades.

From the outset, Washington has tried to strangle the Cuban revolution. Early on, it imposed the economic blockade, using its economic muscle to compel other countries to respect it.

Cuba was forced to rely on what imports were available from the Soviet-bloc coun-

tries. Only gradually did it breach some of the walls of the capitalist blockade.

Washington did not limit itself to economic weapons. In 1961, it organized an invasion by counterrevolutionary exiles—an invasion which the Cuban people smashed in a couple of days.

But the continuing U.S. military threat and its promotion of sabotage, arson, and assassinations, compel tiny Cuba to remain in a constant state of military readiness, allocating precious resources and personnel to defense.

Despite these enormous difficulties and more, Cuba has made astonishing progress.

Huge Advances

The Cuban diet is limited. But, as in no other Latin American country, hunger has been eliminated. Even though not yet abundant, the food supply has increased. And like other basic needs, it is distributed equitably by rationing—not inequitably by the power of the peso.

The massive housing shortage inherited by the revolution has been only partially overcome. But there are no more rent-gougers and slumlords in Cuba. No family pays more than 10 percent of its income for rent.

In some fields, Cuba has surpassed the United States. Cuba has wiped out illiteracy. It has free education for all from nursery school through the university.

In glaring contrast to the United States, Cuba's system of socialized medicine provides free health care for everyone. Cubans live twenty years longer on the average than they did before the revolution.

There is year-round employment and the prices of essentials have been frozen for years.

Cubans may not have an electric can opener in the kitchen, or electric chimes on the front door.

But they have uprooted racism and are waging an impressive fight against long-entrenched sexism.

Years of low sugar prices on the world market, topped by recent agricultural plagues, have put the Cuban economy under pressure. The low sugar prices are not the product of "Castroist mismanagement" but of imperialist domination of the world economy.

In other countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, raw materials prices (except for oil) have been plummeting. This has led to a horrible growth of unemployment and hunger.

Cuba has escaped these consequences because of the revolution.

The *Times* accuses Cuba of "subsisting on a demeaning Soviet dole that now amounts to about \$3 billion a year."

The underdeveloped capitalist countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, on the other hand, have the good fortune to be dependent on high-interest loans from U.S. and other international bankers. When the

governments can't meet the payments, the bankers often move in to openly dictate economic policies. Brutal austerity programs are imposed on the masses.

Cuba's Revolutionary Course

Even as it continues the uphill struggle for economic development, Cuba stands fast on its revolutionary principles.

And this is the second source of the desire of a small minority of the population to leave—the political one. Cuba has responded to the rise of revolutionary struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America by deepening its commitment to aid freedom fighters in other countries.

It has sent troops to fight U.S.-backed military invasions of Angola and Ethiopia.

It has sent hundreds of doctors, teachers, and technicians to help peoples trying to overcome imperialist domination.

It has responded to the growth of freedom struggles in the Caribbean and Central America by forging ties with revolutionary governments in Nicaragua and Grenada, and by unflinching solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

The Cuban people know they must pay a price for their readiness to support their class brothers and sisters in other lands.

They know this means that Washington will maintain its economic blockade against them, step up terrorist attacks, and use every means to weaken the revolution.

Even sharper confrontations with Washington—like the October 1962 "missile crisis" when the survival of humanity hung in the balance—are possible.

The big majority of Cubans are inspired by revolutionary victories in other countries. They recognize that even though they may draw increased fire from the United States, these victories are their own best defense, their best guarantee of progress.

That's why tens of thousands volunteer for military or technical service in Africa, or to go to the Nicaraguan countryside to join the battle against illiteracy.

But a minority of Cubans do shrink from the sharper confrontations with Washington. They prefer to get out of the line of fire—out of embattled Cuba and into the United States. They are, as Raúl Castro called them in a recent speech, the "faint-hearted."

The division between the vast majority of revolutionary Cuban workers and farmers and the fainthearted minority doesn't stop at the revolution's foreign policy.

Fight Against Bureaucracy

The *Times* editorial gloats about a Raúl Castro speech that "complained about false production figures, worker slowdowns and managerial buck-passing."

But Raúl Castro's recent speeches are a sign of the strength and confidence of the

revolution, not of its weakness. He didn't try to cover up errors and bureaucratic chiseling, but laid them bare and called on working people to carry out a nationwide discussion with a view to eliminating them.

That's the response of a revolutionary leadership that sees the working people as its source of strength.

Of course, all Cubans look forward to the

day when Washington no longer threatens their country. And they would enjoy many of the material things available in this country. In due time, they will have them.

Meanwhile, they have the very real gains of the revolution and the battle to extend and deepen it. They have their revolutionary dignity and their confidence in the coming victories of the world socialist revolution.

It is this vast majority of Cubans that counts, not the small minority that wants out. It is the verdict of the majority that will be recorded by history.

Socialists have more reason than ever to deepen our solidarity with the Cuban revolution. That means fighting for an end to the blockade, for an end to the military threats, for a normalization of relations with Cuba. □

Cuban Government's Position on Events at Peruvian Embassy

Events leading up to the encampment of thousands of would-be emigrants in the garden of the Peruvian Embassy in Havana were explained by the Cuban government in an editorial in the April 7 edition of the Cuban daily, *Granma*.

The editorial explained that diplomatic embassies in Havana are guarded by Cuban soldiers, with the consent of the missions involved.

On April 1 Cuban soldier Pedro Ortiz Cabrera was killed while protecting the Peruvian Embassy from a bus that crashed through its locked gates. After Peruvian diplomats refused to turn over the criminals responsible for this death, the Cuban government withdrew its guards from the embassy.

The *Granma* editorial condemns the policy of allowing "common criminals to penetrate a diplomatic mission by force, causing material damage and endangering the lives of the guards, so as to later be received as heroes by the same embassies those guards risked their lives to protect. . . ."

The editorial explained the hypocrisy of giving shelter to "such elements in the name of the right to asylum—an institution conceived for and dedicated to rescuing from persecution and death fighters for the liberty of our suffering and exploited peoples. . . ."

The editorial explained that Peru's former ambassador, Edgardo de Habish, had responded differently to an earlier forcible entry into the embassy.

Habish asked the intruders "to return to their homes, and in fact they did so," said *Granma*. "The government of Cuba had given prior and certain guarantees that it would not cause them any difficulties. His attitude cost the ambassador his post after thirty-three years in the diplomatic service."

The Peruvian Foreign Ministry then ordered those who had forcibly entered brought back to the embassy. "That dust brought in the mud," the editorial explained, "and along with the mud, the plain and generous blood of the Cuban soldier Ortiz Cabrera.

"Why such an absurd policy of granting visas to those who penetrate by force without any justification, while refusing

visas to those who go peacefully to request them?"

The editorial also reported the position on emigration that the government of Cuba had reiterated April 5 to all diplomatic missions in Cuba:

"1. Cuba is not opposed to anyone who so desires travelling legally to Venezuela or Peru, so long as they obtain authorization from those countries.

"2. Nor does Cuba oppose anyone going to any other country with the authorization of the corresponding government.

"3. Those who penetrated embassies by force will not be allowed to leave.

"4. Those who penetrated the Peruvian Embassy after the withdrawal of the Cuban guards are not considered the authors of an act of force. Therefore, they are absolutely free to return to their homes and to leave and enter the embassy as many times as they wish. The Cuban authorities will not take any measures against them. They may also travel to Peru, or to any other country that grants them visas. That is their own affair and that of the country that wants to receive them."

Granma also explained the extensive measures being taken by the Cuban government to alleviate the conditions in the embassy grounds, which it described as "really quite disagreeable."

Pointing to the "inability of the Peruvian representatives to attend to and feed the people accumulated there," the editorial explained that the Cuban government had decided:

"1. To install a Cuban Red Cross post in the area, with all the personnel required to provide medical services. A polyclinic for the same purpose will be ready quite soon.

"2. To establish hygienic facilities for essential needs near the embassy, and to adopt the proper measures to prevent epidemics.

"3. To provide drinking water.

"4. To provide food.

"5. To guarantee milk for children.

"6. To authorize all those who request permission to return to their homes, and even to sleep in them and return whenever they find it opportune. They will be guaranteed authorization to travel abroad through the Peruvian Embassy as soon as

they obtain the consent of the receiving country."

In conclusion, the editorial took up the protests of the Peruvian government over the withdrawal of Cuban guards from its embassy.

"It is not that we refuse to offer protection. But what we are not prepared to do is sacrifice the lives of our soldiers to protect the impunity of common delinquents.

"We respect the right of Peru, Venezuela, and any other country to offer asylum to whomever they deem pertinent, and to choose who should or should not receive it," *Granma* said. "But for that it is not necessary to pass over the blood of Cuban soldiers."

If governments do not want to return common criminals for whatever reason, it explained, Cuba is "ready to provide whatever facilities necessary so that their own security personnel can take care of their diplomatic missions and to limit ourselves to providing aid when it is requested.

"For Peru, we gave 100,000 blood donations after the 1970 earthquake there. But we are not ready to offer needlessly the blood of one single soldier to protect infamous delinquents.

"This is Cuba's position." □

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As Civil War Looms in El Salvador

By David Frankel

"This country is in a prerevolutionary situation," U.S. Ambassador Robert White admitted as he left El Salvador for talks in Washington April 2.

With the deepening of the class polarization, articles on El Salvador in the U.S. imperialist press are becoming increasingly shrill and unreliable.

The U.S. ruling class cannot admit that the vast majority of the Salvadoran people are in favor of social revolution, and that the Carter administration wants to send military aid to the ruling junta in order to help it drown the aspirations of the workers and peasants in blood.

Instead—as it did during the uprising in Nicaragua—the capitalist media is trying to portray the Salvadoran struggle as a fight between rightist and leftist gangs, with the vast majority of people caught helplessly in the middle.

Despite the fact that virtually everybody in El Salvador knows that the U.S.-backed military regime was responsible for the massacre of mourners at the funeral of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero—a fact attested to by more than two dozen Roman Catholic bishops—*New York Times* correspondent Joseph B. Treaster claimed April 7 that "the extreme left is being blamed for the shooting and bombing" during Romero's funeral.

Denying the almost complete isolation of the junta, Treaster claimed that the assassination of Romero and the slaughter at his funeral "may have benefited, rather than hurt, the ruling civilian-military junta. . . ."

Not surprisingly, Treaster's information did not come from the Salvadoran workers and peasants, but, as he explained, from "diplomats, businessmen and Government officials."

A more realistic assessment of the situation appeared in the April 7 *Washington Post*. As Christopher Dickey noted:

"For the United States, one essential problem is that few Salvadorans believe that the middle it supports is in fact the middle.

"A de facto policy of 'reform and repression,' as it was termed by assassinated archbishop Oscar Romero, has won few friends and fostered countless enemies for the current government and its U.S. backers."

Dickey pointed in particular to the formation of the Democratic Front. This group, which includes a section of the Christian Democratic Party and other forces that had originally supported the junta, endorsed the program of the Revolu-

tionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses on April 3. This was a major blow to the junta and a clear indication of the direction in which things are moving. It showed the ability of the workers and peasants, by pressing forward their struggle, to divide and weaken the regime's already tiny base of support and to win backing from the middle class in their struggle against the junta.

However, Dickey's report was an exception. Right now the capitalist media is more concerned with lending support to Carter's anti-Cuba propaganda campaign than with providing its bourgeois readers with an accurate picture of events in El Salvador.

For example, *Business Week* claimed in its April 14 issue: "There is increasing evidence of subversion throughout the volatile Central American and Caribbean area, not only from Cuba but directly from Russia itself."

Newsweek said April 14 that "last year's revolution in Nicaragua and this year's political violence in El Salvador raise familiar fears of dominoes toppling under the pressure of Soviet-Cuban adventurism."

State Department and Pentagon representatives argued in favor of military aid to El Salvador by focusing on allegations of Cuban aid to the popular forces there.

Of course the reality in El Salvador, as in Nicaragua, is that revolutionary struggle has been the result of imperialist exploitation and the rapacity of the native capitalists, not "outside agitation." As Archbishop Romero declared in an interview with the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina shortly before his murder:

"The cause of all our problems is the oligarchy—that small nucleus of families who do not concern themselves with the plight of the people, except as a source of cheap and plentiful labour. The industrial companies, both national and multinational, owe their competitiveness in the international market to starvation wages in El Salvador. This explains the vehement opposition to any type of reform or union organisation which seeks to improve the conditions of the people."

While the imperialists denounce the Cuban government for its supposed intervention in behalf of the Salvadoran workers and peasants, they and their clients are carrying out their own intervention. According to the April 4 *Latin America Weekly Report*, "reliable observers report that 3,000 to 4,000 exiled Nicaraguan National Guardsmen in Honduras have moved their camps from the southern border with Nicaragua, to the western border with El Salvador."

The Salvadoran ruling class and its imperialist supporters are ready to provoke civil war in order to defend their wealth. As Archbishop Romero pointed out in his interview with Prensa Latina:

"The situation alarms me. But the struggle of the oligarchy to defend the indefensible has no future—even less so if you take into account the fighting spirit of our people." □

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"Nicaragua Managed To Do It, We'll Manage Too"

By Lars Palmgren

[The following article was written in mid-March, prior to the assassination of Archbishop Romero.]

* * *

SAN SALVADOR—"They destroyed my daughter," she said stoically.

Then her voice breaks. Tears run down her cheeks. But she continues.

"First they raped her, then they broke her arms and legs, then they took off all her clothes. She was naked as she had come into the world, but totally broken. Then they poured gasoline on her and set her on fire."

María Julia Escalante's mother turns her head away. Her body trembles with sorrow, but also with hatred and anger. María Julia Escalante was fifteen years old, the same age as Felix and Susana, two of her comrades killed on the same day.

"Why were they killed?"

"They had joined the struggle," Felix's mother answers.

Felix died under eleven blows from a machete. Susana was shot in the head. All three were members and organizers of the Federación de Trabajadores del Campo (FTC-Rural Workers Federation), an organization that forms part of the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR-Revolutionary People's Bloc).

They lived in the Cantón Monte San Juan, in northern El Salvador. Today the Cantón Monte San Juan is nearly empty. Most of its inhabitants have fled for their lives. They had been threatened and terrorized daily.

"They said they would kill us all, and when they killed María Julia, Felix, and Susana, we couldn't stay any longer. Only the ORDEN people are still there."

ORDEN—which stands for Democratic Nationalist Organization—is a paramilitary band that functions as an arm of the military and police forces in the Salvadoran countryside. Its main job is to spy on and denounce those in the villages who are involved in peasant organizations or in opposition to the regime.

ORDEN has received its reward in the Cantón Monte San Juan. Its members have taken over the houses, farm animals, and other property left behind by those who fled.

The families of María Julia, Felix, and Susana are now refugees. For the moment, they and about 300 other peasants have found refuge in the patio behind the office of the Catholic archdiocese here in San Salvador. Elsewhere in the capital there are several hundred more refugees.

Father Sequel Gámez is among the

priests who are trying to help the refugees. The first refugees arrived in mid-February, he tells us. Now the number rises daily. Most are women and children.

There are more than thirty children without parents here. Some are only a few months old, brought by neighbors who say the children's parents were killed.

"But they are not safe here either," says Father Gámez. "Of course," he adds, "no one is safe anywhere anymore in this country."



As we talk, I watch a small pickup truck drive by the big gate to the patio several times. When I look up at the gate again, Father Gámez explains:

"They patrol around here every day. In the evenings there are groups of men—in uniform and civilian clothes—hanging around the neighborhood." Gámez speaks as though this were quite natural—and perhaps it is. In El Salvador today, the threat and reality of death is in the very air one breathes.

"They said they are going to come in here," Gámez goes on, "and shoot everyone. And they even said it's easier if the peasants are all here gathered together in once place."

"There isn't much we can do," Gámez says. "I asked to borrow four flags from the Red Cross—that might be some kind of protection. But the Red Cross director said no. 'We are not in a civil war, so we cannot help you' was his answer."

Father Gámez is in a hurry. Someone just offered to donate a sack of sugar for the refugees, and he must run to get it. But before going, he wants to make a plea to international public opinion.

"You must understand," he says, "that the junta has decided to destroy these people, and the reason is that these people have begun to fight to become a free people, to become free men."

"These people need help right away,

concrete help. They need food, clothing, medicine, but they also need international solidarity—pressure on the junta to show the junta it is isolated internationally.

"We here," says Father Gámez as he stands in a big circle of refugees, "demand that help from all those who say they defend human rights. Yes, *we demand.*"

After Father Gámez leaves, the many refugees go on describing the repression suffered in their villages. One after another, they come forward to speak into the tape recorder.

The pattern repeats itself. Usually it is the National Guard that comes, bringing along ORDEN members as guides. The ORDEN members point out the houses where peasant activists live.

If found, they are killed. If not, someone else is killed. And if no one is found—and it often happens that the peasants and workers and their families are able to escape up into the mountains in time—the ORDEN and the National Guard burn down some houses and destroy the harvest.

The stories told by the refugees in the patio of the archdiocese are war stories. Stories of a war by a well-equipped army against an entire people. But it is not mainly fear that one finds among the people here. Their eyes brim with anger and their voices are decisive.

One of the oldest women comes toward the microphone and says in a high clear voice: "We demand that this government be punished. That's all I want to say."

An older man says "This government can only be defeated through the fight of the people, and it will be defeated!"

Before I leave, one of the younger men warns me to "be careful. If you go out into the countryside to the areas we come from, it is not certain you will come back. They don't respect anyone anymore."

But the next day I do go out into the countryside, and I do come back. Because the mass peasant organizations are also well organized.

The Rural Workers Federation has arranged for me to spend two days visiting various cantons. I find the things described by the refugees in San Salvador—the ruins of burned houses in the Cantón Buena Vista, the burned remains of the corn harvest in the Cantón Tres Ceibas, the graves of those killed the week before.

But above all I find determination and fearlessness. "This society has to be changed from the bottom up," a peasant says. "We'll find a way to do it. They managed to do it in Nicaragua. We'll manage too." □

Referendum Spurs Debate in Quebec Labor Movement

By Jim Collins

MONTREAL—On March 20 the Quebec National Assembly adopted the wording of the referendum question to be put to the Quebec people later this spring.

Québécois will be asked to give the PQ [Parti Québécois] government a mandate to negotiate a "new agreement" with the rest of Canada. The "new agreement" would link a politically sovereign Quebec to the rest of Canada in an economic association ("sovereignty-association").

While the recent federal elections aroused relatively little interest in Quebec, the three-week debate in the Assembly received, according to CBC Radio, "the most extensive [press, radio, and television] coverage of any single event in Quebec history." The entire 35-hour debate was televised on prime time, and was watched by an estimated 600,000 people each day.

PQ orators argued that the referendum was a "turning point" in Quebec history, that a yes vote was the only way to advance the interests of Quebec. They pointed to the unequal treatment of Quebec in Confederation: discrimination against the French language, federal government intrusion on Quebec jurisdiction, economic

status lower than that of Ontario or the West.

Premier René Lévesque argued that the Quebec government needed an overwhelming yes vote in the referendum so that Quebec could negotiate for political sovereignty on the basis of "Equal to Equal"

The next several pages of *IP/1* contain articles on the upcoming "sovereignty-association" referendum in Quebec and on the recent convention of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International. They are all reprinted from the April 1 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Socialist Voice*.

with the federal government. "A no vote would make permanent the unequal status of the Quebec people," he said.

Assurances to Business

At the same time, PQ leaders assured businessmen and property owners that sovereignty-association did not mean either full independence or radical economic changes in Quebec. Politically, Que-

bec would raise its own taxes and make its own laws, economically, little would change.

The opposition Quebec Liberals, of course, acclaimed the "success of Quebec within Canadian Confederation." They focused their speeches on legalistic arguments about the exact wording of the question, talked of "renewed federalism," and argued that what the PQ really wanted was independence. But for many Québécois who followed the debate, it was clear that the Liberals essentially defended the constitutional status quo. This is not a popular cause in Quebec today.

Many people were apparently convinced by the PQ argument that a yes vote was a step in the direction of Quebec equality, another stage in the struggle of the Québécois to be "masters in their own home."

A poll of the Quebec Institute of Public Opinion (IQOP), released March 16, shows 47 percent of Québécois for the yes vote, and only 44 percent against. This is a sharp change from previous polls, which showed a majority of Québécois opposed to the referendum question. Fifty-five percent of the French-speaking majority indicate they will vote yes, as do 16 percent of the non-francophones.

Moreover, the IQOP reports that support for independence is now at an all-time high—28 percent of the Quebec population.

Quebec Labor

There is no mass labor party in Quebec, nor any labor representatives in the National Assembly. So the role of speaking in the interests of working people in Quebec on the referendum question falls to the Quebec unions.

The union leaderships, which have tacitly or openly supported the PQ since it came to power in 1976, are divided on what attitude to take on the referendum.

The leadership of the largest union body, the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), announced March 17 that it would recommend the federation support a yes vote at a special conference of over 3,000 FTQ delegates scheduled for April 19.

Membership of the FTQ includes international unions like the steelworkers (USWA) and autoworkers (UAW), as well as public employees (CUPE) and postal workers (CUPW)—most of which are expected to support a yes vote.

FTQ support for the [capitalist] PQ continues to undermine labor struggles. On March 24, PQ Labor Minister Pierre-Marc Johnson introduced legislation to force Montreal blue collar workers

CSN on National Oppression, Parti Québécois

On National Oppression

"For more than 100 years, [the people of Quebec] have suffered a specific form of oppression. The people of Quebec have never really controlled the economic, political, and cultural institutions necessary for guiding their own development and building their own future. We have had to wage hard struggles against assimilation and to preserve our language and our culture. The people have always fought against national oppression. . . ."

"To be a francophone worker in Quebec means to be unemployed more often [than other Canadians], to die younger, to have less access to higher education, to have limited possibilities for promotion in the workplace, to be a tenant rather than a home-owner, to have inferior living conditions, and so forth."

—Norbert Rodrigue,
president of the CSN
March 19

On Sovereignty-Association and the Parti Québécois

"In the history of our people, the workers and common people have suffered most from the effects of national oppression. While on the other hand, the desire for freedom expressed by our people in the fight against national oppression has always been and is still being used by political leaders representing class interests that are not ours."

"In preserving the economic status quo in Canada, sovereignty-association bases itself on the ruling classes, and ignores the most essential demands coming from the struggle of the Quebec people against national oppression. . . ."

—Supplement to CSN publication
'Le Travail,'
December 1979

(members of CUPE and the FTQ) back to work. That same day the Montreal daily *La Presse* featured a photograph of a panel promoting the yes vote to the anglophone community. Sitting on the panel were Labor Minister Johnson—and Robert Dean, Quebec director of the United Auto Workers and vice-president of the FTQ. The article did not say if there were blue collar workers in the audience.

The other two main union federations—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ)—have been much more critical of the PQ.

Many members of these two federations are public sector workers who have been directly affected by the PQ's harsh cut-backs in social services and strike-breaking legislation (Hydro workers, hospital workers, teachers).

Many CSN and CEQ members are critical of the referendum question itself, which offers no means of expressing support for a fully sovereign Quebec—still less a Quebec freed of the domination of the big imperialist corporations. Four federations within the CSN have submitted resolutions calling for clear support for independence at a special CSN conference on the referendum, to be held in April.

Given this kind of pressure from the ranks, leaders of both the CSN and the CEQ have expressed strong criticisms of sovereignty-association, and argued that Quebec unions not tie their struggle against national oppression to the referendum plans of the PQ (see box).

The political debate now opened up on Quebec's future by the referendum campaign will be a powerful stimulant to

Disagrees With Federal NDP Leaders

Quebec NDP Rejects "No" Vote

MONTREAL—Quebec NDP leader Jean-Denis Lavigne, candidate in the Frontenac federal by-election, was joined at a news conference March 19 in Thetford Mines by federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent.

Asked his position on the referendum, Broadbent said if he were Québécois he would vote no, and added that Lavigne was also for the no vote.

Lavigne, obviously embarrassed, stated he was not for either yes or no.

Two days later it was reported that Lavigne has written a letter to members of the Quebec NDP executive urging them to recommend a yes vote to a special conference of the Quebec NDP on the referendum to be held in May.

According to the Montreal daily *Le Devoir*, almost all the Quebec NDP candidates in the federal elections in ridings outside Montreal "informed the Quebec leadership that they were going to vote yes."

Most NDP supporters in Quebec are well aware that supporting a no vote would place them in the camp of the Quebec Liberals and the big multinational corporations—opponents of Que-

bec's national rights. Broadbent's position—which is shared by Saskatchewan Premier Allan Blakeney and most NDP leaders in English Canada—is unlikely to attract progressive-minded Québécois to the NDP.

In advocating a no vote, Broadbent makes the same kind of error he made in the air controllers' affair in 1976, when he and the other NDP MPs opposed the struggle by French-speaking controllers to speak French to francophone pilots in Quebec. Even Broadbent has since admitted that he was wrong on that one.

The NDP should not join the yes camp of the capitalist Parti Québécois, either. It should be campaigning in English Canada—and Quebec—in defense of Quebec's national rights, and in opposition to a constitutional status quo that is rejected overwhelmingly by Québécois.

This would strike a powerful blow for the unity of workers in both nations, and would help Quebec workers see that their ally in the struggle against national oppression is English Canadian workers, not the PQ. —Jim Collins

politicizing the unions in Quebec. This can only aid the process of breaking from the

PQ and moving in the direction of independent labor political action. □

Revolutionary Workers League Convention

Building a Pan-Canadian Party of Industrial Workers

By Richard Fidler

More than 150 members of the Revolutionary Workers League attended the RWL's third convention, held in Montreal in mid-March.

They included active participants in the struggle for independence and a labor party in Quebec; fighters for affirmative action for women in industrial jobs; militants in the unions' efforts to elect the NDP [New Democratic Party] during the federal election.

Many were members of some of the strongest unions in the country—steelworkers, autoworkers, woodworkers, postal workers, and railworkers.

Their experiences were reflected in the discussions and decisions at the convention. Delegates adopted a program of activities by the RWL in coming months that

includes:

- Building solidarity with the struggles of working people around the world. Priorities are the defense of the Nicaraguan revolution, and the fight against Washington's war drive over Iran and Afghanistan.

- An ambitious educational campaign around the Quebec referendum this spring. In Quebec, it will center on the need for the labor movement to press for independence. In English Canada, RWL members will take the fight for recognition of Quebec's right to self-determination into the unions and the NDP.

- Joining in the fight for political action to defeat the capitalist parties and elect a government of workers organizations. In English Canada, supporting unions' ef-

forts to build the NDP; in Quebec, fighting for a labor party based on the unions.

- Continuing the fight for affirmative action for women. Through their participation in the Women Back Into Stelco Campaign in Hamilton and the defense of the women fired by Pratt & Whitney in Montreal, RWL members are in the forefront of the cross-country fight to break down the barriers to women's equality with men in

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industrial jobs.

Delegates also pledged to continue efforts to root the RWL in decisive sectors of industry, transport, and communications. The goal is to build a party of socialist workers, with the overwhelming majority of its members in strong industrial union fractions.

To aid this process, the convention voted to give all-out support to proposals to reinforce qualitatively the newspapers *Socialist Voice* and *Lutte Ouvrière*. A highlight was the announcement that *Socialist Voice* plans to begin weekly publication in September. The biweekly *Lutte Ouvrière* will increase its size from 12 pages to 16 pages during the referendum campaign.

The convention also adopted reports and resolutions that correct some important political errors related to the RWL's program on the national question in the recent past.

International solidarity

The Revolutionary Workers League is the Canadian section of the Fourth International, the world revolutionary party founded in 1938 under the leadership of Leon Trotsky.

The convention opened with an international report by RWL leader Judy Rebick. Citing the decisions of the recent World Congress of the Fourth International, Rebick said the main feature of the world situation today is the sharp shift in the international relationship of forces to the detriment of imperialism, as a result above all of the U.S. defeat in Indochina and the deepening crisis of world capitalism ushered in by the 1974 recession.

Pointing to the recent advances by workers and peasants in Nicaragua, Iran, El Salvador, and other countries, as well as the rising workers' struggles in advanced capitalist countries (such as the militant strikes by steelworkers in Britain, Germany, and France), Rebick said:

"The ruling class has thus far been unable to resolve its crisis on the backs of the masses. . . . While not as spectacular as the rise of struggles in the colonial world, the continuing fightback of workers in the advanced capitalist countries is a major factor in the relationship of forces."

A key challenge facing socialists, the report stressed, is the need to combat the imperialist war drive—Washington's attempt "to climb back to the position of world cop" capable of crushing popular uprisings as it sought to do in Vietnam.

Rebick noted the lack of success the war drive has had up to now in reversing the powerful antiwar sentiment of working people. Tens of thousands of Americans have mobilized against Carter's draft registration; the same sentiment is reflected in Canada—in the refusal of unions to line up in support of the trade boycott of the Soviet Union, statements by Steel union leader Cec Taylor demanding that war production be converted to peaceful uses such as shipbuilding, and NDP members'

opposition to [party leader] Ed Broadbent's support of Carter.

RWL members will be active in coming months in building solidarity with the revolution in Nicaragua. A major goal will be to encourage unions in English Canada, including the Canadian Labor Congress, to emulate the Quebec unions' mobilization in support of the literacy campaign.

A special aspect of the international report was a discussion on the recent events in Afghanistan and the role of the Soviet troops in that country's civil war. The convention adopted by an overwhelming majority the position proposed by the outgoing Political Committee:

- To expose the U.S. war drive and fight all its manifestations, including the Olympic boycott and sanctions against the Soviet Union;

- To stand in the camp of the revolutionary forces in Afghanistan, in opposition to the rightist guerrilla bands;

- To defend the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, who are aiding the workers and peasants in their struggle against the counterrevolution;

- To support all measures aimed at deepening the independent mobilization of the Afghan masses, in the direction of uprooting capitalism in Afghanistan and creating a workers state;

- To situate all criticism of the Afghan government and Moscow's policy in the framework of favoring military defeat of the counterrevolution and its imperialist backers.

A minority report arguing that Soviet intervention had a negative impact in the civil war received only two votes.

Delegates voted unanimously to condemn the recent split from the Fourth International by the Bolshevik Faction and the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency, a split carried out with the complicity of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International [OCRFI]. The RWL will conduct a political offensive against the increasingly sectarian political line of the OCRFI's section in Canada, the Quebec-based Socialist Workers Group (GST).

NDP Gains Analyzed

Workers' struggles are on the rise in Canada, too. An example is the increasing tendency of unions in both English Canada and Quebec to take political action in defense of workers' interests. This was the central theme of a discussion at the convention on the recent federal elections. (More than 60 percent of the delegates were members of the NDP.)

In English Canada, the campaign by unions affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress [CLC] to elect the NDP was—with the possible exception of the 1976 struggle against wage controls—bigger than anything the labor movement has done in decades, said Art Young, in a report for the Political Committee.

The CLC initiative in both the 1979 and 1980 elections reflected the union bureaucracy's lessened ability to win concessions from the big-business parties and governments through strictly economic struggles. But it was by no means just a bureaucratic maneuver, Young emphasized. It reflected real movement in the ranks.

By mobilizing many tens of thousands of working people in action against the capitalist parties, and in support of a labor party, the CLC campaign served to "strengthen the unions, unify the labor movement, challenge the old conservative notions of what unions are for, promote political discussions on the job, and help prepare workers for the struggles ahead."

Socialists had no hesitation in standing in the camp of those fighting for the NDP in this election, Young said. We seek to carry forward this campaign. That means fighting in our unions to win workers away from support of the capitalist parties, and in opposition to pro-Liberal business unionism.

And it means fighting against the class-collaborationist program of the NDP and CLC leaders, which seriously weakens labor's struggle to defeat big-business governments. Our support of labor's efforts to build the NDP includes fighting the program of economic nationalism, support of austerity and the war drive, and opposition to Quebec's right to self-determination—the policies of Broadbent and CLC President Dennis McDermott.

Socialist workers favor affiliation of unions to the NDP, and encourage unions to take their struggles and campaigns—such as defense of medicare—into the NDP, and to build a real pro-NDP political machine in the unions. And socialists challenge the NDP to come behind all the struggles of working people, from union battles like the Bell workers' strike to the Québécois fight for national rights.

While Quebec unions have not yet built their own political party, Young noted, Quebec workers are becoming more critical of both the traditional federalist parties and the Parti Québécois [PQ], and there is increased readiness to examine alternatives. This was reflected in the increased rate of abstention in the federal election; the lower vote for both Tories and Liberals; the collapse of Social Credit, a procapitalist rural-based protest party; and the near-doubling of the votes for the candidates of the tiny Quebec NDP.

In some areas groups of workers—even union locals—became involved in NDP campaigns. For example, in St-Jean, where the NDP candidate was the president of the Westinghouse union local, or in Ste-Thérèse, where the former president of the General Motors UAW [United Auto Workers] local ran, union locals supported these candidates and contributed money to their campaigns.

These were "real workers candidates," Young said, and the support they got

contributed to the movement for an independent labor party in Quebec.

These developments show that "Quebec workers are ready today to support a labor alternative; only the policy of the labor tops stands in their way," Young said. And many Quebec workers are aware of and sympathetic to labor's fight for power in English Canada.

Quebec Referendum

The approach of the Quebec referendum, to be held probably in June, has already generated considerable political debate in the Quebec labor movement. The RWL convention discussed and adopted unanimously a Political Committee report on the referendum presented by François Moreau.

The RWL regards the referendum debate as an extremely positive development, and its members seek by every possible means to deepen its impact in the unions. They explain why Quebec workers cannot rely on the Parti Québécois to win independence and end national oppression; that the unions should create a labor party that can fight for independence and socialism—"an independence that serves the workers."

The RWL advocates spoiling the ballot in the referendum vote. Moreau explained that because of the specific wording of the question, a yes vote would signify a vote of political confidence in the PQ and its attempts to reach a "new deal" with Canadian capitalism. The no vote is the camp of the federalist oppressors in Quebec.

In English Canada, the RWL will seek to win workers to an understanding of how Quebec is oppressed and the need to fight that oppression by defending Quebec's right to self-determination.

In both nations, a central theme of the RWL campaign will be the need for binational workers unity. "We will explain," Moreau said, that "the success of the struggle for independence is determined in the last analysis by the overall relationship of forces on a pan-Canadian scale. That is why the Quebec labor movement, and a labor party if one is formed, must struggle on the pan-Canadian level against the federal government and state. . . ."

"We will explain that, in contrast to the capitalist rulers, the English-Canadian working class has no interest in maintaining imperialist domination over Quebec. It is a potential ally of the national liberation struggle."

Deepening the Turn to Industry

With more than 40 percent of its members in industrial unions, the RWL is well placed to participate in the political discussions and struggles now developing in the working class. Serge Bouffard reported for the Political Committee on the progress of the RWL's efforts to strengthen its presence in the unions.

The RWL is attempting to place the

Women Win Victory at Stelco

A major victory for women's rights was won in Hamilton, Ontario, as a result of an aggressive public campaign against discriminatory hiring policies at the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco). Four of five plaintiffs in a human rights suit against Stelco, along with forty other women, were hired at the company.

At a March 26 news conference it was announced that the campaign would continue until the fifth woman, Jeanette Abbot, is hired and until 10 percent of all new jobs at Stelco are being filled by women.

The victory came on the heels of a March 7 International Women's Day rally organized by the Women Back into Stelco Campaign. More than 400 people had gathered to demand that Stelco open its doors to women and to call for jobs and decent wages for all

women.

The Women Back into Stelco Campaign had become a symbol across Canada of women's fight for production jobs in industry. They won broad support from the labor movement, women's groups, and the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party.

The Stelco campaign demanded a 10 percent minimum hiring quota for women. Research conducted by United Steelworkers Union Local 1005 at Stelco showed that while 30,000 applicants of the 300,000 applicants for jobs at Stelco since 1961 were women—not a single woman was hired. Local 1005 backs the 10 percent hiring quota for women.

The newly hired Stelco women are demanding seniority and pay retroactive to the day when Stelco first denied them jobs.

overwhelming majority of its members in the key unions in industry, transport, and communications, he explained, because it is those workers who are increasingly coming under attack as the capitalists strive to reduce costs and shore up sagging profits in the face of their declining economic prospects. And it is those workers who are in the front ranks of labor's fight against all aspects of the austerity offensive—wage controls, cutbacks, layoffs, shutdowns, and attacks on the democratic rights of unions and all working people.

Bouffard described how the Bell strike illustrates the main issues posed in the building of a militant class-struggle left wing in the unions. The operators and dining service workers, most of them women, have forged a powerful binational unity. They have systematically worked to unite the broadest number of workers in support of their strike and to popularize their demands. They have adopted forms of struggle—mass pickets, meetings, participation in other labor struggles, and March 8 activities—that maximize membership participation and enhance union democracy.

And their struggle against one of the country's biggest monopolies has brought them face to face with the police, the courts, and antilabor governments—raising discussions among the strikers and their supporters on the need for political action.

Delegates, about two-thirds of whom were industrial union members, were unanimous on the need to continue the RWL's turn to industry, initiated a year-and-a-half ago.

The convention discussed at some length how to build strong industrial union fractions of RWL members and sympathizers

in key plants and railyards across the country. Such fractions meet regularly and help socialist workers act collectively in carrying out systematic campaigns around important issues facing the unions and working people.

Socialist workers "erect no false counterposition between so-called political work and 'union' work," said Samantha Anderson, in a report for the Political Committee on work in the unions. "We strive to be responsible leaders and builders of the union, seeking to activate the rank and file through discussion, socialist education, and involvement in political campaigns. We do this on big issues of the day, like Afghanistan, Nicaragua, or the federal elections, as well as on 'shop-floor' issues like speed-up, contracts, and health and safety."

Some of the liveliest discussion at the convention—and in the RWL leading up to the convention—concerned such questions as: what emphasis should RWL members place on seeking and accepting leadership posts (shop steward, local executive positions, etc.) in the unions? What attitude should we take toward grievance procedures as a means of defending the rights of union members?

How openly should socialist workers express their views on the shop floor, especially when they are still on probation or confronted with redbaiting by employers or union bureaucrats?

On the latter point, Anderson explained that RWL members have no reason to hide their views—particularly when so many of the things we have to say meet a favorable response among our co-workers! And being known as a socialist is often one of the best defenses against victimization.

An example is the case of the three

women RWL members fired by Pratt & Whitney in Montreal. "Part of the reason for the phenomenal support we have received from co-workers and the labor movement," said Anderson, "is that we were known as supporters of the union and fighters for women's rights in the plant."

The major part of the report discussed the mushrooming support in the labor movement and the NDP for women's job rights, and for quotas to compel companies to hire women in the better-paying jobs previously regarded as male preserves.

The movement of women into "non-traditional" jobs, Anderson said, challenges the continued existence of low-wage female job ghettos. And it helps to unite the working class by breaking down sexist prejudices about women's alleged inferiority.

The convention broke into sustained applause when the reporter announced a first-round victory in the six-month-long fight by women in Hamilton for production jobs at Steel Company of Canada. Earlier that day, Stelco had retreated and offered jobs to two of the five women and interviews with the other three. Two of the women are members of the RWL (See box).

Toward a Weekly 'Voice'

The convention discussed and adopted a report by PC member Steve Penner outlining the next steps in building the Revolutionary Workers League. In addition to the campaigns already mentioned, these included:

- Increasing substantially the sales of *Socialist Voice* and *Lutte Ouvrière* as a solid basis for their transformation into weekly newspapers.
- Continuing the drive to get a majority of RWL members into industrial unions. A special effort will be made in Quebec, which has lagged somewhat behind the branches in English Canada.
- Close attention by the RWL leadership to the task of building strong pan-Canadian union fractions in steel, auto, rail, wood, and the post office.
- Special measures to reinforce RWL branches, including increased attention to public forums and internal education in Marxist theory.
- Moving "as rapidly as possible toward establishing a youth organization, particularly oriented to young workers but also toward the high schools and campuses."

Struggle for Workers Government

Deepening their participation in working class struggles has helped RWL members to correct a serious programmatic error that originated in the decision by the Central Committee two years ago to abandon any pan-Canadian governmental perspective.

The decision reflected a schema, held by the majority of the RWL at that time, which "elevated to a strategy the struggle for Quebec independence," said Colleen



Darrel Furlotte/Socialist Voice

RWL financial director Gary Kettner announced that \$55,000 has been pledged toward expansion.

Levis, reporting on this question for the majority of the Political Committee.

Leaders of the RWL had argued that workers in Quebec had little interest in fighting with English-Canadian workers for state power in Canada; their struggle for power, it was argued, took place only in the framework of a struggle to get out of that state.

In its extreme form, this theory held that the ruling class was to be overthrown through a "tearing apart" of the capitalist state under the blows of the Quebec independence struggle, in a process that excluded from the outset the formation of a workers government by the workers of both nations.

Workers in English Canada, it was argued, should not fight for the NDP to form a government in Ottawa, since the central state was the oppressor of the Québécois. (This schema was also used to justify a sectarian stance toward the NDP in English Canada, on the grounds in part that the NDP's support of the federal regime made it fundamentally an obstacle to binational workers' unity.)

The 1979 convention of the RWL, while affirming the need for a joint struggle for power of workers in both nations, failed to eliminate confusion in the RWL program over the relation of that struggle to the fight for independence in Quebec.

A central problem, Levis explained, was the failure to recognize how the struggle against national oppression in Quebec—including the struggle for independence—deepens the class consciousness of Quebec workers and thus aids the struggle in both Quebec and English Canada for a workers government.

"The political alliance of the working class in both nations for political power is the point of departure for all our politics," Levis said.

"This alliance will become a reality

around the battles to establish a Quebec labor party, to break English-Canadian workers from the capitalist parties to the NDP, for a class-struggle program for labor in both nations, the defense of the national rights of the Québécois and in other common mobilizations against the federal state. . . .

"We encourage the mass organizations to unite and take the road of struggle for a workers government and we explain what we mean by that: a government that will dissolve Confederation and allow the Québécois to decide their future freely, that will . . . act in the interests of workers, women, Québécois, and all the oppressed."

This approach can be summarized in the formula "For a government of the NDP and Quebec labor," used by the RWL in the 1980 federal election campaign.

Minority Views

A minority of PC members, while agreeing on the pan-Canadian governmental perspective, argued that it was wrong to use this formula. Since there is no labor party in Quebec it would amount in practice, they said, to calling for an NDP government—which could be understood in Quebec as a government that would oppress the Quebec people. This view, supported by eight delegates, was rejected by the convention.

Delegates also rejected by a decisive majority (35-7) the views of a minority tendency that opposed the call for a pan-Canadian workers government on the grounds that it contradicted the RWL's support for Quebec independence. This tendency proposed that the RWL call for "a new voluntary federation created by the common action of the working people of all nationalities, as the instrument for implementing the economic and social policies of the working class."

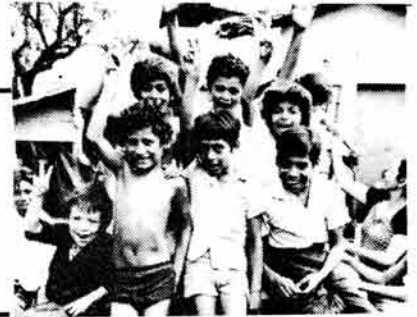
This tendency also characterized the CLC's pro-NDP campaign as fundamentally a bureaucratic maneuver, "an attempt to contain the radicalization of the workers within a reformist straitjacket." Its report on the federal elections was defeated (29-15).

Despite these differences, the delegates agreed unanimously on the need to continue the turn to industry and on the central campaigns around affirmative action and the Quebec referendum. All the Political Committee reports were adopted by a large majority.

The convention closed with the election of a 62-member Central Committee, with proportional representation for minority viewpoints. About half the CC members are industrial workers; 40 percent are women.

Among those attending the convention were 24 international guests from as far away as India. Eighteen were from the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Representatives of the SWP and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International presented greetings to the convention. □

WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR AID TO NICARAGUA



Quebec Teachers Lead Labor Solidarity

By Paul Kouri

[The following is reprinted from the April 1 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Socialist Voice*.]

* * *

MONTREAL—The 90,000-member Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) is spearheading a massive drive by unions and other organizations in Quebec to aid the literacy campaign in Nicaragua.

The CEQ "will be sending hundreds of scribblers, pencils, and erasers to Nicaragua," says a quarter-page advertisement placed in Quebec newspapers by the union. "In all the schools and colleges of Quebec, students, parents, and staff will be approached for financial contributions," it states.

The CEQ initiative is supported by a wide range of other groups, including the other major Quebec union centrals, the 200,000-member Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and the 340,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ). The FTQ is affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC).

A special 24-page issue of the CEQ's monthly journal *Ligne Directe* (Direct Line) is devoted to the campaign, which is focused on activities in the schools during the last two weeks in March. Articles describe how the Sandinista-led government in Nicaragua is moving to solve the country's pressing economic and social needs, and how the literacy campaign is being organized. *Ligne Directe* recommends students be assigned classroom projects on such topics as the history of the Nicaraguans' struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Somoza dictatorship.

The magazine also provides detailed instructions on how to collect and account for funds. The CEQ will purchase the materials in Quebec and ship them directly to Nicaragua.

Copies of *Ligne Directe* and other material on the CEQ campaign may be ordered from the Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec, 2336, chemin Ste-Foy, Québec G1V 4E5.

CSN Support

An article headlined "Fill a Plane for Nicaragua" in the March issue of *United Ouvrière*, the newspaper of the Montreal Central Council of the CSN, lists some of the things the literacy campaign needs to reach its goal of teaching everyone to read



'Ligne Directe' urges aid for Nicaragua.

and write.

- 2 million pencils (ball-point or lead)
- 2 million scribblers
- 125 typewriters and ribbons
- 15,000 felt pens
- 500 cassette recorders and tapes
- 100 spool recording machines and tapes.

In addition, the CSN paper reports, the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) and the Women's Association of Nicaragua need:

- sound systems
- loud-hailers
- 10 slide projectors
- 10 movie projectors (16 mm) and screens
- 20 mimeograph machines and stencils
- plate burners
- one or two good-quality printing outfits
- white paper in bulk
- chairs, tables, file cabinets, etc.

Contributions may be sent to: Comité de coordination et de solidarité avec le peuple du Nicaragua, CSN, 1001 rue St-Denis, Montréal H2X 3J1. For information: Clothilde Bertrand, (514) 286-2020.

Challenge before Unions

The Nicaraguan revolution poses a big challenge before the trade union movement.

Last summer, following the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship, the Canadian Labor Congress organized "Operation Solidarity" to aid the Nicaraguan people. Thousands of tons of medical supplies, blankets, tents, and other necessities were airlifted to Nicaragua through the CLC effort.

However, last December, without discussion or public announcement, CLC officials circulated an internal memo to affiliates saying the CLC was worried that the Sandinista National Liberation Front was forcing Nicaraguan workers to join the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST).

Similar charges were levelled at the March 17-21 conference on human rights in Quebec City organized by the World Confederation of Labor.

Emilio Maspero, general secretary of the million-member Latin-American Workers Federation (CLAT), expressed concern that Nicaragua was becoming a "second Cuba."

Carlos Huembez, a delegate from the Nicaraguan Confederation of Workers (CNT), a small Christian-Democratic union organization, charged that the FSLN's support for the CST (now the biggest trade union organization) was designed to create a "totalitarian situation."

But Quebec unionists disagreed with these views. The presidents of the Montreal and Quebec City regional councils of the CSN issued a statement denouncing the CLAT leaders' failure to speak out against "American imperialism's attempts to destabilize" Nicaragua. "It is not up to us to get involved in the internal debates" of the workers' organizations in Nicaragua, they said, adding that Quebec unions should throw their support behind the Nicaraguan literacy campaign.

This sentiment for solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution is not confined to Quebec. The March issue of *Canadian Transport*, the paper of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, reports the decision of Vancouver CBRT Local 326 to send \$1 per member to help the literacy campaign. It quotes CBRT national president Don Nicholson: "I hope the example set by Local 326 will be followed by other Locals."

Nicholson's advice should be taken up by union locals throughout English Canada and Quebec. The CLC's "Operation Solidarity" should be carried forward, on a bigger scale around the literacy campaign—with no political strings attached.

The National Conference on Solidarity with Nicaragua, to be held April 3-6 in Saskatoon, now has a major opportunity to build on the CEQ initiative and to use the support of the FTQ and locals like CBRT 326 to draw the resources of the whole labor movement and the New Democratic Party behind the Nicaraguan literacy campaign. □

With Vietnam's Help, Kampuchea Begins to Recover

By Fred Feldman

The shadow of hunger still hangs over Kampuchea. This includes the danger of a new famine unless massive shipments of grain and rice seed are received in the coming weeks.

But important advances have nonetheless been made toward restoring a viable economy in the fifteen months since Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean insurgents put an end to the brutal Pol Pot regime.

Progress was symbolized by the reinstatement of a Kampuchean paper currency, the *riel*, on March 20.

The Pol Pot regime banned the use of currency when it came to power in April 1975. This was presented by apologists for Pol Pot as an attempt to create complete communism and equality.

The opposite was the case.

The move actually reflected the fact that U.S. bombing had driven production below subsistence levels, leading to a breakdown in trade and communication between different parts of the country.

The measures carried out by Pol Pot—such as massacres, forced evacuation of the cities and transfers of a majority of the population, and abolition of most public health services and education—multiplied the catastrophe.

The abolition of paper currency fit in with Pol Pot's policy of using police measures to keep consumption by the workers and peasants at starvation levels, in order to maximize the goods available for export and for Khmer Rouge leaders.

Why Reintroduce the Riel

The main goal of the Heng Samrin government in reinstating the *riel* was to spur agricultural production. Correspondent Martin Wollacott reported from Phnompenh in the March 30 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:

... the new monetary system is intended to encourage private farmers. Farmers will be able to borrow capital on reasonable terms to buy livestock, fertiliser, and agricultural equipment. Carpenters, blacksmiths, and other rural craftsmen will also be able to borrow. There will be no pressure for the loans to be taken on a collective basis, Government sources insist.

Phnompenh now has an officially acknowledged population of 300,000. Initially, authorities had tried to control the pace of resettlement in the cities. Anthony Barnett reported in the April 12 issue of the liberal U.S. weekly, the *Nation*:

Resentment in the camps outside the city increased as people saw Vietnamese officers

living in town while they had to camp on the outskirts. The planned resettlement was abandoned, but a free economy was allowed to flourish in Phnom Penh to a surprising extent. Controls of entry into the city were virtually lifted. When I was there in February, I saw jeans and Sony radios openly on sale in the markets. They had been brought in from Thailand, while smaller durables such as hats and spoons had come in from southern Vietnam. Rice was cheaper than in Hanoi and a chicken cost 10 to 15 dong, less than half the price that prevailed in northern Vietnam.

Revival of Trade

On Highway Six leading towards Thailand, an extensive market has appeared with dozens of stalls. This market, based on cross-border trade, is technically illegal but tolerated by the Heng Samrin regime. *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent Nayan Chanda reported in the April 14 issue:

The illegal border trade, however it may be disliked by the authorities, does respond to the desperate need for consumer goods in the country. If brightly coloured sarongs have returned to Kampuchea to replace tattered black clothing ... and if surviving monks are wearing saffron coloured robes again, it is thanks to the trade with Thailand. Any serious attempt to stop the traffic without providing alternative sources of goods would be against the government's effort to get people's lives back to normal.

These first steps in Kampuchea's long and difficult recovery from near-extinction have been possible thanks to the ability of Vietnamese and Kampuchean government troops to protect the population from attacks by Khmer Rouge and Khmer Serei forces. These are maintained across the border with the direct support of the Thai army, and with aid both from Washington and Peking.

Chanda reports that almost all the major Kampuchean highways are now safe by daylight: "This correspondent and an Italian journalist travelled through eight provinces without armed escorts, though when international agency officials travel they are often provided with an armed guard."

Role of Vietnamese Troops

Contrary to reports in the big business media that Vietnam is turning Kampuchea into a colony, Vietnamese forces have been careful to avoid offending the deep-rooted nationalist sentiments of the masses. The result has been that broad popular support still exists for the Vietnamese presence, as it did during the war with Washington when Vietnamese forces aided the Kampuchians.

Reports that food relief shipments were being diverted to Vietnamese use invariably prove to be false. On the contrary, Vietnam—despite its own food shortages—provided Kampuchea with more than 120,000 tons of rice last year. Kampuchea might not have survived without this aid.

Chanda notes, "This correspondent did not see any evidence nor hear complaints, often alleged abroad, of Vietnamese settlers coming into Kampuchea."

And Barnett noted the "speed with which the Vietnamese handed over civilian power to the Khmer authorities. Vietnamese of high rank who ordered the Cambodians around were summarily shipped home—for being insensitive." Barnett continued:

What the Vietnamese want is a fraternal Cambodia that is a credible state, which would in turn help the Cambodians to survive. The Vietnamese are paying for their invasion, both politically and economically, and they justify the cost quite straightforwardly in terms of improving their own national security. This means accelerating efforts to legitimize the Government and give its personnel greater self-confidence—hence high rations for officials (often higher than what those of equivalent rank in Hanoi receive); building up the Khmer Army and militia, and encouraging President Heng Samrin's officials to make decisions. . . .

Chanda reported that Khmer Serei units carry out some propaganda activity among the merchants, former Lon Nol officials, and other anti-communist elements. But there was "no such political activity by the Khmer Rouge, whose credibility with the vast majority of the population is nil."

The conclusion seems inescapable—despite war and near-famine conditions, the Vietnamese have aroused little hostility among the Kampuchean population. "The presence of any other foreign army of this size would have created tremendous social problems," one Kampuchean told Chanda.

Chanda noted that "even Kampuchians severely critical of the conduct of the Vietnamese and apprehensive of Vietnamese designs on their country quickly add: 'We have to give the devil his due—had not the Vietnamese come we would be all dead by now.'"

Barnett summarized the gains of the Kampuchean people since ousting Pol Pot:

Forced labor, which the majority of the population underwent, was ended. Fear still exists, but there is no longer state terrorism. Buddhism, which Pol Pot abolished (in his own remarkable phrase, "the problem of Buddhism has solved itself"), is now freely practiced again. Markets exist and money has been reintroduced, the

towns are resettled to a degree.

But the future of Kampuchea continues to depend on massive international assistance. Aid from Western sources has begun to dry up as Washington tests the possibility of once again using famine as a weapon against the Kampuchean government and people.

Chanda saw "vast areas . . . completely parched by a relentless sun, with very little sign of agricultural activity," as well as other areas where lack of seed or draught animals is blocking rice planting.

Another problem is training a skilled labor force in good enough health to perform needed tasks. Barnett noted "fifteen ships, many of them Russian, lined up outside the port of Kompong Som waiting to unload. The Khmer dockers can unload only 500 tons a day." Soviet and Vietnamese dockers have had to help out.

The difficulties in Kompong Som are deliberately being exaggerated in the Western press, however, as a pretext for with-

holding aid.

Kampuchea must have 300,000 tons of grain and 40,000 tons of rice seed in order to continue its upward climb. The Soviet Union has promised 135,000 tons of grain.

The Vietnamese people will also continue to provide grain. Hanoi has promised to deliver between 10,000 and 20,000 tons of seed—despite the malnutrition that haunts much of Vietnam.

The rest must come from international relief agencies and other sources.

Once again, Washington's propagandists are grinding out claims that Vietnam is blocking the needed aid. Barnett pinpoints some of the real obstacles.

An order from a United Nations agency for perhaps 10,000 tons [of seed] has met with extended bureaucratic delays—not in Phnom Penh or Hanoi, but in Bangkok, where despite the emergency, the Government refuses to expedite an export license for the tonnage acquired.

Relief agencies such as the United Nations and the Red Cross, which cooperate

readily with Pol Pot and the Thai army, are reluctant to work as closely with Vietnam. Barnett continues:

. . . the Vietnamese find themselves in a difficult situation. Last year they distributed their own rice, using their army to do so. But if they carry Western aid in their military trucks this year, the international relief agencies will object. If they do not, the peasants will object even more.

The United States alone has enough grain and seed to meet most of Kampuchea's needs. The Carter administration must provide it now.

And Washington and its allies must stop sending arms and supplies to Pol Pot's gangs and other rightist forces along the Thai border.

The Pnompenh government should be recognized, and the resources being poured into the effort to destroy that government should be used to help it in rebuilding Kampuchea. □

Land of Tears and Charnel Houses

Reporter Discovers a "Kampuchean Auschwitz"

[During his recent visit to Kampuchea, *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent Nayan Chanda found substantial signs of an economic and social revival there, as reported in the accompanying article by Fred Feldman.

[However, Chanda also discovered grim evidence of the terror imposed by the Pol Pot regime prior to its overthrow by Kampuchean insurgents and Vietnamese troops in January 1979. His account, which follows, speaks for itself. It is reprinted from the April 4 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.]

* * *

The eyes of the saffron-robed reclining Buddha gazed sightlessly out into the semi-darkness of the cave to where the tangled pile of bodies lay. Tattered scraps of black cloth clung to the bones, as did the ropes that had bound the victims' arms. Fatal axe blows had split some of the skulls.

Another charnel house among so many in this land which Pol Pot's killer squads turned into a country of orphans, widows and mass graves where wells overflow with bones and skulls whiten in the sun in abandoned fields or in the cool shade of the groves.

It is difficult to stop at any hamlet along Kampuchea's highways without being led by people—some silent in their anger, others weeping—to the graves. Each village seems to have its local Auschwitz, testimony to man's inhumanity to man. In

Tuol Sleng prison in Phnom Penh, the confessions and dossiers on 16,000 massacre victims—mainly Khmer Rouge ministers, cadres and soldiers—are meticulously preserved as a monument to the period of Pol Pot horror.

But whether it is there or elsewhere, the horror is undiminished. At Vot Tuol village on Highway Six this correspondent stopped to buy some coconuts. People gathered at the rare sight of foreigners. They said that 583 people had been slaughtered there between 1977-79. Hong Buor Sen, a teacher who lost his entire family, said that of the townspeople herded into the village during the forced exodus from urban centres in 1975, only he and two others had survived. Villagers then led the visitors to a pagoda nearby. It had been a prison. Two wells behind the pagoda brimmed with skulls and bones. "My brothers and my sisters are there," said Sen.

A visit to a textile plant at Kompong Cham brought questions about life under Pol Pot. Workers said 50,000 people were massacred in fields a kilometre away. Under the mango trees the skulls, seemingly countless, lay in an obscene carpet of death. Many of the victims had been small children. Bodies had originally been piled in pits which had been excavated by people searching the skulls for gold fillings and teeth which could be ripped out and melted down—the dead's contribution to the rebirth of Kampuchea.

In some places a two-metre thick layer of skulls, bones and rotting black rags had been dug out to reach the victims of the first massacres—the so-called "new people" or town dwellers. As Kampuchea's wealthy, they were more likely to have had gold fillings.

That these early victims lay at such a depth showed that the execution site had been used over a long period. Villagers said there were more graves further on, but the heaps of bones under the mango trees were sufficient evidence of evil for that day.

The victims in the reclining Buddha's cave on Phnom San Peau hill near Battambang had apparently been done to death in late December 1978. Villagers said that truckloads of people—believed to have been Khmer Rouge cadres, soldiers and their families, suspected of anti-Pol Pot activities—were brought to the area. They were forced to walk up the hill to their deaths in the darkness of the cave.

There had been another pattern of killing earlier in 1978, said one Khmer who worked as a mechanic in the Battambang district truck-repair shop. He said that Ta Mok, Khmer Rouge commander of the southwest region, arrived in Battambang with his men—labelled by the mechanic a "goon squad"—in February of that year. Ta Mok staged a cultural show to which he invited the whole Khmer Rouge provincial leadership including its chief, Nhim Ros. All were rounded up. Ros and all those close to him were systematically executed,

the mechanic said.

If this account is accurate then mid-1978 would appear to mark the high point of the intra-party killings. For Ros was also the second vice-chairman of the State Presidium headed by the current Democratic Kampuchean [Khmer Rouge] Premier Khieu Samphan. The first vice-chairman, So Phim, had been executed after an abortive plot in May 1978.

These purges, and increasing paranoia about Vietnamese infiltration, account for some of the successive waves of killing. But this correspondent's visit—during which travel and access to people was unrestricted—provided no real clues to the motives behind the massacres which have left the country scarred by opened graves.

There was widespread hostility towards

the urban dwellers as expressed with horrifying crudity in the Khmer Rouge slogan: "Kill them to make fertiliser." But not all were killed. Harshness of rule varied from province to province, and even district to district. The killing seems to have been part of no overall genocidal policy, but often to have been mindless slaughter by a regime gone mad.

In the absence of any rational explanation, the Vietnamese propaganda line about Chinese instigation of the massacres seems to be finding some receptive ears. One former Lon Nol official, now working for the new regime in Siem Reap, said: "China ordered Pol Pot to kill the Khmers so that Chinese loyal to him could settle in Kampuchea and Pol Pot could become the ruler of a Chinese colony."

But for the villagers huddled under the shade of the mango trees or out in the parched fields among the piles of skulls, politics provide no solace and no acceptable explanation for the years of horror.

Sometimes anger boils over. Contemplating the bones of his relatives, a man at Vot Tuol demands that the world bring Pol Pot to justice for killing his parents and his brothers. A monk—garbed in saffron again, thanks to border trading—clutches his umbrella at the roadside near Siem Reap and asks calmly: "Doesn't the world believe what Pol Pot has done to us?"

The proof is there for the Khmer people. But they can offer no explanation for why Pol Pot masterminded the massacres. The survivors can only weep. □

"To Force People To Think By Decree Is Impermissible"

Trials in Soviet Union Spotlight Working-Class Discontent

By Marilyn Vogt

The emergence in early 1978 of the Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers was an important development in the struggle against Stalinist bureaucratic rule in the USSR. Led by Ukrainian coal miner Vladimir Klebanov, the AFTU drew together workers who had been victimized for exposing official corruption or hazardous job conditions.

The Kremlin police succeeded in crushing the AFTU but not the widespread discontent that resulted in its being formed in the first place.

Seven months later, in October 1978, a second attempt was made to form an independent organization to defend workers' rights—the Free Inter-Trade Association of Workers (SMOT). SMOT initially had 100 members; within two months it doubled in size.

A recent issue of the Russian-language samizdat journal *Chronicle of Current Events*¹ contains accounts of three trials in August 1978 of Soviet worker dissidents.

These cases are important because they show the ideas these workers have developed and the support they have among some of their co-workers, as shown in the trial testimony. They are an indication of the discontent that has pushed organizations like the AFTU and SMOT to the surface.

* * *

On August 1, 1978, in the Gomel region of the Byelorussian republic, Ye. Buzinnikov, a pipefitter, was sentenced to three

1. No. 51. December 1, 1978. Available from Khronika Press, 505 8th Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018. \$5.00.

years in a strict regime labor camp. He was charged with "spreading fabrications discrediting the Soviet system." Evidence against him included his own copy of *Economic Monologues*, a critique of Marxist economic theory by Ukrainian dissident Mykola Rudenko. Buzinnikov was also charged with trying "to revise Marxist-Leninist teachings and smear the historical experiences of the Soviet people."

At the trial, Buzinnikov explained that he had loved books since his childhood. When he had a chance to get a copy of Rudenko's *Economic Monologues*, he naturally accepted it.

But Buzinnikov explained that "he did not want to and doesn't want to criticize or negate Marxism." His only goal, he said "was to understand this theory as deeply as possible and, for this purpose, to study it from all sides, including from a critical point of view."

His so-called criminal actions, he said, boiled down to having received and read a book.

The evidence against him also included some letters he had written containing eyewitness accounts of strikes and demonstrations in Novochoerkassk in Ukraine in 1962.² Buzinnikov explained that he had only described what he saw, not engaging in fabrications.

Twenty witnesses were questioned at his

2. On June 2, 1962, large-scale strikes and demonstrations occurred in Novochoerkassk in Southern Russia protesting price increases for basic food products and simultaneous pay cuts. Troops opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators and at least seventy persons were killed. The city was sealed off and the official Soviet press never

trial, including Buzinnikov's co-workers. Most, according to the *Chronicle*, believed he had done nothing wrong. But the prosecutor was bent on fabricating crimes.

Prosecutor. How can you say you know nothing bad about him? Didn't you say during the investigation that he listened to foreign radio?

Witness. Yes, he did.

P. And didn't he tell you that there was going to be a revolution in our country?

W. Yes, Buzinnikov somehow said that sooner or later in our country there will be some kind of changes.

P. So! He predicted revolution!

In his summary speech, Buzinnikov, acting as his own counsel, said:

If someone's thoughts or someone's books are incorrect, life itself discards them and they will find no soil for growth. To force people to think by decree is impermissible, because such people will live not by their own thinking but by repeating someone else's thoughts. And in such a case, the society will experience no development at all.

* * *

In the Stavropol Regional court in Southern Russia, N.P. Shatalov was sentenced August 10 to eighteen months in a labor camp on a charge of "false fabrications discrediting the Soviet system."

Shatalov, a worker with thirty-three years on the job, had written a letter to the Supreme Soviet in March 1976 renouncing

reported the event. But various accounts by eyewitnesses over the years have helped to fill in the details. See *Workers Against the Gulag* (London: Pluto Press, 1979), for three such accounts, as well as for documents from the AFTU grouping.

his Soviet citizenship and asking for permission for him and his family to leave the USSR. In the letter, he stated that he could no longer be reconciled with the "lies and hypocrisy" of official policy and "the robbery of the basic working mass of the people."

In August 1977, Shatalov was arrested.

At his trial, he was accused of stating in conversations with co-workers and in letters to officials that "workers in the USSR are in every way oppressed; they have no rights or freedoms; the authorities in every way try to diminish workers' rights."

In a letter to Brezhnev, Shatalov had written about "the economic poverty facing the workers." He had condemned the fact that those workers who expose the "scoundrels" who oppress them are labelled unfit by the authorities.

Shatalov admitted that he had made such statements, but he denied that they were "false fabrications."

Vadim Konovalikhin, a thirty-six-year-old television-radio repair worker in Kaliningrad, was sentenced August 30 to four years internal exile for his "slandering fabrications."

Evidence against Konovalikhin was a statement he had written declaring his resignation from the official Soviet trade unions and his desire to join either the U.S. AFL-CIO or the AFTU established by Klebanov.

One prosecution witness, a worker from Konovalikhin's plant, said Konovalikhin felt it was his "duty to fight for human rights and wage increases and against the bureaucrats."

Another co-worker stated that Konovalikhin was constantly harassed on the job by the administration because of his views. "On some points, I agreed with Konovalikhin in his criticisms," the worker said.

A third worker said that when Konovalikhin was fired, it was because of his views and not because of "absenteeism," as the authorities claimed. "He and I were absent together, but it was only Konovalikhin that they fired."

A fourth co-worker called to testify said, according to the *Chronicle*, that "in the USSR there is no free press and officials from the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] are appointed to posts of head of the City Executive Committees. In his opinion, there was no basis for putting Konovalikhin on trial."

After Konovalikhin was sentenced, his typewriter was ordered confiscated "as an instrument of crime."

When the AFTU was formed, it issued documentation showing dozens of cases of ordinary workers who had been demoted, fired, imprisoned, or sent to psychiatric hospitals for speaking out for their rights.

The SMOT grouping, which has been victimized but not yet crushed, aims to

defend its members whenever their rights are violated by the bureaucratic rulers. SMOT's declaration stated it would not turn to governments for support, but to "workers both inside and outside the country."

A Capitalist Disaster

Why Did 123 Oil Rig Workers Die in North Sea?

[The following is an editorial from the April 3 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Challenge*.]

Just why did the 123 oil rig workers die when the Alexander L Kielland collapsed last Thursday night? For the moment leave aside the technical arguments. The short answer is \$891 [million]. That staggering figure was the after-tax profit made by Phillips Petroleum last year. Phillips were the owners and operators of the doomed rig.

Like all the other oil companies operating in the North Sea, they have made a fortune out of their operations. Where have those fortunes gone? One thing is certain, they have not gone to ensuring the safety of those who work on the rigs so that the giant profits can be amassed.

Perhaps it is unfair to single out Phillips. They just happened to be the ones who were found out; it just happened that it was a rig owned by them where disaster struck first. But sooner or later, on one rig or another, such a disaster was almost bound to occur. This has become clear through the investigations, partial though they are, which have taken place since the 123 died.

It has been established that the Alexander L Kielland was of a design which had not been fully tested for metal fatigue—one of the possible reasons for the collapse of the rig. Such tests have only been conducted since 1977 and the Kielland was designed before that date—as

Whether or not the Kremlin rulers succeed in crushing SMOT, it is clear that more and more workers in the USSR are beginning to see that Stalinist bureaucratic rule is incompatible with the Soviet working class. □

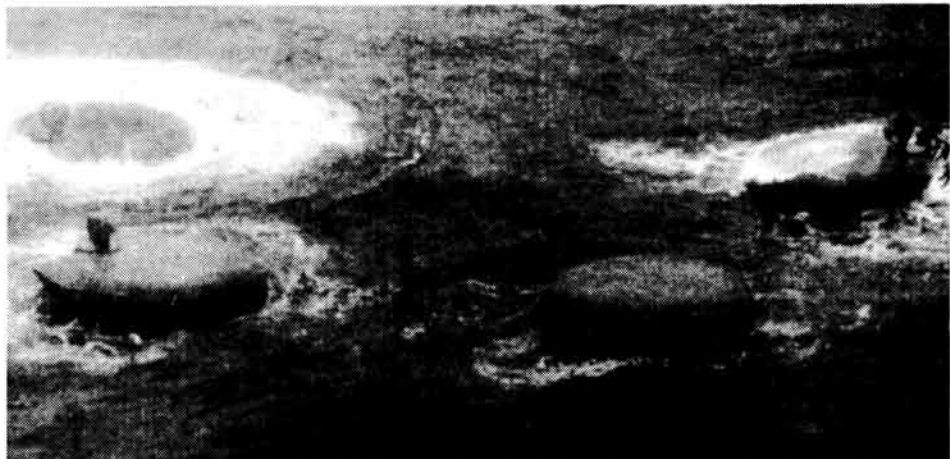
were virtually all the rigs operating in the North Sea.

It has now been admitted that what safety checks do take place on North Sea rigs are, in the words of the *Sunday Times* "intrinsically fallible." So "fallible" are these checks that they would be unlikely to detect a simple welding failure—the other main candidate as the immediate cause of the disaster.

But there is nothing "natural" or "unavoidable" about the collapse of the Kielland. An engineering lecturer said on BBC-TV's *Nationwide* last Friday night that greater safety checks could have taken place. "But they would be very expensive," he added.

If trade unions were allowed to openly organise on the rigs then the killings might have been avoided. Unions do tend to be more concerned with safety at work than management. But attempts to organise the rigs have been met not only with hostility but gangster-like tactics from the owners of the rigs. *Socialist Challenge* has in the past reported physical attacks on union militants who have tried to establish a degree of unionisation on the North Sea.

All of which ties in with the philosophy of the oil companies. Praised by Western governments they may be; politicians may scramble after each other to sit on their boards; their vast profits may be allowed to go largely untaxed, but these companies are the pirates of the 20th century. Nothing must stand in the way of their profits. And for them the cost of 123 dead is little more than a drop in the ocean. □



The collapsed Alexander L. Kielland oil rig where 123 workers lost their lives.

Strike by Agricultural Workers Rocks Guatemala

By Aníbal Yáñez

A total work stoppage by 50,000 laborers in the cane and cotton plantations of Guatemala's Pacific Coast in late February and early March dealt a heavy blow to the landowners and the government of Gen. Romeo Lucas García.

Rural workers in Guatemala live in conditions of abject poverty. More than 2.5 million live on tiny plots that do not produce enough to sustain a family. Every year thousands of families are forced to seek seasonal work on the large farms of the rich.

"The very fact of their extreme poverty," notes the March 8 bulletin *Noticias de Guatemala*, "forces them to accept inhuman conditions of work; to travel on trucks like virtual human cattle; to live in crowded and unhealthy shacks; to do without adequate clothing and tools; to be exposed to the danger of slow and continuous poisoning by the insecticides they apply; to have no vacations . . . ; to be denied any social security benefits . . . ; and to accept wages as low as one quetzal [U.S.\$1.00] per day."

Another 875,000 people have no land whatsoever, and constitute a reserve of cheap labor for the agribusinesses. Sometimes they make as little as 25 cents per day.

"These two large sectors of the peasant population are the ones that generate and sustain the agricultural wealth of the country," *Noticias de Guatemala* points out.

On the other end of the spectrum, the agricultural capitalists engaged in export production, who make up only 2.6 percent of the country's population, own more than two-thirds of the land. On Guatemala's Pacific Coast, this exploiting minority controls two of the most important areas of the economy—cotton and sugar—which represent more than 20 percent of the country's exports.

In face of this situation, the Committee for Campesino Unity (CUC), an organization made up of poor Indians and mestizos, began organizing to fight for the interests of the rural poor. In a January statement, the CUC declared:

"Being conscious of our needs and of our rights, the CUC demands that during the 1979-80 harvest we be paid five quetzals per quintal [about 100 lbs.] of cotton and five quetzals per ton of sugar cane. Our right and our obligation to demand this price [for our labor] flows from the needs of our families."

On February 18, the CUC began an

agricultural workers strike with work stoppages on the Tehuantepec, Guanipa, Florencia, and Cristóbal plantations in Santa Lucía Cotzumalguapa. On February 22 about 1,000 peasants took over a sugar mill in the same area.

On February 26, 500 agricultural workers in Santa Lucía Cotzumalguapa set up barricades at the entrances of the Los Tarros and El Baúl sugar mills. The same day, the cane workers received the support of other agricultural workers—particularly those working in cotton, coffee, and wood.

Several Guatemalan dailies complained on February 27 that the problem in the cane fields was getting worse and that it could lead to a strike shutting down all production in Guatemala, since workers from new sections of the economy were joining the strike daily.

But the movement continued building strength. Production was halted on 60 cane plantations, and the strike united the workers, day laborers, and migratory workers from the highlands.

The response of the landowners and their military government was two-fold: deployment of every type of repressive force and an intense propaganda campaign aimed at portraying the workers as ignorant tools of communist devils.

The employers placed paid advertisements in all the newspapers in Guatemala, calling the strike an "instrument of subversion to change the system of liberty in which we presently live."

At the same time, the government threw all its "security" forces against the peasants, sealing off the entire area. They wrote down the license numbers of every vehicle that entered or left the area, and searched everyone for weapons and "subversive" propaganda. Helicopters constantly flew over the area.

Peasants were brutally dislodged from the occupied mills. Several peasants and CUC leaders were murdered by "unknown" assailants.

The farm workers occupying the plantations and mills took measures to protect themselves. They organized committees to defend their meetings from provocations by the government forces and the owners' bodyguards.

Despite the military occupations of the Pacific Coast, groups of peasants went from farm to farm speaking about the strike and asking the workers to join it.

This powerful peasant mobilization on the Pacific Coast did not arise spontaneously, nor was it instigated by "outside

agitators." It gave evidence of the level of development that the organization of agricultural workers has attained.

A journalist wrote in the Guatemalan daily *La Nación*: "The scenario and the actors have changed. We are no longer seeing an Indian who takes off his hat and, holding it over his breast, meekly asks the boss for a few cents more for the grace of God."

The workers on the Pacific Coast won broad support for their struggle. The Indian peasants of El Quiché province in northern Guatemala, who have been involved in struggles against army repression in their area, declared their support for the strikers. The Guatemalan Workers Federation blasted the repression and called for militant solidarity with the workers of the Pacific Coast.

The Robin García Revolutionary Student Front (FERG) also supported the strike.

Throughout the strike the owners of the mills and plantations maintained an intransigent attitude, refusing to negotiate with representatives of the workers.

Finally on March 3, the government of Gen. Lucas was forced to intervene, despite the objections of the employers. The Ministry of Labor issued a decree establishing an official minimum wage of \$3.20 per day, instead of the \$1.12 that workers on the cane and cotton plantations and cattle ranches had been receiving.

Not surprisingly, the big landlords have opposed paying the new minimum wage, saying that it would bankrupt them.

This is highly dubious. Some months ago, the Guatemalan Chamber of Industry itself stated that its economic expectations for 1980 were excellent due, above all, "to the rise in the prices of our export products in the international market, especially coffee, cotton, and sugar."

Furthermore, the CUC has stated that if the owners say they can no longer profitably work the land, they should give it to the peasants, who are interested in the well-being of the people, rather than scandalous profits for a few exploiters.

The CUC's response to the wage hikes decreed by the government was:

"The government and the super-rich have been forced to recognize the first step of our struggle. . . . But the 3.20 quetzals does not solve our needs."

Therefore, the CUC called "on all the rural workers to continue organizing . . . and to continue to struggle for a better wage." □

Guatemalan Indians Describe Terror by Military Rulers

[The following appeared in the March 12 edition of the Managua daily *La Prensa*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.]

* * *

About the "Spanish Embassy Massacre" that took place in Guatemala on January 31 of this year—in which thirty-nine persons were burned alive—the international press agencies have barely brought to light what the Romeo Lucas García government has permitted them, or at best the version reported by the Guatemalan communications media, which are controlled largely by ultrarightist businessmen.

* * *

"The National Army dressed seven of our Indian brothers in olive green, made them walk by the City Hall, ambushed them, and massacred them in a cowardly fashion. Later they threw some old weapons on top [of the bodies] so as to have it believed that they were guerrillas who died in combat. Then they buried them in common graves in the Chajul cemetery."

The genocide that the Lucas García government has been committing for a long time in Guatemala can only be compared with the hair-raising "clean-up operations" the Somozaist National Guard carried out in our country. The story of this genocide came to *La Prensa* yesterday in a letter accompanied by various documents, sent to us by some members of the Indian peasant communities of Chajul, Nejab, Cotzal, San Miguel, and Uspantán, located in the northern and western parts of the Republic of Guatemala.

These peasants—pure-blooded descendants of the ancestral tribes of the Ixiles and Quichés—begin their account by explaining that for more than five years they have been denouncing the robberies, rapes, burning of fields and farms, kidnappings, torture, and murder carried out with bloody fury by the Guatemalan army in that zone.

"To this series of repressive crimes," the peasants explain, "have been added two brutal deeds that have filled the entire people of Guatemala and their brothers throughout the world with indignation—the 'Chajul Massacre' committed by the National Army and the 'Spanish Embassy Massacre' committed by the National Police."

What was the "Chajul Massacre"? What brought it about?

The Indians tell in their account that only six months ago (in September 1979) their communities mobilized to go to the

Congress of the Republic and denounce the kidnapping by the National Army of nine of their compañeros, natives of the town of San Miguel Uspantán.

Not having secured any response from the "lawmakers," the Indians of northern El Quiché decided in January to hold another demonstration, and 100 of them—with the help of the popular organizations—began a fresh campaign to denounce the disappearance of their brothers.

At that time it became known that seven of the nine victims of the San Miguel Uspantán kidnapping had been transferred to the town of Chajul after being brutally tortured. Later, the National Army itself dressed them in olive green, made them walk near the city hall, ambushed and massacred them.

"Later," the Indians continue, "they placed weapons on the bodies to make it believed they were guerrillas, showed them to journalists, and buried them in two common graves in the Chajul cemetery. One of the bodies was burned. That happened on December 6 of last year."

"The indignation this massacre produced led us to visit various organizations of workers, peasants, and slum-dwellers; Christian, political, international, and student groups; and workers in the communications media. Everywhere the people lent us support, and repudiation of the crime became widespread.

"But repression was not long in coming. Threats, persecutions, raids, captures, tortures, and disappearances of those who heard and supported our denunciation proliferated.

"The newspapers and radio stations reported nothing. Some news editors openly rejected our complaints, or at best said they could do nothing because they were being seriously threatened.

"We wanted to present our denunciation to international democratic figures on the occasion of a rally organized by the Social Democratic Party in memory of its founder, Dr. Alberto Fuentes Mohr—murdered a year ago by the government of Don Romeo Lucas—but that event was violently broken up by the police."

The peasants point out that part of the government's repressive action involved the kidnapping and murder of the secretary of the Political Committee of the United Front of the Revolution (FUR), Abraham Ixcamparic. This happened only a few hours after Ixcamparic received an Indian-peasant delegation in his office.

"In face of the ongoing repression, we decided to symbolically take over the Spanish Embassy. We know the fraternal

people of Spain and their government are in solidarity with the peoples of Guatemala and Central America. In addition, our action was not organized as an act against the Spanish Embassy but rather as a symbol of confidence on the part of our humble people toward the Spanish government," the peasants say.

"So our delegation entered the embassy. It was made up of twenty-one peasants from the Ixil, Quiché, Kakchiquel, and Achi peoples; one poor white peasant, one worker, one slum-dweller, and four students.

"The Romeo Lucas government, disregarding international agreements as well as the pleas of the representative of the Spanish government, of the peasants, and of the Guatemalan public figures who were inside the building, took the embassy by assault with hundreds of heavily armed police. With lead and shrapnel they provoked the fire and the massacre of our heroic compañeros and the esteemed figures who were in the embassy."*

In their letter the Indians pledge to the people of Guatemala to keep the struggle alive and active in memory of their heroes, among whom they mention Mateo López, Salómon Tavico, and Victoriano Gómez of the Quiché people; Francisco Chen Tecu of the Achi de Rabinal people; and Juan José Yos of the southern coast.

"From the government of the rich the only thing we received were false accusations of being subversives. It did not matter to Lucas García that workers and representatives from the Spanish people or even Guatemalan ex-officials were in the embassy.

"They machine-gunned and burned our compañeros alive with incendiary bombs."

Once again—as with the Kekchis of Panzós and the Quichés of Chajul—Indians and poor whites were massacred on that January 31.

"We are ready to make the lives of our martyrs an aid to our struggle. We call on Indian and white women to follow the example of our compañeras of Chajul and of our student compañera, who broke through the silence of repression, discrimination and exploitation that our women have been suffering for 500 years.

"We honor those precious lives by organizing ourselves in every village and town, in every corner of Guatemala. We demand the National Army get out of northern Quiché and all our communities," the Guatemalan peasants conclude. □

*An account of the massacre and subsequent events appeared in the March 10 issue of *IP/I*, page 232.

Resources for Socialists

Four Pamphlets on Afghanistan

The dispatch of Soviet troops to Afghanistan at the end of 1979 obliged revolutionary socialists around the world to take a stand and to publicly explain their positions. In addition to coverage in the newspapers of the world Trotskyist movement, at least four Trotskyist groups have published pamphlets on Afghanistan.

All four reject calling for a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but within that framework the pamphlets reflect a variety of views.

The Truth About Afghanistan and the Crisis of Imperialist Domination is published by Pathfinder Press in Australia. It reprints eight articles from *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* and the New York revolutionary socialist newsweekly the *Militant* by Ernest Harsch, Steve Clark, Fred Feldman, and Doug Jenness.

Also included are two articles by Renfrey Clarke and Jim McIlroy, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Australian section of the Fourth International, as well as a Political Committee statement of the SWP entitled, "Against imperialist lies: Why we support the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan." Copies can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 757 George St., Sydney, 2000, Australia, for A\$1.00 each.

Dossier Afghanistan, Intervention Soviétique has been put out by the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International. It is a collection of articles and documents, the central one of which is a resolution adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International by a majority vote in January 1980.

Also included are a brief chronology of events in Afghanistan from the time of Amanullah Khan's accession to the throne in 1919 to Babrak Karmal's takeover in December 1979; thirteen questions and replies covering various aspects of the Soviet role and the Afghan civil war; two articles by *Rouge* correspondent Frédéric Carlier, who visited Afghanistan during the winter of 1978-79; and two documents by Leon Trotsky discussing the role of the Soviet army during World War II.

The pamphlet can be ordered from *Rouge*, 2, rue Richard-Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France, for 6 francs.

The Truth About Afghanistan, by Doug Jenness, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, presents the position of the SWP on the Afghan revolution, U.S. imperialist intervention, and the role of the Soviet troops. It outlines the development of the Afghan revolution and gives details on how Washington is backing the counterrevolutionary forces. It can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West

Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, USA, for US\$0.95.

Vad Händer i Afghanistan (What Is Going on in Afghanistan), by Håkan Blomqvist, presents the views of the Com-

End Washington's Blockade Against Cuba

The New York-based Center for Cuban Studies published a special December 1979 issue of *Cuba in Focus* that deals with the U.S. blockade against Cuba.

This eighty-page publication, in magazine format, is entitled, "The U.S. Blockade: A Documentary History." It is beautifully illustrated with large black and white photographs.

In a well-documented chronology of Washington's attempts to undermine the Cuban revolution, this publication confirms the U.S. government's key role in helping to precipitate Cuba's current economic difficulties. This is particularly timely



given the attempts by the big business press to discredit the gains of the revolution by pointing to Cuba's discussion of these problems and steps to alleviate them.

Cuba in Focus begins with the Cuban leadership's decision to expropriate the holdings of U.S. corporations in that country. Washington responded forcefully by trying to crush the revolution. The April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, followed by the 1962 October Missile Crisis, are two of the best-known examples.

The special issue also provides some background to the events that led in 1960 to Washington's total economic embargo against Cuba.

"Originally designed to strangle Cuba's development and to isolate it from the rest

of the world," the magazine states, "the embargo—or the blockade, 'el bloqueo' as the Cubans call it—has failed to achieve its objectives."

It points out that in 1960, when President Eisenhower cancelled 700,000 tons of sugar imports from Cuba, "had the Soviet Union not been willing to buy this sugar, the U.S. move would have forced the collapse of the Cuban economy."

Later that year, the U.S. government declared a ban on all exports to Cuba. *Cuba in Focus* reproduces some of the government documents that try to justify the blockade. Washington also put pressure on the Organization of American States (OAS) to join in the economic and diplomatic isolation of Cuba. Some of the resulting OAS declarations are also reproduced, along with the Cuban leadership's responses.

The rest of the publication is devoted to the impact of the blockade on Cuba. "The blockade made very clear to the Cuban people who were their friends and who their enemies, both inside and outside of Cuba," it states.

One of the most criminal aspects of the U.S. blockade was the withholding of medicines, medical supplies, and foodstuffs, resulting in a serious shortage of needed drugs.

Today more than eighty countries trade with Cuba, despite Washington's efforts. *Cuba in Focus* details the benefits for both Cuba and the United States if normal trade and diplomatic relations were established.

This useful publication can be obtained from the Center for Cuban Studies, 220 East 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010. The cost is \$2.50 per copy; or, for orders of ten or more, \$1.50 per copy.

The Center for Cuban Studies also produces other resources and sponsors political and cultural events related to Cuba. Last November it sponsored the National Conference on Cuba, attended by more than 750 people.

Six times a year, the Center publishes an informative newsletter, *Cuba Update*. Members automatically receive all Center publications, as well as discounts on graphics, books, and other items. Regular membership is \$25.00 per year; student membership is \$15.00. —Janice Lynn

Marxism and the Working Farmer

Reviewed by Michael Baumann

Marxism and the Working Farmer, an Education for Socialists bulletin prepared by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party, 1979. 62 pp. Large format paperback. Available for \$2.60 plus 50 cents postage from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Agriculture is America's largest industry. It employs a work force of some twenty million—as large as that of the steel, auto, and transport industries combined.

It is one of the most advanced industries in the country, as well. U.S. farm labor productivity has increased tenfold in the past fifty years. On average, each U.S. farmer feeds and clothes seventy-five Americans and much of the world besides.

Agriculture is also a major factor in U.S. foreign trade, and consequently in U.S. foreign policy. It accounts for 20 to 25 percent of all U.S. exports. In grain alone, U.S. merchants export more wheat and corn [maize] than the rest of the world combined.

One result of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party's turn to basic industry has been to rediscover firsthand the social and political implications behind these statistics.

SWP members working in the country's mines, mills, smelters, railyards, and plants are learning directly how U.S. industry and agriculture actually work; how goods and services are produced; who produces and distributes them; and who the working class's friends and allies are.

This experience—along with the important protests by working farmers in recent years and the capitalist rulers' increasing use of food as an international political weapon—has placed the question of agriculture and the working farmer on the party's agenda for the first time in several decades.

Marxism and the Working Farmer, an initial collection of discussion material, was published to help American revolutionists begin the process of thinking and learning about this crucial question.

This valuable compilation of Marxist literature includes documents and speeches on the agrarian question by Engels, Lenin, and Castro, as well as the report "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer" adopted by the SWP National Committee in May 1979.

The first item in the collection, Doug Jenness's report to the SWP National Committee, points out that American Trotskyists had "begun slipping into underestimating the social weight of working

farmers in the struggle to overturn capitalism" and consequently "the decisive importance of this question for the labor movement."

Part of the reason for this slip, Jenness says, is that "the number of farmers has declined so much since World War II that there's a tendency to consider the farm question in the United States and other imperialist countries as a peripheral issue. It's really only a question, it's believed, for the semicolonial countries like India, Iran, or Mexico.

"This is not true. It's not a minor nor a peripheral question, but a central one for the class struggle. It's likewise a central question for the Fourth International and its sections in imperialist countries, from New Zealand and Australia to France and Germany."

One of the first things to understand about agricultural production anywhere on the face of the globe, Jenness says, is that "farmers aren't a single class but a set of classes," encompassing both the exploiters and the exploited. In the United States, for example, the agricultural population includes the following layers:

- *Family farmers.* These are farmers who use primarily the labor of family members rather than hired labor. It is widely believed that these farmers have been virtually wiped out, replaced by the big capitalist enterprises. But nothing could be further from the truth. Family farmers are and will remain for an extended period the backbone of American agriculture (see box next page).

Although it is true that the number of farms in the United States has been drastically reduced in the last four decades, with

an average of almost 2,000 a week having been wiped out since 1935, the fact remains that family farms today account for *over half* of all U.S. farm output.

Even that figure doesn't tell the whole story, Jenness reports. In the United States, "most of certain key commodities such as wheat, corn, soy beans, milk, pork, and much of the beef are produced by family farms. Even a large portion of chickens and eggs are produced by family farmers."

- *Semiproletarian farmers.* About two-thirds of U.S. farmers obtain more than half their income from nonfarm sources, often an outside job in a nearby mine, factory, or packinghouse. "This layer of semiproletarians or worker-farmers," Jenness says, "is especially important in transmitting the problems of farmers to whole sections of the working class as well as helping to make farmers more sympathetic to the problems of wage workers."

- *Small capitalist farmers.* These are the farmers who use the labor of their families but also hire wage labor—usually in the form of crews of migrant workers, sometimes for only a few weeks out of the year. This layer exploits labor and is hostile to the efforts of farm workers to fight for a decent living. But at the same time they are also exploited by the banks, processors, and distributors.

"They are in a sense middle farmers," Jenness says, "in between the toiling independent producers who don't use wage labor and the big capitalist farms that regularly employ wage labor and are often owned and operated by big monopoly corporations. Furthermore, they aren't a homogeneous category. The smaller ones, who hire small amounts of wage labor for short periods and depend primarily on family labor, have many points in common with working farmers."

- *Big capitalist farmers.* These are the



Wheat fields being harvested.

large monopolies, represented in the United States by such corporations as Tenneco and Del Monte, which operate seed-to-supermarket operations. Accounting for a large proportion of the fruit and vegetables produced in the United States, "they own the land, contract for the labor they need, and directly process and sell the produce themselves. Some giants like Tenneco also own their own farm equipment, fertilizer, and pesticide companies."

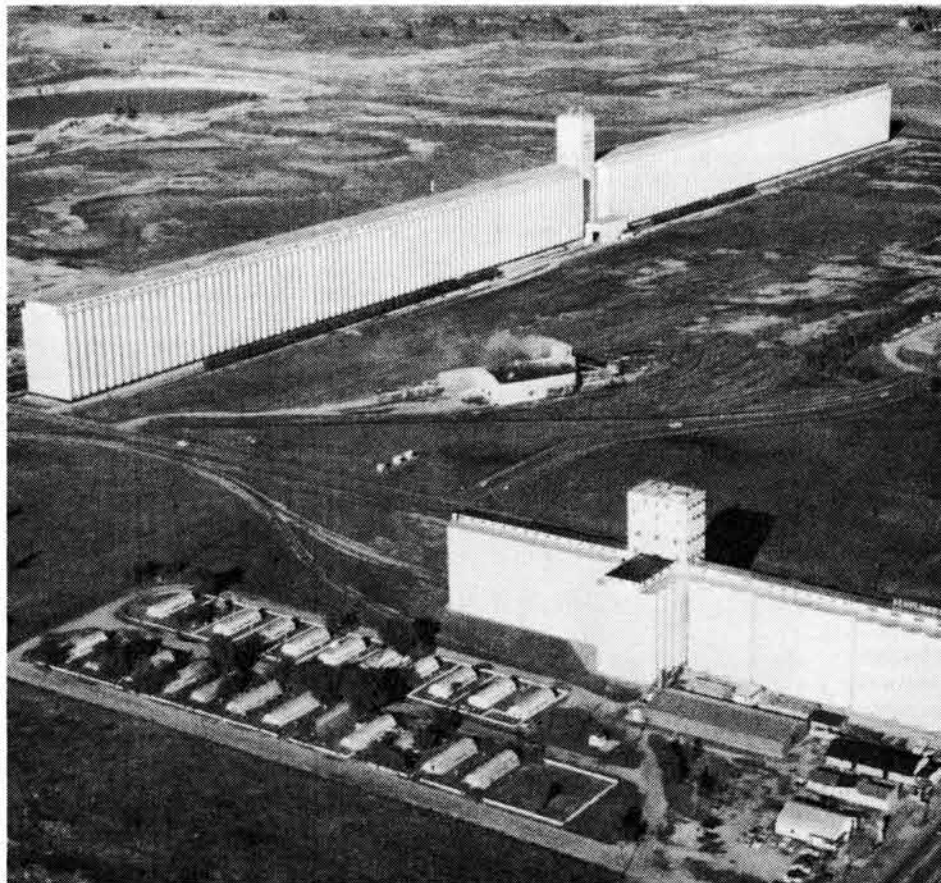
• *Agricultural wage workers.* This layer, numbering about three million in the U.S., is an integral part of the working class. But because of the failure of the American trade-union leadership to mobilize behind them, they suffer some of the worst working conditions in the country:

"Wages are low while health and safety conditions are atrocious. There are no unemployment or health benefits. They have little protection against the arbitrary and sometimes savage treatment of the overseers hired by the growers to supervise work. And they are made the victims of increased productivity resulting from the greater mechanization of agricultural production. The worst conditions are suffered by the migrant workers, who move from one part of the country to another following the harvests."

From the capitalist standpoint, there are three excellent reasons why family farms will continue to play a dominant role in American agriculture.

The first is that under the present setup, the banks and big monopolies can get working farmers to shoulder all the risks associated with farming—ranging from bad weather and crop failure to unstable market conditions, taxes, and high interest.

The second is that members of the farm family aren't paid an hourly wage. "Because the farm is theirs," Jenness points out, "they put out a tremendous amount of work, fourteen, sixteen hours a day if necessary, during planting or harvest time. As property owners and as owners of the product they produce, they feel responsible for the farm—its machinery and land—and for organizing production."



Kansas grain elevators. Elevator at top is nearly one-half mile long.

The third advantage for the monopoly capitalists is that "family farmers are less likely than wage workers to organize collectively against them. They can put the squeeze on working farmers and face less risk of strikes, union organization, etc. The wage worker, who sells his labor power, doesn't feel that he owns, controls, or has any rights regarding the product he produces. But the working farmer does feel that he owns the product. . . . He is therefore much more concerned if it is destroyed as the result of protests against his exploiters."

Although the capitalist rulers try to get the farmer to see himself as a "business-

man," the truth is that he is not a capitalist, not even a small capitalist.

Working farmers, Jenness explains, "don't accumulate capital, hire labor, or realize profit. They're not exploiters, but exploited. With their labor, with the work of their hands, they create a product. They sell their product in the market, but only get a small portion of it back for their own account. The rest is expropriated from them—stolen from them—along the way by the banks and trusts."

The banks take their cut through interest payments. To buy new equipment and more land to compete effectively, and to raise money for operating expenses, working farmers must borrow against the next year's crop. They are always paying interest. They never climb out of debt. They are, in Engel's words, "debt slaves."

The big corporations take their cut through monopoly-rigged prices for farm machinery, feed, pesticide, and fuel.

At the other end of the vise, working farmers are squeezed by the big processors and merchandizing trusts, who keep the prices they pay for agricultural goods as low as possible.

The result is that farmers' costs of production keep soaring, while the prices they receive don't keep up with the costs. Farmers protesting this situation have summed up their plight in the expression: "We buy retail, sell wholesale, and pay the freight both ways."

Family Farm—Basic Unit of U.S. Agriculture

"So the bigger farms get, the better? No. The evidence suggests that though a medium sized farm (the definition of which varies with geography and the crop) is usually more efficient than a small farm, large farms, especially corporate-sized *latifundia*, are less efficient than medium-sized farms. . . .

"The idea that faceless corporations are taking over American agriculture is a myth. Slightly more than 1% of all farms

in America are corporate farms accounting for 15% of total cash receipts, but over 90% are owned by fewer than 10 shareholders. This suggests that most corporate farms are really family owned and that the consolidation of American farms into cumbersome units is due not to giant corporations investing in farming but to the expansion of family farms." ("World Champions: A survey of American farming," in the *Economist*, January 5, 1980.)

A correct understanding of the way in which farmers are exploited is a prerequisite to adopting a correct approach to them and their problems.

"We approach the working farmer as a fellow worker," Jenness says, as fellow "victims of capitalism."

"Their sons go to war. Their daughters are denied equal rights. They too suffer from the shortages and breakdowns capitalism inflicts on all working people."

The practical lesson here is that labor's program for agriculture "must be the promise to working farmers that a workers government won't expropriate them; that it won't take away their land, machinery and livestock; and that it won't turn them out and make their farms state property."

Socialists must make crystal clear that they totally reject the Stalinist policy of forced collectivization—that this destructive bureaucratic course has nothing in common with revolutionary Marxists' approach to the farm question.

The big capitalist farm *will*, under a workers government, be expropriated and placed under workers management. But the exploited farmer will remain the owner of his own farm as long as he wishes.

"This is not because we cherish the moral virtues of family farming," Jenness explains, "nor because we think private ownership in agriculture is necessarily more efficient from a technical and economic standpoint."

"Our approach is totally *political*. It is designed to win the confidence and support of exploited farmers, to show we are reliable protectors of their vital interests. Without this position, working farmers can be driven into supporting the bourgeoisie, and even fascism, as the class polarization deepens."

American socialists' pledge to the working farmer is a genuine commitment, he adds. It "isn't a formality or a tongue-in-cheek concession to get them to join with us in the struggle for power. . . . Such a pledge must be backed up by . . . an energetic policy of aiding the farmers, offering low-interest credit, elimination of all taxes, free medical care and full retirement pensions."

Even though there are relatively few farmers in relation to the general population, they have the power, if turned against the working class, to prevent food from reaching the cities—making it impossible for working people to take and hold power. This underscores the fact that a correct program for them is a life or death matter for the working class—certainly not a peripheral question.

The remaining items in the collection demonstrate how revolutionary leaderships in the past—and in Cuba today—have dealt with the agrarian question, both in theory and practice.

Engels's "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" takes up the question of farmers in two imperialist countries

Worker and Farmer Unity in Grenada

[Forging an alliance between workers, farmers, and agricultural laborers is a major question facing the revolution in the Caribbean nation of Grenada. The following article appeared under the headline "End This Exploitation!" in the February 9 issue of the *New Jewel*, the weekly publication of Grenada's New Jewel Movement (NJM). It was submitted to the *New Jewel* by the NJM's Farmers Committee.]

* * *

Farmers in Grenada are exploited everyday by Imperialism. This monster that sucks the blood of us poor countries, exploits both the agricultural workers and the farmers alike—all who work the land suffer. This is why you always hear NJM calling for the unity of agricultural workers and farmers against Imperialism, although there are a few who would like to see workers and farmers fighting against each other.

Farmer, ask yourself one question: *Who is responsible for the low price that you receive for your products?* The big foreign shipping and marketing companies of course! Yes, it is the Imperialist countries big companies, like Geest, who buy our bananas, nutmeg and cocoa dirt cheap. They pay us little or nothing for our food crop, at the same time they sell our bananas at sky-high prices in Britain. And when they can sell our cocoa they make millions of dollars in profits from selling milo and cocoa-powder all over the world, including to us!

Now look at the price you pay for seeds, fertilisers and sprays from the Imperialist countries. It is a burden on the back of the farmers. It is difficult to buy enough even for the smallest piece of land.

The price of other foods we eat are also fixed by the Imperialists.

So when farmers and agricultural workers alike go into a store to shop, they both have to scrimp in their pockets to find enough to buy food. The high prices are the direct result of Imperialist companies greed for big profits—at our expense.

We urge all farmers to unite with agricultural workers to fight Imperialism, we have one common enemy that has exploited us for many years. *The low prices received for our food crops, the high prices we pay for manufactured goods, the undeveloped state of our country are all the responsibilities of the Imperialist companies and their countries.*

Those who are trying to create division among the ranks are assisting the Imperialists in keeping us backward; some tell the farmers that it is the workers who are causing all the problems by asking for more wages. But we know that both agricultural workers and most farmers are poor. *Both need better incomes. We say that the root of the problem is Imperialism! We accuse Imperialism of exploiting us by buying our crops for pennies.*

We say, End this exploitation now!!

Workers and farmers unite to fight imperialism!!

Long live the revolution!!

near the turn of the century. It is particularly helpful in showing how to sort out the various strata in the countryside and in explaining why forced collectivization would be a disastrous error.

Lenin's "Theses on the Agrarian Question" (adopted at the second congress of the Comintern in 1920) and "Report on Work in the Countryside" provide a clear account of how the Bolsheviks approached the peasantry during the consolidation of the Soviet workers state.

The two speeches by Castro, long out of print in English, describe the land reform program carried out in Cuba after the revolution. The big landlords were expropriated and state farms and cooperatives were established. But thousands of small farmers—whether owners, renters, or squatters—were given deeds to the land they worked and all their taxes were abolished.

Castro, describing the Cubans' approach in a 1962 speech, put it this way:

"Now the counterrevolutionaries say to the farmers, this is socialism and they are going to socialize the land. But we say this clearly to the small farmers: 'Don't believe those tales; this is socialism and for this very reason we are not going to take your land. Why? Because you, the farmer, are an ally of the working class, because you, the small farmer, do not exploit anybody: you work with the help of your family and you produce. The working class is not going to take your land away from you; on the contrary, the working class grants you loans, sends you doctors, builds roads for you, educates your children, buys your products, pays you good prices, and strives to give you the supplies you need.' This is what the worker says to the farmer."

The policies of the Cuban government as explained in the two speeches reprinted in this volume are among the most recent and effective examples socialists can point to of how a workers government will approach the working farmers. □

DOCUMENTS

From the 'Chicago Tribune'

An Interview With Karl Marx From 1879

[The following interview with Karl Marx appeared in the January 5, 1879, issue of the *Chicago Tribune*—some four years before his death in March 1883. There are no known references to the interview in any of Marx's or Engels's papers and correspondence, and it was not until 1964 that scholars rediscovered its existence. Except for a typewritten academic paper, the entire interview has, to the best of our knowledge, never been republished in English. The notes and text are taken from the typewritten version.]

* * *
KARL MARX

- Interview with the Corner-Stone of Modern Socialism¹
- He Gives Some Information as to the Doings and Objects of Himself and His Disciples—
- The Recent System of Land and Capital to Give Place to "A Higher Social Condition."—
- Blood Will Flow, Because "No Great Movement Has Ever Been Inaugurated Without Bloodshed."—
- Bismarck "The Ridicule of All Statesmen"; and the Rev. Joseph Cook "A Very Badly Informed Man."—

London, Dec. 18—In a little villa at Haverstock Hill, in the northwest portion of London lives Karl Marx, the cornerstone of modern Socialism. He was exiled from his native country—Germany—in 1844, for propagating revolutionary theories. In 1848 he returned, but in a few months was again exiled. He then took up his abode in Paris, but his political theories procured his expulsion from that city in 1849, and since that year his headquarters have been in London. His convictions have caused him trouble from the beginning. Judging from the appearance of his home, they certainly have not brought him affluence. Persistently during all these years he has advocated his views with an earnestness which undoubtedly springs from a firm belief in them, and, however much we may deprecate their propagation we cannot but respect to a certain extent the self denial of the now venerated exile.

The correspondent has called upon him thrice, and each time the doctor was found

in his library with a book in one hand and a cigarette in the other. He must be over 70 years of age.² His physique is well knit, massive, and erect. He has the head of a man of intellect, and the features of a cultivated Jew. His hair and beard are long and iron gray in color. His eyes are glittering black, shaded by a pair of bushy eyebrows. To a stranger he shows extreme caution. A foreigner can generally gain admission; but the ancient looking German woman, who waits upon visitors, has instructions to admit none who hail from the Fatherland, unless they bring letters of introduction. Once into his library, however, and having fixed his one eyeglass in the corner of his eye, in order to take your intellectual breadth and depth, so to speak he loses that self-restraint, and unfolds to you a knowledge of men and things throughout the world apt to interest one. And his conversation does not run in one groove, but is as varied as are the volumes upon his library shelf. A man can generally be judged by the books he reads, and you can form your own conclusions when I tell you a casual glance revealed Shakespeare, Dickens, Thackeray, Moliere, Racine, Montaigne, Bacon, Goethe, Voltaire, Paine; English, American, French blue-books; works political and philosophical in Russian, German, Spanish, Italian, etc., etc. During my conversations I was struck with his intimacy with American questions which have been uppermost during the past twenty years. His knowledge of them, and surprising accuracy with which he criticised our National and State legislation, impressed upon my mind the fact that he must have derived his information from inside sources.³ But, indeed, this knowledge is not confined to America, but is spread over the face of Europe. When

2. Marx was 61 years old having been born in Trier on May 5, 1818.

3. Marx had a wide circle of friends in the United States and he corresponded regularly with many of them. F.A. Sorge, former Secretary General of the International, and G.J. Harney, the former Chartist leader, were particularly helpful concerning American affairs because they sent government documents and legal texts to Marx. He also received official documents from Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. Marx required such material because of his work on volume two of *Capital*. See Letters: Marx to Sorge, October 19, 1877 and September 19, 1879; also, Marx to Engels, August 25, 1879.

speaking of his hobby—Socialism—he does not indulge in those melodramatic flights generally attributed to him, but dwells upon his utopian plans for "the emancipation of the human race" with a gravity and an earnestness indicating a firm conviction in the realization of his theories, if not this century at least the next.

Perhaps Dr. Karl Marx is better known in America as the author of "Capital" and the founder of the International Society [First International—*IP/I*], or at least its most prominent pillar. In the interview which follows, you will see what he says of this Society as it at present exists. However in the meantime, I will give you a few extracts from the printed general rules of the International Society, published in 1871, by order of the General Council, from which you can form an impartial judgment of its aims and ends. The preamble sets forth "That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule; that the ecumenical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor—that is the sources of life—lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence; that all efforts aiming at the universal emancipation of the working classes have hitherto failed from want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country," and the preamble calls for "the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements." It goes on to say that the International Association acknowledge "no rights without duties, no duties without rights,"—thus making every member a worker. The Association was formed at London "to afford a central medium of communication and cooperation between the Workingmen's Societies in the different countries, aiming at the same end, namely: the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working class." "Each member," the document further says, "of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the associated workingmen."

The society consists of a General Congress, which meets annually; a General

1. The *Chicago Tribune*: Sunday, January 5, 1879, Vol. VI, #6, Page 7.

Council, which forms "an international agency between different national and local groups of the Association, so that the workingmen in one country can be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country." This council receives and acts upon applications of new Branches or Sections, and, in fact, to use an American phrase, "runs the machine." The expenses of the General Council are defrayed by an annual contribution of an English penny per member. Then comes the Federal Councils of Committees, and local Sections in the various countries. The Federal Councils are bound to send one report at least every month to the General Council, and every three months a report on the administration and financial state of their respective branches. Whenever attacks against the Internationals are published, the nearest branch or committee is bound to send at once a copy of such publication to the General Council. The formation of Female Branches among the working classes is recommended.

The General Council comprises the following: R. Applegarth, M.T. Boon, Frederick Bradnick, G.H. Buttery, E. Delabays, Eugene Dupont (on mission), William Hales, G. Harris, Huliman, Jules Johannard, Harriet Law, Frederick Lessner, Lochner, Charles Longuet, C. Martin, Zevy Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfander, John Roach, Ruhl Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, John Weston. The Corresponding Secretaries for the various countries are: Leo Frankel, for Austria and Hungary; A. Herman, Belgium; T. Mottershead, Denmark; A. Serrailier, France; Karl Marx, Germany and Russia; Charles Rochat, Holland; J.P. McDonnell, Ireland; Frederick Engels, Italy and Spain; Walery Wroblewski, Poland; Herman Jung, Switzerland; J.G. Ecarius, United States; Le Moussu, for French branches of United States.

During my visit to Dr. Marx I alluded to the platform given by J.C. Bancroft Davis in his official report of 1877, as the clearest and most concise exposition of Socialism that I had seen.⁴ He said it was taken from the report of the Socialist reunion [conference—IP/I] at Gotha, Germany, in May 1875. The translation was incorrect, he said, and he volunteered a correction, which I append as he dictated.⁵

4. John Chandler Bancroft Davis was the American Ambassador in Berlin from 1874 to 1877. A discussion of German Socialism was part of his official report of February 10, 1877 to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish. The report can be found in: United States State Department, *Papers relating to Foreign Relations of the United States*, Washington, 1877, #111, pp. 175-180.

5. The *Programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany* was drafted early in 1875 and criticized by Marx in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* on May 5th. The Programme was adopted by a Unity Congress of the Eisenacher



German Socialist Ferdinand Lassalle.

First—Universal, direct, and secret suffrage for all males over 20 years, for all elections, Municipal and State.

Second—Direct legislation by the people.⁶ War and peace to be made by direct popular vote.

Third—Universal obligation to militia duty. No standing army.

Fourth—Abolition of all special legislation regarding press laws and public meetings.

Fifth—Legal remedies free of expense. Legal proceedings to be conducted by the people.

Sixth—Education to be by the State,—general, obligatory, and free. Freedom of [con]science and religion.⁷

Seventh—All indirect taxes to be abolished. Money to be raised for State and

and Lassalean Parties at Gotha on May 25, 1875. It consisted of a preamble in three sections plus a set of Socialist demands in two parts. Part A included six demands for the "foundation of the State"; Part B listed eight articles to be realized "within existing society." It is these 14 demands which Marx has summarized.

6. This sentence included the words "with the right of initiating proposals and veto."

7. In its final edition the words "Freedom of Conscience" in article six were replaced by the "Declaration that religion is a private matter." In his *Critique* Marx said that "the Workers' Party ought to have expressed its consciousness of the fact that bourgeois 'freedom of conscience' is nothing but the toleration of all possible kinds of religious freedom of conscience and that for its part it endeavors rather to liberate the conscience from the spectre of religion. But there is a desire not to transgress the 'bourgeois' level."

Municipal purposes by a direct progressive income tax.

Eighth—Freedom of combination among the working classes.

Ninth—The legal day of labor for men to be defined. The work of women to be limited, and that of children to be abolished.

Tenth—Sanitary laws for the protection of life and health of laborers, and regulation of their dwellings and places of labor, to be enforced by persons selected by them.

In Mr. Bancroft Davis' report there is a Twelfth Clause, the most important of all, which read: "State aid and credit for industrial societies, under democratic direction." I asked the Doctor why he omitted this, and he replied:

"When the reunion took place at Gotha, in 1875, there existed a division among the Social Democrats. The one wing were partisans of Lassalle, the others, those who had accepted in general the programme of the International organization, and were called the Eisenach party. That twelfth point was not placed on the platform but placed in the general introduction by way of concession to the Lassallians. Afterwards it was never spoken of. Mr. Davis does not say that it was placed in the programme as a compromise having no particular significance, but gravely puts it in as one of the cardinal principles of the programme.

"But," I said "Socialists generally look upon the transformation of the means of labor into the common property of society as the grand climax of the movement."

"Yes; we say that this will be the outcome of the movement, but it will be a question of time, of education and the institution of a higher social status."

"This platform," I remarked, "applies only to Germany and one or two other countries."

"Ah!" he returned, "if you draw your conclusions from nothing but this, you know nothing of the activity of the party. Many of its points have no significance outside of Germany. Spain, Russia, England, and America have platforms suited to their peculiar difficulties. The only similarity in them is the end to be attained."

"And that is the supremacy of labor?"

"That is the Emancipation of Labor."

"Do European Socialists look upon the movement in America as a serious one?"

"Yes, it is the natural outcome of the country's development. It has been said that the movement has been imported by foreigners. When labor movements became disagreeable in England, fifty years ago, the same thing was said: and that was long before Socialism was spoken of. In America, since 1857, only has the labor

8. Another demand was included in the original programme but is missing above. It asks for "full self-government for all workers aid and friendly societies."

movement become conspicuous.⁹ Then Trades-Unions began to flourish then Trades Assemblies were formed, in which the workers in different industries united; and after that came National Labor Unions. If you consider this chronological progress, you will see that Socialism has sprung up in that country without the aid of foreigners, and was merely caused by the concentration of capital and the changed relations between the workmen and their employers."

"Now," asked your correspondent, "What has Socialism done so far?"

"Two things," he returned. "Socialists have shown the general universal struggle between capital and labor. The Cosmopolitan Character in one[s] work—and consequently tried to bring about an understanding between the workmen in different countries, which became more necessary as the capitalists became more cosmopolitan in hiring labor, pitting foreign against native labor not only in America, but in England, France and Germany. International relations sprang up at once between the workmen in the different countries, showing that Socialism was not merely a local, but an international problem to be solved by the international action of workmen. The working classes moved spontaneously, without knowing what the ends of the movement will be. The Socialists invent no movement, but merely tell the workmen what its character and its ends will be."

"Which means the overthrowing of the present social system," I interrupted.

"This system of land and capital in the hands of employers on the one hand," he continued, "and the mere working power in the hands of the laborers to sell as a commodity, we claim is merely an historical phase, which will pass away and give place to a Higher Social Condition. We see every where a division of society. The antagonism of the two classes goes hand in hand with the development of the industrial resources of modern countries. From a Socialistic standpoint the means already exist to revolutionize the present historical phase. Upon Trades-Unions, in many countries, have been built political organizations. In America the need of an independent Workingmen's party has been made manifest. They can no longer trust politicians. Rings and cliques have seized

9. The discovery of gold in California and an increase in railroad construction combined in 1850-51 to produce a sharp inflation of living costs. This provided the extra impulse for a fresh organizing campaign among workers and a movement to raise wages. Periods of depression, in 1854-55 and particularly the severe unemployment of 1857, dealt hard blows to the Trade Unions and many collapsed. Those that survived however were increasingly successful in keeping wages up. Despite the Civil War, national trade associations and city-wide federations continued to function and Unionization spread under the economic boom of the war years.

upon the Legislature, and politics has been made a trade. But America is not alone in this, only its people are more decisive than Europeans. Things come to the surface quicker. There is less cant and hypocrisy than there is on this side of the ocean."

I asked him to give me a reason for the rapid growth of the Socialistic party in Germany, when he replied: "The present Socialistic party came last. Theirs was not the Utopian scheme which made some headway in France and England.—The German mind is given to theorizing, more than that of other peoples. From previous experience the Germans evolved something practical. This modern capitalistic system, you must recollect, is quite new in Germany in comparison to other States. Questions were raised which had become almost antiquated in France and England, and political influences to which these States had yielded sprang into life when the working classes of Germany had become imbued with Socialistic theories. Therefore, from the beginning almost of modern industrial development, they have formed an Independent Political Party. They had their own representatives in the German Parliament. There was no party to oppose the policy of the Government, and this devolved upon them. To trace the course of the party would take a long time, but I may say this: that, if the middle classes of Germany were not the greatest cowards, distinct from the middle classes of America and England, all the political work against the Government should have been done by them."

I asked him a question regarding the numerical strength of the Lassallians in the ranks of the Internationalists.

"The party of Lassalle," he replied, "does not exist. Of course there are some believers in our ranks, but the number is small. Lassalle anticipated our general principles. When he commenced to move after the reaction of 1848, he fancied that he could more successfully revive the movement by advocating co-operation of the workingmen in industrial enterprises. It was to stir them into activity. He looked upon this merely as a means to the real end of the movement. I have letters from him to this effect."

"You would call it his nostrum?"¹⁰

"Exactly. He called upon Bismarck, told him what he designed, and Bismarck encouraged Lassalle's course at that time in every possible way."

"What was his object?"

"He wished to use the working classes as a set-off against the middle classes who instigated the troubles of 1848."

"It is said that you are the head and front of Socialism, Doctor, and from your villa here pull the wires of all the associa-

10. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Marx called this quack cure-all of co-operation "the remedy of the Prophet."

tions, revolutions, etc., now going on. What do you say about it?"

The old gentleman smiled: "I know it. It is very absurd; yet it has a comic side. For two months previous to the attempts of Hoedel, Bismarck complained in his "North German Gazette" that I was in League with Father Beck, the leader of the Jesuit movement, and that we were keeping the Socialist movement in such a condition that he could do nothing with it."

"But your International Society in London directs the movement."

"The International Society has outlived its usefulness and exists no longer.¹¹ It did exist and direct the movement; but the growth of Socialism of late years has been so great that its existence has become unnecessary. Newspapers have been started in the various countries. These are interchanged. That is about the only connection the parties in the different countries have with one another. The International Society, in the first instance was created to bring the workmen together, and show the advisability of effecting organization among their various nationalities. The interests of each party in the different countries have no similarity. This spectre of the Internationalist leaders sitting at London is a mere invention. It is true, that we dictated to foreign societies when the Internationalist organization was first accomplished. We were forced to exclude some sections in New York, among them one in which Madame Woodhull was conspicuous.¹² That was in 1871. There are several American politicians—I will not name them—who wish to trade in the movement. They are well known to American Socialists."

"You and your followers, Dr. Marx, have been credited with all sorts of incendiary speeches against religion. Of course you would like to see the whole system destroyed root and branch."

"We know," he replied after a moment's

11. The Hague Congress of September, 1872 was the last full meeting of the First International. The Congress focused on a struggle over the power of the General Council. Marxists fought to hold the organization together while Bakunists wished to decentralize. This struggle showed the symptom of disintegration which would dissolve the International as a coherent body in 1876.

12. Victoria Woodhull (1838-1927) was a bourgeois American feminist, businesswoman, and radical faddist. Marx described her as "a banker's woman, free-lover, and general humbug." Backed by Cornelius Vanderbilt, she ran a brokerage firm, and a newspaper—Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly. In 1871 she attempted to seize leadership of the North American Federation of the International through her control of section 12 in New York. Section 12 was finally expelled from the International by the General Council as part of the struggle over Anarchism at the Hague Congress in May, 1872. Marx's attack was made in May, 1872 and is in *Documents of the 1st International* (Moscow, 1964), V. 323.

hesitation, "that violent measures against religion are nonsense; but this is an opinion: as Socialism grows, Religion will disappear. Its disappearance must be done by social development, in which education must play a great part."

"The Rev. Joseph Cook,¹³ of Boston—you know him."

"We heard of him; a very badly informed man upon the subject of Socialism."

"In a lecture lately upon the subject, he said, 'Karl Marx is credited now with saying that, in the United States, and in Great Britain, and perhaps in France, a reform of labor will occur without bloody revolution, but that blood must be shed in Germany and in Russia and in Italy, and in Austria.'"

"No Socialist," remarked the Doctor, smiling, "need predict that there will be a bloody revolution in Russia, Germany, Austria, and possibly in Italy if the Italians keep on in the policy they are now pursuing. The deeds of the French Revolution may be enacted again in those countries. That is apparent to any political student. But those revolutions will be made by the majority. No revolution can be made by a party, but by a Nation."

"The reverend gentleman alluded to," I remarked, "Gave an extract from a letter which he said you addressed to the Communists of Paris in 1871. Here it is: 'We are as yet but 8,000 at most. In twenty years we shall be 50,000,000—100,000,000 perhaps. Then the world will belong to us, for it will be not only Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, which will rise against odious capital, but Berlin, Munich, Dresden, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Brussels, St. Petersburg, New York,—in short the whole world. And before this new insurrection, such as history has not yet known, the past will disappear like a hideous nightmare: for the popular conflagration kindled at a hundred points at once, will destroy even its memory.' Now, Doctor, I suppose you admit the authorship of that extract?"

"I never wrote a word of it. I never write such melodramatic nonsense. I am very careful what I do write. That was put in 'La Figaro', over my signature, about that time. There were hundreds of the same kind of letters flying about then. I wrote to the London *Times* and declared they were forgeries; but, if I denied everything that

13. Joseph Cook (1838-1901) was a professional lecturer and evangelist. He held the Boston Monday Lectureship, begun in 1874, for nearly twenty years while also touring the United States and the world. Cook spoke on every conceivable topic concerning Religion and Science. His goal was to demonstrate that Christianity, including the Bible, is in complete harmony with modern scholarship. Cook's lectures quickly became so popular with a broad middle class audience, who considered him an expert on labor and socialism, that they were republished in newspapers across the country. See: *Boston Monday Lectures*, 11 volumes. Houghton, Osgood, & Co., Boston, 1877-1888.



Victoria Woodhull: Marx opposed efforts by her anarchist tendency to take over the section of the First International in the United States.

has been said and written of me, I would require a score of secretaries."

"But you have written in sympathy with the Paris Communists."

"Certainly I have, in consideration of what was written of them in leading articles; but the correspondence from Paris in English papers is quite sufficient to refute the blunders propagated in editorials. The Commune killed only about sixty people; Marshal MacMahon and his slaughtering army killed over 60,000. There has never been a movement so slandered as that of the Commune."

"Well, then, to carry out the principles of Socialism, do its believers advocate assassination and bloodshed?"

"No great movement," Karl Marx answered, "has ever been inaugurated without bloodshed. The independence of America was won by bloodshed, Napoleon captured France through a bloody process, and he was overthrown by the same means. Italy, England, Germany, and every other country gives proof of this, and as for assassination," he went on to say, "it is not a new thing, I need scarcely say. Orsini tried to kill Napoleon; Kings have killed more than anybody else; the Jesuits have killed; the Puritans killed at the time of Cromwell, these deeds were all done or attempted before Socialism was known. Every attempt, however, now made upon a Royal or State individual is attributed to Socialism. The Socialists would regret very much the death of the German Emperor at the present time. He is very useful where he is; and Bismarck has done more for the cause than any other statesman, by driving things to extremes."

I asked Dr. Marx what he thought of Bismarck. He replied that "Napoleon was considered a genius until he fell; then he was called a fool. Bismarck will follow in his wake. He began by building up a despotism under the plea of unification.

His course has been plain to all. The last move is but an attempted imitation of a coup d'etat; but it will fail. The Socialists of Germany, as of France, protested against the war of 1870 as merely dynastic. They issued manifestoes foretelling the German people that if they allowed the pretended war of defense to be turned into a war of conquest, they would be punished by the establishment of military despotism and the ruthless oppression of the productive masses. The Social Democratic party in Germany, thereupon holding meetings and publishing manifestoes for an honorable peace with France, were at once prosecuted by the Prussian Government, and many of the leaders imprisoned. Still their Deputies alone dared to protest, and very vigorously too, in the German Reichstag, against the forcible annexation of French provinces. However, Bismarck carried his policy by force, and people spoke of the genius of a Bismarck. The war was fought, and, when he could make no more conquests, he was called upon for original ideas, and he has signally failed. The people began to lose faith in him. His popularity was on the wane. He needs money, and the State needs it. Under a sham Constitution he has taxed the people for his military and unification plans until he can tax them no longer, and now he seeks to do it with no Constitution at all. For the purpose of levying as he chooses he has raised the ghost of Socialism, and has done everything in his power to create an emeute [uprising—IP/I]."

"You have continual advices from Berlin?"

"Yes," he said; "my friends keep me well advised. It is in a perfectly quiet state, and Bismarck is disappointed. He has expelled forty-eight prominent men,—among them Deputies Hasselman and Fritsche, and Rakow, Bauman, and Auar, of the *Freie Presse*.¹⁴ These men kept the workmen of Berlin quiet. Bismarck knew this. He also knew that there were 75,000 workmen in that city upon the verge of starvation. Once those leaders were gone, he was confident that the mob would rise, and that would be the cue for a carnival of slaughter. The screws would then be put upon the whole German Empire; his pet theory of blood and iron would then have full sway, and taxation could be levied to any extent. So far no emeute has occurred, and he stands today confounded at the situation and the ridicule of all statesmen." H.¹⁵ □

14. In his autobiography August Bebel, founder of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, wrote: "67 of our well known fellow party members. . . within 48 hours," (*Aus Meinem Leber*, Stuttgart, 1914, Vol. 3, page 24). Either Marx or the correspondent had confused the two numbers.

15. According to the Research Division of the *Tribune* there is no clue as to the identity of the correspondent "H".

STOP NUCLEAR POWER!

Freeze on Uranium Mining Won in British Columbia

A big victory was won in Canada's western province of British Columbia (B.C.) February 27 when the provincial government announced a seven-year moratorium on all uranium mining and exploration there.

The decision froze the proposed development of uranium deposits near the town of Kelowna, where reserves are estimated at about 10.5 million pounds of uranium oxide.

The April 1 *Socialist Voice*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International, reports that the decision was hailed by the environmental movement, the B.C. Federation of Labor, Native American groups, and the B.C. New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party.

In September 1979, the B.C. NDP convention had passed a resolution submitted by the International Woodworkers of America calling for a complete ban on uranium exploration and mining, and nuclear power.

The B.C. Federation of Labor issued a statement saying only the companies benefit from uranium mining "at the price of people, communities, and the environment."

The United Steelworkers, and the Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical and Allied Workers, which represents miners in British Columbia, also took positions against the opening of any uranium mine.

Community meetings, conferences, and demonstrations helped mobilize public opposition.

The victory in British Columbia shows that mass action, backed by the power of the labor movement, can successfully take on the nuclear industry and win.

20,000 Rally Against Nuclear Power in Britain

On the first anniversary of the near-disaster at Three Mile Island, 20,000 anti-nuclear demonstrators gathered in Britain to commemorate "Harrisburg Day" and oppose the Tory government's plans to introduce pressurized water reactors to Britain. The government wants to install 20 new nuclear power stations in the country.

The reasons for the government's nuclear program were revealed in leaked Cabinet minutes that said, "A nuclear programme would have the advantage of removing a substantial portion of electricity production from the dangers of disruption by industrial action by coal miners or transport workers."

At the March 29 rally, speakers stressed the importance of the environmental movement uniting with the trade unions to oppose nuclear power.

This was the biggest antinuclear power demonstration ever in Britain and as the April 3 British weekly, *Socialist Challenge* reports, "... the anti-nuclear movement has now shown that in Britain, as elsewhere in West Europe and in the United States, it is a force to be reckoned with."

Apologists for Nuclear Industry
The Atomic Industrial Forum (AIF) is "composed of organizations and individuals interested in the development and utilization of commercial nuclear energy" in the United States and some twenty other countries.

The map on this page, revealing the extent of the U.S. nuclear industry today, was published by the AIF in a recent pamphlet, "Electricity from Nuclear Power." This publication also includes more detailed regional maps, information on ownership, and other material of use to antinuclear activists.

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The AIF also prints a monthly newsletter called *INFO* that tries to justify the use of nuclear power and gives facts and figures on the nuclear industry.

Seeking to show support for nuclear power among residents living near the Three Mile Island (TMI) reactor, for example, the March issue quotes a Middletown, Pennsylvania, housewife—who also happens to be a member of President Carter's Commission to Investigate the Accident at Three Mile Island. She complains about the media's TMI coverage because "most of the news is negative. . . ."

The AIF newsletter also contains an item accusing television news reports of contributing to "irrational, phobic fears about nuclear energy—or 'nuclear phobia.'"

And, an item mentioning a longer article on what AIF terms "the anti-nuclear trend among the various groups of the New Left."

Copies of AIF publications are available upon request by writing to AIF, 7101 Wisconsin Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20014.

Nuclear Power Plants in the United States



Key
● With Operating Licenses
○ With Construction Permits
□ Limited Work Authorizations
△ On Order
A Letters of Intent Options

72 Reactors with operating licenses
91 Reactors with construction permits
4 Reactors with limited work authorizations
25 Reactors on order (including 2 units not sited on map)
192 Total

January 1, 1980