

Intercontinental Press

combined with **imprecOR**

Vol. 18, No. 35

September 22, 1980

USA \$1

UK 30p

Protest Murder of Cuban Envoy in New York



NEW YORK—More than 500 people picketed outside the United Nations September 12 to demand arrest and prosecution of assassins of Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez. Protests were also held in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and other cities.

El Salvador

Washington
Plots Invasion
from Guatemala
and Honduras

*Turkish Generals
Seize Power to
Tighten Austerity*

*Puerto Rican
Socialist Party
Hails Polish Workers*

Rightist Terrorists Murder Cuban UN Diplomat

By David Frankel

Striking in broad daylight, counterrevolutionary Cuban émigrés gunned down a Cuban diplomat in New York City September 11. Félix García Rodríguez, an attaché at the Cuban Mission to the United Nations, became the first UN official to be assassinated in New York since the founding of the international organization thirty-five years ago.

García was killed by a .45 caliber bullet—one of three fired at his car—as he was driving to the Cuban Mission. The well-planned assassination was carried out on one of New York's busiest thoroughfares.

García's murder "tragically confirms the . . . impunity with which terrorist counter-revolutionary groups act in the United States," Radio Havana pointed out.

Caldwell Taylor, Grenada's representative to the United Nations, charged: "The brutal slaying of Comrade [García] Rodríguez is undoubtedly the work of those who for twenty-one years have sought to malign and excoriate the heroic Cuban people."

Of course, U.S. officials moved quickly to try to disassociate themselves from García's murder. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie called the killing "reprehensible" and declared, "We condemn terrorism in all its forms and are committed to its eradication."

Donald McHenry, Washington's UN ambassador, promised a "thorough investigation of this act of terrorism, one that would be 'pursued vigorously.'" Claiming that the United States "is a country of justice and of respect for law," McHenry insisted: "Lawlessness and terrorism have no place."

But such protestations have a hollow ring. It was the CIA, under direct orders from the White House, that trained, armed, and financed the counterrevolutionary exile groups beginning in 1960. U.S. officials may talk about their opposition to terrorism, but it was the U.S. government, by its own admission, that repeatedly attempted to have Cuban President Fidel Castro assassinated.

And U.S. government agents are personally acquainted with the membership of the terrorist groups they helped organize.

Moreover, it is precisely the U.S. government—with its poison propaganda and military threats against Cuba, and with its active intervention against the revolutionary struggles in Central America—that is encouraging the anticommunist fanatics and creating the climate that nurtures them.

Omega 7, the terrorist outfit that assassinated García, has taken responsibility for twenty bombings over the past five years. Just in the last two years, Omega 7 has planted four bombs at the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. In addition, Cuban community leader Eulalio José Negrín was shot down by Omega 7 thugs in Union City, New Jersey, last November because of his support for normalization of relations between Cuba and the United States.

The Omega 7 killers who shot down García called the Associated Press and told reporters, "He's a Communist. The next time will be Raúl Roa," Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations.

"We intend to continue to eliminate all these traitors from the face of the earth and we are going to continue on executing all these people who are responsible" for conditions in Cuba, the caller threatened.

On March 25, Raúl Roa narrowly escaped assassination when a plastic explosive device planted by Omega 7 was discovered taped to his car. Police said that if the bomb had gone off, it would have destroyed an entire city block.

Speaking before a special session of the UN General Assembly September 12, Roa said of the murderers, "They have acted with full impunity. They have acted, likewise, with the treachery, expertise and security of those who are trained to commit all kinds of criminal activities against the Cuban revolution, its leaders and representatives abroad. Above all, they acted with the cowardice typical of these despicable petty gangsters."

Underlining Washington's responsibility, Roa declared, "Félix García has died because his cowardly assassins were not punished for their previous crimes." He demanded that the U.S. government act to guarantee the safety of diplomatic personnel working at the United Nations and that it "put an end to the impunity enjoyed by these terrorists and assassins."

Similarly, the Cuban newspaper *Granma* stressed that "at no time have those guilty of attacks on Cuban diplomats been brought to justice in the United States."

The *Granma* editorial said: "Cuba will strongly denounce this assassination before the United Nations, it will urge the capture of those guilty, and it will demand of the U.S. government that it take the necessary steps to guarantee the security of the Cuban diplomats who work in that country."

Support for Cuba's position was widespread at the United Nations. As one

Latin American diplomat noted, such assassinations are "a danger to us all."

As head of the Nonaligned movement, Castro spoke at the United Nations in October in the name of the vast majority of humanity. The Cuban government's defense of the interests of the oppressed and exploited around the world has earned it the hatred of imperialism, and the attacks against Cuba are intended as a warning to any other country attempting to stand up to the imperialists.

Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, referring to the statements made by Muskie and McHenry, pointed out, "The expression of regret over the event is a poor substitute for the prevention of it." Referring to the New York police, Amerasinghe said, "They had full warnings of it."

PLO representative Zehdi Labib Terzi also referred to the fact that U.S. authorities had been told of the terrorist threats "several times by Cuba."

Trying to explain away the U.S. government's refusal to act against the terrorists, McHenry said September 12: "We are dealing with a very tight group of fanatics and it is very difficult for the F.B.I. to crack that group because it is so small and it is such a tight unit."

But on the same day FBI official Kenneth Walton admitted, "We had indications some months ago that the bombings may stop and other activities may accelerate. The other activities were to start killing people."

Far from being underground, Omega 7 maintains a public front-group with offices in Union City, New Jersey, across the Hudson River from New York. It is called the Cuban Nationalist Movement (CNM).

In 1964 CNM chief Guillermo Novo Sampol shot a bazooka shell at the United Nations during a visit by Ché Guevara. Novo is currently serving a life sentence for his part in the 1976 murders of Orlando Letelier, a former member of the Allende government in Chile, and Ronni Moffitt, an American activist in the movement against the Chilean dictatorship. Also in prison for the murders are Novo's brother Ignacio, and a third CNM member.

Two other CNM members, Virgilio Paz Romero and José Dionisio Suarez, are still at large and wanted for the Letelier murder. The FBI claims it is unable to find them, but reporter Jeff Stein noted in the Spring 1980 issue of the magazine *Cuba Times*:

"Informants regularly report sightings of the two in the New York-New Jersey area, and say that they are perhaps directing the recent Omega 7 offensive and providing training for new members in explosives."

The current leader of the CNM is Armando Santana. Asked whether he was also head of Omega 7, Santana told Stein: "I will not confirm it, and I will not deny it."

Stein concludes: "There is little doubt that both local and federal intelligence

agencies know who the terrorists are; . . . the problem of rounding them up is not so much one of intelligence as a federal commitment to act. . . ."

In Florida, counterrevolutionary forces are openly engaging in military training under the direction of former U.S. Army Special Forces soldiers.

Although the ragtag crew of scum training in Florida would be quickly cleaned up in any confrontation with Cuban military forces, they are still able to play a deadly role. Jorge Gonzalez, who runs the camp described above, was an associate of Cuban exile Orlando Bosch, who in 1976 organized the sabotage of a Cuban airliner off of Barbados, with the loss of seventy-three lives.

Meanwhile, in New York City, detective chief James Sullivan had the gall to tell reporters asking about the investigation of Garcia's murder: "At this point, we have no strong leads."

Implying that Garcia got what he deserved anyway, the New York *Daily News* ran an article September 13 claiming that Omega 7 members "decided to execute Cuban envoy Feliz Garcia Rodriguez after unmasking him as a high-level spy sent here by Fidel Castro to wipe them out. . . ."

Quoting anonymous "federal authorities," the article said Garcia was "sent here two years ago on a top-level mission to identify and eliminate the militant anti-Castroites."

The victim of a brutal assassination is transformed into a sinister hit-man. The right-wing terrorists, with their decades-long record of bombings and murder, are portrayed as innocents forced to act in self-defense.

Nor has such filth been confined to the sensationalist tabloids. The *Washington Post* reported the *Daily News* fabrication as good coin. The *New York Times* accomplished the same end by innuendo.

"Mr. Garcia," *Times* reporter Robert D. McFadden said September 12, "was said variously by the police and American officials to have performed administrative duties, to have served as a chauffeur and perhaps to have served some intelligence functions."

Whatever embarrassment the State Department may have to put up with in the United Nations over the brazen terrorist actions of the Cuban counterrevolutionaries is outweighed in the eyes of the U.S. ruling class by the usefulness of these ultrarightist thugs.

With the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution and the escalation of the conflict in El Salvador, the U.S. imperialists are moving rapidly toward deeper intervention in Central America. They want to prevent the Cuban government from using the United Nations as a forum to expose their aggressive moves. They hope that provocations, assassinations, and spy scares will create a climate in which the

Cubans are unable to communicate their message to working people in the United States and around the world.

At the same time, the ultraright exile groups are being used to try to intimidate people in the United States and to prevent American workers from speaking out against Washington's military build-up, just as they were used during the war in Vietnam to attack antiwar demonstrations.

From this point of view, the protests which were immediately organized in New York and other cities against the assassi-

nation of Garcia and the U.S. government's complicity take on added importance.

As Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States said: "American workers have no interest whatsoever in Carter's attacks against the Cuban revolution. Our interests lie with the workers and peasants in Central America, the Caribbean, and the world. They are fighting against the same corporate exploiters who rip us off at home." □

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

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

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

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

To Subscribe: For one year send \$35.00

(41.00 Canadian dollars) to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

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

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

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

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

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

El Salvador Upsurge Faces New Imperialist Threats

By Fred Murphy

With pledges of material aid and logistic support from Washington, the Guatemalan dictatorship of Gen. Romeo Lucas García is preparing a counterrevolutionary invasion of El Salvador.

These plans were revealed September 4 by a former top official of Guatemala's Ministry of the Interior at a sensational news conference in Panama. The Guatemalan intervention is "imminent," the former official declared. One thousand regular troops have been stationed along Guatemala's border with El Salvador, he said, and a backup force of some 5,000 "mercenaries" has been recruited.

At the Panama news conference, Elías Barahona y Barahona explained that he had just deserted his post as chief press aide and close confidant of Guatemalan Interior Minister Donaldo Alvarez. Barahona revealed that he had posed for more than four years as a loyal supporter of the Lucas dictatorship, but had in fact been a member of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), one of Guatemala's main revolutionary groups. He said the EGP had assigned him in 1976 to infiltrate the top circles of the Guatemalan dictatorship.

As of September 12, none of the major news media in the United States had reported Barahona's statements, although wide coverage was given them in Mexico and Central America. The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina gave the following summary of Barahona's revelations in a September 4 dispatch from Panama:

"The government of Gen. Romeo Lucas García, he said, fears that if the revolution triumphs in El Salvador a civil war will break out in Guatemala. In that event, he added, the armed forces of Guatemala will intervene militarily in El Salvador with material, logistic, and economic aid from the United States.

"Barahona revealed that in Guatemala some 5,000 mercenaries have been hired to repress the guerrilla movement in that country and also to make up a reserve force to support the future intervention in El Salvador.

"Barahona declared that a secret agreement exists between the governments of Guatemala and El Salvador, under which troops from Guatemala would support the [Salvadoran] junta.

"After pointing out that the Romeo Lucas regime enjoys the support of the U.S. administration, he affirmed that elements of the old Somozaist National Guard are reorganizing in Guatemala in



order to invade El Salvador and then continue on to Nicaragua.

"The EGP fighter revealed details of meetings held between Guatemalan and Salvadoran officials to plan military operations. He pointed out that 100 [Guatemalan] counterintelligence officers are permanently stationed along the border to collaborate with the Salvadoran junta in halting and capturing revolutionaries.

"Some 1,000 soldiers are also located along the border to cooperate with the Salvadoran army, he added."

Barahona's statements corroborate other recent reports that Guatemalan and Honduran intervention is the option currently favored in Washington for halting the revolutionary upsurge in El Salvador. The Carter administration would have preferred relying on the Andean Pact governments, which have a more "democratic" image. But those efforts have been stymied by the rightist military coup in Bolivia, the public refusal of the Roldós government in Ecuador to go along, the weakness of the newly elected Belaúnde regime in Peru, and rising opposition in Venezuela to President Herrera Campins's open support to the Salvadoran junta.

Washington's public stance toward the Lucas dictatorship in Guatemala has been to criticize its gross violations of human rights, and Lucas has ostensibly

refused U.S. military aid because of this. But Barahona said the Pentagon has helped Lucas obtain arms, training, and technical aid from Israel, Chile, and Argentina. A computerized communications center, staffed by American personnel, has been set up with U.S. assistance at the National Palace in Guatemala City, Barahona said.

In addition, U.S. military aid to the Honduran regime, already at a high level, has reportedly been increased further. Rafael Menjívar of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) told the Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno* August 27 that "in the last two weeks fifty military advisers were sent to Honduras by the State Department, and others were sent by the Pentagon. Teams of U.S. pilots also arrived. . . ."

Menjívar also said that a buildup of U.S. forces was taking place at bases in the Panama Canal Zone, and he affirmed earlier reports that U.S. warships have been stationed off the Salvadoran coast.

Washington's military moves in the area reflect its growing concern over the stability of the besieged Salvadoran junta. A long-standing dispute between alleged "moderates" and "hardliners" in the Salvadoran officer corps burst into public view in early September. Junta member and army chief Col. Jaime Gutiérrez—a "hardliner"—signed an order removing

key supporters of "moderate" junta member Col. Adolfo Majano from their posts in San Salvador and transferring them to embassy assignments abroad.

The Majanistas rejected the order and protested it publicly. At one point pro-Majano officers even took over a radio station to broadcast a statement. Majano himself called a news conference to denounce Gutiérrez's orders as "illegal and unjust."

The Christian Democratic civilian members of the junta tried to mediate the

dispute, and U.S. Ambassador Robert White hurried back to San Salvador from Washington. The Majanistas eventually backed down and accepted the transfers, but the episode can only have exacerbated the tension inside the armed forces, weakening the regime still further.

"While splits can be seen among the military junta and the Christian Democrats," FDR leader Augusto Coto declared following a Mexico City rally September 7, "the people are growing stronger, and now it no longer matters what the junta does."

Coto said the "regular people's army" now numbers some 20-30,000, with 70,000 more organized into militias.

"If the United States makes the mistake of intervening," the FDR's Menjívar told *Uno más Uno* August 27, "they are going to lose many lives and they will have to stay a long time. Because we aren't going to let them enter and leave like they did in the Dominican Republic in 1965."

"What is more—and this is not just bravado—they are going to lose." □

U.S. Aid Clears Another Hurdle, Debt Burden Eased

Good Economic News for Nicaraguan Government

Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction received two pieces of good economic news in early September.

Agreement was reached in the renegotiation of Nicaragua's \$582 million foreign debt to private banks, with surprisingly favorable terms for the Central American country. And the Carter administration okayed disbursement of the \$75 million loan and aid package voted by Congress last May.

After lengthy talks with representatives of 120 U.S., Canadian, European, and Japanese banks, Nicaragua was granted an additional twelve years to repay the huge foreign debt run up by the Somoza dictatorship. Payments on the principal will not have to begin for five years. The interest rate during this grace period will be 7 percent instead of the usual rate of about 11 percent. The big banks also dropped a demand for prompt repayment of \$90 million in past-due interest; that debt has now been postponed to 1986-90.

These terms were granted by a negotiating committee of thirteen banks. The remaining creditors have until December 15 to approve or reject the agreement. Earlier in the negotiations, it was reported that Citibank of New York and two other big U.S. banks had been blocking an accord by demanding that Nicaragua devote 30 percent of its export income for the current year to interest payments. The Nicaraguans refused to consider anything above 15 percent.

If the announced agreement is made final, it will enable the Nicaraguan government to obtain needed short- and medium-term loans on the private international capital market. Up to now, it has had to rely only on loans from international lending agencies (such as the World Bank) or from foreign governments.

On September 12 the U.S. Congress released \$75 million in loans and aid to Nicaragua. This sum—grossly inadequate but nonetheless needed by the revolution-

ary government—had been voted May 31 after months of stalling.

The aid bill included a clause calling on the White House to first certify that the Sandinistas were not "aiding, abetting, or supporting acts of violence or terrorism in other countries." Carter stalled for three and a half months before announcing on September 12 that there was no conclusive proof that this was so.

Ex-Guardsmen Planned to Kidnap Top Commanders

Assassination Plot Foiled in Nicaragua

By Claudio Tavárez

MANAGUA—Nicaraguan authorities are investigating a plot to kidnap and assassinate all nine members of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The top suspect arrested so far is former Defense Minister Bernardino Larios. Larios was a colonel in Somoza's National Guard who led a coup attempt against the dictator in 1978. He held the defense ministry post during the first five months of the revolution, but had no real authority.

Larios was detained during the night of September 9-10. On September 11, the capitalist daily *La Prensa* launched a campaign in his defense, claiming he was being harassed because his "Christian beliefs" did not square with the FSLN's "Marxist ideology."

The Sandinista authorities responded to *La Prensa's* slanders at a news conference held later the same day. Interior Minister Tomás Borge and security chiefs Lenín Cerna and Walter Ferreti announced that Larios was under investigation for his role in organizing nine commando squads of twenty-five members each that were to

kidnap and murder the FSLN's entire top leadership.

Ex-National Guard Lt. Francisco Antonio Martínez, was also presented to reporters at the news conference. Martínez said he had been recruited by Larios to form part of the commando units. He said Larios told him the plot had the backing of Nicaraguan businessmen.

Tomás Borge answered *La Prensa's* claim that Larios was being harassed and persecuted because of his "Christian beliefs."

"Bernardino Larios is not under arrest because he doesn't share Sandinista ideology," Borge said. "He isn't detained because he is a Christian or because he isn't a Marxist. If we had to arrest everybody in this country who is a Christian or who isn't a Marxist, we would have to jail almost the entire population."

"Our revolution has guaranteed the most absolute freedom of belief, as everyone knows. But what is not allowed in Nicaragua is to make counterrevolution; what is not allowed is to plan assassinations or kidnappings; what is not allowed is to conspire against the interests of the people." □

Capitalist Press Hails Military Coup in Turkey

By Gerry Foley

The imposition of a military dictatorship in Turkey on September 12 was portrayed by the U.S. capitalist press as nearly an unmixed blessing as the Second Coming.

The report of the coup in the September 13 *New York Times*, written by correspondent Marvin Howe, itself sounded like the official proclamation of the change of government.

"Turkey's generals had given ample warning: Five times this year they served notice to the politicians to put aside bickering and face the problems dragging the nation toward anarchy.

"But the feuding continued, the political and economic situation deteriorated, terrorism increased alarmingly and finally the military leaders felt obliged to intervene."

Howe assured readers that Turkish Chief of Staff Gen. Kenan Evren "has said that the objective of the military chiefs is to restore Turkish democracy on firm foundations."

Howe explained that "today Turkey is facing the gravest crisis since it was proclaimed a republic in 1923. In the words of General Evren, it is 'a state without a master.'" That was what the generals took power to remedy.

In its September 14 issue, the *Washington Post* proclaimed in a headline: "Normality Returns to Turkey's Cities After 'Gentle' Coup." The tenor of the article beneath the headline made clear that the quotation marks around *gentle* were merely a fig leaf to keep the paper decent in the eyes of democratic public opinion.

The article ended by quoting an editor of the Istanbul capitalist paper *Milliyet* as saying, "... most people are somewhat relieved that something has finally happened that might curb the violence that has threatened us."

In other words, the general was a nice policeman who had come to the rescue in the nick of time.

After giving this sort of endorsement, why should the capitalist press bother to conceal who stood behind the coup? Howe wrote:

"Officials in Turkish military circles privately suggested recently that the armed forces would not intervene unless they received prior approval from Washington."

The military was portrayed as being "evenhanded," since it locked up all the "feuding politicians" and both the "left and right extremists."

The "even hand" of the military did make one slip, however. It let Alparslan

Turkes, the leader of openly organized paramilitary fascist gangs, escape. Turkes is responsible, among other things, for the massacre of an entire community in Kahraman Maras.

The *Washington Post* did note:

"Although the military would neither confirm or deny it, one newspaper alleged that Turkes was warned of the impending coup" before police arrived to arrest him.

Turkes later decided to surrender himself to the junta. But these circumstances were another confirmation of the complicity between the fascist gangs and the military.

In fact, Turkes made no bones about the fact that one of his main political goals was to create the conditions for a military takeover. His propaganda machine pounded away constantly at the need for military rule.

So, the "evenhandedness" of the military meant that Turkes got what he wanted. On the other hand, the militant trade unions were banned and their leaders arrested. The right of association was abolished.

What the coup really means, and what explains the rejoicing in the U.S. capitalist press, is the tightening of the imperialist vise on Turkey.

Turkey is one of the few neocolonial countries that has succeeded in achieving a measure of industrial development. The Turkish working class is the largest in the Middle East and the only one that has strong independent trade-union organizations.

But since the Turkish national revolution in the second decade of this century did not go on to abolish capitalism, the industrialization that was carried out was built on sand. It generated more imports than exports. A result was the piling up of huge debts to the imperialist banks. Under

the conditions of the international capitalist crisis, with the accumulation of debt by countries such as Turkey threatening the world credit structure, the banks are determined to collect their pound of flesh. And so they need strongarm men to hold the victim down. That is what generals are for in countries such as Turkey.

In its September 13 issue, the *Washington Post* made it clear what the military's main objective is.

While the military junta has put the politicians on ice, it is seeking to keep the economic technocrats hard at work, reflecting their own appreciation that the only slightly positive aspects of [ousted Prime Minister Suleyman] Demirel's most recent 10-month rule came in the draconian economic reforms he unleashed . . . in January to stave off almost certain bankruptcy.

The importance the junta attaches to maintaining those reforms was underlined by the speed in which they met—twice during the course of today—with the reform's architects, Turgut Ozal, director of the state planning organization, and with Hakki Aydinoglu, head of the central bank.

The *Washington Post* explained that the "reforms" were designed "to revolutionize Turkey's cumbersome, protectionist and subsidized state economy by throwing it open to world market forces and investment. . . ." It noted that they had been much appreciated by "international lending agencies" and "NATO governments."

Thus, the coup marks another big success for the imperialists in forcing the Turkish capitalists to knuckle under, as well as a further erosion of the Turkish national revolution. And this operation requires drastic cuts in the already low living standards of Turkish workers and a corresponding increase in repression to keep them from resisting.

The first six months of this year were marked by a growing determination by the workers to fight back, which peaked in a virtual uprising in Izmir.

Why should the junta end the rightist terror, when it fits in with the objectives of putting an end to such resistance? There can be no doubt that the "gentle" military dictators intend to step up the terror against socialists and the workers movement. □



Stars indicate U.S. military bases in Turkey.

New York Times

Workers' Example Spreads in Poland

By Gerry Foley

After being forced to yield to the demands of the Baltic port workers and Silesian miners, the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland finds itself unable to keep the strikers' example from spreading throughout the society.

More and more sections of the working population are beginning to organize democratic unions in order to be able to express their point of view and defend their interests. This confirms the prediction by strike leader Florian Wisniewski that the movement would "roll across Poland like a thunderstorm."

An indication of the momentum of the process was given by Bernard Guetta in the September 5 *Le Monde*. He described a meeting of miners in Silesia called by the free trade union to announce that the government had accepted the workers' demands.

"The hall was filled with men, young for the most part (twenty-six is the average age of miners). They are standing and on the alert."

One of the local leaders described the agreement signed by the government:

"These rough men, already worn by their trade, listened with fascination to what [the local leader] said, inspired by his smile and his confidence, by victory. The miners band kept striking up 'May He Live A Hundred Years' [traditionally played during toasts]. The meeting ended with the singing of the national anthem and endless embracing."

The union leader was asked: "And now are you going to get in touch with the free unions in Gdansk?"

"Of course," came the reply.

"Are you going to set up a confederation of free trade unions?"

"Of course we are."

One of the members of the strike committee told Guetta:

"We want to change things for the better. The free unions will play the role of an opposition party, since one does not exist in Poland. There will be an open competition between two groups to show which best represents the people."

New York Times correspondent John Vinocur reported September 9 that delegates from more than 150 factories in Warsaw—which was not directly affected by the August strikes—have sought advice in organizing new worker-controlled unions.

Political Demands

The spreading impact of the free-union movement is, in fact, tending to push

forward more and more directly political demands.

For example, *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Jonathan Spivak reported September 5: "Painters and sculptors met to demand an end to censorship of their works. . . . And professors are demanding the right to name university administrators instead of the government's naming them."

In Warsaw, scientists have held meetings to set up their own independent union. The scientists are raising two specific demands. They want to be allowed to keep their passports themselves so that they can be free to travel as they choose. They also demand guarantees that they cannot be fired for political reasons.

Parallel to the scientists' demands, the official student organization, the Socjalistyczny Związek Studentów Polskich (SZSP—Socialist Union of Polish Students), raised a call for "a public discussion about ending the system of evaluating academic achievements by criteria that have nothing to do with scholarly work." The reference is clearly to the preference given to Communist Party members in the academic field.

The growth of independent organizations is also forcing the existing official organs to try to offer a more militant and democratic appearance. The logic of this leads them to try to anticipate the demands of the free unions.

Thus, the students' union presented the government with a whole list of demands that called, among other things, for more say for students in determining educational policies.

The official union federation, the Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowy (CRZZ—Central Council of Trade Unions) has even declared that it is ready to call strikes "when negotiations with the government get bogged down."

CRZZ President Romuald Jankowski tried to hug the independent unions: "It is out of the question for both union federations to conduct negotiations with the government separately."

In the first week after the strike settlement, an editorial in the CP organ *Tribuna Ludu* called on party members to join the new unions.

The new CP general secretary, Stanislaw Kania, said in his first speech to the Central Committee that he hoped the free unions would become "a mechanism for socialist democracy."

In 1956 and 1970, when Polish workers started to develop their own organizations,

the Stalinist politicians were able to divert, wear out, and eventually reintegrate these bodies into the official apparatus. They apparently hope to do so again. But this time, the bureaucracy faces far greater difficulties.

Official union leader Jankowski was forced to promise that the Communist Party's role in the unions would be limited. However, he himself is a member of the Central Committee of the CP, and on the receiving end of all the material privileges enjoyed by others in the parasitic bureaucracy.

Free Unions Set Up Federation

A few hours after Jankowski's news conference, the leaders of the free unions announced plans to organize a national federation. One of the proposed statutes will bar party officials from holding positions of leadership in the free unions.

This recommendation represents an open declaration that there is a fundamental contradiction between the interests of the working class and those of the bureaucracy. This is an important new advance in political consciousness in the twenty-six-year struggle by Polish workers for real representation in the unions, the party, and political decision making.

Furthermore, the party, which is communist in name only, is today more thoroughly exhausted and discredited politically than it was during previous antibureaucratic struggles.

For example, in a dispatch in the September 7 *New York Times*, John Darnton quoted a "well-connected Polish writer" as saying:

"The party is in a shambles. The apparatus is frightened. The rank and file is under tremendous pressure. And the leadership is turning on itself in typical cannibalistic fashion."

If the bureaucracy is unable to bring its weight to bear effectively in the free unions, individual party members who join are likely to become caught up in the general antibureaucratic movement.

In a September 8 dispatch to the *New York Times*, John Vinocur quoted an adviser to the Gdansk free unions as saying: "The Communists as members really don't concern anyone as long as they agree with the rules."

The rising pressures have been reflected even in the Polish parliament, which has been a typical Stalinist façade of representative democracy. "Polish reporters couldn't believe what they were hearing," John Darnton reported. "The debate was long, frank, even contentious. One delegate . . . asserted that economic reform wasn't enough. 'The whole party and society will have to reform themselves totally,' he said."

Darnton also provided an indication of the sort of pressures that stimulated so much "frankness" and even "contention" in the rubber-stamp Stalinist parliament:

"Outside, as the session was beginning, a tiny cluster of demonstrators hurled invective at the windows and at party functionaries and leaders as they pulled up in limousines. 'These should be tried,' they chanted."

Darnton tried to minimize this demonstration by calling it "tiny." But no matter how small it was, the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy dared not suppress it is an indication of the power of the antibureaucratic upsurge. Such demonstrations must terrify Polish officials.

In 1970, in Baltic cities, party headquarters were attacked and at least one party official was hanged by the furious populace. In the present situation, it would not take much to spark mass demands for retribution against the bureaucratic thieves and autocrats.

The bureaucracy finds itself isolated to an unprecedented degree, as shown by the new militancy in the Silesian mines. The miners had been one of the quietest sections of the Polish working class. The September 1 strike was the first in the region since 1914.

The example set by the strikes in the Baltic ports, however, crystallized feelings that had long been building up in the minds of the Silesian workers. One miner told *Le Monde's* correspondent Bernard Guetta:

"The Gdansk atmosphere had its effect. As the strikes continued, we got time to think about these free unions and freedom of expression, and to come to understand what we really thought about this deep down in ourselves."

Guetta asked the strikers what their attitude would be to workers who wanted to stay in the official unions. The reaction was "shock," he wrote. The miners replied:

"No miner would do that! If the official unions remain, that would provide a basis for all sorts of maneuvers. With free unions, we will be able to elect our leaders democratically and remove them when necessary."

Strikes Spread

The victories of the Baltic and Silesian workers opened the way for the spread of strikes elsewhere over long-festering local grievances. The workers are beginning to demand the removal of hated bureaucratic bosses.

In Mieszkow in Silesia, for example, 4,000 workers went on strike to force the removal of the foundry manager.

Dire warnings from the rulers have failed to stop such actions. The social situation in Poland is so hot that little fires keep springing up across the country.

The bureaucracy is obviously so frightened that it is incapable of carrying out an orderly retreat. Nervous local officials try to take action on their own to hold the workers back. The result is to touch off new explosions that intensify the humiliating rout.

In Kielce, the official union put up posters saying that if workers joined a free union they would lose their social security. The workers responded by forming a free union and going on strike.

At the Nowotko diesel factories in Warsaw, one of the local official-union functionaries said in an interview with *Glos Pracy*, the CRZZ organ, that there was no demand for a free union in his factory.

The workers were infuriated. They immediately formed a free union and went on strike, demanding the press present their real views. The main Warsaw daily, *Zycie Warszawy*, was obliged to report the case.

In a front-page editorial, the party organ *Tribuna Ludu* expressed alarm at these brushfires:

"Every day, machines, departments, plants, enterprises lie idle somewhere because the workers have proposals or demands."

"Every idle hour in every plant prolongs a state in which we lack the stability necessary for settling worker demands," the party newspaper wheedled.

But the workers are not going to sit back and trust the bureaucracy to meet their demands. The spreading mobilization and ferment make that clear.

There is only one leadership in Poland that is trusted: the leadership that conducted the decisive confrontation with the government, the leadership of the free unions in Gdansk.

"The new organizations are springing up so fast," *Le Monde* reported September 6, "that those establishing them often don't know how to proceed. . . . Their first move is often to go to the Baltic coast 'to ask [Gdansk strike leader Lech] Walesa,' who is more than ever the hero of the moment."

Despite statements by the free union leaders that they intend to confine themselves to defending the immediate economic interests of the workers, the strikes and the growth of the independent workers organizations challenge the way the entire society is run. This was illustrated during the Baltic strikes in a message of solidarity sent to the strikers from a peasant committee.

Peasants Join In

The peasants raised fundamental objections to the way that the society and the economy are organized:

In towns and factories you have no genuine trade unions. Your rights are not respected. But we in the countryside are treated like slaves. The commune leader and the party secretary have unlimited power over us. Any time they can take our land and expropriate us, move our children to far-away schools, stop us from finishing a house- or barn-construction, call up a son to military service and send him to a state-owned farm where he is given a scythe instead of a gun.

The commune leader decides what we are to grow and when to harvest, without considering whether this will bring us any profit. Often without our permission, he sends a combine

harvester to our fields and green corn is harvested at our expense. In some parts of the country we are given new fields to cultivate every year, and the old ones are taken from us.

We are completely at the mercy of the commune leader when we want to buy even one bag of cement, a little coal, planks or other materials. For every single item we have to come with a written application to the commune leader, and to every such application attach a revenue stamp.

At least one third of our working time is taken up by formalities and queueing. There is virtually no way of controlling a commune leader's decisions or to appeal against them. Within one year he may ruin a whole village, and we have no right even to complain.

Obviously, in the situation that has been created by the workers' victories, the peasants will no longer accept such conditions. There are already reports of the formation of new peasant unions. And the logical thing for the peasants to do is to ask the workers to return their solidarity.

There are particularly compelling reasons now for the workers to link up with the peasants. The government's granting of higher wages and promises of more food at controlled prices will not result in real increases in living standards unless the obstacles to the development of Polish agriculture are removed. The peasants' letter gives an indication of some of these obstacles.

The workers' economic demands cannot be met without democratic control of the entire economy by the producers—the working people in the factories, in the cities, and on the land. That requires a fundamental change in the way the country is governed. The political monopoly of the bureaucracy has to be uprooted by a revolution and replaced with organs of workers democracy at all levels—from the local workplace to national planning. Only then will the working class be able to fulfill the potential opened three decades ago by the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a planned and nationalized economy.

The rule of the bureaucracy was based on the atomization of the Polish masses, on denying them any form of independent organization or expression. That was the only way a parasitic caste was able to run Poland in the name of the working people and continue its disastrous mismanagement of the economy.

The masses have now begun to organize and express themselves. This process is dissolving the structures of bureaucratic misrule. Like a fire, it may proceed more slowly or more rapidly, depending on various conditions. But it transforms everything it touches.

In the past, when such fires have begun in Poland they have been smothered or stamped out. But now they are spreading everywhere, and no section of the structure retains any solidity.

World Crisis of Capitalism

This revolutionary crisis in Poland is

taking place in the framework of a world capitalist economic crisis, which makes it still more explosive and difficult for the bureaucracy to contain.

The capitalist press and politicians are trying to use the crisis of Stalinism in Poland for their own purposes. They want to make it appear that the events in Poland prove that "Marxism has failed." They want to bolster the pretense that they support democracy and worker-run trade unions. But the crisis of capitalism itself quickly exposes them.

The dilemma of the capitalists was reflected, inadvertently, by *Der Spiegel*—a magazine that reflects the main propaganda themes of U.S. and West German imperialism so faithfully that it often seems to be put out under the direct tutelage of the State Department or Bonn's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The September 8 issue of *Der Spiegel* featured two articles. One was the first of a series explaining that declining living standards lie ahead for the whole capitalist world. It was headlined "The Fat Years Are Over." The other feature was on the "failure of Marxism" supposedly exemplified in Poland.

A dramatic indication of this dilemma is that at the very time that the U.S. imperialists claimed to be heartened by gains for democracy in Poland, they could not restrain their glee over the military coup in Turkey.

Like Poland, Turkey is up to its ears in debt to the imperialist bankers. In fact, one of the features of the deepening crisis of capitalism is the accumulation of huge debts by a number of countries and the growing possibility of defaults that would threaten the entire international financial structure.

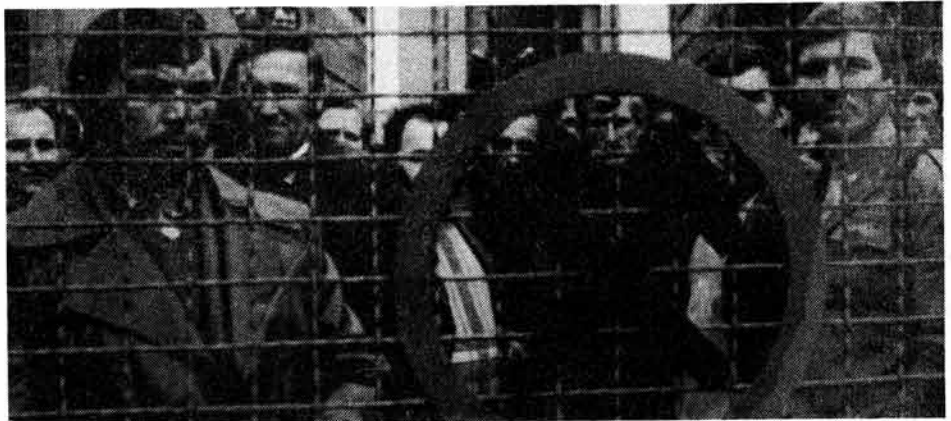
The international bankers wanted a government in Turkey that could impose draconian austerity on the Turkish workers, so that the bankers can be sure of getting their pound of flesh. They needed to abolish even the extremely limited democracy and labor rights that existed in Turkey in order to force the workers to accept austerity.

So, what do these same capitalists really think about the expansion of democracy and trade-union power in another debtor country, Poland? The *New York Times* indicated the answer:

The mass strike of workers swept away not just price increases, but also the Gierek regime and a considerable part of the Communist Party's authority. Those who celebrate these political changes should also understand that the root problem has meanwhile grown worse. Poland's debt of \$20 billion had been claiming more than 90 percent of the revenues earned by exports to the West. The strikes could well reduce exports, at least this year, but the settlement with the workers is unlikely to reduce consumption. Someone, somewhere, is going to pay the bill.

The *New York Times* editors counseled:

On balance, the West should bide its time and



Striking miners in Silesia.

not rush to underwrite the Polish settlement. . . .

Strictly financial considerations point in the same direction. To a banker's eye, Poland is not now a promising investment. The prospects for growth are more clouded than ever; the prospects for restraining consumption are nil.

An editorial like this in the main international voice of U.S. imperialism shows that the U.S. business daily the *Wall Street Journal* was just blowing hot air when it talked about the importance of aid to Poland in an editorial September 2, immediately after the strikers' victory.

In fact, even right-wing American labor bureaucrats such as teachers union president Albert Shanker found the *Wall Street Journal's* hypocrisy too hard to take. But all the *Journal* could offer in its September 12 rebuttal to an article by Shanker were cynical jibes, some of which were quite revealing:

With approval Mr. Shanker quoted a writer from the *Village Voice*, a left-wing New York newspaper, who sneered that our "solidarity with insurgent labor seems to wane once the strikes are taking place this side of the Iron Curtain. . . . Once The *Wall Street Journal* remembers its priorities it will be urging the Polish government to deal severely with the outrageous and inflationary demands of the toilers."

The *Wall Street Journal* replied:

You can imagine how this grieved us, what with all the time we've spent on this page insisting that labor's wage demands do not cause inflation. And how bemused we were to see Mr. Shanker slipping past the fact that the Communist regimes favored by some of those writers at the *Village Voice* have more workers' blood on their hands than we pussycats could even contemplate.

This editorial was printed one day after the "pussycats" the *Wall Street Journal* speaks for showed their claws once again in Turkey.

In fact, as the effects of the international capitalist crisis hit Turkey harder and harder, the defenders of capitalism in that country murdered thousands of workers and students. They even terrorized high schools, shooting down young pupils in front of their teachers and classmates. The

country's most respected scholars and journalists were hunted down, trapped, and slaughtered like wild animals. Union leaders were jailed. Demonstrations were banned. Censorship was imposed. Entire poor communities were attached and the population butchered, including infants.

But even a right-wing parliamentary government, assisted by fascist gangs that balked at no crime and enjoyed virtual impunity, was not enough for the Turkish capitalists and their U.S. backers. They wanted a total dictatorship that could terrorize the Turkish workers as totally as the brutal regimes in Chile and Argentina.

So how likely is it that these "pussycats" are reassured by the surging movement for democratic rights and workers control of the economy in Poland? They would have to change more than their spots to appreciate that. It isn't in the nature of the beast.

To one degree or another throughout the capitalist world, the rulers' austerity drive is leading to reductions in the democratic rights of the workers and the lowering of their living standards.

But in Poland the workers are showing that the only way to "rationalize" the economy so that it can meet the needs of the masses of the people is through the struggle to expand democracy.

The Polish workers are showing that the abolition of capitalism provides the necessary basis for democratic organization of the economy. And they are showing that they have the power and ability to reorganize society and the economy in accord with the aspirations of the great majority of all humanity.

That is why the workers in Poland are rallying all other productive sectors of the society around them. It is why all sections of the Polish masses are being set in motion by their example.

Why should the effects of this example be confined to Poland or East Europe? It offers the answer sought by working people throughout the world who face the dismal perspective of a decline in already inadequate living standards and the loss of what little they have won in the past over decisions that affect their lives. □

Puerto Rican Socialist Party Hails Polish Workers' Struggle

[The following document, with the introductory editor's note, was published in the September 5-11 issue of *Claridad*, the weekly newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, a major proindependence organization. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

(Editor's note: The Political Commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party met on August 26. Among other things, it discussed the strike movement in Poland and its importance for socialism. On Monday, September 1, the Central Committee of the PSP—its highest leadership body—met and received the Political Commission's report on that situation, which was summed up in a document. Following a discussion on the situation, the PSP Central Committee adopted a "Statement of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party on the Events in Poland." Owing to its importance to the development of socialism on a world scale, as well as the Puerto Rican workers movement, we are reprinting here the full text of that statement.)

In recent weeks, the working masses of Poland have launched a strike movement of considerable scope against that country's government. The strike paralyzed a number of key productive centers. The workers were demanding better wages, more control over prices, trade unions organized outside the strict tutelage of the government, and expanded democracy.

In relation to this movement, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party considers that building socialism is the aspiration of all the conscious workers of the world. If socialist governments deviate and commit errors on the way toward making this aspiration a reality, it is the right and obligation of the toiling masses to take up the banners of workers democracy, abolition of privileges, equitable distribution of wealth, efficiency in economic and political administration, and so on.

What the Polish workers are calling for is not a return to capitalism, restoration of private property in the means of production, or bringing back the capitalist exploiters who lived on the back of the working class. The workers of Poland are demanding instead that the great aspirations of socialism be truly brought about—democracy for the toilers, improved living standards, and abolition of the privileges enjoyed by a caste of bureaucrats. With their strike movement, the workers are moving the struggle toward a higher stage of socialism. To carry out that struggle,

they have made use of one of the traditional weapons of the working class—the strike.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party considers that during the entire process of building socialism, including on the eve of the classless society, the working class cannot give up its right to strike—even against the very system of government that claims to represent the working class. The right to strike will only become unnecessary when, as a consistent practice, the masses of workers are united with the state apparatus and the administration of the people's enterprises. So long as that goal is not reached and so long as there are deviations and deformations in the process of building socialism, the working class has the right and the duty to safeguard by all means at its disposal the process of installing the new stage in the development of civilization.

The problems in Poland have obviously given rise to a new wave of antisocialist propaganda. The capitalist press—especially that of the United States, which practically monopolizes information in Puerto Rico—has repeated time and again the lie that socialism equals tyranny and lack of freedom. The imperialists step up their propagation of this myth because of their desperation at the fact that socialism is advancing all over the world. This propaganda highlights the influence that the big imperialist press continues to have on a large part of the globe, our country included.

At the same time, we have the hypocritical support offered to the Polish workers by the representatives of certain parties and communications media in this country that have been notorious for their constant attacks on Puerto Rican workers whenever the latter have resorted to strikes. Right now the government of [Governor Carlos] Romero Barceló is refusing to negotiate with the UTIER [electrical workers union] workers, has refused to back effective legislation for the unionization of public employees, and has violently repressed any number of workers movements and leaders. Thus any so-called solidarity from such quarters can only reek of hypocrisy, double-dealing, and insult. The same can be said of the news media that have lined up with the Romero administration through their consistent antiworker attitudes. The only strike they have ever supported is the one by the Polish workers!

But while Romero and company mobilize repressive forces and public opinion against striking workers and those who in any way make known their repudiation of

the colonial regime Yankee imperialism maintains in our country, the Communist Party in Poland has proceeded to remove the prime minister and the political functionaries who have helped to sharpen the protest and concern of the working masses. There is a noteworthy difference here.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party hails the recent measures taken by the government and the Communist Party of Poland to grant the demands of the working masses. We take note, however, of a series of important lessons in this process.

While such popular movements undoubtedly provide opportunities to antisocialist elements and agents in the pay of the imperialists, an action of the scope seen in Poland is obviously rooted in deepgoing problems, one of whose causes is the survival of various structures and practices of a Stalinist type.

The difficult task of beginning to build socialism on this planet did not fall to the developed capitalist countries, but rather to Russia, the most backward capitalist country of Europe. That was a historical drawback. After a civil war that decimated the productive forces and the most combative elements of the working class, surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, the enormous advances brought by the abolition of capitalism in the Soviet Union were accompanied by the rise of a deviation from socialism that came to be known as Stalinism. That deviation was later introduced into the countries that became part of the socialist world immediately following World War II.

Stalinism involves not only its most dramatic forms—purges, violations of socialist legality, and the personality cult. It also persists in the form of other harmful practices, such as the curtailing of workers democracy and the existence of privileges enjoyed by a caste of bureaucrats. It is an unquestionable tribute to socialism's superiority over capitalism that despite the heavy burden represented by Stalinism, the Soviet Union has become the economic, social, cultural, and sporting power that it is today—overcoming even the terrible havoc two world wars wreaked on the Soviet people and their economy. This superiority of socialism is also evident in the incontrovertible fact that despite the deformations of socialism, the mass movements unfolding in Eastern Europe today, far from demanding a return to capitalism, call instead for the preservation and expansion of the gains of socialism.

But one cannot advance by contemplating the positive aspects alone. Deepgoing

failings exist, and criticism of them must go to the roots.

Besides the Stalinist hangovers that must be eradicated, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party also notes with concern the fact that in recent years capitalism (which is not a national but a worldwide system) has managed to intervene in the internal economic life of many socialist countries, particularly by means of the world market. This has alarmingly reduced the protection that a healthy socialist economic policy should offer through adequate safeguards in the course of necessary trade between differing social systems. The public debt in Poland, which surpasses \$20 billion, is a clear sign of this situation. In

this way, the crisis now gripping the capitalist system has penetrated the interior of a socialist country.

Thus the strike of the Polish workers was a response to the convergence of both these phenomena: on one hand, the survival of Stalinist practices and structures that are in fact negations of the ideals of socialism; and on the other, a government economic policy that has opened the doors wider and wider to the corrosive influence of capitalism in Polish economic life. Anti-socialist elements might momentarily gain ground in the confusion, but the main thrust of the strike movement in Poland showed once again that it is the working class that is the stalwart defender of the

highest aspirations of humanity, and that the workers are not willing to keep their struggle for socialism within the limits imposed by any deformations or limitations.

Knowing the long and self-sacrificing tradition of struggle of the Polish communists—inside the government as well as among the working masses—the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is confident that they will know how to carry the accords reached to a happy conclusion, in a way that points toward new heights in humanity's long battle to overcome barbarism, oppression, and the exploitation of man by man, as well as the errors committed when an unexplored route is taken for the first time. □

Do Marxists Back Media Access for Church in Poland?

By Vivian Sahner

[The following is reprinted from the September 19 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly, the *Militant*.]

* * *

What do Marxists think about the demand made by the strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media?

We support this demand. Not only because Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it. The demand was also justified as a *political* move to broaden support for the workers' struggle.

The separation of church and state is not at issue here. At issue is the political influence of the church, which cannot be abolished by decree or by official restrictions on the circulation of the hierarchy's views.

In Cuba, the church stood in open opposition to the progressive demands of the workers and farmers. While guaranteeing religious freedom, the revolutionary Castro leadership was able to isolate the hierarchy, crush the open counterrevolutionists in it, and compel the church officialdom to stop fighting the revolution. In this battle, the Castro government retained the unwavering support of the Cuban people.

In Poland, the repressive role of Stalinism produced a different situation.

Seventy percent of Poles are Catholic. The peasants, who make up 30 percent of the population, tend to be the most religious.

In the first years of the Stalinist regime the church came under repression. The bureaucracy sought to consolidate its rule by eliminating all potential oppositional leadership and shutting off all avenues through which working people might voice opposition.

Cardinal Wyszynski, for example, was in jail until 1956. Attacks on the church became a symbol for many Poles of the

sweeping violations of national and human rights by the Soviet and Polish bureaucrats.

The church hierarchy has attempted to preserve its base by identifying with the workers' hatred of these violations of human rights. It does not openly call for the reinstatement of capitalism, and claims to accept the existing economic order.

Undemocratic restrictions on the Catholic church imposed by the Polish authorities did not end religious beliefs. They lent a progressive veneer to the reactionary politics of Wyszynski and other top church officials.

In 1956 the Polish workers revolted, forcing concessions from the government. In an effort to stabilize Stalinist rule, the new government turned to the church. In exchange for support from the Catholic hierarchy, the government agreed to give the church certain privileges in education and more freedom of action.

And in the pinches, the hierarchy has lent its support to the Stalinist bureaucrats ever since. In 1970 and 1976, when government attempts to raise prices triggered revolts, the church condemned the strikers, extolling sacrifice as "a Christian virtue."

Even though the church was given more leeway after 1956, it is still seen as a semi-oppositional group in Poland. It often criticizes violations of individual rights. The election of a Polish pope was also popularly seen as a victory for the Polish nation.

In the recent strike wave the workers have sought to gain church support for their struggle. The demand that religious groups be given access to the media added to the sympathy for the strike among peasants and among workers in regions that were not yet on strike. It identified the movement with opposition to bureaucratic censorship of religious views and practices. It was linked to the workers' demand for abolition of all censorship.

The Catholic hierarchy's response was

highly educational for the workers. It urged the workers to drop this demand. After a twelve-year ban from television, Cardinal Wyszynski took to the airwaves to tell them to return to work. The appeal was a flop.

"It was clearly a mistake," said Jeczek Wejroch, a writer on political affairs for the monthly *Wież*, an independent publication close to the hierarchy. "Reaction to it was very bad among workers."

The strikers did not bow. They held firm, forcing the government to grant big concessions. Wyszynski lost standing. He found that the new workers organizations were as independent of the hierarchy as they are of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

The masses saw that the strikers were more determined defenders of democratic rights—including those of Catholic believers—than the church officials.

This shows once again that though many oppressed people may have religious beliefs and illusions about the role of the church, this does not prevent them from struggling against oppression.

This initial step in the exposure of Cardinal Wyszynski's real role as an opponent of the workers' aspirations was made possible precisely because the antidemocratic restriction on his access to the media was lifted.

We can assume that in Poland, as elsewhere, the church is not a monolith. No doubt there are more than a few priests who genuinely sympathize with the workers. The government's restrictions on democratic rights help block such progressive divisions from coming to the surface.

In Poland it is neither liberating nor politically realistic to deny the right of the Catholic majority to hear the views of the church.

Only experience with the role of the church hierarchy in the class struggle will convince the Polish working masses of its fundamentally reactionary, anti-working-class outlook. □

Catholic Hierarchy and Stalinist Bureaucracy

By Oliver MacDonald and Jo Singleton

[The following is reprinted from the September 3 issue of the British weekly *Socialist Challenge*.]

* * *

Throughout the 19th century, the German Reich and the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires partitioned Poland into three parts. The Poles were sandwiched between Russian Orthodoxy and German Lutherism. As in Ireland, the church became linked to the idea of national identity, and this identification was reinforced in this century by the division of the country in 1939 as a result of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and by the heavy losses it suffered in the Stalinist purges.

At the end of the Second World War the church hierarchy was more cautious in its approach to the collectivisation of the land than its Hungarian counterparts. It wanted to maintain its political influence over the masses and its leader, Cardinal Wyszynski, was clever enough to realise that he could not oppose this popular measure.

Although the Polish church pays lip service to supporting opposition movements in Poland today, a look at its post-war history shows how limited that support has been.

After initially opposing the Communist government's social legislation on abortion, divorce, and civil marriage, a deal was struck between church and state in April 1950. As a result the Polish bishops called on the Polish people to "respect the laws and institutions of the state."

The church would "condemn and punish those clergy who are guilty of any underground or anti-state activity." In return the government allowed religious education in the schools, and the only Catholic university in a Communist country, Lublin University, was set up.

Throughout the early 1950s East European leaders mounted a wave of repression as part of a campaign against Tito, the leader of the Yugoslav Communist Party who had dared to break with Stalin.

In Hungary Lazlo Rajk was executed as an "agent of Tito;" sham trials, torture, and imprisonment took place in every country in Eastern Europe until Stalin's death in 1953. Yet no protest was heard from the leaders of the Polish church.

In 1956 the close relationship between church and state was further consolidated. In the face of the upsurge inside the working class, Gomulka, the head of the Polish Communist Party, decided to make alliances with nonrevolutionary forces. The only way for the regime to defeat the militant base of the working class movement was to make a deal with the peasant

try and the church.

Land was de-collectivised so that only 10 per cent remained in the hands of the state. The church was allowed full religious practice, representation in parliament, and the right to publish its own newspapers.

Wyszynski loyally urged all Poles to vote for Gomulka in the elections that year and continued to back the regime throughout the 1960s. The church itself flourished in this period.

By the end of the 1960s there were three times as many nuns and twice as many monks in Poland as there had been in the 1930s. Bishops were paid higher salaries than central committee members of the Communist Party.

Another test for the Polish church came in 1968. A big anti-Semitic campaign was launched against intellectuals and dissidents who were critical of the regime. The church hierarchy, who in the inter-war years had backed the semi-fascist National Democracy Party and had a strong tradition of anti-Semitism, raised not a word of protest against these purges.

Adam Michnik, a left wing Christian writing in *The Church, the Left and Dialogue*, admits that the church's behaviour at this time was worrying: "An unequivocal pronouncement by the bishops about anti-Semitism was badly needed."

Gierek, coming to power in 1970 after another upsurge by Poland's militant working class movement, went straight to Wyszynski for help. The Cardinal urged the workers to pray for "peace and calm" and to put an end to their strike.

Gierek was obviously grateful to Wyszynski. When the latter reached retirement age, the Communist leader sent a personal letter to the Vatican requesting that he should stay on as cardinal.

In dissident intellectual circles in Poland the church undoubtedly has a strong influence. The workers also clearly look to the church as a source of support in their conflict with the government.

But the Polish bishops' new found support for opposition movements is very conditional. They want to know whether the movement will increase their power and privileges in Polish society.

The church wants access to the media, full legal recognition and even more churches built in return for "services rendered to the regime in ending social tension."

As the Human Institute of Conflict Studies has pointed out: "It says much for Cardinal Wyszynski's political skills that he understood that the crisis in Poland could be transformed into a lever for strengthening the position of the church.



CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI

This explains the backing that it passively gave to the opposition movement."

But the church, like the regime, fears nothing more than the mass movement of the striking Polish workers. As the workers' combativity increases their trust in the church grows less and less. Even the "clever" Cardinal Wyszynski is finding the going tough in Poland today. □

Correction

[We have received a letter from Margaret Dewar informing us of a few inaccuracies in the article "Hugo Dewar, 1910-1980" (see *Intercontinental Press*, September 1, 1980, page 893). Following is the letter.]

* * *

This is to thank you for reprinting Pierre Frank's obituary notice for Hugo and for letting me have some extra copies of the issue. I appreciate this thoughtful gesture.

May I, however, correct one or two inaccuracies in the notice:

Hugo Dewar was born in 1908. He joined the ILP [Independent Labour Party] in 1928. (Was co-founder, with F.A. Ridley, of the short-lived Marxist League, whilst still in the ILP.) He joined the CPGB [Communist Party of Great Britain] in 1931 in order to support the Balham Group of the CP then battling against Stalinist policies and for the ideas of Trotsky. They were all expelled in 1932 for "disruptive activities" and together founded the Communist League, the first Trotskyist group in Britain, which published the *Red Flag*.

Your version somehow gives the impression that he had been a "genuine" CP member for several years.

Chinese Regime Continues Swing Away From Mao's Policies

By David Frankel

China's National People's Congress convened in Peking on August 30. Although the congress is nominally the highest governing body in the country, its latest session was only the fifth since the body was set up in 1954.

The last time this rubber-stamp congress met was in January 1975, when Mao Zedong was still alive. During that session, Zhou Enlai praised "the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao."

Times have changed since then.

On May 17 China marked a national day of mourning for Liu Shaoqi, Mao's main target in the Cultural Revolution. Flags throughout the country flew at half staff and all movie theaters and sports grounds were closed in honor of the man who had been drummed out of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1968 as a "renegade, traitor and scab."

Downgrading Mao Cult

Along with the rehabilitation of Liu and other leaders victimized as "capitalist roaders" during the Cultural Revolution, the current regime has been systematically downgrading the cult of Mao. Many of the huge statues and portraits of the "Great Helmsman," which once dominated every public place in China, have now been removed. A directive issued August 11 by the CCP Central Committee declared:

"There have been too many portraits, quotations and poems of Chairman Mao in public places. This is lacking in political dignity. The number should be gradually reduced to an appropriate amount."

Toronto Star correspondent Mark Gayn, reporting from the city of Sian August 16, described a presentation of the popular play "Big Sea, Be My Witness," a "merciless satire on Mao and Maoism."

Moreover, "At the magnificent Sian Museum, the enormous boards that only recently carried Mao's sayings are now covered with fresh red paint."

And on September 7 CCP Chairman Hua Guofeng, Mao's handpicked successor, attacked the "leftist deviations" of the Cultural Revolution. Hua resigned as prime minister and asked the National People's Congress to approve Zhao Ziyang as his successor.

Although Hua retains his post as chairman of the CCP—at least for the time being—real power remains in the hands of Deng Xiaoping. Deng was denounced during the Cultural Revolution as the second most important "person in authority tak-

ing the capitalist road."

Before the National People's Congress adjourned on September 10, it established a committee to overhaul the Maoist constitution approved at its fourth session in 1975.

However, in an interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci granted shortly before the meeting of the congress, Deng set strict limits to how far the regime would go in repudiating Mao's legacy.

'Mistakes,' But No Crimes

"Listen," Deng told Fallaci, "Chairman Mao committed mistakes: It is true. But he was also one of the main founders of the Chinese Communist Party and of the People's Republic of China. In evaluating his mistakes as well as his merits, we think that his mistakes only rate a secondary place."

Deng placed the beginning of Mao's "mistakes" in "the later part of the Fifties." Deng explicitly included the period of the Great Leap Forward, an attempt at forced-march economic growth that actually resulted in a serious setback to production. He speculated that "maybe victory [of the Chinese revolution] had made [Mao] less prudent, or maybe he had lost contact with reality."

But Deng insisted: "We shall not do to Mao Tse-tung what Khrushchev did to Stalin at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress" in 1956. It was at that congress that Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin acknowledged many of the crimes of their predecessor, hoping to defuse internal discontent.

For the bureaucratic regime in Peking to throw open Mao's whole record to public criticism would necessarily implicate the entire CCP leadership in his crimes. It would raise much broader questions about the character of the CCP and the right of the Chinese workers and peasants to control the government that rules in their name.

In his interview with Fallaci, Deng insisted that the blame for any crimes lay with the subordinate figures in Mao's faction—the so-called Gang of Four purged from the party leadership shortly after Mao's death.

"I promise you that the trial of the Gang of Four will not soil Chairman Mao's memory at all. . . . The crimes committed by them are so many and so evident that we do not need to implicate Chairman Mao to prove them," Deng said.

Mao's attempt to enforce absolute ideological conformity on the Chinese people, his crackpot economic policies, and the

resulting intensification of repression and hardship had brought China to the brink of an explosion by the time of his death in September 1976. In pulling back from Mao's policies and attempting to regain the confidence of the masses, the CCP leadership has encouraged a loosening of restrictions, a freer tone in the press, and the exposure of some of the worst bureaucratic abuses. This was reflected at the National People's Congress, where occasional maverick voices were tolerated.

However, any notion that the workers and peasants should have the right to discuss and decide on basic policy has been sharply rejected by Deng. The opening of the congress coincided with the arrest of the editors of four underground journals, two from Canton in the south, and the others from Changsha and Wuhan in central China.

Xidan wall in Peking—known as "Democracy Wall"—has been converted into a strip of advertising billboards. And before it adjourned, the congress deleted the point in China's constitution guaranteeing the right to put up wall posters.

Despite its claims to be reviving the rule of law, the regime continues to use rural labor camps as a means of silencing potential opponents. *Washington Post* correspondent Jay Mathews reported June 1 that "the Peking police alone have dispatched more than 5,000 young people to 'reeducation through labor' camps so far this year. . . . The offenders are sent to the camps without trial or court review."

And as is the case in Poland today, the much-publicized exposures of bureaucratic privilege and abuse are an example of the parasitic caste throwing a few individual members to the wolves in order to protect the position of the caste as a whole. In a May 28 article Mathews quoted from the diary of a young Peking factory worker who asks:

"And what about those bureaucrats? The rumor is that Ye Jiangying [the second-ranking party leader] doles out \$66,677 for his birthday parties in Guangzhou."

Turning to Market Forces

Widespread attention has also been focused on the economic policies being followed by the new CCP leadership.

Sharp differences over economic policy between Mao and other CCP leaders resulted in the late 1950s from the debacle of the Great Leap Forward. In 1959 Peng Dehuai, who had commanded the Chinese forces in the Korean War, denounced the

Great Leap Forward as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism." He argued that "putting politics in command is no substitute for economic principles."

During the Cultural Revolution, Mao was able to reimpose his discredited policy. Not only material incentives such as bonuses, but even wage increases and improvements in the material conditions of the workers were branded as "bourgeois." Ideological fervor was to be the sole basis for increasing production.

Mao also promulgated his policy of "self-reliance." China's inability to get economic aid from either Moscow or the imperialist countries was treated as a virtue instead of a misfortune. The tasks of economic construction in China were presented within a purely national context. The class struggle in the rest of the world and the possibility of revolutionary victories in other countries had no place in Mao's economic plans.

Revolutionary internationalism still has no place in the economic or political decisions of the Peking regime. But Mao's successors have junked the distinctive economic policies of the Cultural Revolution. "We're turning to market forces, to price incentives, to wage increases in order to stimulate production," one young manager told former *New York Times* editor John B. Oakes.

The Capitalist Way?

Peking propagandists argued in the 1960s that the use of market devices in the Soviet Union and various East European workers states proved that these countries had returned to capitalism. Although bourgeois propagandists today have generally not gone so far as to claim that China is on the road to restoring capitalism, they have made much of Peking's newfound confidence in market mechanisms and capitalist technology.

"The communist system is not working well these days, and the solution recommended most by members of it who are trying to improve things is to look at the capitalist way," the editors of the *Washington Post* gloated September 7.

Actually, the use of material incentives, the attempt to encourage state enterprises to operate profitably, and the broader operation of a free market within the context of the state monopoly on foreign trade and state ownership of the basic means of production hardly represent a turn toward reintroducing capitalism.

Although it would be wrong to give the slightest political confidence to the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy ruling China, the bureaucratic caste is not about to restore capitalism there. This is not because of any interest on its part in defending the gains of the Chinese workers and peasants. It is just that the parasitic caste feeds off of the property forms established by the Chinese revolution. There would be no place for the bureau-

cracy as a social formation under capitalism.

Answering Fallaci in this regard, Deng pointed out that "no matter how we will open to the West, no matter how we will use the foreign capital, and whatever the proportion of the private investment will be, this will cover only a small percentage of the Chinese economy. It will by no means affect the socialist ownership of the means of production. Even the fact that foreigners might build factories in China will play only a complementary role. A subsidiary role."

This is certainly true. But extensive reliance on market mechanisms, even within the context of a workers state, tends to perpetuate and even increase the division between the more developed and less developed sectors of the country and to adversely affect the living conditions of the workers in the weaker sectors of the economy. In the absence of democratic control by the workers these effects will be magnified, and they will surely lead to political friction.

This point was also noted by the *Christian Science Monitor* September 9. While saluting "a remarkable and salutary trend that deserves encouragement," the *Monitor* warned:

"Introducing market socialism—even beyond the Yugoslav model—will have its potential pitfalls. With factories given the right to hire and fire, for instance, this could lead to unemployment and labor unrest. Decontrol of prices seems bound to ignite inflation. Social strains could arise as private wealth is created and a gap develops between rich and poor. . . ."

There is no economic policy that can indefinitely forestall the entry of the Chinese working class into politics and the struggle of the workers to control the Chinese government. But the bureaucratic caste in Peking and the imperialist rulers have a common interest in trying to hold back such a development for as long as possible. The last thing the imperialists want to see is another Poland, especially in China, where Moscow cannot play the same kind of role in backing up the regime.

Peking's Foreign Policy

Peking's foreign policy is an extension of the bureaucratic caste's domestic policy. In seeking investment, technological aid, and trade concessions from the imperialists, the Peking bureaucrats have treated the interests and struggles of the workers and peasants around the world as so much small change.

Deng, who spoke of Mao's "mistakes" and Stalin's "mistakes" in his interview with Fallaci, also argued in favor of support for Pol Pot's government in Kampuchea despite its "serious mistakes."

"You speak of mistakes, but a genocide is not a mistake," Fallaci replied.

Fallaci pressed Deng on his foreign policy. "When [Spanish dictator Francisco]

Franco died, the first flowers to arrive for his coffin were the flowers of the Chinese. And they were signed by Chou En-lai."

Although Fallaci did not mention Peking's warm relationship with the shah of Iran, she did ask about its friendly attitude to Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. Deng replied that although the policy in regard to Chile was set "by Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai, not by me, I believe that the approach was right."

Washington's ability to play off the two largest workers states against each other has been of great value for the imperialists, especially in Indochina, where Peking has fronted for the U.S. government as Pol Pot's most vocal supporter and even launched a large-scale military invasion of Vietnam.

Peking's propaganda about the Soviet Union being the main aggressor in the world and its support for greater arms spending in the imperialist countries has also dovetailed with Washington's militarization drive.

Even as the fifth session of the National People's Congress was meeting in Peking, a twenty-two member delegation headed by Pentagon official William Perry was carrying out talks with Chinese military representatives. Perry explained his mission as one designed to "help us to define better the areas in which technology transfer can be of greatest mutual benefit."

The Carter administration has cleared the way for Peking to buy a wide range of military-related equipment and technology from U.S. companies, including radar and communications systems, helicopters, and transport planes. "There are at present something like 400 export licenses approved," Perry commented.

In Mao's Footsteps

For the first two decades following the Chinese revolution, U.S. arms going to China were not intended for use by the Peking regime. The U.S. ruling class seriously debated invading China or using atomic weapons against it during the Korean War.

Imperialist pressure against China continued after the Korean War. A complete economic and diplomatic blockade was maintained, for example. It was fundamentally in response to this ongoing pressure that Moscow—as an offering to Washington in its pursuit of a diplomatic deal—cut off all Soviet aid to China in 1960. This brutal act was a stab in the back of the Chinese revolution.

Faced with almost complete international isolation and with the beginning of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, the CCP sought links with anti-imperialist movements and newly independent colonial governments around the world. It adopted a public stance that was to the left of Moscow.

But Mao's fundamental attitude to imperialism was the same as that of the Soviet

leaders. He wanted a live-and-let-live deal. When Washington's difficulties in Indochina opened the door for such a deal, Mao jumped at it. In 1971 Henry Kissinger met with Mao in Peking, to be followed shortly after by Richard Nixon.

Deng Xiaoping was trained in the same Stalinist school as Mao, and the current CCP leadership has continued in Mao's footsteps in the arena of foreign policy.

But China remains a workers state where capitalism has been abolished by one of history's great revolutions. In the end, no matter how many services its bureaucratic rulers perform for the imperialist counterrevolution, the basic antagonism between the Chinese social system

and capitalism will manifest itself.

The gains made possible by the Chinese revolution have never been erased, despite more than thirty years of bureaucratic rule. These include elimination of imperialist domination, the eradication of the devastating famines that used to take millions of lives, and the wiping out of the opium trade imposed on the Chinese people by imperialism.

Barbaric practices such as foot binding and the killing of female babies have been ended, and Chinese women have made strides toward social equality. Basic health care has been made available to virtually the entire population. China has ten times as many doctors and twenty-three times as many hospital beds as it did in 1949.

But it was necessary for the Chinese workers and peasants to fight a bitter civil war against the imperialist-backed dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek in order to secure these gains. Greater reliance on imperialism will not help to advance social progress in China or anywhere else.

In his first speech as China's new prime minister, Zhao Ziyang vowed that China would become a "modernized, highly democratic and civilized socialist state" by the year 2000. That goal is something worth working for. But it can only be accomplished through a political revolution that would overturn the rule of the parasitic caste that governs China today and put political power in the hands of the Chinese workers and peasants. □

Khomeini Appeals for International Solidarity

Washington Still Refuses to Meet Iran's Legitimate Demands

By Janice Lynn

As the first anniversary of the U.S. embassy occupation in Iran approaches, Washington is still refusing to meet any of the legitimate demands of the Iranian people.

In a statement issued September 12, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini reiterated some of these demands:

I have said several times that the hostage-taking by the fighting, committed and Moslem students was the natural reaction to the damages that have been inflicted on our nation by the United States.

On the return of the deposed Shah's wealth

and the cancellation of all the United States claims against Iran, a guarantee of no United States military and political interventions in Iran and freeing of all our investments, the hostages will be set free.

The response of U.S. officials was merely that Khomeini's statement required "further exploration."

Why have the U.S. rulers refused to grant even a single one of the Iranian people's demands? Because this would be seen by millions of people in Iran and around the world as acknowledgment of Washington's complicity in the twenty-five

years of crimes and corruption under the shah—one of history's bloodiest dictators.

Khomeini reaffirmed that the new Iranian parliament, installed last May, would soon be taking up the issue of the hostages and setting the terms for their release. A spokesperson for the students from the occupied U.S. embassy explained that Khomeini's statement contained what would be "the minimum decision" of the parliament and that the hostages would be released just as soon as Washington accepted the parliament's terms.

According to a September 13 Reuters dispatch from Tehran, "An informed source close to the Parliamentary Foreign Relations Commission said that members would call for additional conditions. 'We will definitely want an American apology for their crimes under the Shah's regime,' this source said."

British Government Deports Iranian Students

The British government has begun to deport Iranian students.

The Iranians were among a group of sixty-three arrested August 4 for participating in a demonstration outside the U.S. embassy in London. The demonstration was in solidarity with Iranian students in the United States who had been arrested several days earlier and who were victims of vicious attacks by Washington, D.C., police.

The Iranian demonstrators in London were likewise victims of police brutality. And in a typical caricature of justice, they were arrested and thrown in jail on charges of obstructing or assaulting the police.

Most of the young Iranians who were jailed went on a hunger strike. Some refused to give their names, denying that British courts had any jurisdiction over them.

The deportations were recommended by British magistrates who have so far con-

victed forty-four of the Iranians. On September 9 the first two of the Iranian students were put aboard a flight to Tehran. One of them, who had been studying in Liverpool, was accompanied by his British wife and two-year-old son. On September 11, five others were forcefully dragged onto a waiting plane.

Civil liberties lobbyists in London protested the deportations. Even the London *Times* felt compelled to take its distance from this patently undemocratic action. "The fact that they are a noisy nuisance is not, of itself, sufficient ground for removing them," the *Times* said in a September 9 editorial. "Suspended sentences of seven days' imprisonment do not suggest serious crime."

Anticipating the outrage in Iran over the deportations, the British government closed its embassy in Tehran and recalled its embassy staff—timed to coincide with the first of the deportations. □

Muskie Letter

Washington's refusal to deal seriously with Iran's demands was highlighted by a secret letter sent by U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie to Iran's new prime minister Mohammed Ali Rajai, on August 20.

In the letter, Muskie proposed establishing a "regular channel of communication" and wrote, "I would personally prefer that this be done directly, very discreetly if you wish, between representatives of our two Governments."

In contrast to the secret diplomacy and behind-the-scenes maneuvering proposed by Muskie, Rajai read the letter aloud at a September 8 rally in Qum. The rally was one of several commemorating the second anniversary of the massacre of thousands of anti-shah demonstrators in Tehran, known as "Black Friday." The rally was

broadcast live over radio.

"I have relayed your message to my public," Rajai replied to Muskie. "You have also heard the opinion of our nation. . . . We do not compromise or make deals.

"Diplomatic discussions are terms used during the satanic era," Rajai said, referring to the secret deals made with imperialism during the shah's regime.

"This does not mean that we will not talk," he continued, "but according to our beliefs, if we were sure that you had repented, we would talk."

The response of the crowd in Qum was clear, as the air was filled by chants of "Death to America!"

Rajai took note of the hypocrisy in Muskie's letter, which purported to recognize "the reality of the Iranian Revolution and the legitimacy of the Islamic Republic," and claimed that Washington "has had no wish to interfere."

"I assure you that we will show the fullest respect for your independence, your territorial integrity and for the principle of noninterference," the Muskie letter stated.

Noninterference?

The hollowness of these claims has been exposed time and again:

- One example of "respect for territorial integrity" was Carter's abortive April 24 raid against Iran.

- Another example of "respect" for Iran's independence is Washington's continued support for counterrevolutionary pro-shah forces plotting against the Iranian revolution.

- A third example of "noninterference" is the top-secret plan for a large-scale invasion of Iran in October, recently revealed by U.S. columnist Jack Anderson.

Rajai also pointed to Washington's collusion with Iraqi attacks against Iran [see accompanying story], as well as U.S. government complicity with and financing of sabotage inside Iran.

The U.S. government has never given up in its attempt to install a regime that is more accommodating to U.S. imperialism's interests in the Persian Gulf region. These are all part of Washington's goal of overturning the Iranian revolution—the same policies that were recently confirmed by William H. Sullivan, U.S. ambassador to Iran during the 1978-79 revolution, in an article in *Foreign Policy* magazine.

Sullivan documented how Washington sought to maintain the shah in power to the bitter end. He told of a telephone call he received relaying a message from Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski; the message asked if Sullivan could arrange a military coup to try and hold back the revolution.

"I received terse instructions telling me that the policy of the United States Government was to support the Bakhtiar Government [the shah's last appointed prime minister] without reservation and to assist

its survival," Sullivan wrote.

But the power of the Iranian masses was too strong. The revolution succeeded in overthrowing the shah despite Washington's efforts.

New Cabinet

Discussion in the new parliament of the hostage issue has been delayed, among other things, by differences and power struggles inside the government.

The Revolutionary Council, which has officially governed Iran since the shah's overthrow in February 1979, was formally dissolved September 11. Its powers were handed over to the new government of Prime Minister Rajai and the parliament.

The day before, fourteen cabinet ministers were installed. But fighting in the government over the composition of the cabinet has resulting in only ten of these fourteen gaining approval from President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr. Seven other cabinet posts, including the ministries of foreign and economic affairs, remain unfilled.

Sensing the Iranian masses' growing impatience with the fighting among government factions and the lack of measures addressed to solving the economic and social problems of the country, Khomeini delivered a forty-five minute radio and television address September 11.

"Many people have nothing," he said. "Do something for them and do not sit and fight with each other."

Khomeini reminded the Iranian legisla-

Khomeini: 'U.S. Hand Comes Out of Iraq's Sleeve'

In a September 12 statement, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini blasted the stepped-up attacks on Iran by the government of neighboring Iraq.

"We are at war with America," Khomeini said, "and today the hand of America has come out of the sleeve of Iraq."

Ever since the Iranian revolution a year and a half ago, the Iraqi regime has been strengthening its ties with Washington and providing a base of counterrevolutionary operations for pro-shah Iranians.

Pointing to Washington's collusion with Iraqi military assaults against Iran, Khomeini said:

The great Satan, whose fear is that the Islamic revolution of Iran may be exported to other Islamic and non-Islamic countries, thus cutting its evil hand from the countries under its domination, could not accomplish anything with an economic blockade and military attacks and has resorted to another trick in order to damage our Islamic revolution in the eyes of the Moslems of the world and to make Moslems fight each other to enable it to continue with its plunderings in Moslem countries.

Khomeini also blasted Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat for joining in Washington's campaign against the Iranian revolution.

tors that they owed their jobs to those who gave their lives to overthrow the shah and warned that if the squabbling continued the Iranian masses could rise up again.

International Appeal

In his message the following day, which ended with the conditions on Washington for release of the hostages, Khomeini appealed for international solidarity with the Iranian revolution.

The "most important and most distressing issues facing Islamic and non-Islamic countries under domination is the United States," Khomeini said.

The United States Government as the most powerful Government in the world does not spare any effort in devouring the material wealth of countries under its domination. The United States is the No. 1 enemy of the oppressed and deprived nations of the world. The United States would commit any crime in order to expand its political, economic, cultural and military domination over the world under its rule. . . .

You nonaligned countries, we ask you to witness that America intends to destroy us. Come to your senses and help us to achieve our goal.

Standing with Iran against imperialism is the duty of working people in all countries around the world.

We must demand that Carter acknowledge the bloody record of Washington's intervention in Iran, and that he meet the just demands of the Iranian people for the return of the wealth stolen from their country and for an end to imperialism's interference in their affairs. □

Khomeini's statement came in the wake of several days of intensified air and ground battles between Iraq and Iranian forces.

A representative of Iraq's Defense Ministry claimed September 10 that Iraqi military forces had "liberated" territory along the Iran-Iraq border.

Tehran radio denied the Iraqi claim, and an Iranian military spokesman dismissed it as "a mere lie" designed to boost Iraqi troop morale.

The territory in question is fifty square miles of an estuary—Shatt al Arab—that separates the two countries. The Iraqi News Ministry further asserted that Iraqi forces had seized seventy-five square miles in the Diyala River border region further north.

According to Tehran radio, Iranian forces have shot down six Iraqi MIG fighter planes during the recent step-up in fighting.

The official Iranian press agency, Pars, quoted the governor of the Iranian border town of Qasr-e Shirin September 13 as saying that government forces had "recovered three Iranian frontier outposts which had been taken by Iraqi forces." □

Former Irish Political Prisoner Vows to Keep on Fighting

A Letter From Osgur Breatnach

[On May 22, the Dublin Criminal Appeals Court threw out the conviction of Osgur Breatnach and Brian McNally on train robbery charges.

[At the time of his arrest in April 1976, Breatnach was the editor of the *Starry Plough*, the newspaper of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. He was detained without charge for an extended period and during that time badly beaten in the attempt to extort a false confession from him.

[The pictures of Breatnach's bruised body were published in the Irish mass circulation press, creating a national scandal that forced the coalition government to drop the prosecution.

[However, once the furor died down, the new Fianna Fáil government reinstated the case and sentenced Breatnach, along with McNally and Nicky Kelly, two other IRSP leaders, to prison terms of nine to twelve years. The verdict was handed down in December 1978 after the longest trial in the history of the formally independent Irish state.

[The IRSP leaders were sentenced entirely on the basis of extorted statements by a special three-judge tribunal not bound to respect the traditional rules of evidence.

[The presence of international legal observers at the appeal hearing in May was apparently sufficient to force the court to throw out this obvious frame-up, despite the great effort the state made to achieve a conviction and the political stake it had in seeing that it stuck. The affect of the appeals court ruling was to discredit both the special courts and the police.

[The methods used by the Dublin government in the IRSP case were the same as used by the British authorities to put thousands of nationalist militants in prison with a pretense of legal process. Thus, the release of the IRSP prisoners was a major victory against the entire system of colonial and neocolonial repression.

[After the verdict, Nicky Kelly, who fled after the sentence was handed down, turned himself in. He was sent to prison to begin serving his twelve year sentence, despite the fact that the entire case he had been convicted on had been thrown out by the appeals court. Kelly also suffered irreparable damage as a result of the beatings he received in police custody.

[The Free State political police remain unchastened by the appeal ruling. In late June, Irish detectives systematically tortured republicans in County Donegal, boasting to them that they had murdered Séamus Costello, the leader of the IRSP, who was assassinated in September 1976.

[The following is a letter from Osgur

Breatnach on the continuing fight against the special courts and police repression.]

* * *

A chara [dear friend],

I would like, publicly, through your magazine, to thank all those neighbors, friends, relations, political comrades, and organizations in Ireland, on the continent, and in the U.S.A. who campaigned for my release from jail, who wrote to me while I was in jail and who helped my wife and children in my absence.

Since my release, it is clear that there are now as there always were grounds for an impartial public inquiry into Garda [police] brutality. It is clear that the harassment against political dissidents in Ireland is facilitated by the Offences Against the State Act (under which we were held and tortured and not the Seven-Day Emergency Laws,* as widely believed). There should now be no doubt that the repeated IRSP claims of a state conspiracy to smash the party (which is a legally registered political organization) are true. It is clear that the Special Criminal Court can convict on bizarre legal grounds—and on this point I state categorically that I have so far investigated and am convinced beyond any doubt of the innocence of seven different prisoners amongst the fifty prisoners I was incarcerated with in a section of the Portlaoise Prison. Many more whose claims I have as yet been unable to investigate also claim they are innocent.

The government's response to date, following my release and the resulting publicity, has been to say nothing about the promotions of the Garda Heavy Gang Torturers; to continue to defend and continue to use the Special Criminal Court; to continue to unleash Ireland's political police, the Special Branch, against, in particular, myself and the IRSP.

I am a political dissident and will continue to expose, as best I can, the role of repressive laws, institutions and secret police against all political dissidents in Ireland. In particular, in the coming months, I will do my utmost to bring about

*Under the former National Coalition government, legislation was passed allowing the police to detain political suspects up to seven days without charge. After the crushing defeat of the National Coalition in June 1977, the new Fianna Fáil government moved away from this practice.

However, the Offences Against the State Act has been on the books for several decades and remains the foundation stone of neocolonialist repression in the formally independent part of Ireland.—IP

a broadly based movement to abolish the Special Criminal Court and release all its innocent victims in Portlaoise Prison.

In again thanking all those who have supported myself and my family I ask them now to give their support to the national and international campaigns which have begun for the release of Nicky Kelly, who was convicted along with myself and who at present is serving twelve years penal servitude in Portlaoise Prison despite Brian McNally's and my own successful appeals, and his deteriorating health. □

Philippine Labor Unions Call Protest Rally

Eight labor leaders have been arrested in Manila and warrants issued for the arrest of scores of others as the major labor confederations in the Philippines gear up for a September 28 workers' rally.

The rally has been called to demand higher wage increases and to protest increases granted last month that represent only a third of the unions' demand. Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos has reportedly approved a 3 peso (US\$0.41) increase in the minimum wage, but labor leaders are demanding a minimum 10 peso (US\$1.36) raise.

At the rally the unions will decide whether to call a one-day nationwide walk-out, which would be a direct challenge to eight years of martial law in the Philippines. The workers are also demanding restoration of the right to strike.

With inflation exceeding 24 percent, and real income having declined by 10 percent during the last decade, Filipino workers are said to be the lowest paid in Asia. In addition, an estimated 30,000 workers have already been laid off during 1980.

The recent arrests follow similar jailings of students and others during June and July in an attempt by the Marcos dictatorship to head off an upsurge in student protests. Nevertheless 10,000 students and faculty demonstrated in Manila July 29 against restrictions on their campuses, reflecting a resurgence in the resistance to martial law.

The Philippine military command said the labor leaders were arrested for "subversion" and connections with the Communist Party. Among those for whom arrest warrants have been issued are priests and nuns working with labor and squatter groups.

Some of the bourgeois forces opposed to Marcos united on August 29 to form a National Covenant for Freedom. They are demanding immediate termination of the Marcos dictatorship, unconditional dismantling of martial law, free elections, and an end to foreign domination.

Washington has two huge military bases in the Philippines and more than \$1 billion of investments. □

Women Struggle for Right to Industrial Jobs

By Colleen Levis

[The following is from the September 1, 1980, issue of *Socialist Voice*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

Anna Walentynowicz is a 50-year-old Polish woman, the mother of two children, a political activist, union militant, and a leader of the workers' uprising in her country. A crane operator, she has worked for 30 years at the Lenin naval yard at Gdansk.

Sally Matthews, a 39-year-old mother of eight children and a union militant, died June 24 following the collapse of a platform in a copper refinery at Inco in Sudbury, Ontario. She worked in the blast furnace for five years, where she was in the front lines of the fight to eliminate the unsafe working conditions which finally cost her life, along with those of 1,500 men who have died in Ontario's mines since 1935.

There are more and more women like these in countries all over the world. Women who are doing so-called men's work in the center of production are emerging as central leaders of social and labor struggles.

More and more women in the advanced capitalist countries are fighting for access to industrial jobs, or to keep such jobs, in the face of a major campaign by the employers to drive them out.

This is an international struggle, but one that is not well-known. A socialist educational school held at the end of July by the European sections of the Fourth International provided a rare occasion for an exchange of experiences and impressions on this question.

The following information was reported at the school.

In a little less than three years, some 10,000 women were successful in getting jobs at the giant Fiat industrial complex, employing 250,000 to 300,000 workers, in Turin.

At the end of the 1940s, Italian workers fought for and won legislation stipulating that hiring in unskilled jobs would be done through lists set up by the municipal administration and under the control of the unions.

For a number of years this law was a dead letter. But around 1974, in face of a wave of factory closures, unemployed youth began a series of occupations of unemployment offices and held demonstrations in the northern part of the country to force implementation of the law.

The victory that resulted not only established hiring lists controlled by the unions;

it also prohibited sexual discrimination.

In order to make the victory real, the women had to lead a hard fight to convince their fellow male workers that they were not out to steal their jobs, as well as combatting the objections of the employers about not having adequate washroom facilities and so forth.

The bosses tried to discourage the women by giving them the most difficult and dangerous work. The women workers then convinced their union to demand less dangerous work for both men and women.

When the Unidal food processing factory, which employed a large majority of women, closed down, the women won the collective right to be hired in auto and steel plants.

In all the capitalist countries, the vast majority of women are channeled into industries like electronics, textiles, and subassembly in steel and other basic industries. Now they are beginning to win laws that recognize their right to all kinds of jobs.

In some countries, for example Great Britain, the United States, Canada, and Sweden, they have made progress through affirmative action or preferential hiring programs, based on the concept of receiving compensation for centuries of inequality.

In Great Britain, a feminist organization has been fighting for some time to get women into manual trades and for access to skilled trades courses. In particular they are challenging the employers in the nationalized industries, who claim they already have equal opportunities programs for women. More British women now have jobs on assembly lines in the auto industry.

A new Swedish law which went into effect July 1 bans sexual discrimination in hiring. Women's equality committees exist in several unions. Women working in the metal industry have led a struggle against pornography in the workplace.

With the current recession, the gains won in the United States and elsewhere are threatened. Women are being pushed completely out of certain industries by discriminatory "temporary" layoffs, many of which become permanent.

But as the experience in Italy, Quebec and English Canada, and elsewhere shows, the fight to get into heavy industry and to stay there is part and parcel of the fight against unemployment and arbitrary firings by the working class as a whole.

Despite high unemployment, a big campaign led by the United Steelworkers in

Hamilton forced Stelco to hire some 40 women in a plant of 10,000 workers. Recently, the first woman was hired at National Steel Car in the same city.

A number of railway and other unions and the NDP [New Democratic Party—Canada's labor party] are supporting a campaign in Winnipeg, Manitoba, for women to get into skilled "nontraditional" jobs at Canadian National Railway.

One of the most important struggles in Quebec and English Canada is the fight of the three women fired from the Pratt & Whitney aerospace company near Montreal. This fight, which has received enormous support, links the fight against unemployment with the fight against sexual and political discrimination.

The three women who were fired—Suzanne Chabot, Katy Le Rougetel, and Wendy Stevenson—are members of the Revolutionary Workers League. A recent report by the Quebec Human Rights Commission confirmed that they were fired last November because of their political activities and socialist views.

The commission revealed that an agent of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) visited Pratt & Whitney and "communicated" the names of the three women to the company.

On the basis of the commission's findings that the RCMP visits were "decisive" in the political firings, the commission is demanding that the three women be immediately rehired and that Pratt & Whitney pay them almost \$30,000 in back pay and damages.

The fight for access to jobs in basic industry deepens the fight for other feminist demands. In order to overcome the obstacles erected by the employers, women fighting for such jobs have to struggle for other demands like the right to abortion, daycare, and paid maternity leave against attempts to keep women outside the unions by giving them part-time or temporary jobs.

The importance of jobs in industry to the fight for women's liberation is shown by the examples of women in Canada, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

Among the first measures taken after each of these revolutions were measures to encourage and inspire women to participate fully in production.

In Cuba, women's brigades were organized to cut sugar cane and played a leading role in mobilizing the population to build up this key sector of the Cuban economy.

In Nicaragua, women are increasingly participating in the construction industry, a central priority of the country following the destruction at the hands of Somoza.

And in Grenada women are fully participating in the industrialization plan of the new revolutionary government.

The leading role played by women in the revolutionary process in these three countries is inseparable from the gains they have made in moving into the center of social production. □

All Cuba Is a Construction Site

By Renfrey Clarke

[The following article is reprinted from the August 27 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*.]

* * *

HAVANA—A crisis-ridden economy beset by crop failures and crippled by government bureaucratism; stagnant growth rates and shortages of basic consumer items; a disgruntled population, with large numbers of people fed up with the Castro regime and convinced they would be better off in some other country.

That was how the capitalist media were portraying Cuba earlier this year, as they set out to make political capital from the decision of some thousands of Cubans to emigrate to the U.S.

Anyone with experience of the capitalist "news" industry automatically treats its "exposés" of conditions in workers' states with great caution. All the same, I went to Cuba in late July, expecting to find some evidence of serious economic problems—if only because experience had taught me that the boss class are sophisticated liars, who know that the most effective lies are

those which contain particles of the truth.

But no, the bosses' papers must have been talking about some other island. There is no economic or social crisis in Cuba.

The Cubans themselves admit that particular areas of their economy have suffered setbacks this year. The worst blow has been the virtual wiping out of the tobacco crop, normally an important exporter, by the fungus disease blue mold.

In another major disappointment, the sugar crop, which accounts for 80 per cent of the country's export income, failed this year to increase in line with projections. Because of unusually humid weather conditions, a high-yielding variety of sugar cane, which normally accounts for about 30 per cent of plantings, was severely affected by cane rust.

In addition, all the pigs in extensive areas of Cuba had to be slaughtered to contain outbreaks of the disease swine fever—the first on the island for some years.

Nevertheless, the time has passed when a big drop in sugar or tobacco production spelt disaster for the Cuban economy, and near-starvation for the masses of the population.

Cuba today is still an underdeveloped country; it lacks the broadly-based industrial economy of more advanced nations. But after 20 years of mobilising people and productive resources to achieve planned growth, the revolution has lifted Cuba out of the category of the "one-product countries," forced by imperialism to rely on one or a handful of commodities for almost all their national income.

Today the Cuban economy is not based only on sugar and tobacco, but also on coffee, beef, dairy products, bananas, citrus fruits, fish, nickel, and many other products besides. The figures for citrus plantings provide a typical example of the gains made in this campaign to diversify production. Before the revolution 10,000 hectares were devoted to citrus crops. Today's figure is 100,000 hectares.

What this adds up to is a productive mechanism able to withstand setbacks in specific areas. Also, the effects of the crop diseases should not be exaggerated. This year's sugar crop is, after all, expected to come to about the same tonnage as last year's. And with world prices remaining high, sugar will remain an extremely lucrative export.

Even after these points had been explained to me, I was still prepared to

believe that this year's economic growth rate would be low. But no, I was assured, the figure would be similar to that of previous years—about 6 percent.

Six per cent! In a year when economic growth in Australia is likely to reach only 2.5 per cent and Gross National Product in the U.S. could actually decline! Whatever economic crises there are in the world, they're certainly not to be found in Cuba!

Sustained Growth

The violent swings in world demand for agricultural products still pose problems for Cuban planners. But because Cuba has a nationalised, planned economy, which is more and more being tied in with the economic projections of other postcapitalist states, the island enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the boom-and-slump cycle of world capitalism. Sustained growth continues in Cuba even when the U.S. and Western Europe are deep in recession.

Evidence of this growth is everywhere. I was told recently by a proud Cuban that "all Cuba is a construction site," and I have yet to encounter a single sizeable town in Cuba that does not have large buildings—factories, schools, hospitals or apartment blocks—under construction.

If the "economic crisis" in Cuba is a myth, what about the "social crisis" which is supposed to have helped spark the exodus to Miami?

Cuba simply does not have the makings of social crises of the kind which afflict far richer capitalist countries. With controlled prices, there is minimal inflation. Unemployment is practically nonexistent; the first priority of this economy is not making profits but putting the population to work building a better society.

What happens to those who are thrown out of work by dislocations in the economy is shown by the fate of tobacco workers unemployed since the crop failure. All of these workers have been kept on full pay.

What about the shortages, the rationing, which Cubans are supposed to find so irksome?

Here, the relevant comparison is not with the U.S. or other industrialised countries, but with the rest of Latin America.

Basic Necessities at a Low Price

In most parts of Central and South America the shops are full of consumer goods—and large numbers of workers and peasants wonder where their next meal is coming from. There are no "shortages," but the poor live on the verge of starvation.

In Cuba the rationing system guarantees everyone the basic necessities of life at low prices.

There are three categories of goods on sale. A few commodities, prime export earners like coffee and beef, can be had only in small, rationed quantities. Others, such as clothing and petrol, can be had in limited quantities at low prices—and in

How Cuban Workers Live

I was able to gauge how ordinary workers live in Cuba—and also to gain some insights into how they regard their lot—when I visited a relative of an Australian friend.

Mirta, in her late 30s, works as a cashier and receives a wage of A\$187 per month, on which she pays no tax. As a teenager before the 1959 revolution, she told me, she worked a 7-day, 80-hour week in a novelty shop for the equivalent of \$45 a month.

With her husband and daughter, Mirta shares a two-bedroom apartment in an old section of Havana. Like most older buildings in Cuba, the place needs a coat of paint, but it is solid and in good repair. The family have been able to furnish it tastefully, and it sports a refrigerator, radio, and television set.

For this apartment Mirta and her husband pay a flat 10 per cent of their income. Gas costs them \$1 a month, and electricity \$3-4. When they have paid rent on the place for 15 years it will legally belong to them, and their need to pay rent will cease.

—Renfrey Clarke

unrestricted amounts if the purchaser is prepared to pay a higher price. On the purchase of many goods, including such foodstuffs as fish and eggs, there are no rationing restrictions.

Living standards in Cuba vary—wage incentives are used to encourage workers to upgrade their skills and raise production—but no one lives in luxury, and neither is anyone very poor. A recent reform increased the wages of many of the lowest-paid workers, while cutting back the salaries of some highly paid staff.

By Australian standards—though certainly not by those of Latin America—the living space of workers in Cuban cities is cramped. This is very much a legacy of capitalism; prior to 1959 a third of Cubans lived in unsanitary hovels without water or electricity.

Housing construction is now one of the government's main priorities, and the situation is improving. One agreeable result of the "exodus" to the U.S., Cubans told me good-humoredly, was that large numbers of apartments suddenly became available.

As well as enjoying low-cost housing, Cubans also receive education, medical care, and other benefits completely free.

Of course, social crises—in the sense of the loss of confidence by whole sections of the population in the ruling social system—can arise even when living standards and other such material factors do not seem, on the surface, likely to provoke big upheavals.

'Highest Level of Political Culture'

But it is simply not true that the Cuban masses question the legitimacy of the Castro government, or feel themselves ill-served by its policies of defending and extending the revolution.

Of all the world's peoples, Cubans probably have the highest general level of political culture. This is the result of consistent political education, of the government constantly explaining its perspectives and intentions to the people—usually with great honesty.

The close identification which the great majority of Cubans feel with their revolution also stems from the fact that they have a genuine say in how it is made—through popular bodies like the neighborhood Committees for the Defence of the Revolution, and through the trade unions and other mass organisations.

Obviously, not everyone in Cuba is happy to make the sacrifices needed if the country is to rise out of underdevelopment. But from what I could gauge, few Cubans have much sympathy for the complaints of backsliders. Throughout Havana one sees hand-lettered signs and painted wall-slogans urging that "anti-social elements, criminals, slackers and scum" should get out of the country.

The most powerful impression one has of Cuba is of a united, determined, and ex-

tremely purposeful society. Cubans are proud of what their revolution has accomplished, and have great confidence that if they work hard, their lives will improve rapidly in the future.

'Dreams Become Reality'

On the outskirts of Ciego de Avila, the provincial capital which hosted this year's

Rights Forum Condemns Repression in Colombia

Several thousand persons from throughout Colombia attended the second Forum on Human Rights held August 15-17 in the capital city of Bogotá.

The forum had been preceded by regional gatherings in various parts of the country. It brought together trade unionists, students, Indian peasants, women, lawyers, elected officials, and others concerned with the growing violations of human rights in Colombia and the government's widespread use of torture—all of which were recently documented by the London-based human rights organization, Amnesty International.

The forum roundly condemned the Colombian government's Security Statute invoked in 1978 by President Julio César Turbay Ayala. This law allows the government to detain persons for ten days without charges and gives military courts jurisdiction over persons arrested for "political crimes." This is in addition to the "state of siege" that has been in effect for the last thirty years, and which is the basis for the present repressive legislation.

July 26 celebrations, there is a new block of workers' apartments surmounted by a huge sign which reads: "The dreams of yesterday are the reality of today." This captures the popular mood.

When the press in capitalist countries tries to invent "crises" in Cuba, it simply exposes the real crisis in today's world—the terminal sickness of the world capitalist system. □

The human rights forum also denounced the increased military presence in rural areas, condemned new restrictions on the right to strike, and warned of the possibility of a right-wing military coup.

Another significant demand at the forum was for a general amnesty with no restrictions. This was a direct rebuff to the Turbay government's plan that excludes from amnesty anyone it deems is connected with an armed organization. This conditional amnesty would exclude Colombian guerrilla organizations fighting repression as well as Indians—who make up a majority of the peasant population—who are fighting to defend their land.

Responding to the mass pressure reflected at this gathering, the president of the National Trade Union Council called for a national day of action September 12 to protest rising prices, in support of the call for a general amnesty, and for an end to the state of siege and the Security Statute. The action will mark the third anniversary of the September 14, 1977, citizens' national general strike. □



Platform at Forum on Human Rights in Bogotá

La Gauche

Behind the Controversy in Brazil's Workers Party

By Flávio Andrade

[The following two articles are from the June 19 issue of the Brazilian fortnightly *Em Tempo*, which reflects the views of a current in the Workers Party (PT). The articles deal with two subjects that are presently under discussion within the Workers Party, the character of the party and the demand for a constituent assembly. They were written following the Workers Party's national meeting, held the weekend of May 29. See *Intercontinental Press*, July 14, 1980, for a report on the gathering.

[Since these articles were written, the Brazilian military government voted to suspend the nationwide municipal elections that had been scheduled for November, postponing them for another two years. The government argued that since political parties were not very well organized, holding elections this year would be premature. The complex rules allowing for the formation of political parties for the first time since the 1964 military coup has so far prevented any party from being legally recognized.

[A survey published in the September 4 weekly *Movimento* revealed that 83 percent of Brazilians polled consider the government to be "illegal" and want elections "as soon as possible." In addition, 70 percent agreed that the government "served only the military and the multinational corporations."]

* * *

There is a lot that could be said about the results of the Workers Party (PT) national conference.

The Workers Party is an extremely dynamic, but not very crystallized formation. A conclusive opinion about the Workers Party will not really be possible for some time yet. Nevertheless, certain confusing issues can be somewhat clarified.

Based on reports in the major newspapers, the general public has been led to believe that the axis of debate during the two days of the national meeting was around whether the Workers Party should be an independent working class ["classista"] party or a "mass" party. This way of polarizing the discussion, however, is a false caricature of the discussion that is taking place—a discussion that has not ended with the meeting nor with its outcome.

Before proceeding, one point must be stressed: It was the left (in the broad sense of the word) that dominated, directed, and led the discussion. The trade unionists did not make their weight felt; most of the time they were not present at the general assemblies and the commissions, as they were tied up in meetings trying to arrive at the unified leadership slate that was finally approved. The documents written before the meeting as the basis for discussion were clearly in the ideological framework of the left.

In addition to the unionists, the other forces making up the Workers Party, who in fact formed the poles in the discussion, were the progressive Church sectors, the militant elected officials, and the organized and unorganized left activists. All these forces looked at the present situation based on the legacy of the Brazilian revolutionary left of the past years.

There is nothing wrong with this, but in

order to understand the real meaning of the discussions that took place at the meeting, we must take a look at this ideological legacy, where certain seemingly vague formulations and positions have a very specific meaning.

A Class-Struggle Party?

To understand that the issue was not really one of an independent "working class" party versus a "mass" party, it is enough to see that none of the proposals under discussion took issue with either of these two formulations. Nobody defended the idea of a "cadre party" as opposed to a "mass party." And neither did anyone defend a "class-collaborationist party" as opposed to an independent "working class party."

As we said, another issue was involved. What was really under discussion was the character the Workers Party should take. In other words, should it be a party that has a "strategic" orientation or a party that has a "tactical" orientation? A party as we know it, or a front? A party of exploited workers or a party of those sectors broadly described as the "people"? A militant instrument for intervening in struggles or an institutional channel of expression and representation?

This string of questions highlights the points of agreement and the differences. And, it should be said in passing, on more than one occasion the contending positions cross each other on these points, without there being the kind of consistency that would lead one to conclude that this is a confrontation between two worked out and consistent conceptions.

From this we can conclude that the discussion has barely begun. In reality, within the Workers Party there are a wide variety of positions with very different

origins. These positions will continue to go through a process of redefinition before finally becoming more or less fixed. Be that as it may, a polarization did exist, even though it remains vague.

Those who were dubbed the advocates of an independent "working class" party put forward the idea that the Workers Party should be a party, in the strict sense of the word. They saw the launching of the Workers Party by the country's most militant trade-union leaders as a valuable opportunity for the workers to organize themselves as an independent class in their own party. With the rise of the country's militant workers movement, all this potential could be used to bring about the perspective of the working class organizing itself, for itself, as a class in its own party. As such, this party would necessarily have strategic tasks, like taking power and establishing a new socialist society, without exploitation. This would be in addition to the immediate task, which today focuses on overthrowing the dictatorship. This position, however, does not maintain that the Workers Party must right now put forth a worked out program on what this new society would look like.

But this position does say that the party's program should already include some view of the larger objectives it is aiming at. In other words, not that it should be a fully rounded, complete revolutionary party, but rather one that is presently going through a process aimed at constituting this type of party in the future.

For this reason—given the scope and character of the tasks it must take on—the party cannot be conceived simply as a channel for electoral expression. It must be seen as an instrument for organizing and politically intervening, an instrument through which the workers can fight.

It would be a different party than conventional parties that are almost always "machines" for running in elections and maneuvering in congress. It would be a mass party, an activist party, within which working-class political activity would be organized. It would be concerned with the workers' day-to-day struggles, as well as general political issues. This is why those who hold this view of the Workers Party insist that the bylaws of the party must clearly designate that the rank-and-file branches are the basic units of the party.

That is why those who propose this type of party intransigently characterize it as a "party of the exploited, a party of the working class," and say that in order to

preserve its class independence, this party must not accept as members those who represent the interests of the bourgeoisie.

On the other side were those who adhere to the idea of a "mass party." They held the opposite view on almost every point. First, they stressed that the Workers Party must be simply a tactical party, without any strategic perspective. In this sense it would be more like a front, whose purpose would be to accomplish certain conjunctural tasks in the struggle against the dictatorship. The question of whether it would be a left front, a democratic front, or a popular front was not considered that important. Diluting the character of the Workers Party in this way leads logically to preferring that it be characterized as a "people's" party rather than a "workers" party.

To a large extent, behind this difference lies the question of the revolutionary working-class party. The bulk of those who hold to the conception of a "mass" party think that a revolutionary party, from the time of its formation, must be a finished product, already communist, with a definitive programmatic platform already worked out. They therefore tend to think that the Workers Party should follow one specific course, while the revolutionary party should follow a totally separate course.

This view of the party goes hand-in-hand with wanting to replace the term "workers" by the term "people's". Those who hold this position do not openly call for a class-collaborationist party, which is typically a classical popular front. But because they do not stress a class definition or class independence today, here and now, they are definitely sliding in that direction. It leaves the door open to an eventual multi-class grouping in the name of "timely political realism."

Related to the idea of the Workers Party being more like a front—a tactical, popular front—is also the idea that the main need in the country today is for the people's movement to fill the institutional void. From this it is but a step to deciding that the party should not be overly concerned about the active involvement of its members. Consistent with their idea of the party, they see the structure of the party branches more as a concession than as a necessity. The connotation of a mass electoral machine rather than simply a "mass" party is inherent in that point of view.

And, if you hold the idea that the Workers Party should simply concern itself with tactical questions, then it logically follows that this type of party should merely have a platform that deals with short-term struggles, rather than a full program as such. Programmatic and strategic tasks, in that case, are not relevant to the Workers Party, but rather are the domain of the "real class parties."

This is the real meaning behind the high-minded tone of the seemingly positive

speeches stating that "the rank and file have not yet had a chance to discuss the points that should be included in a complex and complete program."

This, in summary, is the real meaning of the controversy between an independent "working class" party versus a "mass" party. Of course, this characterization of the polemic is incomplete and even a bit formal. But it paves the way toward deepening our understanding of the discussions that took place at the meeting.

It must be repeated that it is difficult to

The Question of a Constituent Assembly

By Raul Pont

The spectre of an economic crisis is haunting Brazil. The government has already admitted—albeit reluctantly—that a recession may be inevitable. Unable to curb inflation or the growth of foreign debts, the regime does not have very many solutions to choose from. Leading the country into a recession, despite all denials by Planning Minister Delfim Neto, would certainly exacerbate the illegitimacy of the military regime.

Characterizing the regime as illegitimate is perhaps self-evident, since the last acts—the reforms concerning political parties, the police repression, and the violations of its own laws—in the case of the São Bernardo metalworkers and most recently in the violence against students and elected officials—are sufficient proof that these judicial half-measures did not do much to enable it to regain even a minimum of credibility in the eyes of the people.

This situation, however, is not taking place in a period of defeat for the working class. Just the contrary. Social movements are growing and with even the limited new reforms regarding political parties, new parties and unforseen adversaries of the government—like the Workers Party—are coming into existence. These formations can serve as organized channels for different sectors of society to express themselves more easily, more efficiently, and especially more powerfully.

This rise in the mass movement, the reorganization of parties, and the deepening crisis in the country clearly demonstrate that the opposition must now concern itself with establishing an alternative to the military dictatorship. This question is neither premature nor irrelevant. And it is connected with the most concrete and immediate struggles for better living conditions, for trade union freedom, and for the full right to organize politically. These questions are not separate issues and they require a firm and united response from all opposition forces.

Yesterday and Today

The crisis of the dictatorship places the

characterize the results of this gathering. For one thing, because the resolutions that were approved contain a good deal of compromise between various political positions. And especially because there were not two monolithic and consistent blocs, for and against, but rather a criss-crossing of diverse and fairly subtle positions.

In any case, everything indicates that the discussion is going to continue around these axes, and that the Workers Party will have to choose between these two major lines. □

question of a constituent assembly on the agenda. A constituent assembly is not just a slogan political parties put on their banners. The idea of a free and sovereign constituent assembly has already been endorsed by national assemblies and conferences of the mass movement.

This proposal is not new. Several years ago the former official opposition party—the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB)—put forward this slogan. But this was at a time when the liberals were predominant in the opposition and the working class had not yet begun to take to the streets, resume its struggles, and put itself forward as a possible alternative for the country.

Since then, a lot of water has gone under the bridge. The dictatorship's illegitimacy has increased in the same proportion as the mass movement has grown. A lot of people were surprised at this movement's spontaneous vitality in 1979 and 1980, at its ability to resist, and at its growing organization.

The reader is probably asking: What does this struggle have to do with the workers? Don't their day-to-day concerns—such as the cost of living, wages, housing, and trade-union rights—take priority?



Jornal do PT
Support for Workers Party (PT) is growing

Doesn't the fact that the Workers Party national gathering did not include the demand for a constituent assembly in its program of struggle, indicate that this demand does not concern the working class?

The fact that the Workers Party did not take up the demand does not, in and of itself, mean that it is of no concern to the workers. The reason this slogan was not adopted by the Workers Party was because of the circumstances surrounding the discussion inside this body. The inadequate preparation for the discussion and the specific relationship of forces at the plenum resulted in this slogan not being adopted. Instead there will be a discussion in the party.

It is important to develop and study this question further. For many—certainly for the majority of the population who for centuries have been kept out of political life—this is perhaps an unfamiliar, confusing, or meaningless subject. This fact, however, in no way diminishes the importance of the question. Using the same reasoning, we could say that the issues of amnesty or reform of political parties are also questions that have no meaning for the bulk of the masses.

The Workers' Interests

The question of the constituent assembly is of interest to workers because the workers today need an alternative government to the military dictatorship. And if there is a lack of consciousness among a large majority of the working class around this question, the opposition parties and the most combative and organized sectors of the working class, serving as its vanguard, must take up the task of analyzing and pointing out the alternative for the mass movement.

The workers are obviously not interested in a constituent assembly that would include President João Baptista Figueiredo, nor are they interested in a constituent assembly that would be limited to forming a "state governed by laws" that the liberals would dominate.

The workers are interested in a constituent assembly that would embody an overall solution to all their democratic demands, such as trade-union rights, the right to strike, and the right to organize politically.

For working people, real and effective democracy is not a temporary or conjunctural demand, but something that is fundamental for building a new society. In our country, the bourgeoisie and even its liberal sectors have already sufficiently demonstrated that they are incapable of guaranteeing this democracy. They cannot dispense with their Praetorian Guard. And the only democracy they have to offer is the hollow phrases of the generals and ministers, whose real role is to annul elections, intervene in the trade unions, and carry out repression and torture.

The workers must take charge of the struggle for the constituent assembly because, given the present level of consciousness of the masses and the relationship of forces in society, this demand today incorporates all the democratic demands and the response to the crisis in which the military regime is floundering.

In leading the struggle for democracy, the workers can show the way forward for other social layers, their potential allies in the struggle for a new society. They can win these layers away from liberal influences and demonstrate to them how winning democracy is indissolubly linked to going beyond capitalist society. This is also the way they can carve out some political ground in which to carry out their own forms of workers' democracy within the

Australian Unions Back Aborigine Land Rights

The U.S.-owned Amax Petroleum Corporation and the Western Australia state government are interested in profits, and couldn't care less about Aborigine land rights. They have begun exploratory oil drilling on sacred land belonging to the Aborigines.

The Aboriginal people at the Noonkanbah Station in north Western Australia, however, are winning broad support for the struggle to defend their land.

Various unions have pledged support for the Noonkanbah Blacks. The Western Australia Trades and Labor Council has backed the Aborigines' struggle and banned union drivers from transporting the drilling rig to Noonkanbah.

But on August 7, a scab convoy, escorted by police, plowed its way to Noonkanbah despite protests and roadblocks by unionists and Aborigines.

Blacks from all over Western Australia traveled to Noonkanbah, increasing the unity and determination of the Aborigines to struggle for their land rights.

In addition, daily protest actions took place in Perth, the nearest major city. In Canberra, a demonstration in support of the Noonkanbah struggle was held in front of the federal parliament. And in Melbourne, 200 people demonstrated to protest the Western Australia government's actions at Noonkanbah.

The state government began a racist and antiunion campaign against the struggle of the Noonkanbah Blacks. It even resorted to red-baiting slanders, claiming there was a "Marxist conspiracy" to incite Aborigines.

After the scab convoy arrived in Noonkanbah, Bob Hawke, national president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, announced that the workers who operate the oil rig had halted drilling. Eighteen union members refused to work.

Although the owners of the rig—the Australian-owned CSR—had agreed not to operate the rig with scab labor, Amax—the

framework of capitalist society,

At this time, the regime is trying to reform itself from within, along the lines of the Spanish example. There is certainly no shortage of advisers to President "João" who draw their inspiration from the Iberian model. And there is certainly no shortage of the eternal liberals who will applaud these efforts and be satisfied with these new expedients that allow them to safeguard their privileges.

This is why the workers must not abandon the cause of a free and sovereign constituent assembly, and why in fact they must draw behind them, under working-class leadership, the broad sectors of the population who no longer have any hope in the military regime and its system of exploitation and poverty. □

company with the exploration lease—handed over legal authority to the state government. The government then took over the rig, hired scab labor, and on August 30, with contempt for the Aboriginal people, proceeded to drill.

The next day, more than 500 angry people jammed the town hall in Perth for a protest rally called by the Western Australia Trades and Labor Council.

The meeting vowed to continue building opposition to the drilling and called on the federal government to demand that the Western Australia state government immediately cease operating the rig.

The Australian Council of Churches has written to the United Nations requesting an "investigation into the infringement of the human rights of the indigenous people of Noonkanbah." A delegation from the National Aboriginal Conference (NAC) carried its protest to a UN commission in Geneva.

"Faced with a total lack of Government concern and continuing violations of aborigine rights, we are fast becoming a dying race," NAC member Reg Birch told reporters in Geneva.

The state government has even refused to drill at another location on nearby Gogo Station while the community helps find non-sacred sites at Noonkanbah. The Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action* points out that this confirms the government's intent to try and crush the Aboriginal people. *Direct Action* calls on the Australian labor movement to step up its solidarity with the Aborigines, and points to the Noonkanbah events as another example of the need to get rid of the racist, antiunion government. □

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U.S. Draft Registration Figures Disputed

By Osborne Hart

[The following article is taken from the September 19 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly the *Militant*.]

* * *

The Selective Service reported September 3 that their figures would show more than 80 percent of the males eligible for draft registration complied with the government order.

The following day, Selective Service officials announced that 93 percent of the draft-age youth had registered. They claim that 87 percent of the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds registered on time and the other 6 percent signed up later.

Since the Carter administration reinstated draft registration in June, the government said—based on the 1970 census—that four million youths would be required to submit their names. But during the September 4 news conference announcing the statistics, Bernard Rostker, Selective Service director, explained that 3.88 million was used as the base population figure because the earlier number included men already in the military and did not account for people out of the country during the sign-up period.

Many opponents of the draft believe the government is lying.

It wouldn't be the first time.

Barry Lynn of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft said that the

registration "had been unsuccessful on its own terms."

A national survey of post offices conducted by the *Boston Globe* confirms Lynn's and other draft opponents' point.

The *Globe* reports that "the registration order was in fact defied or ignored by approximately 25 percent" or "one million of the 4,076,000 civilian American males born in 1960 and 1961."

The *Globe* released its survey in a front-page feature August 27—a week before the Selective Service announcement. The *Globe* concluded that "the registration program suffered major short falls nearly everywhere."

The *Globe's* base population figure of 4.076 million eligible men contradicts the government's 3.88 million. The *Globe* explains that their figure is based on the 1970 census estimate and "no one has accused the Census Bureau of overcounting."

The survey covered "registration figures from large postal districts that cover more than 10 percent of the nation's population."

The *Globe's* findings included:

- Forty-seven percent of the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds did not register in Peoria, Illinois.

- In Chicago, "32 percent stayed away, while in Chicago's suburban and outlying districts, an area covering 4.6 million

people, the refusal rate amounted to 27 percent."

- "For Nashville and the middle half of Tennessee, the rate was 32 percent."

- In seventy-two eastern Massachusetts cities and towns 30 percent did not sign up.

When the *Globe* asked the Selective Service about the results of their survey, Joan Lamb, Selective Service public affairs officer, asserted that it was invalid and incomplete. "They're [draft age youth] a mobile group and didn't have to register in their area," Lamb told the *Globe*. "There's a tremendous amount of controversy over the census data. For those two reasons it's not a valid data base and you cannot draw any valid conclusions from it."

The *Globe* also points out some additional factors that could be used to "mask" or "minimize" the percentage of those who did not register:

"Estimates of the men required to sign up were not corrected for alleged census undercounts. An undercount, however, would tend to mask noncompliance. Nor do the estimates of eligible men include resident aliens—including illegal aliens—although they were required to register and many undoubtedly did. (Even the Cubans in refugee camps were given registration forms to fill out.) Again, this factor would tend to minimize estimates of non-compliance."

The fact that non-registration is a felony offense with a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine compelled many youths to sign up who may otherwise not have. The number of falsified and bogus forms signed in protest of registration are difficult to determine. The government, however, claims that only 1.8 percent registered under protest. □

10,000 Join Solidarity Rally in Japan

South Korean Regime Indicts 175 Kwangju Rebels

An international campaign to save the life of South Korean opposition figure Kim Dae Jung is under way in Japan.

Some 10,000 people gathered in Tokyo August 8 in a mass rally to defend Kim and twenty-three of his co-defendants who are being court-martialed on trumped-up charges of conspiracy to overthrow South Korea's military dictatorship. Army prosecutors have demanded the death penalty for Kim and long prison terms for the others.

On September 12, all twenty-three of Kim's codefendants repudiated their signed confessions, describing how these had been extracted during prolonged interrogation and, in some cases, beatings by army investigators.

Rev. Lee Hae Dong said he had been beaten for three days, after which he

signed a false confession implicating himself and the others in a plot to overthrow the government.

In addition, 175 people were indicted by the Martial Law Command on sedition and other charges relating to the Kwangju insurrection last May that involved some 200,000 workers and students. Kim is accused of fomenting those mass demonstrations.

The trial against Kim and the other defendants is intended to intimidate all opponents of the military regime and to warn against any further Kwangju-type uprisings.

A statement by the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), Japanese section of the Fourth International, declared that the attack on Kim was "an attack

against the political freedom which the South Korean workers and peasants desire so earnestly and for which the Kwangju masses revolted—including with armed resistance. The attack on Kim Dae Jung is as serious as the military's suppression of the Kwangju popular insurrection."

The JRCL also denounced the Japanese government's complicity with the new military dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan and called for the immediate release of Kim Dae Jung and all other political prisoners.

In a particularly ominous development, an appeals court on September 5 upheld death sentences for two of seventy-three people accused of being members of the Liberation Front for South Korean People. Lee Jae Mun and Shin Hyang Shik were accused of being leaders of this organization, which is opposed to the South Korean military dictatorship.

An international solidarity campaign is needed to support Kim and other opponents of the repressive South Korean regime and to defend democratic rights for the workers and peasants of the country. □