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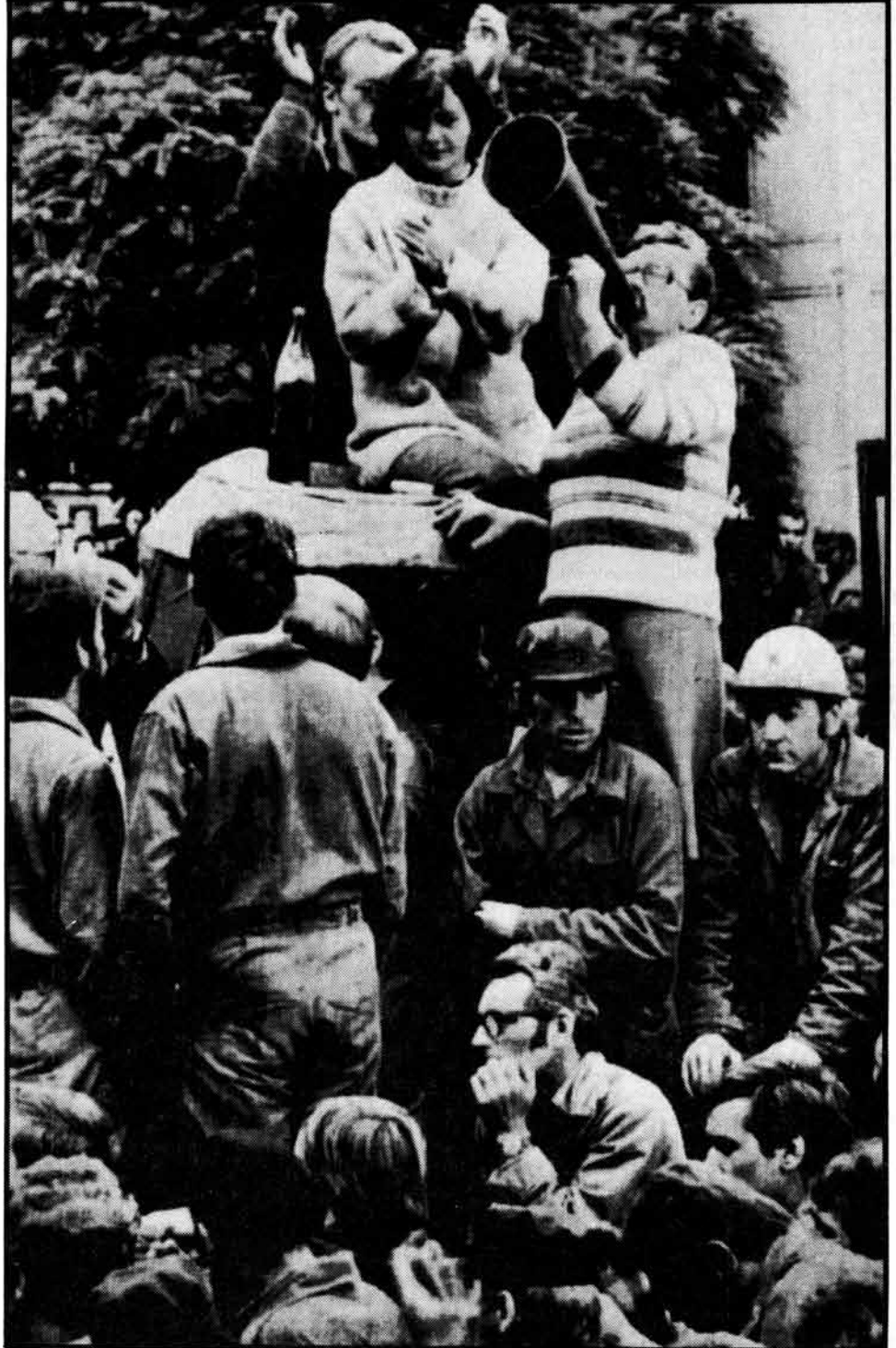
## **Bolivia Under Military Heel**

*Full Text of  
Fidel Castro's  
July 26 Speech*

**'What Happened  
in Chile  
Can Never  
Happen in  
Nicaragua'**

**Workers Flex  
Muscles in  
South Africa**

## **POLISH WORKERS FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS**



## U.S. Columnist Reveals Secret Iran Raid Plans

By Janice Lynn

"A startling, top-secret plan to invade Iran with a powerful military force" was revealed August 18 by American newspaper columnist Jack Anderson.

The column was the first of five that detailed Washington's plans for an October invasion. Anderson and his associates uncovered "documents so secret that the code word used to classify them is itself classified."

The plans are said to include an armed forces invasion that would hold portions of Iran and a "cover plan" designed to disguise the true intent.

"The ostensible purpose is to rescue the hostages, but the operation also would exact military retribution," Anderson wrote.

These revelations coincide with a huge buildup of U.S. troops and supplies in the Persian Gulf, recent midair refueling exercises, and new training maneuvers.

Anderson reported that the primary invasion target would be Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf and possibly some of the southern Iranian oil fields.

He told of a secret decision to shift a spy satellite into position so it could transmit detailed photos needed for the invasion.

Anderson also noted that "... recently, 500 Air Force personnel were quietly transferred to Egypt. They were followed by a squadron of F4 aircraft which began

'training exercises' with the Egyptian air force. . . . Ultra-secret communications and military equipment have also been shipped to Egypt."

He explained how last December air operations that were later used in Carter's April raid were similarly disguised as "training exercises."

A special logistics force has been deployed at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, and Anderson quoted a secret memorandum that states, "This logistics force could sail to a designated Persian Gulf area port in about five days. There it would be met by the combat troops who have arrived by airlift."

Anderson reported that the plan also calls for use in the Indian Ocean of four of the Navy's twelve carrier task forces.

"He [Carter] would need some pretext for the invasion," Anderson's sources told him, "such as the trial or execution of a hostage."

While admitting the existence of military plans to protect "America's interests" in the Persian Gulf, the White House strenuously denied Anderson's reports—just as it strenuously denied it was planning any military action right before its April raid on Iran.

Working people around the world must continue to demand, U.S. Hands Off Iran!

the country. In Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, and Grahamstown, Black student boycotts against the racist education system had totally shut down the high schools in those cities. Unrest flared in several Soweto high schools, and in Cape Town's Crossroads shantytown youths rebelled and clashed with police, resulting in five deaths.

The militancy of the Black population has become so widespread and sharp that even those Black figures who have traditionally collaborated with the apartheid regime are beginning to take their distance from it.

One of Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha's major aims in recent months has been to foster divisions within the Black population—which is composed of Africans, Coloureds (those of mixed ancestry), and Indians—through the creation of progovernment councils of African and Coloured collaborators. This scheme collapsed in August in face of almost unanimous Black opposition, even from among those he expected to cooperate with it.

The simultaneous rise in Black political and labor unrest is no mere coincidence. Increasingly, the struggles of Blacks on the shop floor are becoming intertwined with their struggles for political and social liberation.

The audacious Black student rebellions have done much to reinforce the militancy of Black workers in the factories. During the past three months, an estimated 50,000 Black workers have gone out on strike around economic and trade-union demands in every major industrial center in the country.

Auto workers, textile workers, gold miners, electricity workers, street cleaners, bus drivers, clothing workers, they have fought to maintain their living standards in face of rampant inflation. And more and more, they are fighting to organize and win recognition for their own trade unions, independent of government and employer control.

These labor actions, in turn, have strengthened the struggle of all Blacks for their liberation from white minority rule, both by example and by the greater direct participation of Black workers in the ongoing political battles. Their militancy was dramatically reaffirmed by the June 16 and 17 general strike in Cape Town, when more than 200,000 Black workers downed their tools in solidarity with the student protesters and the victims of the regime's brutal police repression.

Increasingly, Black workers are taking the lead.

They are doing so despite Botha's new labor laws, which were designed to tighten the apartheid regime's restrictions on the Black labor movement.

In 1979, the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act was passed. It provided for the official registration of African trade unions for the first time in South Africa's history. Although billed as a "reform," it

## South African Workers Flex Their Muscles

By Ernest Harsch

Through the expulsion of more than 1,000 strikers and the arrest of a key strike leader, the South African authorities were successful on August 1 in breaking a strike by more than 10,000 Black municipal workers in Johannesburg. With this end to one of the largest and most militant strikes ever held in Johannesburg, the rulers of South Africa heaved a sigh of relief.

But the apartheid regime's labor troubles were far from over.

A few days later, in Secunda, hundreds of Black construction workers walked off their jobs at a vital Sasol synthetic fuel plant for the third time since December 1979. Although the police attacked a large crowd of strikers and arrested several, the workers stood firm, winning a R6.60 a week pay hike. (One rand is equivalent to US\$1.30.)

In Johannesburg, Black bus drivers,

who had gone on strike a month earlier, continued to press their demands for a R35 a week raise, plus recognition of their union. Black journalists and other striking workers at the *Post* newspaper won salary increases of up to 28 percent.

And in Cape Town, a widely supported strike by hundreds of Black meat workers entered its third month.

These strikes are only the most recent in a wave of Black labor actions that has been sweeping South Africa for several months. And of particular concern to the South African rulers, the strikes have come at a time of sustained political ferment, which has witnessed the most massive student protests and ghetto rebellions since the uprisings of 1976.

As the most recent strikes were under way, the Black student protests that began in April were continuing in several parts of

was actually intended to increase government intervention in the unions, control their activities, and prevent them from posing any real threat to the apartheid system. It also aimed to isolate and destroy the more militant and independent Black unions.

But no sooner had this new policy been put into effect, than it began to unravel.

In late 1979, hundreds of Black workers employed by the Ford Motor Company in Port Elizabeth went out on strike against the dismissal of their shop-floor leaders, who also happened to be the leaders of the most influential Black political group in the area, the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO).

The direct links between their strike action and the broader political movement against the apartheid system gave the strikers enough strength to force management to back down and reinstate the dismissed workers. (An interview with Thozamile Botha, the central leader both of the strike and of PEBCO, appeared in the May 26 issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.)

Although some of the more recent strikes have been broken through police repression, others have been at least partially successful. In Uitenhage, some 3,500 striking workers at a Volkswagen auto assembly plant won a 27 percent raise in their hourly minimum wage in mid-July.

Around the country, Black workers have launched a widespread organizing drive to build strong Black unions that can represent the interests of the workers and resist the efforts of the government and employers to control them.

The Johannesburg municipal strike was the most dramatic expression so far of the new strength and militancy of these Black unions.

On July 24, about 2,000 Black municipal workers in Johannesburg and the nearby town of Roodepoort walked off their jobs to demand higher pay. The next day the municipal authorities dismissed 1,350 of them. This provoked an even broader strike, and by July 28 some 10,000 Black sanitation, transport, gas, health, electricity, and other workers had joined in.

The strike was led by the Black Municipality Workers Union (BMWU), a new union that had been formed just the month before. By the time of the strike it had already grown to 9,000 members—about two-thirds of all Black municipal workers in the city. One of the strikers' demands was official recognition of their union.

For four days, much of Johannesburg's public services were disrupted. The workers displayed their power.

For the government, the stakes were high. If it gave in to the strikers' demands to recognize their union, workers around the country would have been emboldened to step up their own organizing drives. So the regime stood firm.

Armed police dressed in camouflage

uniforms rounded up hundreds of strikers and herded them into unused mining compounds. About 1,200 were packed onto buses and deported to the Transkei and Venda Bantustans, which are desolate and isolated rural reserves. Joseph Mavi, the central leader of the BMWU, was arrested.

The Botha regime displayed the real face

of its labor "reforms."

But so far, the government's hard stance has not been able to stem the growing combativity of South Africa's Black working class. As an editorial in a leading South African newspaper lamented, there are "restive times ahead on South Africa's labour front." □

## In This Issue

Closing News Date: August 25, 1980

POLAND	876	Polish Workers Box Gierek Into Corner —by Ernest Harsch
	878	How Strike Wave Began—by Cyril Smuga
SOUTH KOREA	881	Generals Tighten Control—by Janice Lynn
NICARAGUA	882	Nicaraguans Celebrate Completion of Literacy Crusade—by Lars Palmgren
	882	Provisions for Schooling in English and Miskito—by Will Reissner
	883	How FSLN Politically Fights Counter- revolution—by Will Reissner
CUBA	884	Castro Looks at New International Situation—by David Frankel
	885	Castro on Nicaragua, El Salvador, and the Role of the OAS
	889	Behind the Plane Hijackings to Cuba —by José G. Pérez
BOLIVIA	887	Bolivia Under the Military Jackboot
	888	Free the Bolivian Political Prisoners!
SRI LANKA	889	Regime Cracks Down on Strikers —by Janice Lynn
HAITI	890	The 'Boat People' of Haiti—by Gus Horowitz
BRITAIN	893	Hugo Dewar, 1910-1980—by Pierre Frank
STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	886	Solidarity With the Resistance of the Bolivian Masses!
DOCUMENTS	894	Fidel Castro's July 26 Speech
	903	What Polish Workers are Demanding
NEWS ANALYSIS	874	U.S. Columnist Reveals Secret Iran Raid Plan—by Janice Lynn
	874	South African Workers Flex Their Muscles —by Ernest Harsch

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## Polish Workers Box Gierek Into Corner

By Ernest Harsch

Faced with a massive workers' upsurge that has shaken much of the country, the Polish government has been forced to make a partial retreat.

In an August 24 speech before a meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (the Communist Party), party chief Edward Gierek claimed, "We are making basic shifts in party and government policy." He offered the strikers some significant concessions.

The official Central Trade Union Council, Gierek said, should hold new elections in all factories, with secret ballots and an unlimited number of candidates. If actually carried out, this would mark a major shift in trade-union policy. The strikers, who are opposed to Poland's existing union structure, which is bureaucratically controlled, have been demanding the right to establish their own unions free from all government and party control.

Gierek also announced the dismissal of Prime Minister Edward Babiuch and several other top government, party, and union officials who had been especially vocal in denouncing the strikers.

A day earlier, the Gierek regime also agreed to meet directly with the workers' joint strike committees—after having adamantly refused to recognize their authority for more than a week.

Even more significantly, Gierek has been forced to admit that the strikers have real grievances. In his speech, he acknowledged the existence of "social discontent" and "growing irregularities" and admitted that the party had made grave mistakes. A week earlier he also admitted some of the failings of the official union apparatus, claiming that he took "a critical view of its bureaucracy and distance from the masses."

The Polish workers, however, are demanding much more than the bureaucratic regime is yet willing to concede. They are demanding significant economic gains and the granting of basic democratic rights.

Upon first hearing Gierek's speech, strike leaders remained skeptical. Speaking before a crowd of 2,000 workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Lech Walesa, the chairman of the Interfactory Strike Committee for the region, stated, "These changes were a victory for us." But he added, "It's a patching up of holes. We want something new."

"Only free trade unions can make us happy, can give us a victory. The government will not be able to cheat us—we do not give it that opportunity."

Anna Walentynowicz, another member

of the strike committee, told the workers, "We have to continue our struggle."

### A Mighty Upsurge

Gierek's decision to back down somewhat followed the failure of his various attempts to divide and intimidate the workers.

In an effort to break the solidarity of the strikers, government negotiators initially attempted to arrange settlements on a factory-by-factory basis, while spurning the joint strike committees that were coordinating the strikes and formulating the workers' demands. The workers stood firm, and refused to go along with this ploy.

The powerful Roman Catholic Church attempted to give Gierek a hand, calling on workers to return to their jobs. In an August 22 statement, it claimed that "prolonged stoppages" were "against the good of society." Although many of the strikers are practicing Catholics, the plea went unheeded.

Government and party officials also used the threat of possible Soviet intervention to try to intimidate the strikers, although there has been no hint of such intervention from Moscow to date.

And although Gierek refrained from any mass repression against the strikers, police did detain a number of prominent dissidents who were allied with the workers, including Jacek Kuron, a central figure in the Committee for Social Self-Defense, the KOR.

All this failed to have much of an impact, reflecting the tremendous social power of the workers' upsurge, the best organized and most massive one in Poland since the end of World War II.

Within a little more than a week after the Lenin Shipyard workers first walked off their jobs on August 14, strikes and factory occupations had spread throughout the three neighboring Baltic Coast cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot, involving well over 150,000 workers and shutting down some 400 factories, enterprises, and cooperatives.

Bypassing the official trade unions, the workers elected their own strike committees to negotiate their demands. The thirteen-member Interfactory Strike Committee was elected to coordinate the activities of the strikers throughout the area.

A similar joint committee was established in the western port city of Szczecin, representing about 100 factories and 50,000 strikers.

According to some dissident sources, workers in the key coal mining region of Silesia also attempted to form strike com-

mittees, but their leaders were arrested.

Periodic walkouts have hit the giant Lenin steel mill at Nowa Huta, near Krakow. Thousands of workers in various enterprises have also struck in Elblag, Torun, Krakow, Plock, Slupsk, and other cities.

This most recent strike wave has been even more massive than the two that hit the country in July in response to sharp increases in the price of meat. (See the following article for an account of how the earlier strikes began.)

### Why the Workers Are Striking

The August 14 walkout at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk was sparked by an attempt by the management to dismiss Anna Walentynowicz, a crane operator who had participated in the 1970 and 1976 labor upsurges and who had been part of the small workers' delegation that met with Gierek during the 1976 strike.

The management claimed that she was dismissed for disciplinary reasons. Walentynowicz charged that it was in retaliation for her political activism. Shortly after the announcement of her dismissal, leaflets appeared at the shipyard explaining her case.

At 6:00 a.m. on August 14, workers at two of the shops in the shipyard walked away from their machines, bearing placards with her name. Banners went up in the yard. Lech Walesa, a labor activist and former shipyard worker who had been dismissed following the 1976 strikes, climbed over a wall into the yard and addressed the workers. By 11:00 a.m. the whole yard was out, and a strike committee had been elected.

The strikers' demand for the reinstatement of both Walentynowicz and Walesa was quickly agreed to by the management. But by then the workers' demands had already escalated and the strikes were beginning to spread.

The central economic demand of the strikers was for an across-the-board wage increase of 2,000 zlotys (US\$66) a month to offset the higher prices for meat and other consumer items. They also demanded guaranteed salary increases following price hikes or currency devaluations, vacation pay for those on strike, and a restriction of exports to only surplus commodities, to ensure full supplies on the domestic market.

Connected with these basic economic grievances were demands to abolish the special privileges enjoyed by police, party, and government officials. Workers in Poland are well aware that party officials and factory managers can buy imported items in special shops that ordinary people are excluded from, and that they can drive new cars and enjoy luxurious homes and vacation houses while workers are constantly asked to sacrifice.

The bureaucrats' response to this demand has been especially cynical. In a meeting with the Lenin Shipyard workers,



one government negotiator, in a transparent bid to buy them off, offered to also give the shipyard workers special privilege cards, which allow access to scarce consumer goods at discount prices.

The strikers have also raised a series of explicitly political demands, reflecting the fact that much of the economic mismanagement and inequality in the country stems from the lack of workers democracy and from the bureaucratic methods of rule employed by the authorities.

They demanded the release of all political prisoners (there are reported to have been six before the most recent detentions); a full and public discussion of the country's socioeconomic problems, in which everyone could discuss how to remedy them; freedom of speech and the abolition of censorship; and the right to strike and to establish democratic trade unions free from government and party interference.

This last demand was particularly important for the workers. During the 1970 and 1976 upsurges, the workers wrested numerous concessions from the bureaucracy, but many of them were subsequently whittled away, since they did not have their own democratically-controlled unions to safeguard those gains.

According to Walesa, "Our main aim is to create free trade unions independent of the party and the government because only then the interest of the nation and the interest of the workers can be objectively defended. Until we have free trade unions, a strike is the only means of defense."

#### Are Polish Workers 'Antisocialist'?

The bureaucracy sought to cloak the defense of its own power and material privileges in the guise of defending "socialism" and the "nation."

In a nationally televised speech, Gierek charged that the strikes were "aimed against the basic foundations of the socialist system" and claimed that "irresponsible, anarchist and anti-socialist elements" were using the work stoppages for "hostile political aims."

The workers and the dissidents allied with them have denied that they are antisocialist. None of the strikers are demanding a return of the capitalist class that ruled Poland until the late 1940s. Their support for the socialist revolution and the nationalized economy has been openly expressed during the course of the strike, as workers in the Gdansk shipyard broke out into choruses of the "Internationale," the international communist anthem.

What the strikers do want, however, is the granting of basic democratic rights and an end to bureaucratic privilege, something that would not threaten the Polish workers state, but strengthen it immeasurably.

The biggest problem in Poland, the strike leaders point out, is that the workers in reality have no control over decision-

making. Everything is done behind their backs.

When asked what she thought was the main cause behind the labor unrest, Walentynowicz replied, "It's the cheating and the lying that the Government does. The truth must be told to the people—that's the main thing."

She went on, "They say that this is a country run by the workers. Up to now, the workers have had no say at all. Maybe if we had, we wouldn't be so bad off economically and owe all that money overseas."

A similar theme was raised by Florian Wisniewski, another strike leader in Gdansk: "We want to restart work as soon as possible, but we must be the real masters of our factories."

#### A Politicized Leadership

The high political consciousness of the Polish workers is a legacy of their long experience in fighting against the bureaucratic regime. Three times before—in 1956, 1970, and 1976—they rose up to demand democratic rights and social and economic gains. The first two times they brought down the existing governments.

The workers in the Gdansk shipyards in particular have been able to retain some continuity of leadership. Both Walentynowicz and Walesa were active participants and leaders in the 1970 and 1976 strike waves.

The worker activists have also been able to establish vital links with other dissident forces in Poland, who have helped to defend them from repression and to publicize their aims. The most important of these are the Committee for Social Self-Defense—known as the KOR—and the closely allied underground newspaper *Robotnik* (Worker), which now has a circulation of about 30,000.

The demand of the strikers for independent trade unions is not a new one. In 1978, Walentynowicz and others became involved in the initial attempts to organize such unions. By late 1979, organizing committees had been established in Gdansk, Szczecin, and Katowice. The same year, a "Charter of Workers' Rights" was issued, which raised many of the same demands that are now being voiced by the strikers. (See page 903 for the full text of the charter.)

The existence of this politicized leadership is a key factor in the strength and organization of the current strikes.

#### Rank-and-File Participation

Another vital element is the level of rank-and-file participation. Besides electing their own representatives, the strikers have been kept fully informed of the negotiations between management and the workers' delegations.

Shortly after the beginning of the strike at the Lenin Shipyard, talks were arranged between the local strike committee and the authorities. According to a report in the August 17 *Washington Post* by

correspondent Michael Dobbs, who was allowed to sit in on the negotiations, "Some of the proceedings were broadcast by loudspeaker to the crowds of workers who occupied the plant immediately after the strike began. Outside the hall, there was a constant echo of cheers and boos as management made concessions or resisted the workers' demands."

The strike committee reached an initial agreement with the management, but that was overruled by the strikers themselves, who insisted that they stay out in solidarity with the strikers in other enterprises.

The strikers also displayed a high degree of discipline. To avoid giving the government a pretext to crack down with large-scale police repressions, the strike committees ordered the workers to refrain from street demonstrations and called for a ban on the sale of alcoholic beverages. Some categories of workers were asked to stay on their jobs to maintain vital services.

According to Dobbs, "The strikers appointed their own activists to keep order at the Lenin plant. Red or white armbands were the insignia of a strike committee official—and no outsiders were allowed past the gates without the committee's permission. Food supplies were delivered by sympathizers outside the plant, and the cafeteria was kept running to feed the 8,000 or so workers taking part in the sit-in. . . ."

"Some passing motorists sounded their horns and gave clenched-fist salutes of support to the strikers sitting on walls around the shipyard. Elsewhere in Gdansk, there were similar scenes at other factories."

According to most news reports from Poland, the strikers are being widely supported by the general population, despite the disruption that the strikers have caused. Large crowds gather outside the gates of the occupied factories and enterprises, bringing food and money.

#### International Support

The Polish strikers have also won support from unions and political organizations in other countries.

In the United States, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations declared its solidarity with the Polish strikers.

In France, Georges Ségué, the general secretary of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the Communist Party-led union federation, stated that the trade unions in Poland must change. "They do not correspond to the need for democratic expression and trade unionism demanded by the workers," he said August 18.

Even some Western Communist parties have come out in support of the demands of the Polish workers.

Bo Hammer, the international secretary of the Swedish Communist Party, said that the strikes showed that reforms were necessary in Poland, "which needs a strong and democratic labor movement,

both free and independent in its relation to the state and party apparatus."

Santiago Carillo, the central leader of the Spanish Communist Party, declared, "I believe that the political system does not contain what a large part of the Polish working class is seeking."

An article in the Italian Communist Party daily *l'Unita* came out in favor of the Polish workers' right to strike. Luciano Lama, a member of the party and a union leader, pointed out that the Polish workers did not want to destroy the Polish workers state, but to "participate directly in its leadership."

Even some figures in the French Communist Party, which has generally supported Gierek during the strikes, came out openly on the side of the workers. In an article in the August 17-18 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, French CP member Gérard Molina called for "active solidarity with the Polish workers—whose demands resemble those of French workers—just as we have extended our solidarity to the Bolivian miners and the Blacks in Miami."

It is because of the fear that such solidarity—as well as the example of the Polish strikes—could spread to the rest of Eastern Europe and into the Soviet Union itself that the Soviet government and most of the regimes in Eastern Europe have been attempting to block out accurate news of the strikes. These bureaucracies are concerned that any major advance on the part of the Polish workers could undermine their own privileged positions.

Despite a few self-serving claims of sympathy with the Polish strikers, the

major imperialist powers are also backing Gierek. They too are worried that the stirring example of the Polish workers could catch on.

On August 12, a consortium of West German banks extended a \$674 million loan to the Polish regime. Although some of the banks were reluctant to loan such a high amount (Poland already has a foreign debt of \$20 billion), the West German government urged them to do so as a gesture of support to Gierek. A little more than a week later, another consortium of Western banks, led by the Bank of America, announced a loan of \$325 million to Poland.

The similar stance toward the Polish strikes by the Soviet and American governments has been so apparent that the *New York Times*, in a front-page article in its August 25 edition, commented, "For the moment there seems to be a convergence of interests in Washington and Moscow, with both capitals interested in seeing Poland's rulers and populace working out a suitable compromise that avoids disruptions that would threaten the stability of central Europe."

Poland's workers have shown, however, that their concern lies not with the immediate policy considerations of the bureaucrats in the Kremlin or the imperialist rulers in Washington. What they want is to have their demands met, demands that are similar to those of workers around the world.

And in that struggle, they need and deserve the active solidarity of the international workers movement. □

partner commensurate with the level of its industrial development.

At the same time, all the concessions that the bureaucracy had to make in January 1971 regarding the "dialogue" with the workers, their participation in control over production, and the greater room given to worker initiative were systematically taken back.

One example of this was at the Adolf Warski shipyards in Szczecin. Gierek had been forced to allow free elections in the union at the shipyards, and members of the strike committee were given positions of responsibility at the local and regional level. But a systematic policy of repression against strike leaders—combined with the integration of some of them into the apparatus—was carried out. Bogdan Golaszewski was murdered. Edmund Baluka, who was taken into the union apparatus, was later cut off from it and was fired after he cast the only vote against the chairman's report to the national trade-union congress. Finally, Baluka was forced to emigrate. An attempt was made on the life of another member of the strike committee, Ulfik, who died in February 1976.

The bureaucracy did not want to share even the slightest bit of its power, at any level. Its slogan was: "You produce and consume, we'll do the rest!"

The capitalist economic crisis, which led to a contraction of markets and increased international competition, cut short the dreams of rising exports. Leaving aside the products of the shipyards, Polish products on the whole, while not very expensive, were not reliable. Their technological level was incomparably lower than that of Western products. But while exports were not growing at the projected rate, the very rapid growth of the Polish economy for several years (between 10 and 15 percent per year) had caused an uncontrolled increase in imports.

In 1976, foreign indebtedness reached \$12 billion, equivalent to the value of a whole year's exports. At the same time, the growth rate of agricultural production was only around 3 to 4 percent per year. And the fear of strikes led local bureaucrats to grant big wage increases. Between 1970 and 1976 average wages of industrial workers more than doubled. The pressures on the food market thus increased further.

#### The Workers' First 'No'

In June 1976, when it was clear that the policy of accelerated industrial development had simply increased various pressures on the economy, and when it was clear that the capitalist economic crisis was not a passing phenomenon, the authorities tried to carry out a new turn.

They raised prices of foodstuffs by 100 to 150 percent, leading to the strike at the Ursus tractor plant, where the workers cut the rail line between Poznan and Warsaw, and at Radom, where the headquarters of the local committee of the Communist

## The Biggest Since 1945

# How Polish Strike Wave Began

By Cyril Smuga

The circumstances that resulted in Edward Gierek's team coming to power in Poland in 1970 meant that the Gierek regime had very limited maneuvering room. Gierek became first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (the Polish Communist Party) following the Baltic Coast shipyard strikes of December 1970. In February 1971 a massive strike by Lodz textile workers forced the government to rescind the food price increases that had sparked the shipyard strikes.

For one thing, the well-known shortcomings in agricultural production required some form of rationing in order to respond to the requirements of the market, but this was not possible due to the workers' protests. In addition, the wage increases granted in December 1970 and January 1971 further exacerbated the pressures on the market, since the lack of available

consumer durables led the workers to use their wage increases to increase their food consumption.

#### Credits From Abroad and Rapid Growth

Faced with this situation, the bureaucracy, which was confident that the capitalist economic boom of the 1970s would last forever, launched the country on a race toward industrialization. Tens of thousands of licenses were purchased abroad to modernize Polish industry.

At the same time, the domestic market was supplied through imports of both food and consumer durables from the West. Billions of dollars in loans were arranged with capitalist banks.

The bureaucracy thought that the growth of Polish production and exports would make it possible to rapidly repay the loans and make Poland into a trading





Meeting of striking workers in Lublin.

Party was burned down.

The strikes spread throughout the country, spurred by both the price hikes, which were cancelled after two days, and by the repression against the people at Radom and Ursus.

Unable to carry out another policy, the bureaucrats could only try to undo what they had previously done. Throughout the country they introduced an "economic maneuver." They stopped all investments that could still be stopped (in practice this meant all investments that were not considered a priority, even if only a few more weeks of work remained to complete them). They drastically reduced imports in order to use the resources thus freed up to pay the foreign debt (which was an absolute precondition for getting new loans) and to carry out certain investments that were seen as strategic necessities.

In fact, however, local pressures and planning errors caused a continuation of investments in heavy industry to the detriment of investment in transportation, electrical production, grain production, and the food processing industry.

The previous headlong rush for Western licenses<sup>1</sup> was followed by shortages of spare parts, raw materials, etc. They also halted construction of several power stations, including the immense Koziencice complex that by itself was supposed to

1. To cite just one example, the departments of ship building, railroads, and construction each purchased licenses to manufacture similar electrical motors. Each of these departments produced only a few motors per month under their licenses. If, however, they had gotten together to purchase a single license, they could have produced many more motors, both for the internal market and for export.

provide one-quarter of the country's power.

At the same time, they completed the construction of one of the largest steel-making complexes in Europe, Huta Katowice—a big energy consumer—and other investments of the same type, which caused a big shortage of electricity.

In 1976 Poland had been self-sufficient in electrical energy and even exported some to neighboring countries. Today, while running its power plants at full capacity, electrical supply is more than one-third below demand. As a result, nearly all the factories are blacked out one day a week or once every two weeks!

Finally, the floods in early and mid-1979 were not caused by "the will of God," as the bureaucracy would have one believe. Instead, due to the "economic maneuver," maintenance of the protective dikes and regulation of river levels was not considered a priority.

In a flat country with a temperate climate one pays a heavy price for such a decision. In 1979 about one-third of Poland was "under water." There is nothing to prevent a disaster of the same magnitude this year.

The losses to agricultural production and the costs of repairing flooded factories will undoubtedly total several tens of billions of zlotys.<sup>2</sup>

The same thing happened with the snow storms, a quite frequent occurrence in Poland, that paralyzed transportation and energy production throughout the country in the first weeks of January 1979. There were insufficient reserves of coal and fuel, not enough snow removal equipment to

2. Polish currency. One hundred zlotys equal US\$3.30.

clear the railroad tracks, not enough chemical products to melt the ice.

Against the backdrop of this disastrous balance sheet of the past ten years of its rule, and at a time when foreign indebtedness stands at more than \$18 billion, the Gierek team again decided to increase meat prices, by 70 to 80 percent. Prudence required that the increases be put into effect on the sly, without any official announcement, and only in certain regions of the country!

This increase was especially resented by the workers because it involved products that had thus far been sold at what are called "normal" prices. In Poland's two-tier pricing system, "normal" prices are those that were in effect before 1977, when the bureaucracy established a parallel distribution network for meat and meat products through "commercial" stores charging prices that were 100 to 150 percent higher. In the "normal" distribution network, only the factory canteens were still more or less fully supplied.

The price increases were formally only announced after July 1, when several factories were already on strike.

#### Biggest Strike Wave Since 1945

On Tuesday, July 1, a strike began at the Ursus mechanical workshops. Ursus is a big complex employing 14,000 workers and producing tractors and agricultural machinery.

The next day 3,500 workers at the POLMO factory in Tczew, some twenty kilometers from Gdansk, stopped production. The same thing happened at WSK Mielec and WSK Swidnik, two factories that make aircraft and communications equipment, each employing more than 10,000 people.

In Gdansk, department K-1 of the shipyards went out, and the workers at ELMOR, also on strike, sent a delegation to see Gierek.

In Warsaw and its environs, strikes also broke out at the Huta Warszawa steel complex and the black-and-white television picture-tube department of the POLKOLOR Zelow plant near Piaseczno. The tram maintenance workers on Kawczynska Street held a general assembly, elected a delegation, and announced that they would strike on July 7 if the price increase was not cancelled. In Srem, the Cegielski works foundry stopped work July 2 and 3.

In each case, within two days the workers won wage increases of about 7 to 10 percent, either in the form of bonuses or directly as wages. In addition, the price increases were cancelled between July 4 and 7.

The first wave of strikes was characterized everywhere—with the exception of POLMO in Tczew and Cegielski in Srem—by a degree of self-organization of the workers that has not been seen in Poland since the shipyard strike of December



1970-January 1971.

At Ursus, commissions elected by all the workers and led by opposition activists were set up in three departments. In other places they elected strike committees or delegations to negotiate with management.

All the strikes included factory occupations, the traditional method of struggle that has been known since the 1930s as the "Polish strike."

### The Second Strike Wave

While forced to retreat, the bureaucracy did not acknowledge defeat. On July 8 the price rises were introduced in nearly all regions of the country. And this brought about the second strike wave, which was more massive, although less organized. Because of the reprisals against the real or presumed leaders of the 1970-71 and 1976 strikes, the workers were very careful on the question of leadership. When asked, "Who represents you?" in more than one case the general assembly responded in unison, "All of us are the representatives!"

On July 9, 10, and 11 the strike hit the brewery in Lezajsk, the Zamech factory in Elblag, and AGROMET in Poznan. In the Warsaw area there were actions at the Swierczewski telecommunications equipment factory, the Wawel electronic watch factory, and the Mera refrigerator plant. At the Swierczewski telecommunications plant the workers got wage increases of 10 percent after they held a general assembly, elected a delegation, and threatened to go out on strike.

Then it was the turn of FSO Zeran, where FIAT-Polski cars are manufactured. This plant employs more than 20,000 workers. On Friday, July 11, management announced raises of 10 percent and sent the workers home, saying, "Vacations begin on the evening of Monday, July 14, so leave early!" With no work to do, the workers returned on Saturday to occupy the factory, demanding that their pay raise, which had been granted as a bonus, be included as a regular wage increase. They won that demand.

Other factories went on strike, following the example of those that had won 10 percent raises. The opposition grouped around the KOR (Social Self-Defense Committee) and its workers' affiliate, the fortnightly bulletin *Robotnik* (Worker), spread the news of the strikes with all their might, and along with the foreign radio broadcasts in the Polish language, made available reports that appeared in the Western press. This had an effect.

Everywhere, workers know that it is possible to win. Strikes broke out again at some factories that had previously gone out in the first days of July. This happened, for example, at Ursus and WSK Swidnik, where they were to win a 15 percent raise.

At Zyrardow, between Lodz and Warsaw, the majority of the big workplaces went on strike: the Polar-rewena machine-

tool repair workshop, the Polmos vodka distillery, the Syrena leather and skins factory, and three big textile plants—Zaklady Lniarskie, Zyaradowskie Zaklady Tkanin Technicznych, and Stella. In the Stella plant, a majority of whose workforce is women, including many single mothers, a clandestine strike committee was established. The KOR organized collections to



make it possible for the strike to take place.

The only strike in which the official union *as such* played any role is at WSK Swidnik. Fearing that their delegates would suffer repression, the workers demanded and secured the agreement of the union council that it would represent them, alongside the delegates, during negotiations with management.

### General Strike in Lublin

Beginning July 9, there were a number of strikes at important factories in Lublin. Among them were the Lublin truck factory, the Buczek shoe factory, the slaughterhouses, a factory that makes scales, and AGROMET. Strike committees were set up in at least two cases—at the prefabricated construction materials factory and in the rail yards.

The rail workers demanded free elections within the union, as well as increases in family allocations to the level received by soldiers and security police, a "special anniversary" bonus, free Saturdays,<sup>3</sup> a raise of 1,200 zlotys a month for all, prohibition of police entering the grounds of "the enterprise," and guaranteed security for the strikers.

The demands of the construction workers were similar: family allocations, an end to the network of "commercial" shops, wage increases of five zlotys an hour for all.

The stopping of trains, followed by the strike of the municipal mass transit, brought the strike to all the factories in the city. For several days there was no bread, as the bakers joined the movement. The authorities viewed the situation as sufficiently serious to warrant bringing in the army to assure transportation and supplies for the city. But aside from the arrest of six opposition activists for forty-eight

3. In Poland workers get one Saturday per month off. But this does not apply in the transportation industry.

hours, we are not aware of any other cases of repression.

The bureaucracy retreated, even stating in the press that the "demands of the workers were justified." In a letter from the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, published by the local organ *Sztandar Ludu*, the bureaucrats nonetheless warned of "the uneasiness that the work stoppages give rise to among our friends and allies." With the Soviet border barely fifty kilometers from Lublin, everyone understood that they meant to say "the USSR is watching."

### The Opposition

On the evening of July 2, the KOR—which has emerged as the main opposition group—put out a short communiqué reporting on the strikes. When members of the KOR and *Robotnik* were not present in a factory, they would go to it to verify the information received and to distribute their declaration as well as issue No. 56 of *Robotnik*, which had come out on July 1, on the eve of the strikes. Ongoing telephone links were established with several Warsaw apartments. The KOR also informed the foreign press about the strikes on a daily basis, providing only information that it had been able to verify.

On July 11 the KOR issued a new declaration, followed the next day by issue No. 57 of *Robotnik*. That issue included the text of the declaration as well as articles related to the unfolding of strikes that were still going on at that time, and it described the demands put forward and the forms of organization that had emerged. A separate article described in a detailed fashion the experience at Ursus, which the opposition activists consider the most advanced to date.

The KOR committed itself to come to the aid of workers repressed as a result of their strike action. It began to collect a strike fund for certain factories.

At the same time, the KOR published a series of immediate demands, including the demand for the introduction of meat rationing as the only egalitarian way, according to the movement, to distribute the scarce supplies. But in the absence of people's control and given the inequality in incomes and power, rationing runs the risk of having the opposite effect by stimulating the black market.

Speaking to us by telephone, Jacek Kuron, one of the main figures in the KOR, declared: "We think that in this wave of strikes we can gain in experience and, most importantly, can popularize the most advanced experiences. And, since we expect a 'hot autumn,' we think that this autumn we will reach the point of spreading self-organization throughout society, but in particular self-organization of the workers."<sup>4</sup>

4. The interview was published in the French socialist weekly *Rouge*, issue No. 928, July 18, 1980.

The distance that the KOR has travelled since it was established in September 1976 is enormous. It began by aiding workers who were subjected to repression and today it is able to organize the most advanced workers, to popularize their struggles, even though it remains a heterogeneous movement in which contradictory political outlooks often lead to ambiguous compromises.<sup>5</sup>

The KOR is a pragmatic organization with a confused ideology (but then becoming a Marxist is not an obvious reflex in a country where the workers are waging a massive strike against a government that claims to be "Marxist"). It turns at times toward the church when that institution shows its strength, at times toward the peasantry, as during the milk strikes in 1978, and this time the KOR has oriented toward support of the working class. It was the only one of the various opposition groups that was capable of doing that.

Today, through the vehicle of the fortnightly bulletin *Robotnik*—which has a press run of 30,000 copies, a figure the KOR hopes to triple between now and the autumn—it embodies the collective memory of the working class. Starting as a sort of intellectuals' "club," it is reaching out toward networks of militant workers.

#### The Bureaucrats' Great Fear

Since the beginning, the bureaucracy's response has been to retreat when faced with the organized working class supported (and kept regularly informed) by the opposition. Factory managers everywhere have agreed to hold discussions with the strikers, and, where the workers have demanded it, they have agreed in writing that there would be no reprisals against strikers.

In the initial days, prices gyrated under the blows of the workers' discontent. Everywhere the workers won raises on the order of 7 to 15 percent. And in those places where the organizations established during the strikes wanted to keep going, the bureaucracy was unable to prevent them.

Aside from arresting some oppositionists and holding them for forty-eight hours, as yet there has been no repression whatsoever!

A circular even warned the Militia: "Do not show yourself in uniform near the factories, especially those that are on strike. Don't send patrol cars around those plants. If you have to intervene to stop looting of stores, do it quickly and quietly. In no case should you do so if there is the threat that a scuffle could break out!"

At the same time, from the very beginning, cracks appeared in the apparatus's monolithism. For example, Stanislaw Kania, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, gave a speech to party cadres in Gdansk in which he implic-

itly challenged the present leadership and proposed himself as a candidate for leadership.

The party no longer is in control of the economy. It does not know the real production figures or real costs—all the statistics are false—and it cannot even guarantee that there will be adequate supplies of bread in coming months! The editor-in-chief of *Polityka*, the Communist Party's official central weekly, after congratulating Gierk for the success of his foreign policy, painted a somberly realistic picture of the economic situation, questioning the methods of the present regime. In another article the *Polityka* editor made a point of bringing up his function as a parliamentary deputy "elected by the people," although that weekly is not in the habit of covering the debates in the parliament. The "heirs to the throne" are stirring.

Although the bureaucracy has made concession after concession, there is every reason to expect the crisis will continue into the autumn.

First of all, price increases—those already in force and others that are inevita-

ble, especially in the free market—will whittle away the wage increases that were won.

Second, the workers, conscious of their strength, are going to increasingly oppose bureaucratic mismanagement.

And finally, the reforms being proposed by a segment of those now in power bear a strong resemblance to a disguised austerity plan.

The workers already knew that the bureaucrats were incapable of governing the country. Today they also have a measure of the bureaucracy's weakness. The development of workers' self-organization, even under the syndicalist form of workers commissions or shop delegates, cannot help but pose the question of the workers' right to control the management of their factories. From there it is only a single step to demand democratically centralized self-management of the entire country.

In Poland, the weakest link in the bureaucratic chain, the crisis has only just begun.

July 21, 1980

## Generals Tighten Control Over South Korea

By Janice Lynn

South Korean opposition figure Kim Dae Jung and twenty-three of his supporters are facing trial on trumped-up charges of trying to overthrow the country's military government. If convicted, Kim could be sentenced to death, and the others to life in prison.

The charges stem from the student-led protests in May that involved some 200,000 people in the city of Kwangju. The demonstrators were demanding an end to martial law and to the excessive and indiscriminate brutality of the South Korean military. Kim is accused of instigating the demonstrations that culminated in the five-day take-over of the city by Kwangju's workers and students.

On August 19, during his military court-martial, Kim denied the charges. He told how he had been forced to sign statements dictated by the police. He said he was held in an underground room for sixty days and questioned from 9 a.m. to midnight daily.

"It is beyond description how I suffered mentally," Kim said. "Sometimes I was stripped and driven to the very point short of torture. . . ."

Kim, a leader of the bourgeois opposition New Democratic Party, had received 46 percent of the vote in the 1971 Korean presidential elections. Before his May 18 arrest he was considered a leading contender for the current presidency—if elections were again held.

But the presidency is all but assured for military strongman Gen. Chon Too Hwan. On August 16, the presidential figurehead,

Choi Kyu Hah, resigned in order to make way for General Chon, who has in fact been running the country since a bloody coup last December. In order to comply with a constitutional requirement that the head of state be a civilian, General Chon resigned from the army August 22.

All that remains is for the National Council for Unification to elect him. A direct general election is not required. As the only candidate before the strongly conservative body, Chon's "election" is a foregone conclusion.

Martial law, in effect since former dictator Park Chung Hee's assassination last October and tightened on May 17, still prevails in the country. The universities remain closed and many student leaders are under arrest or in hiding. The press, radio, and television are now more thoroughly controlled than at almost any other time.

While Washington claims to be unhappy with Chon's authoritarian ways, Gen. John A. Wickham, commander of the U.S.-Korean joint forces in South Korea, let slip Washington's real sentiments. In an August 8 interview, Wickham told reporters that Washington would probably support General Chon if he emerged as president.

What Washington is really concerned about, however, is the reaction of South Korea's workers and students, who may take to the streets once again to protest the U.S.-backed military tyrants' continued control over their country. □

5. For a discussion of the roots and makeup of the KOR, see "Polish Oppositionists 'Appeal to Society,'" in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, March 19, 1979, p. 277.



## Nicaraguans Celebrate Completion of Literacy Crusade

By Lars Palmgren

MANAGUA—On August 23 the Nicaragua Literacy Crusade formally ended. An immense rally of more than 350,000 saluted the unfurling of the red and black flag with the yellow circle that proclaimed Nicaragua a "Territory Victorious Against Illiteracy."

During the last weeks this flag has been flown throughout the country—in the mountain villages, in the haciendas, in the poor neighborhoods. Everyday a new place was declared a "victorious territory."

And now, as all of Nicaragua was being given this new title, most of the 60,000 young brigadistas who had worked as teachers during the crusade, came to Managua to celebrate their victory.

When the first group of brigadistas arrived in Managua on July 16, it was like the return of a triumphant army—but an army different than the one that left for the countryside five months ago. Then, it was an army of boys and girls enthusiastically embarking on an adventure about which they knew very little. But they returned, as Sandinista leader Tomás Borge—one of the speakers at the rally—said, not only as young men and young women, but as revolutionaries.

"Therefore," Borge announced, "we want to give you the title of members of the July 19 Sandinista Youth, because that title is more honorable than comandante or any other title."

This transformation of the brigadistas into revolutionaries who have a central role to play in the building of the future Nicaragua, was one of the central themes in the evaluation of the crusade that was made during the rally.

The enthusiasm of the brigadistas was obvious, despite the five months of suffering and hard work—the enormous crowd of young people in their crusade uniforms, waving red and black Sandinista banners, chanting their slogans, singing their songs.

The coordinator of the crusade, Padre Fernando Cardenal, described the accomplishments of the crusade. He said that at the beginning of the crusade, more than half of the adult population of Nicaragua could neither read nor write. But during the crusade, 406,056 men and women were taught to read and write.

The crusade succeeded in reducing the illiteracy rate from more than 50 percent to just under 13 percent.

Cardenal pointed out that this did not mean that the education campaign in Nicaragua was over. Only the first steps have been taken.

In every place the brigadistas have worked Sandinista Popular Education Committees (CEPS) have been organized. The committees will continue to work with those who were unable to complete their classes during the crusade.

At the end of September, a new campaign will begin for the 60,000 illiterate people in the minority-language areas of the Atlantic Coast—those who speak English, Miskito, Rama, and Sumo. Cardenal also announced that the Vice-ministry of Adult Education would start functioning in October.

Cardenal ended his speech by asking, "What are the coming targets?"

The answer to that question was given by Humberto Ortega, the commander-in-chief of the Sandinista People's Army and a central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN): to strengthen the revolution, continue the reconstruction work, and not for one moment leave the revolutionary road that has been initiated.

Ortega also dealt with one of the most heated political issues in Nicaragua today—elections.

During the past few weeks, four bourgeois parties—the Democratic Conserva-

tive Party (PCD), the Social Democratic Party (PSD), Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), and the Social Christian Party (PSC)—have been on a campaign demanding that elections be held. In a full-page declaration in the August 24 *La Prensa* they demanded that the FSLN hold municipal elections in 1981 and elections for a constituent assembly in 1982.

Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo Odio, who spoke to the rally just before Ortega, had given indirect support to that demand, stating, "A man can represent and have the authority of a people if the people have voted for him in free and open elections. . . . People's power is the work of the people at the ballot boxes."

In response, the young brigadistas in the crowd began chanting, "Poder Popular, Poder Popular" [People's Power, People's Power] an expression that has a different meaning in Nicaragua than the one implied by Carazo Odio.

When Ortega began his speech, everyone anticipated that he would take up the question of elections. And he did so by reading an official communiqué from the FSLN leadership:

"For the Sandinista Front, democracy is

## Nicaragua to Provide Schooling in English and Miskito

By Will Reissner

During the decades-long reign of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua, that country's Atlantic Coast region remained mired in underdevelopment and isolated from the rest of Nicaragua. The area is mainly populated by Miskito Indians and English-speaking Blacks of Caribbean origin.

Since the Sandinista victory over Anastasio Somoza on July 19, 1979, however, the new government has been making huge efforts to improve living conditions for the residents of the Atlantic Coast. During the recently completed literacy campaign, for example, special teams taught the English- and Miskito-speaking populations to read and write in their own languages.

With the successful completion of the literacy program, the Ministry of Education has drawn up plans to begin providing primary schooling for residents of the Atlantic Coast in their native languages.

The new law, approved by the Council of State, stipulates that pre-primary schooling and the first four years of primary school are to be conducted in English or

Miskito for children for whom either is their native language. Teaching in Spanish will be introduced progressively after the first four years in order, in the words of the Managua daily *Barricada*, "to break the linguistic barriers and provide for their rapid integration into national life."

The law aims to preserve and encourage the native cultures of the Atlantic Coast while enabling residents of the region to participate in the larger context of Nicaraguan society as well.

The Council of State decided, however, that it could not provide two other Indian peoples, the Sumos and Ramas, with primary education in their own languages at this time due to a lack of resources.

Because the language of the 15,000 Sumos has never been set down in writing, it is not possible to provide school texts in that language for 1981. Of the several thousand Rama people in Nicaragua, only a handful still exclusively speak their native language. Today most speak English or a combination of English, Spanish, and Rama. □



not something that is expressed solely in the political arena. It is not reduced only to the participation of people in elections. Democracy is not simply elections. It is something more, much more.

"For revolutionaries, for Sandinistas, it means the people's participation in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. And the more people participate in all these areas, the more democracy there is. . . .

"Democracy starts in the economic realm when social inequalities begin to weaken, when the workers and peasants can better their standard of living. That is when true democracy begins, not before.

"When these objectives have been reached, democracy is soon extended to other areas. . . .

"And in even more advanced forms, democracy means workers' participation in the administration of the factories, haciendas, cooperatives, and cultural centers.

"To summarize, democracy is the intervention of the masses in all aspects of social life. . . .

"The FSLN national leadership reaffirms to the Nicaraguan people and to the world that the revolutionary process in this country will not turn back. It will continue to march forward to its completion. . . .

"The responsibility we took in leading the war of liberation made us study the concrete reality of our country. We were therefore able to appreciate the economic, social, and moral backwardness and destruction that the victorious revolution would find in the country.

"For that reason we stated, in all honesty, that when the victory had been attained, we would have to initiate a process of national reconstruction as the first big step forward in the people's Sandinista revolution. . . .

"After one year of revolution, we can responsibly reaffirm that the economic and moral backwardness and destruction in the country is so great that the reconstruction of the country cannot be expected before 1985.

"Therefore, the national leadership of the FSLN has decided that the Junta of National Reconstruction, as now organized, should continue until 1985. . . .

"The Junta of National Reconstruction should . . . in January 1984, initiate an electoral process in which the Nicaraguan people can decide what kind of government they want to continue the building of the new Nicaragua—the Nicaragua that Sandino, Rigoberto\* and Carlos Fonseca dreamt about."

When Ortega asked the demonstrators if they agreed with this decision, the fists of

the entire assembly shot into the air, amid prolonged chants of "Poder Popular!"

When the crowd finally became silent again Ortega continued, explaining, "These elections will not be like the ones that the oligarchy and the sell-outs are demanding. They will be elections to estab-

## How FSLN Politically Fights Counterrevolution

By Will Reissner

During the Nicaraguan literacy crusade there were a number of instances of counterrevolutionary attacks on young literacy and health-care volunteers in the countryside. While the revolutionary government of Nicaragua dealt forcefully with those who perpetrated the attacks, it also distinguished between the hardened counterrevolutionaries and the peasants who were taken in by anticommunist propaganda.

There was a concrete example of this attitude in mid-July in the Yalí area. A small counterrevolutionary band had slipped into Nicaragua from Honduras and carried out attacks on literacy and health brigade members. One health brigade member was murdered, along with a member of the Sandinista People's Militia.

The militia quickly defeated the counterrevolutionaries and captured the leaders of the group. During interrogation they admitted that they had received foods, weapons, and money from twenty-six peasants in the area.

These peasants were then taken into custody. When they were questioned, they explained that they had been told that the Sandinista revolution was installing a "Marxist totalitarian state," and that their religious freedom would be limited and their land seized by the government.

The twenty-six peasants were detained for eleven days in a school house, and then were released on August 3. The Sandinista-led government used the occasion of their release to hold an educational mass meeting in the village of La Rica, near where the counterrevolutionaries had been operating. The meeting was addressed by Sandinista leader Tomás Borge, who used the occasion to explain the goals and character of the revolution and to answer counterrevolutionary propaganda. His speech was given prominent coverage in the August 4 issue of the Sandinista National Liberation Front daily *Barricada*.

Borge began by answering the charge that the Sandinistas are "enemies of religion," branding that as crass anticommunist propaganda. "As long as there is Sandinism, there will be Christianity," Borge stated, adding that "we get along well with the Christians, including priests; the Church, as a whole, supports the Revolution."

Borge then took up the argument that the literacy brigades were simply spreading communism. "Those who told them

lish revolutionary power, not to question it."

Thus the celebration of the second liberation of Nicaragua—as the Literacy Crusade is called—ended with a clear reaffirmation of the country's revolutionary course. □

that the brigade members are communists lied to them, because our young people don't know anything about Marxism, although they want to learn about this science."

"The brigade members," Borge continued, "are teaching more than reading and writing to the peasants. They are teaching a little history, recovered from the old dissipated history. We believe that this is what bothers the enemies of our process, that the peasants are learning, so that they will not return to being exploited."

The revolution is not trying to "domesticate" the minds of the peasants or seize their lands, Borge stated. Rather, "we are going to divide up more land, create cooperatives in various parts of the country to help rural workers to plant." He added that the twenty-six freed peasants were being given an opportunity to go back to working the land so that their families would not suffer.

But Borge stated very firmly that "we will confiscate the lands" of those who collaborate with counterrevolutionary groups or who backslide.

Borge reminded the peasants who were being released that if they had been captured by Somoza's National Guard they would not be alive as they are today.

Borge concluded with general remarks about the revolution's need to maintain its armed strength. The revolution would never give up "even a rifle, even a pistol" in the face of "hysterical demands" that the Sandinista People's Militias be disarmed.

Those who demand this, Borge stated, "are trying to disarm us, but we will not go through the bitter experience of the People's Unity government in Chile, when the reactionaries did not tolerate the democratic measures of President Salvador Allende."

Borge pointed out that because Allende did not have weapons he was defeated. The Nicaraguan revolution, on the other hand, has weapons and is arming the entire populace through the militias. Those who demand the disarming of the populace must think "that we are idiots, that we have not read any history books," Borge stated.

He added that today's weapons are different from those of Somoza's regime. "They no longer fire on innocent people, today they defend the people." □

\*Rigoberto López Pérez assassinated Anastasio Somoza García, the founder of the Somoza dictatorship, on September 21, 1956, in the city of León. López was killed on the spot by the followers of the fallen tyrant.

## Fidel Castro Looks at the New International Situation

By David Frankel

"New things are in the air," Cuban President Fidel Castro declared in his July 26 speech on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Garrison. The "new things," Castro explained, are the extension of the socialist revolution into other Latin American countries and the prospects for further victories over imperialism.

Castro's speech took the form of a report to the Cuban people on his trip to Nicaragua the week before for the celebration of the first anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, and of an explanation of some of the conclusions the Cuban leadership has drawn from the recent struggles in Latin America.

Taking up the extension of the socialist revolution, Castro pointed out, "In this hemisphere, there are now not two but three of us because Grenada has to be included, too.

"Naturally, Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada are not the only progressive countries. There are other progressive governments, friendly with Cuba. . . . But three of us have shaken the yoke of imperialism in the last 20 years in a radical way, once and for all, and it is a historical imperative that one day we'll all be free."

### Nicaragua: 'A People's Revolution'

Speaking of the situation in Nicaragua, Castro said, "Nicaragua does not have a socialist system. What it has is a mixed economy. There's even a multiparty system. There's the Sandinista Front and left-wing groups, and why not? there are also several right-wing parties."

He noted, "The broad form of government they have set up is without a doubt very favorable for continuing to have the broadest international support."

While capitalist parties and capitalist economic relations continue to exist in Nicaragua, Castro stressed that the organization of the Nicaraguan masses after only one year of the revolution exceeds what existed in Cuba the first year after its revolution.

"There's no such thing as a bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua," Castro declared. "In Nicaragua there is, in the first place, a people's revolution whose main strength is found in the workers, the peasants, the students and the middle strata of the population. That people's revolution conducts the process, plans the process, so that the right thing be done at the right moment."

Answering those who question the character of the Nicaraguan revolution or who

argue that the pace of change there is not rapid enough, Castro said:

"What happened in Chile can never happen in Nicaragua, under no circumstances, because the people have the power, because the people have the weapons. Therefore, the revolution is guaranteed. And the revolution plans its development according to the country's real and objective conditions."

### Religion and Revolution

Along with the attempt of the Sandinista leadership to get the capitalists to contribute to Nicaragua's reconstruction, Castro also took up the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to the revolution there. He said:

"Nicaragua is a country where religious feelings go far deeper than they did in Cuba, therefore, the support given to the revolution by those religious sectors is very important."

An ultraleft attitude toward the church, Castro warned, would be a disastrous mistake. "If the revolution in Latin America were to take on an antireligious character it would split the people."

Furthermore, Castro pointed out, "Many religious leaders have stopped talking exclusively about rewards in the other world and happiness in the other world and are talking about the needs of this world and happiness in this world. For they see the hunger of the people, the poverty, the unhealthy conditions, the ignorance, suffering and pain."

Castro gave as an example the case of El Salvador, "where the revolutionary forces and the Christian forces are closely united." He noted that the reactionaries there go to church every Sunday, but "do not hesitate to plant bombs in churches and to assassinate priests and bishops. They'd murder the Pope if they could."

Castro continued:

"But not only in El Salvador; there's Guatemala, where there's also constant repression and murder, including that of priests. There are numerous priests who are on the side of the revolution.

"I'm telling you this so you'll have an idea of how situations change, how different they are in each country, and therefore we cannot be thinking of a strictly Cuban formula. . . ."

### Relations Between Revolutionary Leaders

While in Nicaragua, Castro said, he met with about 100 leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to discuss the experiences of the Cuban revolu-

tion. Castro stressed that his meeting had been requested by the FSLN, as had his visit to Nicaragua. He told the huge crowd at the July 26 celebration:

"Our Revolution wants to be an example; it does not want to be hegemonic. Our Revolution is not interested in appearing as the leader or leading the peoples. We'd be very glad to bring up the rear—the very rear—of a whole revolutionary Latin America and Caribbean. What we're interested in is the revolution, the liberation of our peoples."

Continuing with his report to the Cuban people, Castro said:

"I'm explaining all these things so that nobody will be confused and in order to express our confidence in the Sandinista Revolution, to express our opinion that what they are doing they are doing exceptionally well, in a very correct fashion. They have power in their hands, and they can plan their future. No two-bit coup d'etat is ever going to liquidate the Sandinista Revolution. There won't be any coups d'etat there, because the people are in power and they have the weapons."

### Solidarity With El Salvador

A big part of Castro's speech dealt with the revolutionary struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala, and the murderous, U.S.-backed repression in those countries. "The imperialists and the reactionaries are alarmed over what may happen in Guatemala and El Salvador and all the other places. We are not alarmed." Castro expressed his conviction that "bourgeois society already belongs to the past."

But in the meantime, Castro declared, "Genocide is not only being committed in El Salvador, but in Guatemala as well. Corpses of workers, students, professionals, even priests, appear daily. . . . And I ask myself if the peoples can go on accepting this state of affairs.

"The Guatemalan experience, the Salvadoran experience, the Chilean experience, the Bolivian experience, what have they taught us? That there is only one path: revolution! That there is only one way: revolutionary armed struggle!"

Capitalist democracy, Castro insisted, offers the toiling masses no solution. When the masses "vote against a reactionary government and in favor of a progressive government, or even a democratic one, there's a coup d'etat. Like in Chile, in Bolivia. And the peoples learned their lessons and saw that there was only one road to liberation: that of Cuba, that of



Grenada, that of Nicaragua. There is no other formula."

Cuba's support for the extension of the socialist revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean has resulted in new imperialist threats against it. Castro asked: "Should we lose our sleep over that? Have we not lived under constant threats for the past 21 years?"

Nevertheless, Castro said, "We are living through truly dangerous international moments that affect our region and affect the whole world."

He condemned Washington's "war-mongering policy, its plans to deploy over 500 medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, its plans to rearm NATO, its plans to set up military bases in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, set up bases in the Middle East, etc. For all this, the current U.S. administration is responsible."

#### U.S. Presidential Election

Taking up the Republican Party platform, which on foreign policy issues attacks Carter from the right, Castro declared:

"That platform must be denounced and world opinion has to be aware of this. It is essential that world opinion react to such a political program. Names are not impor-

tant to us; we don't care who becomes the next president of the United States; we do not intend to get mixed up in that. But we are interested in a situation that derives from the existence of a U.S. party program that threatens the world with war."

Castro explained that "we do not believe that there's anything or anybody in the world capable of turning the clock back historically. But we would be naive, very naive, we would be unrealistic, not to be aware of the dangers."

Cuba's economic tasks were placed within this broader international context by Castro. He pointed out that Cuba's economic achievements have allowed it to send "more than 50,000 self-sacrificing and magnificent Cubans" to "do exemplary work in scores of our sister countries."

He noted that "we are not only able to care for our own health and maintain the highest level of health in the Third World, but we are able to help other countries."

"And we must think about when the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala and other countries are victorious, because eventually they will triumph and no one and nothing can stop that, and they will need more internationalist doctors and more internationalist teachers, and more internationalist technicians."

"I believe I reflect the sentiments of our people when I say that should be our consciousness and that should be our conduct, without any chauvinism, without any national selfishness."

Continuing his discussion of internationalism, Castro spelled out exactly who Cuba must thank for the Soviet aid that is vital to the survival of the Cuban people—the Soviet workers and peasants:

"As I once said, to be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity, because other countries, other peoples, helped and continue to help us a great deal. The Soviet worker who grows wheat in the Ukraine or extracts oil in Siberia and ships it to the ports and from the ports to Cuba has helped us tremendously. So have the technicians from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the arms we've received to defend ourselves so that we can today feel secure and not be afraid of anyone—including Reagan, or King Kong, if he were president of the United States."

Castro called on the Cuban people to "continue to prepare ourselves and continue working to develop our country and contribute as much as we can to the development and progress of other peoples." □

## On Nicaragua, El Salvador, and the Role of the OAS

Some of the same themes that Cuban President Fidel Castro touched on in his July 26 speech at Ciego de Avila were also contained in an interview conducted July 25, as Castro flew from Nicaragua to Cuba, and which was published in the July 29 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada*.

Commenting on the lessons of the Nicaraguan revolution, Castro told *Barricada*: "I believe that the Revolution has accomplished extraordinary work in the first year, more than we did in our first year."

"At the end of the war Nicaragua had suffered more destruction than Cuba, it had suffered, to a certain extent, greater pillage than Cuba. We carried out the literacy campaign in the third year of the revolution, and Nicaragua did it in the first year."

"The Sandinista Front and the organizations of the masses have advanced in the first year more than was the case in Cuba."

In addition to commending the organization of the Sandinista army and the reorganization of agriculture, Castro said: "I also think that a collective, group leadership has been established more rapidly than in our case."

In regard to the international situation,

Castro said, "Imperialism has lost hegemony, but it is always dangerous, we cannot underestimate it."

"But precisely this conjunction of factors: economic crisis, upsurge of the revolutionary movement, the awakening of the Third World exasperates [the imperialists], causes them to despair, and can even lead them to possible military adventures."

Turning to the events in El Salvador, Castro declared: "I am absolutely convinced that nothing can stop the revolutionary struggle of the Salvadoran people, not even a Yankee intervention."

Castro stressed, "Solidarity with El Salvador and Bolivia, and also with the Chilean people, and the Paraguayan people, and the Uruguayan people, and the Guatemalan people, is essential. We cannot forget the extraordinary importance that international solidarity had in the victory of the Nicaraguan people, and it is our duty to elevate that solidarity to the maximum."

Asked about the role of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Latin America, Castro replied:

"You know that I am no friend of the OAS. You know that the OAS, as an instrument of imperialism, adopted crimi-

nal and traitorous positions against Cuba.

"But the OAS, like any institution, can reflect at a particular moment the changes in the correlation of forces in the hemisphere."

"And there is no doubt that when the case of Nicaragua was discussed in the OAS, the position, the resolution of the OAS, was positive."

"And we are the first to recognize it. In a critical and difficult moment, when there were Yankee interventionist plans, when there were plans to create a peace force to intervene in Nicaragua and stop the Sandinista victory, the role that the OAS played at that moment was positive."

"We salute that decision, because we have to be honest. And nothing would make us happier than if the OAS would have a similar anti-interventionist attitude in relation to El Salvador, if it would have an attitude of support to the Bolivian people. I think that in face of the growing number of countries with democratic and progressive positions, the OAS could exercise a very different influence than a fatal and negative influence; it could play a very different role than the fatal and negative role that it played in relation to the Cuban Revolution."

—David Frankel



# Statement of the Fourth International

## Solidarity With the Resistance of the Bolivian Masses!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on July 25.]

\* \* \*

The Bolivian generals have carried out another coup, overthrowing President Lidia Gueiler and setting up a military government under Gen. Luis García Meza.

A similar coup had been organized last November by Col. Alberto Natusch Busch. But after deposing Walter Guevara Arce and briefly remaining in power, Busch had to abandon his adventure in face of a large-scale response by the mass movement. He had been condemned around the world and even by a section of the army.

García Meza participated in Busch's operation and was named army commander. Although he was removed from that post several days later, he forced President Gueiler to name the "hard line" Rocha in his place, instead of the "moderate" Villaroel. Last May, García Meza resumed his functions as army commander. Two months were enough to prepare for a new coup, which all evidence indicates García Meza already began planning right after Busch's fall.

This time the operation was prepared more carefully, and included the participation of Argentine "advisers." No outward divisions appeared within the armed forces. The coup's success was made possible by this unity in the army, as well as by the rapidity with which the military was able to arrest many political and trade-union leaders and even assassinate some of them. This was so, despite a widely followed general strike and courageous popular resistance that one week later had still not been beaten back in the mining regions.

The stated aim of the Bolivian military was to prevent Hernán Siles Zuazo—a leader of the Left Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNRI)—from becoming president following a parliamentary vote. In both 1978 and 1979, there had also been no outcomes in those general elections; one was annulled because of fraud, another resulted in a coup by Gen. Juan Pereda that deposed Guevara Arce.

This time the generals intervened more directly and firmly, taking power in their hands in the reactionary tradition of former military dictators Rene Barrientos and Hugo Banzer.

Siles Zuazo represents the moderate wing of the bourgeoisie that is in favor of

"institutionalization" and a normalization of relations with the trade unions and workers political organizations. By himself, he represented no danger to the indignant ruling classes or to imperialism—which was actually opposed to preventing Siles Zuazo from assuming the presidency and which up to now has openly condemned the coup.

But the generals obviously feared that Siles Zuazo would not be able to control and channel the mass movement, especially in a period of economic catastrophe that does not allow even the slightest concession.

The coup was carried out with extreme brutality. There have already been many victims. And even fiercer repression threatens the miners, who once again are in the vanguard of heroic resistance. The stadium in La Paz, full of prisoners, invokes ominous memories for militant workers and defenders of democratic rights.

This new coup shows once again the narrow limits of the "institutionalization" that sectors of the ruling class and imperialism advocate. It reveals the precariousness of any restoration of democratic rights as long as the repressive apparatus of the dictatorship is not dismantled. It confirms in the most dramatic way that the working class and peasant masses can count only on their own broad and united organizations and self-defense bodies to defend their democratic rights, safeguard their most elementary interests, and avoid becoming the unarmed victims of the ruling class's savagery.

Unfortunately, it must be recognized that the many lessons of the past have not yet borne fruit. The coup was predictable. In fact, everyone was waiting for it to happen. In spite of this, none of the necessary preparations were taken that could have successfully counteracted it. The Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) played an important role, especially during the last year. But it was under the dominant influence of leaders who were unable or unwilling to ensure effective unity. Despite their statements, they did nothing to seriously organize workers and peasants to defend themselves.

Leaders and activists of the Bolivian workers movement have been hit hard. The workers movement is now facing the harshest repression ever, with the installation of a Chilean-type regime.

The Bolivian workers movement needs immediate and massive solidarity from the international workers movement.

The actions of the Bolivian putschists have been so cynical and brutal that up to now not one single voice has been raised in their defense. Even those outside of Bolivia who collaborated with them have not dared to openly admit their involvement.

It is still possible to prevent the resistance from being crushed and the generals from consolidating their reactionary dictatorial power. In every country, workers parties, trade unions, and committees in defense of democratic rights must immediately mobilize. They must participate in the protests already underway, such as the occupations of Bolivian embassies and other actions.

We must demand an immediate end to all repressive moves. We must demand the release of all political prisoners and full democratic rights for all organizations of the workers movement.

No country should recognize a president imposed by armed might! The new government should receive no military or economic aid!

Solidarity with all Bolivians who must once again flee into exile!

Against the military dictatorship of García Meza!

Solidarity with the Bolivian workers and peasants!

### Bolivian Military Terrorizes Mining Village

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, reported August 21 that it had accounts from witnesses describing how Bolivian troops rampaged through a mountain mining town, killing, kidnapping, and raping local residents who were opposed to the military regime.

Amnesty International asserted that as many as 900 people may have disappeared on August 4 from the village of Caracoles, eighteen days after the military coup.

Witnesses described how corpses were beheaded and loaded into three army trucks in this village, where opposition to the coup was strong. Soldiers were reported to have raped women and young girls.

It was not known how many of those who disappeared were dead, in military custody, or had escaped.

## Bolivia Under the Military Jackboot

LA PAZ—The military dictatorship led by Gen. Luis García Meza has declared that “all those who sabotage the national economy will be proclaimed traitors to the fatherland, and will be severely repressed.”

This threat is obviously directed against the workers, who have launched an active, clandestine resistance to the regime by boycotting production. In addition, Bolivian nationals abroad have called for the political, military, and economic isolation of the dictatorship.

In its efforts to contain the working-class resistance, the dictatorship proposed workers co-management of the state enterprises. But this only made things worse,

cratic liberties, a withdrawal of the military to the barracks, and the acceptance of the popular will expressed through the ballot box on June 29.<sup>1</sup>

### Is the Regime Getting Stronger?

There can be no doubt that the dictatorship has, at the moment, been able to secure important ground in its drive for survival. It would be wrong—and even illusory—to think that the dictatorship will be defeated soon, or that the “Bolivian people don’t tolerate dictators.” To think that indicates a lack of careful analysis of the relationship of forces and the state of the class struggle, or simply a belief in patriotic or chauvinist illusions.

UDP<sup>2</sup> continued to be a big barrier in the path of the mass upsurge. On the other, the workers could not—and still cannot—count on a revolutionary political leadership that is powerful enough and sufficiently rooted in the mass struggle.

Finally, the masses still put up with living under a capitalist system. Their political rejection of the bourgeoisie and its army is still not expressed in a hatred and willingness to fight to the death against the system, its institutions, and the ruling classes.

Overall, the relationship of forces today favors the workers and the revolution. The army in power expresses the interests of the monopolies and of international finance. It can count only on the support of a sector of the commercial petty-bourgeoisie, the pushers of bourgeois politics, the paramilitary and fascist gangs, the local political bosses, a layer of civil servants, and the most reactionary sector of the bourgeoisie.

The dictatorship suffers from three adverse factors: an economy that is out of balance and in total crisis, to which it has no short-term solutions; an inability to rely on any significant social base of support within Bolivia, combined with its international isolation; and a working class and popular resistance that is getting bigger and more organized each day.

However, the extremely repressive nature of the regime, its decision to crush all popular resistance with tanks and machine guns, and the precarious organization of the masses and the absence of a revolutionary political leadership makes it nearly impossible to overthrow this fascist military dictatorship in the short term.

Nevertheless, the interbourgeois conflicts and the scramble for power within the military high command (which is fueled by international pressures, particularly from the North Americans), makes changes in the general policy and the composition of the dictatorship likely. In fact, that is what is already happening.<sup>3</sup>

The military coup owes its victory to



Victims of repression in Santa Cruz, Bolivia jails.

since the workers openly rejected the dictator’s corporatist trap and denounced its fascist and anti-working-class character and its aim of installing a sordid war economy.

With patriotic rhetoric and a dose of extreme nationalism, the military bosses renewed their assault, playing the old game of “anti-imperialism,” of the “besieged fatherland,” of the need to shoulder together the burden of the economic crisis by strengthening production, making sacrifices, and working harder.

In response, the workers—especially the miners, who are in the vanguard—demanded the freedom of all political and trade-union prisoners, the respect of demo-

Even if the high combativity of the Bolivian masses had been able to force the military back to the barracks following the July 17 coup—as they were able to do in November—we do not believe that it would have opened the door to a truly revolutionary process leading toward socialism. On one hand, the electoralist illusions of the

1. In the June 29 elections, Hernán Siles Zuazo, the candidate of the Democratic People’s Unity (UDP) slate, won a plurality. He was expected to be named president when parliament convened in early August. The military was opposed to Siles Zuazo taking power, and the coup effectively abrogated the results of the elections.—*IP/I*

2. Unidad Democrática Popular—Democratic People’s Unity, an electoral front composed of the bourgeois Left Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNRI), the Bolivian Communist Party (PCB), and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).—*IP/I*

3. According to the government press, there have been changes in army posts: The commander of the 7th Division of the army in Cochabamba, Col. Mario Vargas Salinas, was relieved of his post and sent on a mission abroad; a follower of former strongman Hugo Banzer, he had been opposed to the coup. Gen. Hugo Echeverría, the commander of the army’s Second Corps in Santa Cruz, was also removed and will take over some administrative functions in the state apparatus; he too was opposed to the coup. And Col. Juan Soliz Castanon, the commander of the Military Region No. 1 in La Paz, was removed and named director general of the Post Office.



three main factors:

- The division of the left and the lack of a revolutionary political instrument of the masses,

- The demobilization, disorganization, and lack of arms of the workers,

- The ability of the coup leaders to correct the mistakes of Col. Alberto Natusch Busch; this time they decapitated the political and trade-union leaderships, made a quick military offensive throughout the country, and immediately occupied the communications centers and strategic power points.

The general strike call and the appeal to block the roads that were issued by the CONADE<sup>4</sup> came to the attention of the masses too late. And when they entered the fray they already could no longer count on the CONADE's leadership.

The masses went into an unequal battle, in a disorganized and spontaneous way, without leadership or any perspective. It was an act of great heroism and sacrifice by the masses, since the military's victory was ensured through the force of arms. The stubborn and heroic resistance of the people could not manage to turn the tide. The hoped-for miracle of overthrowing the military receded further and further from reality.

The best-organized resistance was centered in the mining areas, where the workers took up arms—old Mausser rifles, some revolvers, and especially sticks of dynamite. Fierce fighting took place, and twice the armed forces were thrown back. The army had to use selective bombings carried out by the air force's war planes and the threat of starvation to successfully terrorize the miners into defeat.

But there was no surrender. It was only through the signing of an agreement between the miners and the government that it was possible to end the strike and the fighting. The document, signed on July 29, prohibits the army from intervening in the mines, provides guarantees for the miners' leaders, promises no dismissals of workers and provides for the handing over, in bond, of the miners' radio station to the army.

It must be noted that the situation for the government in the mining sector was very critical and uncertain. As a result of the struggles and resistance of the miners, some soldiers went over to the other side of the barricades. In Corocoro there were mass desertions. In Viloco the army shot about fifty soldiers for desertion and mutiny. García Meza had to sanction the air force commander in Santa Cruz because the pilots had refused to bomb the mines.

4. Comité Nacional de Defensa de la Democracia (National Committee for the Defense of Democracy) is made up of left parties, populist and revolutionary groups, the Catholic and Methodist churches, the Permanent Assembly on Human Rights, the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB—Bolivian Workers Federation), and university figures, peasants, women, and others.

## Free the Bolivian Political Prisoners!

We recently received from Bolivia a partial list of political prisoners being held by the military following the July 17 coup. This list includes political figures, trade unionists, students, journalists, and religious figures.

Among those known to have been murdered by the military are Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, who was the general secretary of the Socialist Party-1; Oscar Sanjinez, general secretary of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB); Eliseo Clemente, a miner; and Gualberto Vega, a leader of the Trade Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia

(FSTMB). In addition, there is great concern that Juan Lechin, the executive secretary of the COB, may also have been murdered while in military custody.

Other trade-union leaders known to be in military custody include Simon Reyes, Max Toro, Victor Lima, Liber Forti, Armando Morales, Nicasio Choque, Noel Vasques, Arturo Villanueva, and peasant union leader Genaro Flores.

Political figures being held include Victor Sossa C. and Eduardo Dominguez of the Vanguardia Comunista del POR and Loreley Ballon of the POR (Combate).

The commander of the Cochabamba parachute regiment refused to invade the mines, arguing that those districts fell outside his jurisdiction.

Today, the curfew continues. Schools have been turned into barracks. Concentration camps have been opened. There are nearly 2,000 political and trade-union prisoners. And the country has been turned into a military zone.

Repression has diminished on a mass scale to give way to a selective repression against the leaders of the left, trade unionists, students, peasants, priests, and journalists. All democratic rights have been trampled underfoot. The trade-union leaderships have been declared "suspended." The universities have been "intervened" and the cities occupied militarily. House searches, ambushes, assassinations, and kidnappings take place every night, while the population is harassed by the continual shooting of the troops posted on every street corner.

The authority and power of uniformed barbarism has its jackboot on the neck of all working people!

The whole left has gone underground and is reorganizing its cadres. But it is obvious that any resistance on an organization-by-organization basis will be useless and will simply strengthen the dictatorship.

For its part, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Combate)<sup>5</sup> argues for the vital necessity of unity of our forces. It argues for the building of a revolutionary political instrument for the workers that can organize, as soon as possible, a popular offensive against the fascist military dictatorship.

This instrument can be nothing else but a united front of the left and workers organizations of the country. Its main aims will of necessity be the reconquest of

5. POR—Revolutionary Workers Party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International. The POR is often referred to by the name of its newspaper, *Combate* (Struggle), in order to distinguish it from several other groups on the Bolivian left that use the name POR.—IP/I

democratic rights for the people, the economic defense of the working people, the organization of popular resistance and the political-military offensive against the fascist dictatorship, the overthrow of the dictatorship, and the imposition of respect for the popular will expressed in the June 29 elections.

This will counter the maneuvers of imperialism and its local agents. It will point the struggles of our people in a revolutionary and socialist direction.

We are against the launching of isolated armed actions against the dictatorship in this period. We think that the priority task of the workers and their parties at the moment is the organization of the mass resistance. In order to do that, our duty is to deepen the class struggle, so as to substantially alter the relationship of class forces in favor of the workers. For this we consider it vital to preserve our leading cadres and concentrate our forces on forging unity, strengthening organization, and making propaganda and agitation among the masses.

Our relations with the Partido Socialista Uno, the MIR, the Vanguardia Comunista del POR, the PRTB-ELN, and the OST<sup>6</sup> show the general willingness to work toward such a united front of the left. But still more needs to be done.

We call on all workers parties and the left to discuss this demand of the workers and popular movement.

Go forward, struggle, win!

Workers to power!

Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Combate),  
Bolivian Section  
of the Fourth International  
July 30, 1980

6. Socialist Party-1; Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left); Communist Vanguard of the POR; Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores de Bolivia—Ejército de Liberación Nacional (Revolutionary Party of Bolivian Workers—National Liberation Army); Organización Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Organization).—IP/I



### Sri Lanka Regime Cracks Down on Strikers

By Janice Lynn

A general strike by workers in Sri Lanka that began on July 18 came under severe repression by the government of President Junius Jayewardene.

Faced with a galloping inflation rate of nearly 42 percent, the country's trade unions presented a number of demands to the government in early March. They called for a monthly wage increase of 300 rupees (about US\$20) and a 5 rupee raise for every per unit increase in the cost-of-living index.

But the government ignored the workers demands. So on May 24, the unions held a public meeting in the capital city of Colombo and voted to hold a demonstration on June 5.

The demonstration took the form of a lunch-hour picket line and in several work-places was accompanied by a half-day walkout. The government called a "counter picket," enabling it to unleash its thugs on the pickets while the police looked on. One union member was killed.

Then 12 of the 5,000 employees at the railway workshop in Ratmalana were suspended without reason. On July 7 the railway workers went out on strike. They called for reinstatement of their colleagues and for the proposed wage increases.

The strike rapidly spread to the entire railway, successfully crippling train service, then to government clerical workers. The trade-union organizations issued a call for a general strike. They estimated that some 140,000 workers responded to the call.

On July 16 the government invoked provisions of the Public Security Act to declare a state of emergency. Army, navy, and air force personnel were mobilized; all news of the strike was censored; all meetings of political parties or organizations were banned; trade-union offices were closed; the funds of unions on strike or sympathizing with the strike were frozen; and police were given powers to arrest and detain persons for fourteen days.

A campaign of intimidation was carried out with mass arrests of strikers and mass terminations. Treating the strikers as persons who had vacated their jobs, the government declared that all public sector strikers who had stayed away without valid reason had lost their jobs. This affected some 40,000 workers. All strikes in essential industries and in the government sector were henceforth outlawed. Private companies agreed to take back the strikers, but as new hires on a year's probation.

Using the pretext that the strikes were politically motivated, the government re-

fused to negotiate with the striking unions. "If the intention [of the strike] is to frighten the government, it won't succeed," declared President Jayewardene. "If it is to throw out the Government, it should not succeed."

Five political organizations answered these charges in a July 23 letter to Jayewardene. "The broad public are aware that the intolerably high and rising cost of living has driven the workers to resort to the only remedy they know," the letter stated. They condemned the government's brutal measures and demanded an end to the victimization and repression. They called on Jayewardene to grant the workers' demands.

The letter was signed by the general secretaries of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, and Ceylon Communist Party, as well as by the president of the Tamil United Liberation Front.

On August 8 a peaceful demonstration



JUNIUS JAYEWARDENE

by strikers protesting the loss of their jobs was violently attacked by police. Some 100 people were injured and thirty trade-union and political leaders were arrested, including a former cabinet member under the previous regime of Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

On August 14 the government announced that the one-month state of emergency would be ended.

But, as the August 16 London *Economist* pointed out, "a core of discontent remains and could well erupt again." □

### Behind the Plane Hijackings to Cuba

By José G. Pérez

[The following article appeared in the August 29 issue of the *Militant*, a U.S. revolutionary-socialist newsweekly.]

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"They came here with the wrong idea. They thought life here was easier."

That's how one New Jersey Cuban explained to an American newspaper the rash of hijackings by recent Cuban émigrés desperate to return to their homeland.

For years, the Voice of America had told them about the American paradise, where even the poorest worker lives like a king. When the boatlift from Cuba started, President Carter promised to receive the émigrés with an open heart and open arms.

What the refugees encountered has been totally different. Instead of finding open arms, thousands have been thrown into military bases converted into concentration camps. Thousands more have been thrown into the streets, jobless and friendless, without even a roof over their heads. Hundreds live in a tent city under a Miami expressway, evicted from their temporary refuge in the Orange Bowl sports stadi-

um to make way for football practice.

Compared to the United States, Cuba is a very poor country. Moreover, for twenty years she has been the target of terrorist attacks, military threats, and an economic blockade from the colossus to the north.

Nevertheless, every person in Cuba is guaranteed the *right* to a job; the *right* to housing; the *right* to food and clothing; the *right* to free education; the *right* to free medical care; the *right* to be treated with respect, whether they are young or old, male or female, black or white.

In the United States, the only rights the Cuban émigrés have found are the right to be exploited; the right to be oppressed; and the right to be dumped in prison without as much as a hearing if they utter a word in protest.

"It is too brusque a change," said one New Jersey Cuban who came several years ago. "The majority are under thirty, and those who are twenty-one grew up entirely under a communist system. You have to deprogram and program them all over again because logically many of these individuals cannot adapt to this system." □

# The 'Boat People' of Haiti

By Gus Horowitz

[The following article appeared in the June International Socialist Review, monthly magazine supplement to the U.S. socialist newsweekly the *Militant*.

[On July 2, after it was written, a federal judge in Miami ordered the Immigration and Naturalization Service to take no further steps to deport Haitian refugees from the United States until the government presented an acceptable plan for reconsidering the Haitians' asylum claims. The ruling resulted from the legal suit filed by the Haitian Refugee Center.]

\* \* \*

They have been coming by the hundreds every week, penniless refugees seeking asylum in the United States.

They leave their native land secretly, often by night, lest they be found out by the political police.

They set sail in flimsy craft on an 800-mile journey in shark-infested Caribbean waters. Fifty people may crowd together in a boat built for fifteen.

The journey, usually by sailboat, takes two to three weeks. Many do not survive.

Almost every week there is news of a capsized boat that couldn't weather the sea.

People die of thirst or of complications caused by drinking salt water.

Some are thrown overboard by unscrupulous captains who traffic in human suffering.

At journey's end they find no welcoming committees, no job offers, no public services at their disposal.

The news media do not tell the drama of their voyage.

The TV newscasters don't ask them about the wretchedness of life in their country—the poorest in the Western Hemisphere—or about the dictator who rules over them so ruthlessly.

The president doesn't suggest an airlift.

They are ignored by everyone, it seems, except the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Rather than overlooking the irregularity of their arrival, the INS hastens to deport them.

Who are they?

They are Haitians, America's "Black boat people," as they have been dubbed by leaders of the Black community here.

### Appeal for Asylum

There are 25-30,000 Haitians in south Florida who have come to the U.S. seeking asylum. An even larger Haitian community exists in Brooklyn, New York. The Haitians have been arriving steadily since

1972, with a large influx in recent months, as the dictatorship in Haiti has stepped up its repression.

Until May 17 Carter had the authority, as president, to grant the Haitians asylum as a group. But he refused to do so. Now, according to the Refugee Act of 1980, requests for asylum will be decided on a case-by-case basis, a procedure in which it is usually difficult to win.

But the Haitians' hopes really lie in the fight for public support. This is now centered around a legal suit that has been filed in a federal court in Miami.

Lawyers for the Haitian Refugee Center there are demanding a halt to deportation proceedings that were ordered against 5,000 Haitian refugees between July 1978 and June 1979.

U.S. immigration authorities flouted the U.S. Constitution in their drive to deport the Haitians, attorneys Ira Kurzban and Peter Schey charged in a court hearing.

"These cases should have received the care and consideration of a death penalty case," said Schey, alluding to the risks faced by those who are sent back to Haiti. "Instead, the Immigration and Naturalization Service gave asylum applicants less time than a judge in traffic court would have provided for a minor traffic ticket." (*Miami Herald*, May 8, 1980)

The Haitians insist that they are being victimized because they are Black, and because Washington doesn't want to embarrass Haiti's "president for life," Jean-Claude Duvalier, with whom the U.S. government maintains good relations.

On both counts the Haitians are fighting the built-in racism and political bias of U.S. immigration law, which continues along the lines of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, despite a few cosmetic changes in recent years.

In 1975-76, for example, the last year in which such statistics were made available, the U.S. denied asylum to 96 percent of all applicants from right-wing dictatorships such as those in Chile, Iran, the Philippines, and Haiti. But it granted refuge to 95 percent of applicants from countries it deemed communist.

Since 1972, only fifty-eight people from Haiti have been granted sanctuary here.

The U.S. government contends that the Haitians are economic, not political, refugees and as such are subject to deportation.

### Poverty and Repression

There is no denying their poverty, Haitians answer. But the Haitian people are

kept in poverty by a tyrannical regime that jails, tortures, and murders those who dissent and fight for change. Facing persecution at home, thousands have fled.

Per capita income in Haiti is barely \$200 per year. Unemployment and underemployment run over 50 percent. Minimum wages for those who work are only \$2.20 per day, and even that is not attainable by many.

The 1979 Economic Trends Report drawn up by the U.S. embassy in Haiti presents the following portrait:

"Haiti is the poorest country in the hemisphere and one of the poorest on earth. It has an area of 10,741 square miles . . . of which less than one-fifth is arable although one-third is cultivated.

"There are only about 2,300 miles of road, of which less than 600 are paved . . . Port-au-Prince [the capital] and some provincial cities have electricity but most of the country is not electrified.

"The telecommunications network is limited and unreliable. Most of the approximately 20,000 telephone lines are in the Port-au-Prince area.

"Sanitation and health are major problems, particularly in rural areas. The infant mortality is among the highest in the world. The over-all death rate is high, but still the population growth rate is about 2 per cent.

"Hospitals are rudimentary, and, with few exceptions, found only in urban areas. Unemployment and underemployment are major problems. Less than 20 per cent of the population is literate. Technical, mechanical and middle-management skills are scarce." (*Miami Herald*, February 8, 1980)

"Yet it is not economic privation that causes the continuing exodus of Haitians from their homeland," comments James Nelson Goodsell of the *Christian Science Monitor*; it is "rather a harsh political and social system that, despite outward appearance of change, remains much as it has been for the past 20 years.

"Haiti is ruled by Jean-Claude Duvalier, who, in his 20s, is Haiti's President for Life. He acquired this title eight years ago upon the passing of his father, François, universally called "Papa Doc," who had ruled the island nation with an iron grip for more than 13 years." (October 30, 1979)

### Duvalier & Big Business

The unbridled corruption and wanton brutality of the elder Duvalier had become so scandalous by the 1960s that the island's value for capitalist investment was being undermined. To gain credibility for its "Alliance for Progress" policies at the time, Washington even terminated official U.S. aid to Haiti in 1963. (Off-the-record funds were still channeled to the staunchly anti-Cuban regime, however.)

But with the accession of Jean-Claude to the presidency in 1971, the U.S. saw an



opportunity to change the regime's reputation. Talk of liberalization and greater internal stability created a climate that encouraged aid and investment.

So too did Jean-Claude Duvalier's offer of cheap land to foreign investors, and his granting them exemption from taxes and duties.

Almost 200 American and other imperialist-owned companies set up plants in Haiti in the 1970s, mostly in textiles and the assembly of light goods such as electronics, toys, and furniture. Ninety percent of all baseballs, for example, are now stitched by Haitian women who earn \$1.80 per day.

Ninety-five percent of Haitian goods "assembled for export" are sent to the United States for consumption or further finishing.

As an adjunct to that type of imperialist exploitation there has been a big step-up in loans and grants to develop the economic infrastructure needed to support light manufacture. Aid to the regime increased as much as 800 percent between 1974 and 1978, and is still growing.

Just as before, however, much of the money ends up in the pockets of the Duvalier family's coterie, either directly or by bookkeeping transfers. The *Washington Post* reported that "nearly half the government's internal revenues are unbudgeted and deposited into what one foreign aid official called an unaudited 'presidential slush fund.'" (September 10, 1978).

"Despite the publicity claims," the *Post* reporter concluded, "there has been little visible change" for the people of Haiti since the Jean-Claude regime took over.

#### U.S. Military Involvement

With imperialist investment increasing, and with no real change in the nature of official corruption or mass poverty, it

should not be surprising to find also that there has been no real change in U.S. military intervention or internal repression.

Ever since the turn of the century U.S. imperialism has looked upon the Caribbean and Central America as a private reserve for exploitation and military domination.

The U.S. interventions in Puerto Rico and Cuba during and after the Spanish-American War were soon followed by the military occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916-1924), Nicaragua (1926-1933) and Haiti (1915-1934).

When the marines finally withdrew from the four latter countries, they left behind powerful indigenous army and police forces that eventually became the foundations for the Batista, Trujillo, Somoza, and Duvalier dictatorships—four of the most brutal and corrupt regimes ever to reign in Latin America, and all four totally subservient to Washington.

The stepped-up imperialist investment in Haiti in the 1970s was accompanied by the resumption of open military aid to the Haitian dictatorship. By 1978, "Baby Doc's" regime was officially receiving 40 percent of Washington's military aid in the Caribbean.

"This U.S. military aid," says the U.S.-based *Haiti Report*, published by the Friends of Haiti, "is directly responsible for the suppression of the rights of the Haitian people; U.S. arms perpetuate in power the Duvaliers who have no popular support." (Summer 1976)

#### Repression Documented

Labor, civil libertarians, church groups, and others have testified that "Baby Doc's" regime is every bit as cruel as his father's.

Howard McGuigan, legislative represen-

tative of the AFL-CIO, gave his impressions to the Senate Appropriations Committee in 1974. "The AFL-CIO witness stressed that the dictatorship in Haiti has not become significantly less oppressive with Jean-Claude Duvalier. Midnight arrests, secret police and 'absolute suppression of all freedoms' still are the tools of Haiti's rulers." (*AFL-CIO News*, August 3, 1974)

Amnesty International, the internationally respected civil liberties organization, has exposed the continuing repression of the Duvalier regime through the years.

"Amnesty International remains seriously concerned with the continued repression of dissent in Haiti and the denial of human and legal rights. . . ." the organization wrote in 1973. "The variety of torture to which the detainee is subjected is incredible: clubbing to death, maiming of the genitals, food deprivation to the point of starvation, and the insertion of red-hot poker into the back passage. . . . In fact, these prisons are death traps. . . . [and] find a parallel with the Nazi concentration camps of the past but have no present-day equivalent." (Quoted in briefing paper of the National Council of Churches, April 9, 1980)

In a 1976 report Amnesty International stated that "under the surface the repression is still as strong as it ever was. . . . It is common practice just before interrogation to attach prisoners by their ankles to the back of a jeep and then drag them at high speed over the ground. During interrogation prisoners are subjected to electric shocks and starved until they can no longer stand. Their torturers then beat them with the cry of 'Stand up for the dead!'"

The prisons in Haiti, reported Amnesty International in 1977, "have one of the world's highest mortality rates among detainees."

In 1978 the organization reaffirmed that "the apparatus of repression established under François Duvalier remains in place under Jean-Claude Duvalier."

And in 1979, it remained "convinced that political imprisonment and torture still take place and that the government has brought neither law nor practice into conformity with even minimal international standards."

#### The Tontons Macoutes

Chief instrument of the repression are the dreaded Tontons Macoutes, the secret police set up by François Duvalier and maintained by Jean-Claude with the only change being a stress on their official name, the Volunteers for National Security.

This secret police network, reported the October 7, 1979, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "continues to strike terror over the length and breadth of this nation of 6 million. . . . They are not paid. They exist by practicing extortion on the people. They



"President-for-Life" Jean-Claude Duvalier

are a law unto themselves."

The Tontons Macoutes, says the *Christian Science Monitor's* Goodsell, "are reportedly again operating and terrorizing the population. These sunglasses-wearing thugs were fanatically loyal to 'Papa Doc' and in return were given virtual license to torture and kill." (October 30, 1979)

A *Miami Herald* reporter noted earlier this year that the regime had for a time tried to present an image of limited liberalization, but this was put "in the deep freeze" after Duvalier became frightened by the recent ousters of dictators such as the shah in Iran, Eric Gairy in Grenada, Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, and three despots in Africa.

After that, reports the *Herald*, "a censorship law was enacted [in Haiti], a repressive press law approved, harassment of opposition figures stepped up and the Volunteers for National Security (VSN) became more visible and more active. . . .

"The culmination of a return to more repressive measures came Nov. 9 when about 60 men armed with clubs broke up a meeting of the fledgling Haitian Human Rights League. Several foreign diplomats, in attendance as observers, were injured in the melee." (February 6, 1980)

Clearly, the Haitians who fled here did so with good reason to fear for their safety.

#### Returnees Victimized

In greatest danger, however, are those who are deported or return back to Haiti. During the hearing in federal court on this issue dramatic testimony was presented by several victims who had returned.

One of them, Solivece Romet, thirty-four, fled Haiti in 1967, and lived in Nassau for ten years. He returned in 1977 to visit his sick mother.

Despite the fact that he had received assurances about his safety from the Haitian consul, he was picked up by the police, forced to stand for days in a two-by-three foot cell, and beaten so badly that he suffered brain damage affecting his speech and memory.

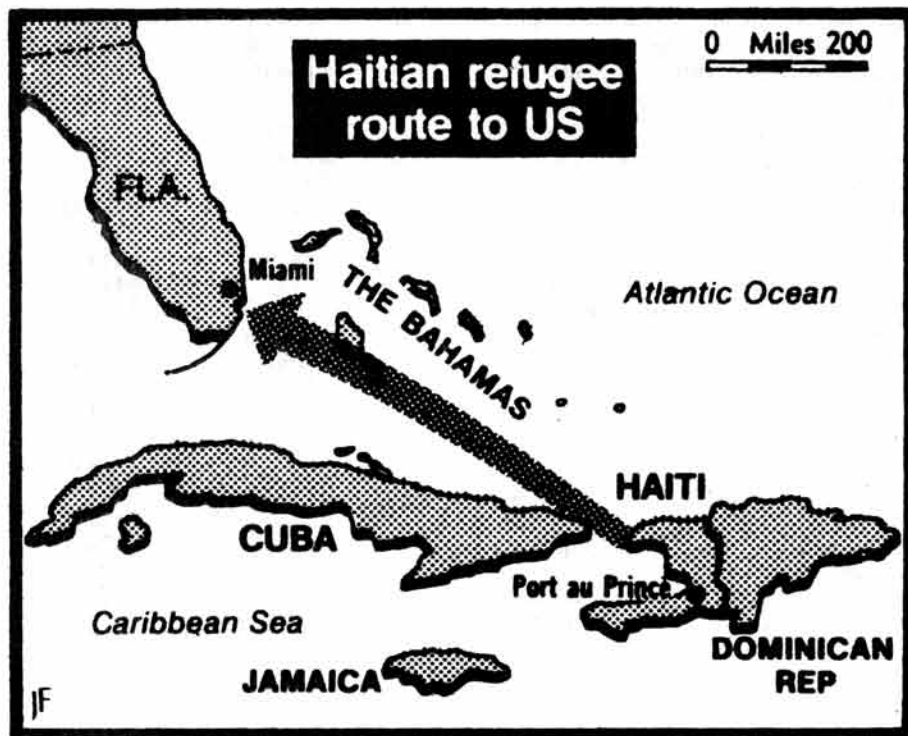
Romet eventually escaped and came here. But U.S. authorities have three times denied his request for asylum.

Six hundred Haitians were deported from the U.S. since 1974, until a halt was called in the summer of 1979 by District Court Judge James King, pending the outcome of the lawsuit.

Seeking to bolster its argument for deportation, the U.S. State Department sent a study team to Haiti to find out what had happened to the 600.

They found only 86.

Rather than investigating what had happened to the missing 500, the study group went after the 86. By arranging interviews over public radio, and by conducting them within earshot of potential informers, they easily got the 86 to say that they had originally left Haiti for



economic reasons rather than fear of persecution.

The State Department team never even bothered to check Haiti's prisons!

More credible evidence about the fate of the returnees was presented on behalf of the Haitians at the court hearing in Miami.

A former member of the Tontons Macoutes and a former archivist in the general headquarters of the Haitian armed forces both testified that there are standing orders to arrest all refugees sent back to Haiti who had sought asylum abroad.

These returnees received "especially brutal treatment," said the ex-Tonton Macoute. They were constantly beaten and often executed. (*Miami Herald*, November 24, 1979)

Many are sent to the terrible prison, Fort Dimanche. Daniel Voltaire, a former soldier at the presidential palace in Haiti, said that "almost every morning, ambulances from the general hospital would come to the dungeons of Fort Dimanche and pick up the bodies which were lying on the floor." (*The Press*, May 1980)

#### How U.S. Treats Haitians

As if the prospect of being sent back to such a dreaded fate were not enough to beset the Haitian refugees, they are treated here in inhuman fashion.

Many are jailed. Rev. Gérard Jean-Juste, head of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, testified last December that in the south Florida prisons "Haitian detainees suffer worse than the prisoners who committed crimes."

He cited an October 27, 1979, *Saturday Review* interview with James Lester, the warden at Immokalee jail. Lester, the

magazine reported, "readily admitted that his men and the Immigration officers had beaten the Haitians. 'They did not want to move when we told them to move,' said Lester in an interview at the jail. 'We had lots of fun there for a few minutes. There was some bloodshed and we cracked some heads.'"

Richard Gullage, deputy district director of the INS admitted in court that "at one point we were incarcerating all Haitian males." He testified that orders from Washington in late 1978 called for the imprisonment of up to 1,000 Haitians for periods up to ninety days.

The government claimed that the detentions were for health examinations. But Gullage admitted that "to my knowledge that has never been done [before] with Haitians or any other [immigrant] group." (*Miami Herald*, April 19, 1980)

The INS, Gullage said, was ordered in 1978 to "expedite" deportation proceedings against the Haitians. The immigration judges were ordered to speed up their schedules threefold. This resulted in the deportation of up to fifty Haitians a day from south Florida.

Those Haitians not slapped in jail or facing deportation proceedings are not much better off. They are denied work permits, can't find jobs, and often have neither food nor shelter.

"There are people here with nowhere to stay," Jean-Juste told the *New York Times*. "They are sleeping in cars, garages and parks, or just walking the streets at night." (May 14, 1980)

#### 'Starvation is the Issue'

Jean-Juste testified in court that "malnutrition and indeed starvation are the



reality for many Haitian children living right here in Dade County. Many children wander daily, not being able to attend school. Their houses are overcrowded. In some cases there are five or more persons to a room. Some parents are frustrated to death not being able to care for themselves and their children; their children falling ill will be abandoned or die after being refused care in some hospitals for lack of legal status." (December 4, 1979)

Steve Forester, an attorney for the National Council of Churches, says that "these people are not getting work permits, and they're starving because of it." (*Miami Herald*, April 18, 1980)

"Starvation is the issue," says Athalie Range, a well-known figure in Miami's Black community. "The need is now." (*Miami Herald*, April 17, 1980)

In an April 2 letter to President Carter asking for asylum for the Haitians, twenty-seven national leaders of the Black community, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, trade-union leaders, public officials, and others cited reports by health officials "that the primary health problem facing the refugees is no longer malnutrition, but starvation."

"In our judgement," the signatories state, "the record of these [court] proceedings and [congressional] debates, numerous reports from Amnesty International and Dade County officials, and other public accounts of the suffering Haitian refugees in South Florida have endured over the last seven years, establishes that granting them asylum in the United States is the only humane and practical solution to their plight."

Signers included Shirley Chisholm, John Conyers, and Ronald Dellums of the U.S. Congress; Maurice Ferre, mayor of Miami; Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League; Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Charles W. Cherry, president of the Florida NAACP; Sol Chaikin, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Claire Randall, general secretary of the National Council of Churches; and Andrew Young, former ambassador to the United Nations.

Also supporting the Haitians' appeal for asylum is the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

#### Protest Racist Treatment

Washington's discriminatory treatment of the Haitian refugees has met with mounting opposition.

In March, as the Haitians' cause became more and more urgent, representatives of the Hispanic community in south Florida joined with Black leaders, church figures, and city officials to press for political asylum for the Haitians.

Eduardo Padron, chairman of the Spanish-American League Against Discrimination, said at that time that "the greatest and most important human issue in Dade County today is that of the Haitians." (*Miami Herald*, March 4, 1980)

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, announced on May 7 the labor federation's support for the Haitians' right to asylum and called for granting them assistance and services comparable to that received by the Cubans.

He rejected the claim that the refugees would take jobs away from other workers. "The worst thing that could happen to trade unionism," he said, "is for groups of workers to be set against each other in a competition for scarce jobs." (*New York Times*, May 8, 1980)

Members of the Congressional Black Caucus accused the Carter administration of racism and deliberate deceit in its treatment of the Haitian refugees, voicing a feeling widely held among Black people.

The treatment of the Cubans, six Black Caucus members said in an April 14 letter to Carter, "stands in stark contrast to what we believe to be the systematic violation of due process, equal protection and inhumanity accorded the Haitian Refugees in Miami, Florida."

The point was put even more bluntly by Jesse Jackson, who led a march of 1,000 in Miami on April 19 to demand asylum for the Haitians.

#### Mistreated Because They're Black

"The distinction is whether you're Black or whether you're white," he said in reference to U.S. immigration policy. He

warned against getting "trapped in a Cuban-Haitian struggle," and called for admitting all who want to come here. (*Miami Herald*, April 20, 1980)

"The day of liberation is coming," he told the enthusiastic, cheering crowd of Haitians and their supporters.

That protest opened a three-week period in which there were five demonstrations on behalf of the Haitians.

But perhaps the most moving appeal for asylum was made by Gérard Jean-Juste, in the conclusion of his court testimony last year:

"These Black boat people left behind good jobs—left the land they had worked as their fathers had before them—because they could no longer endure the terror and political oppression of *Duvalier*.

"Seeking refuge here, they have encountered instead a harsh welcome. Some die needlessly before reaching our shores; those who survive the trip arrive only to face imprisonment.

"Only the federal government can provide a solution. We beseech you to grant these Black boat people political asylum—refugee status—as you have granted to the boat people from Southeast Asia before them. Only the federal government can grant these Black refugees the relief they seek to build their lives anew. Only the federal government can grant political asylum.

"This is the only solution." □

## Founder of British Trotskyist Movement

### Hugo Dewar, 1910-1980

By Pierre Frank

Hugo Dewar died on June 14 at the age of seventy. For more than half a century, he was part of the vanguard of the British revolutionary movement.

First, he was a member of the Independent Labour Party. Then, following the 1926 general strike, he joined the British Communist Party.

As the Nazis rose to power in Germany, he opposed the CP's "third period" Stalinist policies. With members of the Balham Group—named after a neighborhood in London—he founded the first Trotskyist organization in Britain—the Communist League, British section of the International Left Opposition.

During the fairly chaotic history of the Trotskyist movement (as well as of other revolutionary organizations) in Britain, Hugo Dewar didn't stop his political activities—especially during the Second World War. Although at times he expressed political or tactical differences with the Fourth International, he never gave in to Social Democracy or Stalinism.

He wrote books and pamphlets on such topics as the policies of the British Communist Party, the Moscow Trials, and the events in Hungary. During these years he also wrote poetry.

During the tragic years of fascism's victory on the European continent and of Stalinism's triumph in the Communist parties, his London apartment was always open to numerous revolutionary exiles who took refuge there. I am sure that none of them have forgotten the hospitality and fraternal camaraderie with which they were received by Hugo (who spoke several languages) and his companion, Margaret—herself a political refugee from Eastern Europe.

Hugo was from a generation that went through many defeats and setbacks. But he never abandoned the working-class fight and never lost his convictions in the victory of the socialist revolution.

We express our sorrowful condolences to his companion, Margaret Dewar, and our solidarity in these trying times. □

# DOCUMENTS

## Fidel Castro's July 26 Speech

### 'What Happened in Chile Can Never Happen in Nicaragua'

[The following is the full text of a speech given by Cuban President Fidel Castro before a crowd of more than 100,000 in Ciego de Avila on July 26, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks.

[The text has been taken from the August 3 issue of the Cuban English-language weekly *Granma*.]

\* \* \*

Distinguished Guests;  
People of Ciego de Avila;  
Compatriots: (APPLAUSE)

New things are in the air. Last year, we celebrated our 26th of July one week after the great Sandinista victory, and a large number of Nicaraguan guerrilla commanders attended the festivities. As a result, our 26th of July celebration of 1979 turned into a Sandinista celebration. (APPLAUSE)

And again this year, a close relationship was established between the Nicaraguan people and the Cuban people, (APPLAUSE) because, as fate would have it, and as a result of the struggle of the peoples, both dates are in the same month. But something else. Since there is a seven-day difference between the

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#### **Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada . . . three of us have shaken the yoke of imperialism in the last 20 years in a radical way, once and for all . . .**

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two dates, not only do we always have in July a 19th and a 26th, it also happens that if the 19th is a Saturday, so is the 26th (APPLAUSE) and if the 19th is a Monday, so is the 26th, (APPLAUSE) and we have just come back from Nicaragua.

It is inevitable that we say something about Nicaragua. It is of interest to us, all of us. Not only we Cubans, but all Latin Americans.

I'm sure you all realize what it means, the impression, the happiness, the enthusiasm, the optimism, the emotion involved in arriving at the second Latin American country to free itself of imperialism. (APPLAUSE) In this hemisphere, there are now not two but three of us because Grenada has to be included, too. (APPLAUSE)

Naturally, Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada are not the only progressive countries. There are other progressive governments, friendly with Cuba. We could mention, for example, the Government of Mexico, (APPLAUSE) and we will soon have the great honor of welcoming the president of the sister Republic of Mexico. (APPLAUSE) There are governments like that of our dear friend Manley, in Jamaica; (APPLAUSE) There are governments like that of Panama. (APPLAUSE) But three of us have shaken the yoke of imperialism in the last 20 years in a radical way, once and for all (APPLAUSE) and it is a historical imperative that one day we'll all be free. (APPLAUSE) We'll either be free or we will cease to exist (APPLAUSE) because one day the battle cries of "Patria libre o morir" and "Patria o muerte" will be the battle cries of all the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. (APPLAUSE)

What we saw in Nicaragua was really stimulating and encouraging. We visited practically the entire country in only a few days, on a series of tours lasting as much as sixteen and a half

hours non-stop. We were in Estelí, León, Matagalpa, Masaya, Granada, Rivas and the Southern Front. First of all, Managua and also Bluefields, on the Atlantic coast. You're probably wondering why it's called Bluefields. This is because the English were there at a time when the English and the Yankees were vying for the territory and wanted to have control over the area where they could build a canal. So the English built a sort of empire there among the Indian communities and for a time controlled practically the entire Nicaraguan Atlantic coast.

Nicaragua's land area is larger than Cuba's. The most developed area is the central and the western part, the Pacific side, that is. The Atlantic side, while more than half the country, is practically undeveloped.

Nicaragua is a country that, we might say, has more natural resources than Cuba. It has great water resources, which means vast possibilities to produce all the electric power it needs. They also have geothermal energy, which can be obtained from the volcanoes. They have large forests and large tracts of very fertile land. They have large lakes capable of producing food for the population. They have a large source of marine products all along their coast, a large shelf rich in every species of seafood and fish fit for human consumption. Therefore, the population, which is quite small—approximately one fourth of that of Cuba—has sufficient natural resources for great development in the future.

Needless to say, Somoza ran Nicaragua like a sort of private hacienda. Somoza owned the largest estates, most industry and production, so simply by confiscating the property of Somoza and his followers, the Sandinistas got control of a large percentage of the country's industry and agriculture.

Nicaragua does not have a socialist system. What it has is a mixed economy. There's even a multiparty system. There's the Sandinista Front and left-wing groups, and why not? there are also several right-wing parties. Therefore, we can't imagine Nicaragua's situation as exactly like that of Cuba.

In Nicaragua there's a new revolutionary project, in the sense that what they have in mind at this stage is national reconstruction with the cooperation of everybody. As they announced on July 19, they also aim to put into effect an agrarian reform covering lands standing idle, but they're also trying to stimulate private industrialists who have remained in the country and

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#### **There's even a multiparty system. There's the Sandinista Front and left-wing groups—and why not?—there are also several right-wing parties . . .**

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middle level farmers—who were capitalist farmers—to contribute the utmost to national reconstruction. This in itself is a new experience in Latin America.

From our point of view and in the light of the international situation and the Nicaraguan reality, this project they have worked out is the best, the wisest at this moment.

We met with the people in many parts, in many places. We could see they are a very radical people, a very revolutionary people, a people who, in spite of the illiteracy there, are extremely courteous and educated. They're a very hospitable, very warm, very enthusiastic, very disciplined, very intelligent, very aware and very



revolutionary people. (APPLAUSE) It is impressive to see what the people of Nicaragua are like one year after their victory.

Of course, everywhere you go you see the signs of the struggle that was waged there, particularly the last battles for the liberation of the cities. All that destruction, the damage caused by the

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## There's no such thing as a bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua . . .

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artillery shells, but the bombs, the marks left by the bullets must be seen to have a clear idea of the intensity of the struggle there.

The sight of Managua in ruins is also most impressive. The downtown section was completely destroyed by the earthquake. Therefore, Managua was rebuilt and goes on developing around the section that was destroyed by the earthquake.

However, in Nicaragua there were two earthquakes: the one that destroyed Managua and Somozaism, that destroyed the country. And whereas the quake that devastated Managua had its toll of 10,000 dead, the earthquake of Somozaism had 50,000 dead. It is difficult to find a family in Nicaragua that hasn't lost a son, a brother or some other close relative.

What the Sandinistas have been able to do in the reconstruction of the country in the first year of revolution is really impressive. They even have things that we didn't have in our first year. For example, they have the masses already organized: the trade unions, the Sandinista Defense Committees, the women, the young people, the Sandinista Children's Associations, somewhat like our Pioneers, and they have the Sandinista National Liberation Front, well organized throughout the country and which is like the revolutionary Party and the vanguard of Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE) They have a collective leadership composed of a group of guerrilla fighters, with a long record, with great prestige and a lot of experience who, in spite of the long years of struggle, are still a very young group, but with the advantage of being both experienced and mature.

They have a Government of National Reconstruction composed of experienced, capable men. There's a close relationship between the Sandinista Front and the Government of National Reconstruction; there's great unity among the Sandinistas, in the Sandinista ranks and in the Sandinista leadership. Therefore, all the conditions exist for the revolutionary process to continue successfully.

The Sandinista struggle earned great sympathy and great international solidarity, not only in Latin America but throughout the world. The broad form of government they have set up is without a doubt very favorable for continuing to have the broadest international support.

Last year we challenged the Western world to show who would help the Nicaraguan people the most, a sort of emulation in assistance. We stated our willingness to cooperate to the best of our possibilities, and we asked all other countries—capitalist, oil producing and socialist countries alike—to give the Nicaraguan Revolution their utmost support, because it really needed it.

Now, then, is there a revolution in Nicaragua or not? (SHOUTS OF "YES!") There is a real revolution in Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE). And does the existence of the bourgeoisie, of private property in Nicaragua mean that there's a bourgeois revolution there? (SHOUTS OF "NO!") No! There's no such thing as a bourgeois revolution in Nicaragua. In Nicaragua there is, in the first place, a people's revolution whose main strength is found in the workers, the peasants, the students and the middle strata of the population. That people's revolution conducts the process, plans the process, so that the right thing be done at the right moment.

The fundamental thing in a revolution, the fundamental thing to be able to speak of a revolution, a people's revolution, is to have the people and the weapons.

What happened in Chile can never happen in Nicaragua, under no circumstances, because the people have the power, (APPLAUSE) because the people have the weapons. (APPLAUSE)



FIDEL CASTRO

Granma

Therefore, the revolution is guaranteed. And the revolution plans its development according to the country's real and objective conditions.

My meetings were not limited to the people. I also met with almost 400 trade union leaders, explaining our experiences in every field. I also met with a large number of priests and progressive religious leaders who are on the side of the revolution and give it their full support. (APPLAUSE)

Nicaragua is a country where religious feelings go far deeper than they did in Cuba, therefore, the support given to the revolution by those religious sectors is very important.

In Chile once, and also in Jamaica, we spoke of the strategic alliance between Christians and Marxist-Leninists. (APPLAUSE) If the revolution in Latin America were to take on an antireligious character, it would split the people. In our country, the Church was, generally speaking, the Church of the bourgeoisie, of the wealthy, of the landowners. This is not the case in many countries in Latin America, where religion and the Church have deep roots

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## Many religious leaders have stopped talking exclusively about rewards in the other world, for they see the hunger of the people, the poverty, the ignorance, suffering and pain . . .

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among the people. The reactionary classes have tried to use religion against progress, against revolution, and, in effect, they achieved their objective for quite a long time. However, times change, and imperialism, the oligarchy and reaction are finding it more and more difficult to use the Church against revolution.

Many religious leaders have stopped talking exclusively about rewards in the other world and happiness in the other world and are talking about the needs of this world and happiness in this

world. (APPLAUSE) For they see the hunger of the people, the poverty, the unhealthy conditions, the ignorance, suffering and pain.

If we bear in mind that Christianity was, in the beginning, the religion of the poor, that in the days of the Roman Empire it was the religion of the slaves, because it was based on profound human precepts, there is no doubt that the revolutionary movement, the socialist movement, the communist movement, the Marxist-Leninist movement, would benefit a great deal from honest leaders of the Catholic Church and other religions returning to the Christian spirit of the days of the Roman slaves. (APPLAUSE) What's more, Christianity would also benefit, along with socialism and communism. (APPLAUSE)

And some religious leaders in Nicaragua asked us why strategic alliance, why only strategic alliance; why not speak of unity between Marxist-Leninists and Christians. (APPLAUSE)

I don't know what the imperialists think about this. But I'm absolutely convinced the formula is highly explosive. (APPLAUSE). It exists not only in Nicaragua but also in El Salvador, where the revolutionary forces and the Christian forces are closely united.

Look how reaction and fascism are constantly murdering priests, how the archbishop of El Salvador was brutally assassi-

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### **Any student of history will learn a great deal from every new revolution . . .**

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nated. This is because reactionaries and fascists—many of whom go to church every Sunday—when they see their interests affected, endangered, do not hesitate to plant bombs in churches and to assassinate priests and bishops. They'd murder the Pope if they could. (APPLAUSE)

But not only in El Salvador; there's Guatemala, where there's also constant repression and murder, including that of priests. There are numerous priests who are on the side of the revolution.

I'm telling you this so you'll have an idea of how situations change, how different they are in each country, and therefore we cannot be thinking of a strictly Cuban formula, because that formula is specifically for us. Of course, many of the other formulas have many of the ingredients that ours has, (APPLAUSE) but they'll never be completely alike.

We also met with the leaders of the Sandinista Front, about 100 of them. They requested this meeting, and we explained our experiences to them. And I want to tell you that in those meetings I was very critical of our Revolution, because I believe that honesty is worth more than anything else in the world and we cannot be arrogant, or vain, or consider ourselves as savants. I do believe we are wise; but we are wise because we know how to recognize our own shortcomings, (APPLAUSE) because we know how to learn from our mistakes, (APPLAUSE) and we are wise because we are self-critical, (APPLAUSE) because we are modest (APPLAUSE). And we sincerely believe that extraordinary experiences can be drawn from our Revolution.

If you were to ask us what we'd do if we were to start all over again, I would tell you that we'd do exactly the same thing and we would arrive at this point where we are today, exactly the same way. (APPLAUSE) Except that there's no doubt that we'd do it much better! (APPLAUSE)

When I spoke in Revolution Square in Managua, I wasn't there to give advice. I said I wasn't there to teach but learn; that I wasn't going to influence anybody, that I was there to be influenced. Any student of history who is really interested in politico-revolutionary processes will learn a great deal from every new revolution. (APPLAUSE)

There were some people who were worried about Fidel visiting Nicaragua and were wondering if the visit might not be harmful to the Nicaraguans. The Nicaraguans knew full well that I never mentioned visiting Nicaragua and that I never invited myself to go there. They knew full well that I was ready to visit Nicaragua the day and the time that suited them, (APPLAUSE) be it the first

year, the second, the third, or the next ten or 20 years, or never. Because we have no use for any vanity, (APPLAUSE) for any kind of chauvinism, (APPLAUSE) or for any kind of hegemonism. (APPLAUSE) Our Revolution wants to be an example; it does not want to be hegemonic. (APPLAUSE) Our Revolution is not interested in appearing as the leader or leading the peoples. We'd be very glad to bring up the rear—the very rear—of a whole revolutionary Latin America and Caribbean. (APPLAUSE) What we're interested in is the revolution, the liberation of our peoples. And this is why, when we went to Nicaragua it wasn't because the Sandinistas invited us but because they demanded that we visit Nicaragua. (APPLAUSE)

I'm saying this as a warning to those who think we are conceited and that we are trying to make a big show of ourselves. Our friendship with the Sandinistas wasn't born yesterday, or a year back, but 20 years ago. (APPLAUSE) And we have very close relations, but based on mutual respect and confidence.

The imperialists and the reactionaries are alarmed over what may happen in Guatemala and El Salvador and all the other places. We are not alarmed. The imperialists are alarmed when there are Marxist-Leninists; they are horrified. To them, the sight of a Marxist is like seeing a ghost, like seeing the Devil himself; they lose sleep over it. But we are not alarmed when we see the bourgeoisie, (APPLAUSE) we laugh. When the reactionaries see a socialist, a Communist, a Marxist-Leninist, they think that's the end of the bourgeoisie; but when we see a member of the bourgeoisie we never think that socialism and communism are coming to an end. (APPLAUSE) This is because bourgeois society already belongs to the past, as do slave society and feudal society. The time will come when people will ask, "What was that madness called capitalism?" "What was it good for?" Capitalism will then be a past stage, here and elsewhere.



Chilean troops. In Nicaragua, the workers and peasants have the weapons.



I'm explaining all these things so that nobody will be confused and in order to express our confidence in the Sandinista Revolution, to express our opinion that what they are doing they are doing exceptionally well, in a very correct fashion. (APPLAUSE) They have power in their hands, and they can plan their future.

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**No two-bit coup d'etat is ever going to liquidate the Sandinista Revolution. There won't be any coups d'etat there, because the people are in power and they have the weapons . . .**

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No two-bit coup d'etat is ever going to liquidate the Sandinista Revolution. There won't be any coups d'etat there, because the people are in power and they have the weapons. (APPLAUSE) What happened in Chile can't happen there, what happened in Bolivia can't happen there.

This shows what the reactionaries, the capitalists and the imperialists are capable of doing. They talk of parliament, constitutions and democracy. What kind of lousy democracy is it (APPLAUSE) when the people don't count, when an election is held, the people vote and elect a progressive government, and then there's a fascist coup d'etat and the repression starts? The same thing happened in El Salvador. As soon as the revolutionary movement grew in strength, there was a coup d'etat. In El Salvador the fascist military, allied with Christian Democracy—which has nothing left of democracy and is certainly not Christian—have established a genocidal regime. An average of 50 people a day are murdered in El Salvador.

I would like to ask those governments that raised such a hue and cry over the scum why they don't say a single word about the dozens of crimes that are being committed against the people every day in El Salvador. (APPLAUSE) They got very concerned over some odd lumpen here, (SHOUTS OF "FOR SURE, FIDEL, GIVE THE YANKEES HELL" AND APPLAUSE) over common criminals, loafers and parasites who were never once harmed, hadn't a single hair on their head touched. Well, to tell the truth, they had to be protected so their hair wouldn't be mussed, (LAUGHTER) and we had to call on our people several times to refrain from liquidating the lumpen; but what counts is that they weren't harmed. They all wanted to go to the Yankee paradise, to the paradise of prostitution, narcotics, gambling, etc. In a nutshell, scum! Those governments became very concerned over that lot and started all kinds of campaigns, and now here we are in the presence of a monstrous genocide . . . monstrous! The fascists' plans are to assassinate 200,000 Salvadorans in an attempt to crush the revolution; and they are murdering men, women and children, innocent people, in order to sow terror.

Why aren't there democratic voices speaking up to defend this heroic people's most elementary right to live? And what are they speaking of? Aha, possible interventions!

I don't want to mention governments, although I know full well which they are. I don't want to mention them because sometimes it's better not to stir things up, given the special situation that exists on the continent at the moment; given the fact that a coup has just taken place in Bolivia, a coup which has been widely condemned. But some of those who condemn the coup in Bolivia, where they have unleashed fierce repression against the workers, peasants and students, in turn support the genocidal government of the fascist Christian Democratic junta in El Salvador. (APPLAUSE) And the United States sends instructors, sends arms and offers economic aid to the fascist Christian Democratic junta. And they speak about intervention; let's see what happens if they intervene in El Salvador. The people of El Salvador should not be underestimated. The imperialists should not underestimate the people of El Salvador, nor should they underestimate feelings throughout Latin America with respect to El Salvador. (APPLAUSE)

We saw the unanimous, total solidarity the Nicaraguan people

have for El Salvador. I am convinced that if the imperialists are stupid enough to intervene in El Salvador, they will create a Vietnam in Central America. (APPLAUSE)

Moreover, the Yankee imperialists supported Somoza, because they were the ones that put him there. I didn't want to talk about these things when I spoke at the main rally there, because there was a U.S. delegation present, and I was a visitor and didn't think I had the right to speak on such a subject, but here I think I have some right to bring it up. (APPLAUSE) The imperialists put Somoza there; they intervened directly in Nicaragua for many years; they created the Somoza National Guard, which brought Somoza to power, the first Somoza dynasty, because there have been at least three monarchs there. They are the ones responsible for the death of Sandino; they are the ones responsible for 50 years of tyranny that took the lives of over 100,000 Nicaraguans; and they supported that tyranny to the very end. They also created the idea of an inter-American peace-keeping force, with the objective of intervening to snatch victory from the Sandinistas. They failed, because even the OAS [Organization of American States], the famous OAS, rebelled when they tried to put this plan into effect; otherwise, they would have tried to do what they did in Santo Domingo.

Well, the Sandinistas triumphed and the U.S. declared itself ready to cooperate, to be friendly. We were pleased about that, because a policy of cooperation seems much more sensible than a policy of hostility; a policy of cooperation and not a policy of aggression.

Of course, the imperialists have already learned something from the Cuban Revolution, and from their plans of aggression, their blockade and their hostility against Cuba. They apparently didn't want to take two doses of the same medicine.

Well, we are glad they don't put a blockade on Nicaragua, that there is no economic or any other kind of aggression against Nicaragua, that there are no subversive plans against Nicaragua; this is what we demand of imperialism. And it's the imperialists' basic moral obligation to cooperate economically, since they exploited the Nicaraguan people and were responsible for the 50 years of tyranny they suffered. We are by no means opposed, but happy to see the imperialists cooperate economically with Nicaragua. But they have spent a year debating a 75-million-dollar credit. Finally, after much discussion, which was at times humiliating for the receiving country, the credit was approved. Of course, the major part of it goes to private enterprise and is not at the free disposal of the Government of National Reconstruction.

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**If the imperialists are stupid enough to intervene in El Salvador, they will create a Vietnam in Central America . . .**

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That is, the imperialists, after the triumph of the Sandinistas, want to build, support and stimulate capitalism in Nicaragua. Their intentions are clear, but we are happy, very happy, that they have granted credit and are cooperating economically with Nicaragua.

We have very eloquent proof of the ties between Somozaism and imperialism: the mercenary invasion at Playa Girón [Bay of Pigs]. Because the mercenaries trained in Guatemala were sent to Puerto Cabezas in Nicaragua, and from Puerto Cabezas—as if it were CIA property—they were sent to Cuba. The B-26 bombers that attacked our air bases, that attacked our people, left from Puerto Cabezas. All the ships and the entire mercenary expedition left from Puerto Cabezas. These were the kind of ties between Somoza and imperialism.

Genocide is not only being committed in El Salvador, but in Guatemala as well. Corpses of workers, students, professionals, even priests, appear daily. It is a repressive, genocidal regime. Here with us is our friend Toriello, who was foreign minister during the time of Arbenz. (APPLAUSE) He witnessed the Yankee intervention, an expedition like that of Girón, which overthrew the democratic Government of Guatemala more than 20

years ago to establish a mercenary government, a mercenary government that has cost Guatemala 60,000 lives in the past 20 years. And I ask myself if the peoples can go on accepting this state of affairs.

The Guatemalan experience, the Salvadoran experience, the Chilean experience, the Bolivian experience, what have they taught us? That there is only one path: revolution! (APPLAUSE) That there is only one way: revolutionary armed struggle! (APPLAUSE) That is the thesis Cuba defended when it said to the people: they're deceiving you.

The oligarchy, reaction and imperialism use all these so-called constitutional mechanisms, the so-called representative democracy, to deceive the peoples. Even when the overwhelming majority of people through the democratic, or so-called democratic mechanisms, vote against a reactionary government and in favor of a progressive government, or even a democratic one, there's a

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### **The Salvadoran experience, the Chilean experience, the Bolivian experience, what have they taught us? That there is only one way: revolutionary armed struggle!**

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coup d'etat. Like in Chile, in Bolivia. And the peoples learned their lessons and saw that there was only one road to liberation: that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua. There is no other formula.

Now then, the imperialists are threatening us with intervention. Should we lose our sleep over that? Have we not lived under constant threats for the past 21 years? The peoples will not give up fighting. The example of Nicaragua is eloquent proof of what a people can do, for they liquidated the Somoza army almost unarmed. The peoples already know that there are possibilities for fighting not only in the mountains, not only in the rural areas, but also in the cities. (APPLAUSE) They know how to dig tunnels, tear down walls, connect some houses with others on the same block, and turn rebellious cities into fortresses. And when one sees the image of how it happened in Nicaragua, one realizes that no army could have countered that action. The peoples already know that the myth, the old myth dating back to the times of Mussolini, to the effect that the revolution can be made with or without the army but never against the army, is a lie.

For we already have here in our own hemisphere three revolutions against three armies! (APPLAUSE)

We are living through truly dangerous international moments that affect our region and affect the whole world. Analysts, statesmen, men given to calm thinking, understand and realize how somber the world's prospects are in the next few years: the energy problems facing the world, particularly the underdeveloped world; the food problems; the problems of uncontrolled population growth; the educational problems; the health problems; the ecological problems, that is, not only the destruction of the landscape, but also the gradual poisoning of the water and the atmosphere. Even if you can prevent war from breaking out, the effort that must be made to tackle these problems is truly impressive, and they could not be solved at all without international collaboration—we need not only a climate of peace but one of collaboration.

Now the world finds itself anew on the brink of cold war, of the arms race, at a time when the underdeveloped countries of the world are shouldering a debt of 300,000 million dollars and it is estimated that it will be 700,000 million by 1985. This means that the world is on the verge of an unprecedented economic and financial catastrophe. And faced with this situation that undoubtedly calls for a supreme effort for peace, coexistence and collaboration among all nations of the world, we find ourselves with the present situation of the United States, its warmongering policy, its plans to deploy over 500 medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, its plans to rearm NATO, its plans to set up military bases in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, set up bases in

the Middle East, etc. For all this, the current U.S. administration is responsible.

Now then, the Republican Party Convention was recently held in the United States, and its candidate has drawn up and approved a political platform of an extremely dangerous and extremely reactionary nature. At times one gets the impression that we are living through days similar to those that preceded Hitler's election as chancellor of Germany.

I do not mean to say that both situations are exactly the same. Back then a lunatic like Hitler could start a war with the hope of winning it and without the risk of humanity being wiped out. I think that lunatics nowadays have a different straitjacket, which are the changes that have taken place in the world, the current world balance of forces; and we still hope that these lunatics will use some common sense.

But at this moment there's a real possibility of the party that approved such a platform winning the U.S. elections. And of course its views on Latin America couldn't be more gloomy. It is in favor of cutting all aid to Nicaragua and getting rid of revolution there as much as one would get rid of a cyst, blocking all progressive change in Central America, practically helping fascist governments, repudiating the Panama Canal accords, annexing Puerto Rico. Mention has even been made of a naval blockade against Cuba, there is the most reactionary talk of aggressive policies in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East, of a rearmament policy, of a policy to achieve military superiority over the socialist camp.

I know that there are some in the United States who would prefer us Cubans not to attack that platform. They say that owing to certain U.S. public opinion trends to the right, any criticism leveled at that program may help its authors, since we are looked upon as enemies and it might be considered a merit if Cuba should attack that program. Very well, I can understand that point of view. But what's in the cards here is not a U.S. presidential election; what's in the cards may be the fate of humanity, the fate of the world, maybe peace and war. (APPLAUSE)

That platform must be denounced and world opinion has to be aware of this. It is essential that world opinion react to such a political program. Names are not important to us; we don't care who becomes the president of the United States; we do not intend to get mixed up in that. But we are interested in a situation that derives from the existence of a U.S. party program that threatens the world with war. (APPLAUSE) What is involved here is not just a national but an international question. What is involved here is not just concern for our country but concern for humanity.

As a revolutionary country, we are aware of the risks we have run ever since we decided to make a revolution. We have lived through 21 years of such risks, we have had to endure everything: economic blockade, subversion, sabotage, counterrevolutionary

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### **Names are not important to us; we don't care who becomes the president of the United States . . .**

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bands, plans to murder us all. The fact that we are still alive evidences how inefficient imperialism is, for everybody knows about the plans they made; and in all fairness it also evidences how efficient our State Security organs are. (APPLAUSE) Mercenary invasions, pirate attacks, plans for direct aggression. Wasn't all that what led to nuclear missiles being stationed in Cuba? Why did we agree with that? Simply to counter U.S. plans of direct aggression against Cuba.

Many of us lived through that experience, a great many people who are here—perhaps not the boys and girls who won first place among the junior high schools—but there were times here when we had nuclear missiles, and when there were many nuclear weapons also pointed against us. And everybody will recall that during those critical October days no one here was intimidated, or frightened, or lost any sleep. A time even came when we were



willing to disappear from the map rather than yield one iota to the imperialists' demands. (APPLAUSE)

Subsequently I explained to the 1st Congress of the Party our current appreciation of the solution given to the crisis that ensued, and I said, in all frankness and all honesty, that in the light of history, in the light of the nearly 20 years that have elapsed since then, the solution seems to us to have been a correct one.

But if I bring this up today, when there are new threats looming on the horizon, I do so to make it quite clear to the Republican

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**Our people is a tempered, veteran people  
and is sufficiently brave not to be  
intimidated by anyone . . .**

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clique, to Mr. Reagan, or Regan, or however you pronounce it—and to his advisers, that threats against Cuba will be of no avail, (SHOUTS OF "FOR SURE, FIDEL, GIVE THE YANKEES HELL," AND "FIDEL, GIVE THEM HELL; LET'S MAKE 'EM RESPECT US WELL") to warn the imperialists that we are not going to lose any sleep over it. Our people is a tempered, veteran people and is sufficiently brave as not to be intimidated by anyone.

We don't know what's going to happen. It also often happens that one thing is the electoral platform and something else is what presumed lunatics do when they're in power. Maybe all that is just demagogic waffle, but in our opinion it is dangerous because we think that they are saying what they feel, that they are saying what they think.

We should analyze these problems and our people must be warned. I think it is one more reason for us to improve our work, develop our strength, develop our defenses, and, above all, develop our awareness.

If a platform of this nature is carried into practice, there will be war between the United States and the Latin American peoples, because it is impossible to take this continent back to the times of the big stick. And our people—a highly educated and politically aware people—must be kept posted of these realities, must be conscious of these realities.

We are not pessimists, we have never been pessimists: on the contrary, we have been and still are optimists. That's why we attach so much importance to international public opinion and the people's opinion, because there's no possible way, there are no ways to bring the world, or to attempt to bring the world under the yoke of fascism, the yoke of colonialism, the yoke of neocolonialism, the yoke of oppression, without first wiping out humanity. In other words, we do not believe that there's anything or anybody in the world capable of turning the clock back historically. But we would be naive, very naive, we would be unrealistic, not to be aware of the dangers.

I think there are a lot of people in the world—not only socialists, not only Marxist-Leninists, but also democrats, liberals, bourgeois, bourgeois intellectuals, religious sectors, statesmen, even from the capitalist world, even from the industrialized capitalist world, who are aware, must be aware, of these dangers. We know that there are many people warning of this, and these sensible, fundamentally sensible opinions must surely prevail.

That's why our duty is to struggle for peace while at the same time being ready for anything. (APPLAUSE) That should be our stand: to struggle for peace, work for peace, defend peace and, at the same time, be ready for anything. (APPLAUSE)

It was decided that this year's 26th of July celebrations be held in the new province of Ciego de Avila.\* (APPLAUSE) This was our Party's recognition for the province's enthusiastic, efficient, brilliant work. (APPLAUSE) I know how happy this decision made you, I know how hard you worked since the decision was announced 54 days ago, all you have created in just a few weeks:

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\*The province of Ciego de Avila, originally part of Camagüey Province, was established in 1976 during a geographic and administrative reorganization.—IP/I



RONALD REAGAN: Wants to return to time of the big stick.

this square, these avenues, the bypass, the works you have completed—even a movie theater scheduled for December was completed in nearly 45 days; (APPLAUSE) how you have repaired the city, painted everything, all you have done so that Ciego de Avila could host the 26th of July celebrations, be host to all the delegations that have arrived here. (APPLAUSE) For we are now commemorating the 26th of July precisely in our country's smallest provincial capital. (APPLAUSE)

This rally, its organization, its size, is all very impressive. We also know how long you have been mobilizing for this, how long it took you to get here, the hours you have waited in this square. We know about the huge effort which has been made in agriculture, in the planting and weeding of cane. (APPLAUSE)

From the standpoint of sugar, Ciego de Avila is one of the country's most important provinces. In years past, this province needed tens of thousands of workers from Havana province and the eastern provinces—manpower from other provinces—to make the harvest. I do not mean the province, for it didn't exist then as such; I mean the region. Your greatest merit, being a province with a population of 315,000—possibly Cuba's smallest province—and large sugar areas, lies in that you were capable, relying almost totally on your own forces, to complete the province's productive tasks, to plant and harvest the cane and do other agricultural work, finish construction projects, and maintain services. (APPLAUSE)

This is a province with a high productivity index. We can quote some figures to show how productivity has been boosted during the Revolution in agriculture and the sugar industry. For instance, back in 1952 a canecutter used to cut an average of 1.74

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**An appeal was made to the people, and the  
people, as always, came through . . .**

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tons, as compared with 3.68 tons in 1979. In 1952, 30,836 canecutters were needed for the harvest; in 1979 only 6,949 were needed. This gives you an idea how much mechanization has progressed, that is, we now need 23,887 canecutters less than in 1952, the year of the capitalists' largest harvest.

To cut, load and haul the cane, 35,315 workers were required in 1952 as against 11,341 today.

Sugar production per agricultural worker in 1952 was 26.5 tons; in 1979, the figure was 77.4, nearly three times as much. In 1979, sugar production per inhabitant was 2.74 tons, Cuba's highest. (APPLAUSE) This means that 2.74 tons were produced for every Ciego de Avila inhabitant, and the province's total sugar produc-

tion amounted to nearly 900,000 tons. This means that at prevailing prices—averaging the Western market and the socialist market prices—it can be said that every Ciego de Avila inhabitant has produced nearly one thousand pesos in sugar. (APPLAUSE)

But other indexes are not as favorable. Although the cane yield is now higher per hectare of land, it should be much higher still if we bear in mind the irrigation areas and the amount of fertilizers we are using. There is still room for growth in cane yield. The sugar recovery was under par, that is, it was an unfavorable index. You people here have still a long way to go, in spite of what you have achieved. Efforts to mechanize cane cutting will continue. Cane loading is now mechanized one hundred percent. Fifty-six percent of the last harvest was mechanized. In the future there will be more machines, less cancutters. In the future, you can raise the sugar recovery indexes. The nation selected and dispatched to the province's sugar mills a few dozen engineers

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### **Right now there are Cuban doctors and technical personnel in more than 30 countries . . .**

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and young technicians—there were some mills which had very few technicians or none at all. We must have all the technicians and qualified personnel necessary for sugar production.

I believe you will be capable of achieving higher sugar recovery indexes, I believe you will be capable of boosting production considerably, just as you have done, for instance, in bananas, for there are areas in the province where up to approximately 34 tons of bananas are produced per hectare. In other areas, a substantial increase has been reached in potato growing. But the spirit prevailing of late in Ciego de Avila to boost work productivity by all means is essential, since a province with a small population, with large agricultural areas, important industrial areas and important service areas, must make a special effort by applying all factors needed to increase work productivity.

On a national level, an extraordinary effort was made this spring to take care of cane planting. As you all know, we were afflicted with plagues that were very damaging, three plagues.

The blue mold that nearly wiped out the tobacco plantations. Yet we think that by next crop we will restore tobacco production to what it used to be with the use of proven chemical products which are highly efficient against the blue mold.

We also had a bout of African swine fever and for the second time succeeded in eradicating that disease.

We have now come head on sugar cane smut, which mainly affected the 4362 variety, the Barbados 4362, and we are now eradicating it. This year, practically half of this cane was uprooted and those areas were planted with other varieties, and we think that by next year the disease will be eradicated in the remaining 200,000 hectares. But some 200,000 hectares will be affected in next year's harvest. Instead of yielding between around 51-60 tons of sugar, it is estimated we will only get some 17 tons per hectare. This boils down to hundreds and hundreds of thousands of tons of sugar; hence the special importance attached to planting and weeding the cane. An appeal was made to the people, and the people, as always, came through. And it can be said that our country has just witnessed a true March of the Fighting People in production. (APPLAUSE)

This spring, 274,100 hectares were planted to cane, the largest planting done in the five-year period; 1,033,970 hectares of land planted to ratoon cane were fertilized with a balanced formula, the highest figure of the five-year period; (APPLAUSE) 204,024 hectares of new cane were fertilized with a balanced formula, the highest of the five-year period; (APPLAUSE) nitrogenized fertilization was applied on 1,306,118 hectares, the highest of the five-year period; (APPLAUSE) 1,781,398 hectares of ratoon cane were grown, the highest of the five-year period; (APPLAUSE) 378,229 hectares of new cane were grown, the highest of the five-year period; (APPLAUSE) 185,907 hectares of land were replanted, the highest of the five-year period; (APPLAUSE) 668,349 hectares

were irrigated, the highest; (APPLAUSE) herbicides were used on 1,510,340 hectares, the highest; (APPLAUSE) 1,720,578 hectares had been weeded by hand by July 24—the plan called for 1,510,958 hectares by July 31. (APPLAUSE) Compared with last year, more than twice the number of hectares were weeded by this date—on July 20, 1979, the figure was 698,256 hectares. This means that compared with this time last year, much more than twice the number of hectares were weeded by hand this year. (APPLAUSE) There were days when more than 400,000 workers were mobilized to do the weeding.

What now remains is the unpredictable factor of the weather, how much rain we will have in the rest of July, how much in August. But from a human standpoint, everything possible was done and will continue to be done.

We now have ahead of us the schedule for late planting, involving over 174,460 hectares. This is very important since the late cane will be the one with the highest sugar yield in the 1982 harvest.

The program for building new sugar factories and boosting sugar production will go on being developed. Work is already pressing ahead on getting the next harvest ready; we are at a considerably more advanced stage than last year in having all the materials available and repairing the mills. Repair work on the machinery and harvesters is under way. After thoroughly analyzing all the details that affected the last harvest, steps are being taken so that our next harvest will be really efficient.

Not only has a big effort been made in cane growing but also in construction as well as in transportation, unloading in the ports, where last month an all-time record was registered. Owing to the simultaneous arrival of a great number of vessels, a special effort was required and the port and transportation workers really came through in response to an appeal that was made; in July they surpassed the unloading plan in spite of the difficulties they ran into in some places like, for instance, the City of Havana where it was carnival month.



Cuban internationalist fighters in Angola. 'More than 50,000 self-sacrificing and magnificent Cubans elevate the name of our homeland and do exemplary work in scores of our sister countries.'



Our capital's passenger transport workers also made a great effort and considerably improved the service. They are intent on making 29,000 daily trips, which is seen as the figure necessary to provide adequate bus service in the capital.

I am also aware of the effort made by the doctors and other health personnel to improve the quality of services; the effort made by teachers to improve the quality of education.

The appeal made by the Revolution to be more disciplined and more demanding is beginning to bear fruit. It is our sworn duty and should be our commitment for this 26th of July to continue resolutely along the road of struggle against all that is badly done, (APPLAUSE) against the weaknesses, against the deficiencies, and to insist on being demanding and disciplined! (APPLAUSE)

When we talk about the efforts of our workers in recent months, it is important on a day like this to remember and praise the tens

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### **Besides the highest level of health of all the underdeveloped countries we also have the highest level of education . . .**

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of thousands of our countrymen who are working as workers, technicians, teachers, doctors, and fighters in diverse parts of the world. (APPLAUSE)

Right now there are Cuban doctors and technical personnel in more than 30 countries. This, we do not feel ashamed of still having a little bit of scum left, which we are certainly sweeping up and sending to the perfect garbage dump, (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS) when more than 50,000 self-sacrificing and magnificent Cubans elevate the name of our homeland and do exemplary work in scores of our sister countries. (APPLAUSE) These and other examples demonstrate what our homeland is, what our Revolution has forged!

When Nicaragua asked us for teachers, teachers with years of experience, 29,500 volunteered; (APPLAUSE) during the internationalist missions to Angola and Ethiopia, hundreds of thousands of members of our Armed Forces and reserves volunteered. (APPLAUSE) When we send a group of construction workers, no matter where, to what part of the world, there are always more than enough Cubans ready to go on the mission. (APPLAUSE)

I had the opportunity in Nicaragua to see the work being done by Cuban doctors, nurses, and health workers. In less than a year, they have done thousands and thousands of surgical operations and have seen more than a million patients. More than a million! (APPLAUSE) That gives an idea of what a handful of our compatriots, a handful of revolutionary technicians can accomplish. I could also evaluate the work of the teachers, through all the information that I collected, how they have taught tens on tens of thousands of Nicaraguan children and adults to read and write. (APPLAUSE) Of course, I forgot to mention that the literacy campaign is a great success, and in one year—in one year!—they will almost eradicate illiteracy, which was running at about 60 percent. (APPLAUSE)

Over there, in very remote areas, I found many young Nicaraguan literacy brigade members working with a spirit that reminded us of the members of our literacy brigades in 1961. (APPLAUSE) Our teachers have gone to some of the most remote parts of the jungle and the mountains. That contingent returns to Nicaragua in September; but this time, instead of 1,200 Cuban teachers in Nicaragua, there will be 2,000. (APPLAUSE) And that will not leave us short of teachers.

When I entered this area this afternoon, I saw the dazzling building of the primary teachers' school in Ciego de Avila. We now have schools for primary school teachers in every province, with more than 30,000 students. We have students in different stages to become teachers, and we have a large number studying for degrees in primary education. Altogether there are 152,000 education workers studying at the various levels. We will not lack teachers, we will not lack teachers! (APPLAUSE) Do you remember when 70 percent of our primary school teachers were not

accredited? Now 100 percent of our teachers are accredited. (APPLAUSE)

And we asked the comrades in the Sandinista leadership, "Are there still children not going to school?" "Well, we estimate about 25 percent," they answered. I say, "We are ready to send them even more teachers." (APPLAUSE)

And doctors? Do you remember when 3,000 out of 6,000 doctors left the country? Well, now we have more than 15,000 doctors, and good doctors! (APPLAUSE) More than 4,000 students entering the universities each year to study medicine, and we are building medical schools in all the provinces. Besides having the highest level of health of all the underdeveloped countries in the world, or the countries known as the Third World; and we also have the highest level of education.

Now we are reaping the benefits of our efforts in these last few years. It is a satisfaction to think that we have one doctor for every 750 residents, and we do not just take care of our own medical needs. There are countries in the world that have a doctor for every 300,000 people, for example, Ethiopia has 125 doctors for 34 million inhabitants; but we have sent doctors to Ethiopia, about 150 doctors. (APPLAUSE) More than 1,500 Cuban doctors and dentists are working in other countries. Thus, we are not only able to care for our own health and maintain the highest level of health in the Third World, but we are able to help other countries.

And we must think about when the revolutions in El Salvador and Guatemala and other countries are victorious, because eventually they will triumph and no one and nothing can stop that, (APPLAUSE) and they will need more internationalist doctors and more internationalist teachers, and more internationalist technicians. (APPLAUSE)

I believe I reflect the sentiments of our people when I say that that should be our consciousness and that should be our conduct, (APPLAUSE) without any chauvinism, without any national selfishness.

It is right that we work and continue to work for our welfare, it is right that we work and continue to work for better standards of living, to solve many of the problems that we still have; but we can share some of the fruits of our efforts and our Revolution.

As I once said, to be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity, (APPLAUSE) because other countries, other peoples, helped and continue to help us a great deal. (APPLAUSE) The Soviet worker who grows wheat in the Ukraine or extracts oil in Siberia and ships it to the ports and from the ports to Cuba has helped us tremendously. (APPLAUSE) So have the technicians from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the arms we've received to defend ourselves so that we can today feel secure

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### **To be an internationalist is to pay our own debt to humanity . . .**

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and not be afraid of anyone—including Reagan, or King Kong, if he were president of the United States. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

Thanks to internationalism, our country is secure, our energy needs and many raw materials are guaranteed, and we are assured of steady, fair trade. (APPLAUSE)

We don't have great material resources, but we do have great human resources—our doctors are our human resources, our teachers are our human resources, (APPLAUSE) our technicians, our construction workers are our human resources. This we have, and of extraordinary quality! (APPLAUSE)

Universities with more than 150,000 students, tens of thousands of workers studying in higher education, tens of thousands of workers already completing ninth grade, almost all our workers having completed the minimum of sixth grade—these are truly impressive advances. And I think we will go even farther, since the workers organizations have already proposed making ninth grade the minimum for all workers. (APPLAUSE) And the two Latin American peoples to eradicate illiteracy are Cuba, first, and

now Nicaragua (APPLAUSE)—this is what the revolution means, what the revolution is capable of doing.

So we must continue to prepare ourselves and continue working to develop our country and contribute as much as we can to the development and progress of other peoples.

Speaking of this date, of the men who died on this day, of the martyrs of the Revolution, of those who shed their blood on a day like today which is a symbol of other dates, a symbol of those who died after, in the clandestine struggle, a symbol of those who died in the landing of the *Granma* or in the eastern or Escambray mountains or fighting the saboteurs and counterrevolutionaries on any front, or completing internationalist missions—I think that all these men and women would be happy with this country as it is today, with this dignity, with this people. Nothing could have made them prouder than the idea that the people who 27 years ago lived under the darkest, most infamous oppression are what they are today; (APPLAUSE) that this Revolution is what it is today. (APPLAUSE) That is why I said at the beginning that we were wiser, because we have learned a great deal in these 27 years. We have learned from experience, we have learned from mistakes, we have always been open and honest, ready to correct ourselves whenever necessary. Whoever says he was born wise is a liar, whoever says he knows everything is an egoist who knows nothing. There is no better teacher than the Revolution itself, (APPLAUSE) and we correct our mistakes as soon as we recognize them.

I sincerely believe that our revolutionary process today is strong, very strong, stronger than ever! (PROLONGED AP-

PLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FOR SURE, FIDEL, GIVE THE YANKEES HELL!")

What have we gained today in comparison with that 26th of July, 27 years ago? First of all, a great Party, (APPLAUSE) with hundreds of thousands of communist members coming from the heart of our people. (APPLAUSE) We have powerful mass organizations to which the immense majority of our population belongs (APPLAUSE)—the unions, the CDRs [Committees for the Defense of the Revolution], the Federation of Cuban Women, the peasant associations, the student and Pioneer associations. (APPLAUSE) Forging new Party members, we have the powerful organization of our Young Communist League. (APPLAUSE) We have the socialist state and People's Power. (APPLAUSE) We have our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces (APPLAUSE) and our members of the Ministry of the Interior. (APPLAUSE) We have tens of thousands of veterans and experienced cadres everywhere—in the Party, the mass organizations and the state. (APPLAUSE)

We should not be afraid to face the future, no matter what the prospects. We continue to hope for a world of peace, a world of cooperation between the peoples, regardless of political systems. We are prepared to take on the task of development, to work for long-term plans, (APPLAUSE) to think of the year '85, the year '90 and the year 2000. We are already working on the next five-year plan, and on the plans for the year 2000. We hope to considerably improve our economic efficiency, with the help of the economic management and planning system; (APPLAUSE) that is, we are applying the experience accumulated by socialist



Part of crowd at the July 26 celebration.

Granma



revolutions, applying science to economic planning and management.

We will not achieve victory and success only by applying a system, applying an experience, applying science to planning and management. Behind all this there must be the people. (APPLAUSE) We will unite science, experience and consciousness. (APPLAUSE) We will not abandon voluntary work. (APPLAUSE) because, although we are in the phase of the construction of socialism and it is necessary to apply the principle of distribution according to work, we are and aspire to be Communists. (APPLAUSE) Other generations will live in communism, but from now on we must begin to forge not only socialist men and women, but communist men and women. (APPLAUSE)

When I ask myself what is a Communist, I think of a doctor in Bluefields, a woman who is both wife and mother, capable of leaving her family to save lives thousands of miles from home. (APPLAUSE) I think of a teacher in a remote area of the world; I think of a Cuban fighter ready to die in another country to defend

a just cause thousands of miles from home. (APPLAUSE) And I say to myself, these are communist men and women. I think of one of these Heroes of Labor; (APPLAUSE) I think of one of these canecutters who, for months at a time, work ten, 12, even 14 hours a day to complete our harvests; (APPLAUSE) I think of the hundreds of thousands of devoted compatriots—manual and intellectual workers—who dedicate their lives to their work and duty, and thanks to whom there is a homeland and a revolution. (APPLAUSE) Not only does our Party have hundreds of thousands of members, but in the heart of our people there are millions of Communists. (APPLAUSE)

I think we have ample reason to be optimistic, we have ample reason to proudly celebrate this 26th of July (APPLAUSE), as an affirmation that the blood shed 27 years ago and the blood shed throughout these 27 years has not been in vain! (APPLAUSE)

Patria o muerte!

Venceremos! (SHOUTS OF "VENCEREMOS!")  
(OVATION)

## What Polish Workers Are Demanding

[The following is the text of the "Charter of Workers' Rights," a document issued by worker activists in Poland in 1979. It is one of the most important documents to emerge from the workers opposition movement in Poland in recent years.

[A number of the initiators of the charter are connected with the fortnightly paper *Robotnik* (The Worker), which has been appearing regularly since late 1977. *Robotnik* drew together a number of working-class activists who had been victimized after the June 1976 strikes. With a current circulation of 30,000, *Robotnik* has sought to provide information about workers' conditions and struggles and to serve as a means of communication between activists in different factories and parts of the country.

[By late 1979, the charter had already been signed by more than 100 worker activists in more than twenty Polish cities, including Gdansk, Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, Szczecin, and Radom. Among the signers were Bogdan Borusewicz and Jan Litynski, editors of *Robotnik*; and Anna Walentynowicz, and Lech Walesa, leaders of the 1970 strikes in Gdansk.

[Walentynowicz's dismissal from work at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk was one of the issues that sparked the massive walkout at the shipyard on August 14. Walentynowicz and Walesa are now leaders of the strike committees in the Gdansk region.

[The text of the charter has been taken from the September-October 1979 issue of *Labor Focus on Eastern Europe*, published every two months in London.]

\* \* \*

Whereas:

- Citizens are being deprived of the right to take part in decision-making on matters that concern them;

- Restrictions are being imposed on the fundamental rights of the employee such as the right to safe and pensionable work, to a just wage, and to rest;

- Social inequalities and injustices are becoming more profound;

- There exist no institutions to protect the employee—the official Polish Trade Unions are not institutions of this kind;

- Workers are denied their fundamental right of defence, which is the right to strike;

- Society has to shoulder the cost of every mistake of the authorities, including the cost of the current crisis;

We have entered upon a course of action whose long-term aim is the creation of a self-defence system for employees, first and foremost, independent Trade Unions.

We wish to begin with the problems which seem to us to be capable of solution, at least in part, at the present time.

### 1. Wages

- Pay should rise at least in step with the cost of living; a *cost of living* supplement is essential;

- Everyone should be ensured a *minimum living wage*; teams of specialists should work out this minimum and amend it in proportion to rising prices; families living below this line should be paid appropriate supplements;

- Efforts must be made to eliminate glaring and unfounded differences in pay;

- Stoppages of work, changes of quota, etc., must not be allowed to entail a drop in wages;

- Workers doing the same job under the same conditions should receive remuneration in accordance with standardised scales of rates which are independent of the branch in which the said workers are employed.

### 2. Working hours

- It is inadmissible that overtime, additional and community work should be compulsory; miners must have Sundays and holidays free;

- The *free Saturdays* of the current system must be legally guaranteed to everyone;

- Efforts must be made to implement a *40-hour working week without reduction of wages*.

### 3. Occupational safety

- Safety standards and regulations must be observed *without exception*; there should be special commissions to monitor this, having wide powers including the right to shut down a plant; commissions monitoring occupational health and safety, accident commissions and also factory doctors must be institutionally independent of the factory management;

- No one who suffers loss of health due to harmful working conditions can be left without the pay or income to which he is entitled;

- It is essential to update the current list of industrial diseases;

- *Night work for women* must be eliminated; it should not be allowed that women do heavy physical work.

### 4. Granting of privileges

- The remuneration of an employee and his promotion should not depend on his party allegiance, political opinions nor outlook;

- Benefits such as bonus payments, housing or vacations must be allotted in an open manner; the means of allotting these goods and the names of the beneficiaries must be openly announced;

- There must be an end to the granting of privileges to groups connected with the

government (police, party functionaries): special allowances of goods greatly in demand, such as housing, plots of land, building materials, cars, special medical care, luxury holiday homes, special pension rights, etc.

#### 5. Compulsion to act against one's conscience

- No one should be forced to immoral acts, to inform for the Party or the security service, to take part in attacks on undesirable persons;

- People should not be compelled to produce shoddy goods, to carry out work which threatens their safety and that of others, to hush up accidents, make false reports, etc.

#### Labour code

The Labour Code in force since 1975 must be radically changed. It established regulations which are disadvantageous to the workers. Its articles are equivocal, and hence in any given situation can be and frequently are interpreted to the benefit of the management. In particular:

- Article 52 must be changed. It is used as an anti-strike law (the numerous sackings after June 1976 were based on it); the right to strike must be *guaranteed by law*;

- If someone is dismissed, the management must explain in writing the reason for the dismissal; the worker should continue in his job so long as his case is going through the successive legal instances; throughout the whole process he should have the right to the assistance of a lawyer;

- Union officials elected by the work force must be legally protected against dismissal for a certain time after laying down office also.

We consider that the realisation of these postulates depends on our own stance. Evidence that workers can force the authorities and management to make concessions is provided by the great showdowns of 1956, 1970 and 1976, and by individual strikes.

For several months now, we have felt the effects of the crisis on our own skin. Deliveries and transport get worse and worse, wages are going down, prices are going up, in big plants the working hours are getting longer and are taking up the "free Saturdays," there are more and more stoppages. If we ourselves do not now make a start at defending our own interests, our situation will go from bad to worse.

However, in order to win, we must rid ourselves of any feeling of impotence, stop passively putting up with restrictions on our rights and the deterioration of the conditions of life, and must look for the most effective form of action. There exist a great number of possibilities.

A. Undoubtedly the most effective form of action is to strike, even if the strikes are not on a large scale. Generally, however, it

is only effective in the short run. In order not to waste the achievements of a strike, the participants must elect representatives to monitor the realisation of their demands. If the workers know how to act in solidarity and are not afraid, they can force management to concessions by the very threat of a strike, by presenting petitions, or sending delegations.

B. A very great deal can be achieved simply by the dissemination of information. It is necessary to speak up loudly and to protest when someone is wronged, when we see injustice; it is necessary to publicise the actions of cliques and the granting of privileges, shortcomings, and wastage, breaches of the regulations on occupational health and safety and the hushing-up of accidents. It is necessary to speak about this to colleagues and at meetings. To demand that the authorities take a stand on this. To tell the independent social institutions and the independent press.

C. There are many problems in labour relations which can be solved by using the official trade unions. It would certainly be better for us if these were not so dead as in fact they are at present. We must demand that the factory councils defend the interests of the workers, we must use union meetings for discussions and put forward demands to them, and must elect to factory councils people who will realise the demands.

D. A condition for our actions to be something more than ad hoc and haphazard is the existence of a group of workers in a state of constant alertness. This group, even if implicitly at first, can draw up a programme of activity, organise a series of actions, form public opinion, and, in time, come out into the open as independent workers' committees.

E. Wherever there exist strong organised communities of workers who are able to defend their representatives against dismissal from work and imprisonment, free trade union committees should be set up. The experience of employees in the Western democracies shows that this is the most effective way of defending the workers' interests.

Only independent trade unions, having support among the workers whom they represent, have any chance of opposing the authorities. Only they will represent a force with which the authorities must reckon and with which they can deal on equal terms.

We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to work towards the postulates contained in the Charter of Workers' Rights.

We are also setting up an Aid Fund and pledge constant contributions to it. The resources collected in the Fund will be used to assist persons dismissed from work for taking part in independent union activity.

#### Appendix

Our activities are in accordance with the

law. In ratifying the International Labour Pacts and the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation, the government of the Polish People's Republic acknowledged:

#### I. The right of workers to form associations.

Article 2 from Convention 87 of the International Labour Organisation (*Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 29, 1958, 125):

"Workers and employers, without any discrimination, have the right, without seeking prior permission, to form organisations at their own discretion, and also to join such organisations, subject only to adhering to their statutes."

Article 8, point 1a of the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (*Appendix of Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 38, 1977, 169):

"The states party to the present pact pledge themselves to ensure the right to everyone to form and join trade unions at their own choice, in order to support and defend their own economic and social interests, subject only to the condition of observing the statutory regulations of the said organisation. Availing oneself of this right must not be subject to any restrictions other than those provided for in the laws and ordinances of a democratic society in the interests of state security or public order or to protect the rights and freedoms of others."

#### II. The right to strike.

Article 8 point 1d of the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights:

"The states party to the present pact pledge themselves to ensure the right to strike provided that the strike be carried out in accordance with the constitution of the said country." □

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