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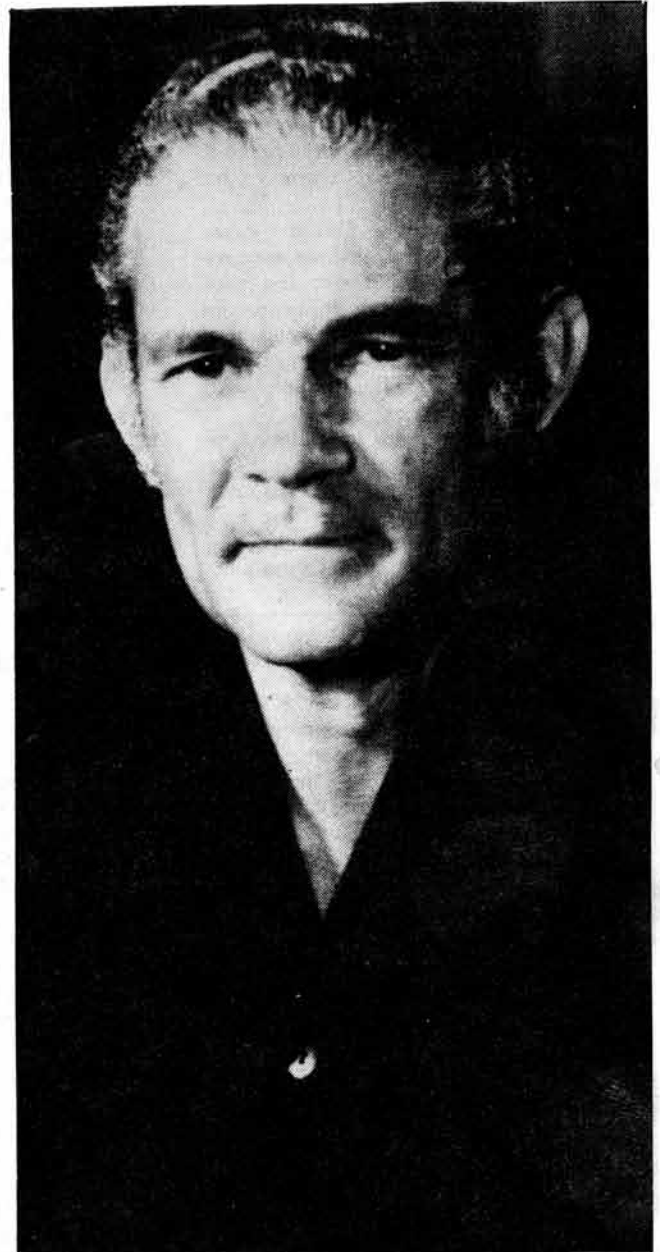
UK 40p

**TENS OF THOUSANDS
MARCH AGAINST
NUCLEAR WEAPONS
IN BRITAIN**

*Interview With
Salvadoran Leader:
'THE REVOLUTIONARY
WAR HAS ALREADY BEGUN'*

**Northern Ireland:
WHY H-BLOCK PRISONERS
ARE ON HUNGER STRIKE**

**WHO IS TO BLAME
IN DEFEAT OF
FIAT WORKERS?**



***Jamaican Elections:
How U.S. Drove
Manley From Power***

NEWS ANALYSIS

Behind the New Anti-Cuba Provocations in Caracas

By David Frankel

There is a message coming out of Washington these days. Cuba is fair game, it says.

As a supplement to its military threats against Cuba and its economic blockade, the U.S. government has made it clear that terrorist attacks on Cuban representatives abroad, on ordinary Cuban citizens, and on other supporters of the Cuban revolution will not be punished.

Counterrevolutionary Cuban exile groups have taken credit for three murders and numerous bombings over the past eighteen months. Although these groups maintain public offices and their members are well known to U.S. authorities—having been trained by them—there have been no arrests.

The most recent murder took place September 11, when Cuban diplomat Félix García Rodríguez was gunned down on a busy New York thoroughfare. Just four days later a U.S. court overturned the conviction of three counterrevolutionary

Cubans who had taken part in the 1976 murder of former Chilean foreign minister Orlando Letelier.

As the class struggle in Central America and the Caribbean heats up, the message from Washington is being echoed more and more brazenly by capitalist governments in South America. This is the case not only in countries such as El Salvador, where civil war has already broken out, but also in Venezuela, Peru, and Colombia.

None of these governments feel secure in the face of the continuing revolutionary struggles in the region, and they are reacting sharply to Cuba's solidarity with these struggles.

Following the example set by the U.S. imperialists, a Venezuelan military court acquitted four ultrarightist terrorists September 26 of the 1976 bombing of a Cuban airliner off of Barbados. Seventy-three people lost their lives in that disaster.

An outraged Fidel Castro, speaking the day after the decision of the Venezuelan

court, said of the move to release the four mass murderers:

"Everybody knows they were responsible for the sabotage, everybody knew it right after the crime was committed and the proof was irrefutable. The Venezuelan authorities know they are acquitting the guilty." (See box.)

Not content with acquitting terrorists who wiped out seventy-three lives in a single blow, the Venezuelan government followed up the September 26 ruling with a new provocation. On October 17-19, a conference of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, headed by Huber Matos, was held in Caracas and was attended by a senior official of Venezuela's ruling Social Christian Party (COPEI).

Venezuelan officials feel free to slander Cuba, to threaten a cutoff in oil sales, and even to give their seal of approval to calls for the overthrow of the Cuban government.

Behind this bold mask, the Venezuelan rulers are afraid. They are painfully aware that there are nearby governments that may soon be overthrown by the insurgent masses—and not the Cuban government, either.

Even a cursory glance at events in Central America and the Caribbean since the downfall of the Somoza dictatorship in July 1979 shows how Washington and its

Terrorists Acquitted in Venezuela—What the Record Shows

The four assassins acquitted by a Venezuelan military court September 26 are Hernán Ricardo Lozano, Freddy Lugo, Luis Posada Carriles, and Orlando Bosch. They are responsible for the death of seventy-three people aboard a Cuban passenger plane.

Hernán Ricardo and Freddy Lugo were the thugs who actually planted the two bombs that blew up the airliner on October 6, 1976. They had gotten off the Cubana plane at Barbados after turning down two earlier flights there on another airline.

Although Ricardo had taken the precaution of using a false passport, he and his accomplice were arrested the day after the crime. During the investigation by authorities in Barbados, Ricardo claimed that he and Lugo worked for the CIA and described his training with explosives. Ricardo and Lugo each accused the other of having planted one of the bombs.

Ricardo was an employee of Luis Posada Carriles, who ran a private spy agency for businesses in Venezuela. Posada had been a member of the Cuban secret police under Batista, and later a CIA instructor in Miami and a member of the U.S. Army Rangers.

In 1967 he joined the Venezuelan secret police, and later set up his private police operation.

Ricardo admitted meeting Orlando Bosch, the fourth member of the conspiracy, at Posada's office in Caracas on September 10, 1976—less than a month before the sabotage of the Cubana airliner. Bosch, who had slipped into Venezuela with a false passport, had been sentenced to a ten year jail sentence by a U.S. court in 1968 after his terrorist activities became too brazen for even the U.S. government.

Released from prison in 1972, Bosch jumped bail and went to Latin America. In 1974 he travelled to Chile with Guillermo Novo, who later took part in the murder of Orlando Letelier. (The Letelier murder took place less than two weeks before the bombing of the Cubana airliner.)

After a year in Chile, where he enjoyed the hospitality of the Pinochet dictatorship, Bosch moved on. He was arrested in Costa Rica in March 1976 and charged with plotting the murder of Chilean exile Andrés Pascal Allende. In June 1976 he was the key figure in the formation of a new counterrevolutionary organization, the Commandos of United Revolutionary

Organization. Then, in September 1976, Bosch surfaced in Venezuela.

According to Ricardo's testimony, he met with Bosch, Posada, and Lugo on October 5, and then left on a flight for Trinidad, where he and Lugo boarded the Cubana airplane.

After sabotaging the plane, Ricardo repeatedly tried to contact Bosch and Posada for advice on how to make a getaway, and when Venezuelan police searched Posada's office they found documents listing the routes and timetables used by Cubana Airlines, particularly in the Caribbean area.

The original dossier assembled by the Venezuelan court found that the guilt of Lugo and Ricardo was "fully proved" by their own testimony and by that of witnesses who placed them on the Cubana airplane and who described their conduct before and after the bombing.

The Venezuelan court also declared in the case of Bosch and Posada that "it is fully proven that they took part in carrying out the deeds and cooperated with and aided the authors."

Now, however, the Venezuelan courts have altered the record and revised the original testimony. Four mass murderers have been acquitted and will be freed to kill again.

satellites in the region have reacted to the threat of further revolutionary outbreaks.

- In August-September 1979, the Carter administration carried out its propaganda campaign over the supposed discovery of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba.

- On October 1, 1979, Carter announced that U.S. military maneuvers would be held in the Caribbean. These included an amphibious landing by U.S. Marines at the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base, on Cuban soil. Carter also announced the establishment of a new Caribbean task force.

- On October 15, 1979, just three days after Fidel Castro spoke as head of the Nonaligned Movement at the United Nations, the U.S.-backed coup in El Salvador took place. A new military/Christian Democratic junta was installed.

- On October 27, 1979, the Cuban mission to the United Nations was bombed in New York City.

- On November 25, 1979, Eulalio José Negrín, a prominent advocate of normalization of relations with Cuba, was murdered by ultrarightist Cuban exiles in New Jersey.

- Meanwhile, the struggle in El Salvador was escalating. In February 1980 it was reported that Washington had approved the sending of U.S. military advisers.

- Reporting on Washington's stepped-up intervention in Central America in the March 3 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, Will Reissner said:

Washington has been attempting to enlist other governments in the area, particularly Venezuela and Colombia, in this effort.

The Social Christian government of President Luis Herrera Campins in Venezuela is openly hostile to Cuba. There are indications that Herrera plans to break off diplomatic relations with Havana and is trying to get other Andean Pact countries to do the same.

President Julio César Turbay Ayala of Colombia is also actively participating in Washington's efforts. Turbay worked closely with the U.S. government in helping to prevent Cuba from getting a seat on the United Nations Security Council late last year. . . .

- The Venezuelan regime is providing increasing assistance to the junta in El Salvador. This includes oil and diplomatic support and, according to the Salvadoran revolutionary forces, the training of Salvadoran officers in Venezuela.

- In April, the moves of the Andean Pact governments hit the headlines as a result of the crisis they provoked at the Peruvian embassy in Havana. Meanwhile, Washington announced plans for new military maneuvers and another practice invasion of Cuba.

These provocations were answered by the Cubans with three enormous mass mobilizations. On April 19 one million people marched past the Peruvian embassy in Havana. On May 1 Castro addressed a second demonstration in Ha-

vana that drew 1.5 million. Finally, on May 17, some 5 million people mobilized throughout Cuba in the March of the Fighting People.

As Fidel pointed out in his May Day speech, "These demonstrations of ours are part of the struggle not only in defense of our own integrity, but also in defense of the integrity of Grenada, of Nicaragua, in defense of the sovereignty of the countries of the Caribbean and Central America."

On June 19 a terrorist attack in Grenada aimed at the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Government killed three people, and on July 17 the rightist military coup in Bolivia took place, initiating a

reign of terror against the workers there.

Since then, we have seen the escalation of the rightist offensive in Jamaica and new provocations against Cuba. But as Fidel said in his July 26 speech, given right after his return from the celebration of the first anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, "the imperialists are threatening us with intervention. Should we lose any sleep over that? Have we not lived under constant threats for the past 21 years? The peoples will not give up fighting."

It is this refusal of the Cubans to give up fighting that is behind the latest provocations, and that is why they will fail. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: November 3, 1980

JAMAICA	1156	How Washington Drove Manley From Power —by Russell Johnson
	1157	The JLP's "Election" in West Central St. Andrew—by Russell Johnson
	1158	Step-up in Rightist Terror on Election Eve—by Russell Johnson
	1158	Workers Party Leaders Victimized —by Mac Warren
	1159	Grenada: Jamaica Is "Imperialism's Latest Victim"
IRAN	1160	Parliament Offers Plan for Return of Hostages —by Janice Lynn
MAURITIUS	1161	Unionists Win Victory
BRITAIN	1162	Thousands Protest Nuclear Arms—by Phil Hearse
POLAND	1163	Unions Win New Concessions—by Gerry Foley
EL SALVADOR	1164	Interview With Rubén Zamora of FDR
	1166	What the August General Strike Accomplished
CENTRAL AMERICA	1166	Rights Leaders Attacked in Guatemala, El Salvador
ITALY	1167	The Significance of the Fiat Strike —by A. Duret
USA	1169	Government Threatens to Deport Socialist
WEST GERMANY	1172	The Meaning of the Strauss Campaign —by Christoph Zieger
PARAGUAY	1175	Opposition Hit by Repression
IRELAND	1176	Why H-Block Prisoners Are on Hunger Strike —by Gerry Foley
DOCUMENTS	1170	"We Are Ready to Give Nicaragua All Our Support"—Speech by Fidel Castro
	1174	German Trotskyists' Call for SPD Vote

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How Washington Drove Jamaica's Manley From Power

By Russell Johnson

KINGSTON, November 1—As the vote totals started to come in on the evening of October 30, it became clear that the U.S. offensive against Jamaica was making important gains. Following a four-year destabilization campaign by Washington, the government of Prime Minister Michael Manley was being driven from office.

The proimperialist Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) has secured fifty-one of the sixty seats in Parliament, leaving Manley's People's National Party (PNP) with just nine seats. Today, JLP leader Edward Seaga was sworn in as the new prime minister.

In terms of popular vote, however, the JLP's "landslide" was much less dramatic. It secured a bare majority of the official tally—53 percent. But because of Jamaica's system of parliamentary representation, this was translated into a disproportionate number of seats.

"The people have spoken, and I regard the voice of the people as having spoken decisively against Communism in Jamaica," Seaga claimed in his victory speech.

But the people have not spoken. Rather, they have had imposed on them a reactionary, proimperialist government through a well-orchestrated campaign by Washington and its big-business allies, acting through the JLP and Jamaica's police and armed forces, to oust the Manley government and strengthen imperialist domination over the country and throughout the Caribbean.

Reactionary circles from within and without Jamaica have rushed to hail the JLP victory.

Carter, Reagan 'Welcome' JLP Victory

In the United States, Carter administration officials and advisers to Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan greeted the results. John H. Trattner, a State Department representative, said Seaga's election was "warmly welcomed." A Reagan adviser termed it a "real opportunity."

The head of the Royal Bank of Canada, which has significant interests in Jamaica, welcomed the change and said he hoped for an early resumption of relations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

And from within Jamaica, the Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica, the principal organization of Jamaican capital, was equally enthusiastic.

Since the popular revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua in 1979, and with the



Jamaican troops in Kingston. Sectors of the army aided JLP's campaign of terror.

growing influence of revolutionary Cuba, the imperialists and their Caribbean allies have had little to be optimistic about. But now they clearly see the Jamaican election results as a step forward for them. They hope to utilize it to further their overall policy of containing the revolutionary upheavals throughout the Caribbean and Central America.

It was because of Washington's broader political interests in the region that it was so incensed by the Manley regime's friendly ties with Cuba. That was one of the key reasons why it pushed to install Seaga in power. In fact, in his first speech as prime minister today, Seaga revealed that he had already asked Cuba to withdraw its ambassador from Jamaica.

U.S. Destabilization Campaign

The campaign to undermine the right of the Jamaican people to elect a government of their own choosing intensified earlier this year, when the Manley regime, faced with growing resistance to imperialist-imposed austerity measures among Jamaican workers, especially the youth, broke from the dictates of the IMF. The PNP government also rebuffed U.S. pressure to reduce its friendly ties to the revolutionary Cuban government.

As a result of an imperialist stranglehold and conscious disruption by Jamaican capitalists, the island's economy is under heavy pressure. Lack of foreign exchange and credit from the imperialist financial system led to grave shortages of

imported consumer goods and of the raw materials necessary to maintain local industry. Many foreign and locally owned companies simply cut back production or shut down operations altogether.

In addition, manufacturers and merchants appeared to be holding back on certain basic consumer items that the Manley government had brought under price control. They were trying to force price rises and add to the climate of insecurity. Thus there has been very little or no soap, dairy products, rice, and many other staples on the market shelves.

Such a program of economic disruption meant rising unemployment and erosion of the already low living standards of Jamaican workers.

A central theme of the JLP campaign was to put the blame for this economic chaos on the Manley regime. The only solution, they said, was closer collaboration with Washington—what Seaga calls the "Puerto Rican model." This campaign won a hearing among the petty bourgeoisie looking for a way out of the economic crisis, but also among sections of the unemployed youth and workers.

Rightist Gangs, Police Intimidation

On top of this economic disruption, the JLP organized gun-toting gangs of thugs and unleashed them onto PNP supporters in the ghettos. The security forces basically turned a blind eye to this, or brutalized PNP activists who began to defend their communities from these attacks.

This collaboration between the JLP hoodlums and the security forces became totally blatant on the election day and its aftermath. The PNP has documented innumerable cases of JLP intimidation of voters at polling booths, such as trying to force voters to reveal which way they were voting. The security forces, who were supposed to be guarding the polling stations, stood by.

In other cases, security guards failed to turn up at all, leaving JLP thugs a free hand. Several people were reported killed in incidents around the polling stations.

In many polling places, PNP representatives reported that police and security forces were illegally collecting ballot boxes and preventing party observers from accompanying them to the counting places. In the East St. Andrew constituency, for example, a PNP representative reported a police vehicle with twelve ballot boxes inside.

PNP General Secretary D.K. Duncan has challenged the results of the election, accusing sections of the armed forces of "aborting democracy." He has called into question the integrity of the "independent" Electoral Advisory Committee, which was supposed to ensure the fairness of the election.

The JLP's electoral sweep has unleashed a further round of joint army-JLP violence and intimidation against the PNP, a special target being neighborhoods that are strong bases of the party's left-wing leaders.

Four PNP constituency headquarters have been burned down, and others attacked. Party supporters are fleeing their homes as the violence continues.

The bodyguards of left-wing PNP leader D.K. Duncan have been detained on "illegal arms" charges. A third was shot down in an ambush today.

This reporter witnessed incidents of security force collaboration with the JLP on election night. In one incident, several cars sped by, youths hanging out of the windows giving the V-sign, the symbol of the JLP. A group of soldiers in a jeep grinned and returned the sign.

The next day, while walking in Halfway Tree Square, a PNP stronghold, a convoy of police vehicles sped past. Police were sitting on the roofs of the vehicles, laughing at the sullen people and pointing their machine pistols and rifles at them.

Each night, the gunfire continues to be heard across Kingston.

PNP Still Popular

But the electoral setback to the PNP and the continuing terror campaign does not

give the full picture of Jamaica after the elections. While support for the PNP government had certainly waned during the period of its subordination to IMF dictates, since its break with the IMF in March and the strengthening of the influence of the left wing, the party was undoubtedly beginning to regain some of its former support.

In the elections, the most militant sections of the workers and youth rallied around the PNP. This became clear at the very large electoral rallies of the party. Wild applause greeted speakers who emphasized the PNP's stands against the IMF and imperialism, for "socialism," and against the "big man" (the capitalists) and the violence of the JLP hooligans.

No Program to Fight Reaction

But at the same time, the Manley leadership of the PNP consciously refrained from explaining the real stakes in the struggle with the imperialist-backed JLP. It did not put forward a program for confronting imperialist and local sabotage of the Jamaican economy, a program of mobilizing the working masses.

A central theme of the JLP election campaign and of the coverage in the big-business press was that Jamaica's economic and social ills were a product of the Manley regime's "socialism." The election

The JLP's 'Election' in West Central St. Andrew

KINGSTON, November 1—The West Central St. Andrew constituency has been a PNP stronghold since 1962. An area made up mainly of poor working-class neighborhoods, it had been represented by popular left-wing PNP member of Parliament and trade unionist Carl Thompson. In 1976 Thompson was elected with 67 percent of the votes cast, a majority of more than 4,000.

But today, Thompson is out of office. Official election results have him losing to his JLP businessman opponent Ferdinand Yap.

In 1976, Yap was detained for organizing terrorist activity, but was released for "health reasons" and moved to Miami, only returning to Jamaica last December.

I spoke to Thompson at the PNP national headquarters. He detailed to me how the security forces and the JLP had rigged the election in his constituency.

Thompson said that PNP activists had canvassed his constituency thoroughly prior to polling day. Indications were that support was running 2 to 1 in favor of the PNP, as it had always done since 1962.

On election night itself, he said, after 108 of the 116 ballot boxes had been

counted, national television reported him ahead by 1,800 votes. But then the final results were announced: He had lost to the JLP candidate by 2,800 votes.

Thompson's supporters have not been able to check the final results for themselves. The security forces and armed JLP thugs have fired on any PNP representative who has tried to go to the official counting station for the constituency. But Thompson was able to detail to me some of the blatant intimidation and fraud that his supporters reported took place. Among the charges he made were:

- JLP toughs invaded polling places and stole ballot boxes. In Sevrigh Gardens, for example, a JLP jeep took away ballot boxes. When local people appealed to the security personnel present to prevent it, they were fired upon by the soldiers.

- Police came across a group of men burning ballot boxes in the constituency. One man was shot in the resulting gun battle.

- Soldiers and police collecting ballot boxes from the polling stations refused to allow PNP representatives to accompany them to the counting station, as was supposed to happen according to a new electoral law.

- Several dozen of Thompson's supporters were shot down in the streets or in their homes during the course of the campaign. Only one other constituency had had more people killed.

Thompson told me that since polling day, the JLP-security forces terror campaign had intensified. Areas of strong PNP support were under constant gunfire, forcing residents to flee to safer areas. In other cases, he said, JLP thugs under military protection were invading PNP supporters' homes, turning out the occupants and stealing their belongings.

Thompson's police bodyguard estimated that as many as 100 PNP supporters had been detained by the security forces in the area. Thompson himself is unable to return to his home, because of threats to his life.

With the collaboration of the military, the JLP had stolen the election in West Central St. Andrew, Thompson said. And, he concluded, while he could accept that popular support for the PNP government was not as high as in the 1976 elections, the JLP landslide electoral victory made sense only on the basis of a similar island-wide electoral fraud.

—Russell Johnson

results were thus touted as a vote against socialism.

Despite some important reforms in Jamaica, the key weakness was precisely that the Manley regime did not put forward a clear program of basic social change, a socialist policy that sought to advance the fundamental interests of the working class and challenge the capitalist and imperialist stranglehold over the island. Such a political course would have inspired the Jamaican masses to mobilize and organize themselves to meet the reactionary threat.

The Manley regime also refused to call on the PNP activists and the workers to organize to defend their communities and workplaces from JLP terror. Instead, it called for reliance on the very police and armed forces who were helping to shoot down its supporters.

This failure to respond effectively to the imperialist and JLP offensive was a key factor in weakening the PNP's base of support. Although many continued to rally

around the PNP banner, others became demoralized and confused. They had little confidence that if Manley was reelected the terrorist attacks would stop or a rightist military coup could be averted.

The Manley regime's paralysis in face of the reactionary onslaught was in marked contrast to what the revolutionary governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada have done when faced with similar attacks. They reacted by mobilizing, organizing, and arming the working masses to defeat the counterrevolutionaries and to deepen the revolutionary processes under way in those countries.

There are many in Jamaica, however, who have been influenced by the examples of Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua. For instance, the PNP left wing, especially in the PNP Youth Organisation, does not share Manley's program on how to face the rightist terror campaign. Many have led in helping communities defend themselves against the violence.

But they have been unable to put for-

ward a national political alternative to Manley's policies.

In the wake of the elections, the mood of the PNP activists gathered at their headquarters was both of questioning and of apprehension. How to defend themselves and the workers from the attacks they know are coming? How to reorganize and move forward again?

The Jamaican workers and peasants have been dealt a blow with the JLP's electoral coup. But they have not suffered a massive defeat.

The Jamaican labor movement is well organized and has a militant and combative tradition. It will not passively accept the new JLP government's attempts to whittle away the rights and living standards of the Jamaican masses.

The courage and dedication of the working-class activists in Jamaica is not in question. But whether they can develop a clear, class-struggle strategy for uniting, organizing, and mobilizing the working population will determine the outcome of the battles to come. □

Step-up in Rightist Terror on Election Eve

By Russell Johnson

KINGSTON, October 27—As election day, October 30, approaches, tension is mounting in this city. Heavily armed soldiers and police patrol the streets in jeeps. As evening comes, army helicopters circle overhead, searchlights beaming down into the working class neighborhoods. Soldiers move in, and repeated gunshots can be heard.

Each morning the radio and press carry reports of the previous night's death toll: thugs have burst into a house and machine-gunned the occupants, men, women, and children; the security forces have

killed five or six youths in an alleged shoot-out; People's National Party (PNP) activists have been beaten or shot to death while canvassing for their party candidates; or a PNP rally has been broken up by gunfire, forcing government leaders to shelter in a police station until the early hours of the morning.

This is the atmosphere of violence and intimidation that engulfs Jamaica, as the most sharply fought election in its history takes place.

On one side stands the People's National Party led by Michael Manley. Since com-

ing to power in 1972, the PNP, under the pressure of the Jamaican masses, has initiated reforms that have benefitted the workers and poor farmers.

Conflict With Imperialism

Internationally, the PNP government moved into conflict with imperialism in two key areas: It maintained close links with Cuba's revolutionary government in defiance of the imperialist campaign to isolate and turn back the Cuban revolution. And in March of this year it broke off negotiations with the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF), pulling back from a previous IMF-imposed policy of attacking the social and economic position of the Jamaican masses.

In response to this, the imperialists headquartered in Washington are working overtime to get rid of the Manley government.

Their principle tool in this is the main opposition party, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), led by Edward Seaga. Despite the party's name and origins in the Jamaican trade union movement, the JLP has evolved into a direct ally of the imperialist offensive against Jamaica.

The JLP leaders have unleashed a campaign of unrestrained violence against supporters of the PNP.

Of course, the JLP leaders deny responsibility for the anti-PNP violence, much of which is carried out by unemployed youth.

"We are against the violence," the JLP candidates will say in a radio broadcast. "But," they add, "we understand why

Workers Party Leaders Victimized

By Mac Warren

KINGSTON, October 27—Twelve members of the Workers Party of Jamaica (WPJ), including three members of its Central Committee, were arrested October 25, in Lucea, Hanover, on trumped-up charges of possession of bombs. The evidence consisted of two bottles half-filled with gasoline found by the police outside the house where the twelve were staying.

The WPJ, the largest party to the left of the People's National Party, supported the PNP campaign in the elections.

WPJ leader Dr. Trevor Munroe stated at a press conference hours after the arrests, "The Workers Party of Jamaica charges that the arrest and detention of national leaders of the progressive movement in Lucea, Hanover, is part of a wider plan to get leaders of the People's National Party and the Workers Party of Jamaica out of

the way in the critical last five days before the election."

Munroe went on, "We demand the immediate grant of bail to the comrades in Lucea, the immediate withdrawal of these trumped-up charges once investigation reveals them to be false, and most of all, we call on the leaders of the government to deal firmly and decisively with the soldiers and the police who are actively fighting with their weapons for a Labour Party victory."

To this date, no charges have been filed, nor has bail been set for the twelve who were arrested. Protests and telegrams of solidarity with the arrested twelve should be sent to: Police Commissioner, 103 Old Hope Road, Kingston 6, Jamaica. The WPJ requests that copies be sent to them at 50 Lady Musgrave Road, Kingston 10, Jamaica. □

these youths will hire themselves out as gunmen."

What they do not say is that the funds to hire these thugs come from the JLP coffers.

The ability of the proimperialist JLP to mobilize these youth is linked to what is the central problem facing the Jamaican people—unemployment. Two years ago, unemployment among those between fourteen and twenty-nine years of age was officially put at over 43 percent. Layers of these youth, demoralized by years of joblessness, form the basis of the JLP campaign of violence.

Terror Backed by Military

The JLP is aided in this terror campaign by the security forces, large sections of which openly identify with the JLP. The JLP is running several recently-retired military officers as candidates.

Yesterday, in a neighborhood that strongly supports the ruling PNP, I noticed an angry crowd milling about. A hundred yards or so down the road was a line of police cars and sheltering behind them several carloads of JLP youth. The

PNP community had just been shot up. But the cops' guns were pointed at the local residents, not the JLP thugs who were allowed to leave unmolested.

And today, at a press conference given by Hugh Small, the finance minister and a leader of the left wing of the PNP, he reported that for the second time in a week he and his canvassers had been shot at from the JLP headquarters in his electoral district. But when the army arrived, they threatened him and his bodyguards, expressing open sympathy for the JLP, whose local candidate is a former army captain.

This collaboration between the uniformed and ununiformed thugs reached its most scandalous level on October 14 when left-wing PNP member of Parliament and Deputy National Security Minister Roy McGann was shot down by a squad of police called to his assistance when he was trapped by a JLP mob.

Undoubtedly this campaign of intimidation is having an effect. Many people are reluctant to venture outdoors. Kingston streets clear rapidly as night falls. □

Grenada: Jamaica Is 'Imperialism's Latest Victim'

[The following is the text of an editorial entitled "Imperialism's Latest Victim" that appeared in the November 1 issue of the *Free West Indian*, published weekly in St. George's, Grenada.]

* * *

Michael Manley's defeat in Jamaica's general elections Thursday has evoked considerable disappointment from the Grenadian masses.

Our respect and admiration for this outstanding Caribbean and Third World spokesman has grown, especially since his impressive showing at our Festival of the Revolution on March 13 of this year.

We have come to know him as a firm anti-imperialist fighter, as a champion of the small man, as a staunch advocate for a new international economic order, as a supporter of the Grenada revolution.

On October 30, 1980, Manley became the latest victim of a well-orchestrated, systematic imperialist plan of destabilisation. Over the last few years, international reaction carefully sowed the seeds of Manley's defeat. There was a long economic stranglehold imposed on the PNP government by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Manley was forced to cut back or stall the development of many social programs that could have delivered direct material benefits to the working people of Jamaica. He had little control of the rising unemployment and galloping price rises, two economic ails that hurt the masses.

Then there was the infamous Jamaica

Daily Gleaner which waged a relentless, CIA-inspired propaganda campaign against the PNP government.

Alongside this propaganda onslaught, reaction unleashed early this year a brutish campaign of open terror against the PNP, its supporters, and other progressive forces in Jamaica.

Close to 700 lives were lost, including a PNP candidate and member of Parliament. Hundreds were arrested, including twelve leaders of the Workers Party of Jamaica and the security men for the PNP General Secretary Dr. D.K. Duncan. Manley seemed incapable of countering such terror.

The destabilisation techniques of imperialism paid off. The people became fear-

ful, intimidated, confused. Finally they lost confidence in Michael Manley and the People's National Party and voted him out of office.

Reactionary forces in the region are today loudly claiming that the Jamaican people voted against socialism and communism. We reject such false interpretations.

The vast majority of JLP voters did not cast their ballots on the basis of ideology. They voted much like they did in 1976, on the basis of programme, party loyalty, frustrations, and a hope for a change from "hard times."

It is useful to recall here that a poll of JLP voters conducted after the 1976 general elections indicated that for 49 percent programme was primary, for 47 percent party loyalty was the overriding priority, and only 7 percent took ideology into serious consideration.

Our people and our friends are concerned that with Manley's defeat, imperialism will step up its aggression against the Grenada revolution. However, we state unequivocally that regardless of threats, intimidations, or pressures, the Grenada revolution will forever be grateful to Michael Manley for his government's material and technical assistance and to the progressive forces in Jamaica for their unbending solidarity. They can count on the friendship of the Grenada revolution.

No matter what happens as a result of changes in our region, the Grenada revolution will remain committed to a policy of respect for national sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other nations, ideological pluralism, and Caribbean cooperation.

Grenadians were the first to have a revolution in the English-speaking Caribbean. And we will remain firmly dedicated to our revolutionary principles.

We feel that we have a fundamental responsibility to our sisters and brothers in the region to consolidate our revolutionary process in spite of the new dangers that we may face. We must ensure that our revolution moves forward and grows stronger. □

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Iranian Parliament Offers Plan for Return of Hostages

By Janice Lynn

The Iranian parliament has drafted a just method for the release of the fifty-two American hostages in Iran.

The four simple and reasonable proposals the parliament outlined for Washington November 2 ratified those stated by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini September 12:

- A firm commitment from Washington that it would no longer interfere militarily or politically in the internal affairs of Iran;
- The unfreezing of all Iranian assets seized by Washington and the removal of all economic sanctions;
- The cancellation of all financial claims against Iran; and
- The recognition that the Iranian people have the legitimate right to the wealth stolen from them by the former shah and his family, and that Washington will take the necessary actions to help secure that stolen wealth.

Rather than welcoming this offer from the Iranian parliament for resolving the hostage issue, the first response from the White House was to state that the precise meaning of the offer was not clear and that a period of negotiations would be required.

President Carter declared that the return of the hostages would come about "only on a basis that preserves our national honor and our national integrity."

U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie stated that in addition to the lives of the hostages, "what is involved are our national interests and we must make sure they do not conflict with each other."

So, it is not the Iranian people who are prolonging this crisis, it is the U.S. government.

From the beginning Washington did everything in its power to torpedo a settlement of the hostage issue. Every proposal by the Iranian government, from extradition of the former monarch to an international investigation of the shah's guilt, was categorically rejected.

Carter even threatened retaliation whether or not the hostages were released.

Washington orchestrated a concerted propaganda campaign aimed at trying to turn American working people against the Iranian revolution and at convincing them to accept the possibility of a new U.S. military intervention in the Middle East.

But even with the hostage issue, the U.S. rulers did not succeed in advancing their war drive or reversing the deep sentiment among American working people against more Vietnam-type wars.

The massive opposition by young Ameri-

cans to Carter's draft registration was the clearest indication of this.

Embassy Occupation

The occupation of the U.S. embassy was the response of the Iranian masses to Washington's continued threats against their revolution, symbolized by the Carter administration's bringing the ex-shah of Iran to the United States in October 1979. This was viewed by the Iranian people as another plot to restore the hated monarch to the throne.

It was a provocative act by the Carter administration, which was looking for a pretext to attack the Iranian revolution. But Carter got more than he bargained for. His provocation backfired as a result of the mass upsurge in Iran.

During the year of the embassy occupation Washington stepped up its provocations aimed at undermining the Iranian revolution.

Carter froze Iranian assets; imposed economic sanctions; whipped up a racist hate campaign against Iranians; built up U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf; launched a commando raid into Iran; and gave support to counterrevolutionary Iranian exiles intent on organizing a coup in order to restore a repressive dictatorship.

Every one of these moves was taken in complete disregard for the lives of the fifty-two American hostages.

Actions such as economic sanctions and supporting counterrevolutionaries are the kind of measures Washington would have carried out against the Iranian revolution, hostages or no hostages. The twenty year economic blockade of Cuba, the U.S.-organized Bay of Pigs invasion, and the CIA's plots to murder Fidel Castro are confirmation of this. The hostage issue just provided a pretext for the U.S. rulers to initiate their economic blockade, military attacks and other hostile acts.

But despite all of Carter's provocations, the Iranian people held firm. They refused to be stampeded into taking any thoughtless measures against the hostages. They released most of the Black and women hostages, and one who had become ill. They welcomed visitors who confirmed that the hostages were not mistreated or abused as Carter claimed.

And the Iranian masses continued to defend their revolution and to seek justice for the years of crime and corruption under the U.S.-backed tyrant.

Deepening of Iranian Revolution

The year-long mobilizations of the Iran-

ian masses, spurred by the embassy occupation, dealt a powerful blow to Washington's attempts to reverse the gains of the Iranian revolution. And it helped to advance and deepen the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist consciousness of the Iranian workers and peasants.

Demonstrations—numbering in the millions—occurred throughout the country, week after week, in solidarity with the students in the embassy and in defiance of imperialist domination of their country. Many of these demonstrations were spearheaded and organized by workers committees in the factories.

The embassy occupation propelled the Iranian workers and peasants further along the road of independent political struggle. The anti-imperialist upsurge gave impetus to struggles on all levels—all in the direction of breaking the grip of the capitalists and landlords over the country, and freeing it from imperialist interference.

"We have demonstrated both to our people and to international opinion that we have the weapons not only to resist but also defeat the all-powerful United States, which believed it held Iran in the palm of its hand," noted Hojatoislam Ashgar Mousavi Khoeyni, a member of Iran's parliament who has close ties to the militant students in the embassy.

Khoeyni also pointed out that with the embassy occupation, "We defeated the attempt by the 'liberals' to take control of the machinery of state. We forced Mr. [Mehdi] Bazargan's Government to resign. The tree of the revolution has grown and gained in strength."

Bazargan, the first prime minister of Iran's provisional government, was forced to resign immediately following the embassy occupation. The Iranian masses were fed up with the Bazargan government's refusal to completely break with the imperialists and with its opposition to their demands for radical economic and social change.

Blow to Imperialism

The mass upsurge accompanying the embassy occupation was a severe blow to U.S. imperialism. The readiness of the Iranian people to mobilize in defense of their revolution was a huge obstacle to attempts by Washington and proimperialist forces inside Iran to reverse the Iranian revolution and crush the workers and peasants.

The mass anti-imperialist sentiment in Iran was an inspiration to other oppressed

and exploited peoples throughout the world and further weakened the ability of U.S. imperialism to intervene in other countries.

An October 31 Tehran radio broadcast, published in the November 1 *New York Times*, took note of some of these factors:

The seizure of the spy hostages was a bold human act by the heroic Iranian people, undertaken with confidence and loyalty, to rid the world of the vicious hand that has played havoc with the people's dignity, freedom and independence. The detention of these spies for one year is an unforgettable lesson for those who let themselves be seduced into working in this ill-fated field. It is also a good lesson to the tyrants who rely on such unethical methods to carry out their oppression against the peoples.

This lesson, one that the tyrants must be aware of from now on, is that such inhuman methods can be of no use to them if used against people who aspire to a safe and prosperous life.

The students in the embassy released embassy documents exposing how the embassy was indeed a "spy den" and implicated many of the hostages in plots and spying against the revolution. Other hostages were undoubtedly caught up in this spy network without completely realizing the full implications of what they were involved in.

The Tehran radio broadcast continued:

... the release of the spy hostages should not be interpreted as an unjust act, since they have spent a year of punishment under the people's control. Neither is their release as human beings a cowardly act if the goal behind this release is to bring the tyrannical United States to trial for its faults against Iran for the past 30 years. Thus, from Iran's viewpoint, their release is the way to expose the long criminal history of the United States.

If Iran accomplishes this, it would have dealt a blow to the world's oppressors, who play with the people's destinies.

At the same time, Washington was able to play on concern for the fate of the hostages as individuals to obscure its real aims in regard to Iran.

The release of the hostages will open up new opportunities for winning international support and solidarity with the Iranian revolution. Although Washington's propaganda campaign and its plots to undermine the Iranian revolution will continue, they will not be able to use the hostage issue. And the Iranian people will be in a better position to win important allies among third world countries in their struggle to advance their revolution and defend it from being reversed.

Mobilizations in Iran

In fact, the Iranian people's fierce resistance to the Iraqi regime's invasion has been winning support and admiration from workers and peasants throughout the Persian Gulf and shaking up the reactionary regimes in the area.

Iranians have participated in demonstrations throughout the country against



HOJATOLISLAM HASHEMI RAFSANJANI

the Iraqi attacks. There are large contingents of women, factory workers, students, and even children in these demonstrations—all armed, and all reaffirming their commitment not to allow their revolution to be defeated.

Due to the pervasive mass sentiment for arms distribution, Khomeini felt compelled to call for the arming of every able-bodied Iranian—the first such call since the February 1979 insurrection. Mobilizations in defense of the revolution have also been reported in some Kurdish cities. In one

Unionists in Mauritius Win Victory

A thirteen-day hunger strike by trade unionists on the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius ended in victory for the country's workers.

The hunger strike began on September 6, a little more than a year after the government signed an agreement with the unions following the island's longest and most widespread general strike.

The unionists were demanding that the government adhere to its agreement that all 2,350 workers who were fired during the 1979 general strike be provided jobs. Some 678 workers, a majority of them transport workers, had remained unemployed during the year.

Other demands included recognition of the right to strike and the holding of a referendum for recognition of the Sugar Industry Labourers Union and the Union of Artisans of the Sugar Industry (UASI).

Participants in the hunger strike included France Soopramanien and Beejand Jhurry, president and general secretary, respectively, of the General Workers Federation (GWF); Hervé Marcelin, an executive member of the UASI; Alain Laridon, a negotiator for the Federation des Travailleurs Unis (United Workers

factory in Kurdistan the workers voted to donate one day's wages for the war effort.

Support for fighting the Iraqi invasion has also come from cities in Baluchistan, Azerbaijan, Sistan, and among the Bakhtiari peoples.

The federation of Islamic *shoras* (committees) that represents more than 100 Tehran shoras is conducting a camp for military training attended by workers from dozens of factories.

Daily demonstrations are reported in Tehran, many spontaneous and independently organized. On October 31, thousands of people marched on the Friday prayer meeting chanting, "Death to Reagan, Death to Carter," a direct answer to charges that the Iranian people are manipulating the U.S. presidential elections in favor of one or another of the two capitalist candidates.

On November 3 the students at the embassy turned custody of the hostages over to the Iranian government so they could go to the war front to defend the revolution from the Iraqi aggression.

The students have called a mass demonstration on November 4, the first anniversary of the embassy occupation.

"From now on should any delay occur and should there be any delay in the release of the hostages," speaker of Iran's parliament Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani told international reporters November 2, "then the world must know, and you must tell everyone and the world, that it is no longer our fault, that it is the fault of the U.S. Government." □

Federation); and Paul Berenger, a negotiator for the GWF, as well as leader of the opposition Mauritian Militant Movement.

On September 19 the hunger strike ended after the government agreed that all workers fired in August 1979 would be immediately employed by the Development Works Corporation until other work appropriate to their skills could be found.

A news release from the GWF support committee reported that the victory of the hunger strike was a direct result of the massive support shown by the island's workers.

"Every day, workers from different sites would demonstrate with banners and posters in the streets," the release noted. "People from poor villages and poor city areas would also form up in processions, chanting and carrying slogans. And perhaps more important, were the evening demonstrations. . . . Often these would become nighttime processions to the trade union offices where the hunger strike took place."

The committee also expressed its thanks for the messages of international solidarity that were received. □

Thousands Protest Nuclear Arms in Britain

By Phil Hearse

LONDON—Eighty thousand people marched in London October 26 against nuclear missiles.

Called by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the demonstration was one of the largest seen in London in many years.

Demonstrators marched under three main slogans: No Cruise, No Trident, and Cut Arms Spending.

The slogans refer to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) decision to site 162 nuclear Cruise missiles in Britain. Also, the British Tory government has decided to spend more than £6,000 million (US\$14.4 billion) on buying Trident submarine-launched nuclear missiles from the United States.

The demonstration was officially supported by the Labour Party. There was a wide range of people from the labor movement, environmentalists, and antinuclear and political organizations. Most prominent on the demonstration were young people.

The demonstration culminated an intensive six-month campaign against the threat posed by the new missiles. Hundreds of antimissile groups have sprung up around the country.

These efforts got a big boost when the National Conference of the British Labour Party at the beginning of October voted

against Cruise and Trident and for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain. This also represented a substantial victory for the left in the Labour Party.

The upsurge of this campaign in Britain represents increased awareness of the danger of nuclear war. The huge amounts of money to be spent on the Trident has caused a great deal of anger, but it was the decision to site the Cruise missiles in Britain that caused particular concern.

They are designed for NATO's strategy, referred to as "theater" nuclear war.

As relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have worsened, an increasing number of reactionary voices have been arguing the possibility of fighting a limited "theater" nuclear war, which would supposedly avoid an all-out nuclear exchange.

The "theater" most often referred to is Europe. Many people in Britain feel the country is being made America's "aircraft carrier"—thus, a prime target in the event of a nuclear war.

A key catalyst of the antimissile campaign in Britain has been the writings of the Marxist historian E.P. Thompson. His pamphlet *Protest and Survive* sold more than 40,000 copies before being reprinted as a book.

In May of this year, together with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation,

Thompson launched a European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, which aims for a nuclear free Europe "from Poland to Portugal." In the past six months Thompson has spoken to huge rallies and meetings all over Britain.

While the founders of the European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign want to attribute blame equally to the United States and the Soviet Union for the new arms race, at many rallies socialists have spoken either from the platform or the floor to point to the Cruise missiles as part of Washington's war drive, which is being supported by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The antimissile campaign has repercussions at every level of the British labor movement. The 1.75 million-strong Transport and General Workers Union recently affiliated to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND).

In the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the question of nuclear weapons is an issue in the current elections for new union president. The right-wing incumbent, Terry Duffy, supports NATO and the missiles. His left-wing opponent, Bob Wright, calls for the missiles to be cancelled.

The president of the Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Arthur Scargill, backs the campaign against the missiles and against all forms of nuclear power.

Every local branch of the Yorkshire NUM has an official responsible for coordinating the fight against nuclear energy.

The missiles are already an issue in the fight over the new leader of the Labour Party. One of the candidates, Michael Foot, announced that if he became prime minister he would send the Cruise missiles back to the United States.

One of the main speakers at the October 26 rally was the leader of the left wing in the Labour Party, Tony Benn. He argued that the Tory government was carrying out an old trick—trying to divert attention from injustice at home by concentrating attention on the alleged enemy abroad.

He said that a future Labor government would refuse to base its defense policy on nuclear weapons.

Supporters of the British Trotskyist paper, *Socialist Challenge*, have played a prominent part in the campaign against the missiles. At every stage of the campaign they have linked the decision to site the missiles in Britain with the militarization policy of the U.S. government.

Socialist Challenge argues that opposing



Front of antinuclear march in London.

the missiles logically means pulling out of the imperialist war alliance based on nuclear weapons—NATO. They also link opposition to the missiles to defending the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada, menaced by U.S. imperialism.

On October 23, a *Socialist Challenge* rally in London to build for the demonstration was addressed by Sakai, a leader of the Japanese Trotskyist movement, and

Doug Jenness, a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Sakai outlined the buildup of Japanese militarism. Jenness explained how American youth had defied the militarization plans of the U.S. government by opposing the draft registration.

The October 26 demonstration in London shows that thousands of British youth have now joined in that opposition. □

'We Shall Go Forward'

Polish Unions Win New Concessions

By Gerry Foley

Once again the Polish workers have forced the Stalinist bureaucracy in their own country and its Kremlin big brothers to back off from a decisive confrontation.

On November 1, following negotiations with Premier Jozef Pinkowski, the independent union leader Lech Walesa announced that the Warsaw government had granted a number of concessions to the workers movement.

Actually, the concessions themselves were nothing new, but appeared to represent gains in forcing the government to carry out the promises it made in the Gdansk agreement that ended the August-September strikes.

The independent unions are to be permitted to publish a weekly newspaper and to have regular access to the electronic mass media.

Printing equipment sent by unions in the West is to be turned over to the independent unions.

The government promised that the appeals court would rule by November 10 on the objection raised by the independent union confederation, Solidarity, against the rewriting of its statutes by a Warsaw district court judge. The confederation has scheduled strikes to begin on November 12 to protest the judge's action and to press demands for specific measures to implement the Gdansk agreements.

Along with removing the guarantees against bureaucratic takeover that were incorporated in the statutes drawn up by Solidarity, the Warsaw court judge introduced a pledge to respect the "leading role" of the Communist Party.

This is an expression used historically by the bureaucracy to mean that it must control all spheres of life in the society, including the unions.

The attempt to make the independent unions do obeisance to the totalitarian pretensions of the Communist Party was particularly resented by the union leaders and the ranks.

In Walbrzych, before the leadership

could make it clear that it had not put in the reference to the party's "leading role," rank-and-file union members, thinking that they had been betrayed, stormed the union's headquarters.

Although the Polish bureaucrats are conceding on other demands of the unions, they still refuse to yield on the question of removing the phrase about the party's "leading role." On this issue the conflict is fundamental. The bureaucracy considers it a matter of life or death. The Kremlin and the other Warsaw Pact regimes had argued that the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia was necessary because the local party was no longer exercising its "leading role."

The Solidarity leaders have made it clear that they are not objecting just to words or a formality. In a Reuters dispatch, one union leader was quoted as saying: "We will be satisfied if no one imposes a leadership on us."

Following the October 24 Warsaw district court decision the Solidarity leaders drew up a list of demands, including the following:

- That the independent union confederation be granted legal recognition immediately, on the basis of the original statutes it submitted, and that there be no restriction on the right to strike.

- Immediate publication in the mass media of the Gdansk agreement and of a notice that Solidarity had been legally recognized, along with an explanation that the confederation rejected the changes made in its statutes.

- Granting of printing facilities to the independent unions within one week's time.

- Release of the printing equipment sent to the unions from abroad.

- The setting aside of a certain number of hours on TV and radio for the independent unions.

- Improvement of the supply of consumer goods.

- The introduction of meat rationing by January 1, to assure fair distribution.

- Settlement within one week of the

wage claims that had been kept in abeyance.

- Reinstatement of the persons mentioned in Point 4 of the Gdansk agreement, that is, fired workers, expelled students, and political prisoners.

- Legal recognition of the independent peasant organization, without any changes in its statutes.

Walesa said that the government had conceded on six of these points, but since it refused to yield on the issue of party control and some other questions, the independent unions were not withdrawing their call for strikes beginning on November 12. He stressed that the independent union movement, which already has a membership of seven million persons, is determined to go forward, no matter what the difficulties.

"Even on our knees we shall go forward. But for the time being we walk on our feet. We are carrying a heavy burden and we shall go on bearing it."

On tour in southern Poland in mid-October Walesa told workers that if they organized tightly enough they could stand up even to Soviet occupation, because the troops could not keep the economy going.

Apparently the power and organization of the independent unions were sufficient to convince the Kremlin bosses to hold off resorting to force, with the hope that the Polish bureaucracy can ride out the workers' upsurge.

The Polish premier and the party boss, Jozef Pinkowski and Stanislaw Kania, were summoned to Moscow at the end of October in the midst of growing threats by the Soviet and East German regimes against the Polish workers movement.

For example, on October 23, *Pravda* carried an article, purportedly based on a piece in the Polish CP organ *Tribuna Ludu*, that claimed a whole subversive operation was underway in Poland.

The *Pravda* article began by claiming that the American union federation, the AFL-CIO was backing the Polish independent unions in order to undermine the social system. It then went on to slander the political positions of Polish opposition leader Jacek Kuron, an advisor to the independent unions, who the article claimed was openly proclaiming a goal of overthrowing the regime.

On October 28, the Honecker regime, which had warned two weeks before that it would permit no change in the social order in Poland, went so far as to close the borders of East Germany to Polish citizens. This measure was necessary, it said, because Poland had become an "unstable" country.

So, henceforth any Pole wishing to travel to East Germany has to produce an invitation from an East German citizen, properly verified by the police. This measure is to remain in force until "our Polish friends" succeed in restoring "stability."

The East German bureaucrats claimed

that their action was "an expression of active solidarity with Poland." The solidarity, in fact, was with the Polish bureaucrats.

At the end of October also, the Soviet press was filled with stories about Central Committee Secretary Andrei Kirilenko's visit to Czechoslovakia, where the bureaucracy has kept up a steady barrage of criticism against the concessions made by its Polish counterparts.

However, the meeting between the Krem-

lin bosses and the heads of the Polish bureaucracy ended cordially—in marked contrast to the strained meetings with the leaders of the Czechoslovak CP during the Prague spring. And following it, the Polish bureaucrats, made further concessions to the independent workers movement. Thus, apparently the Kremlin endorsed the tactics of the Polish CP leaders.

There is no reason to think, however, that the Kremlin is any more inclined to respect the right of the Polish people to

determine their own affairs than it was of the Czechs and Slovaks, or, for that matter, than it is of the rights of the peoples of the Soviet Union itself.

The crude attempts in the Soviet press to frame up the Polish workers movement and its leaders show what the intentions of the Soviet bureaucracy are. But for the moment it is a beast at bay, and that is eloquent testimony to the power and determination of the Polish workers organizations. □

Interview with Rubén Zamora of Salvadoran FDR

'The Revolutionary War Has Already Begun'

[The following interview with Rubén Zamora, secretary of the External Commission of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, was conducted by Fred Murphy of *Intercontinental Press* on October 19 in Bloomington, Indiana, during a national conference of the Latin American Studies Association. The interview was conducted in Spanish; the translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. It has now been two months since the August general strike in El Salvador. We have received various reports on the strike—we understand that it was not to be an insurrectional strike but rather was aimed at preparing further, organizing the people, and so on. How well have the achievements of the strike been consolidated, in terms of popular organization and preparation for sharper confrontations with the regime?

Answer. As you said, the main objective of the recent strike was a political-military one. That is, to take a look at the level of preparation and development of the people's militias.

As a result of the strike, we can point out the most important aspects of our struggle. In the first place, the development of the people's militias. They have been extended further. They had their test of fire in the strike, and have continued to grow quite substantially.

Secondly, in terms of the people's army, the confrontations are becoming generalized and there are more every day. It is important to point this out, because the so-called serious news media is either systematically covering it up or else is publicizing only the statements of the repressive Salvadoran army.

The truth is that the people's army in El Salvador, is going into battle and confronting the army, the security forces, and the paramilitary bands of the military/Christian Democratic dictatorship, on a daily

basis and in many parts of the country.

What we have seen since August is an upturn in the armed struggle in El Salvador, through actions in which up to 120 members of the security forces and the army have fallen. Some confrontations have lasted five or seven hours. The people's army has shown its superiority in terms of the morale and quality of its combatants. This contrasts tremendously with the low morale of the regular forces of the government, despite all the military apparatus it has and despite the supplies the United States has been providing.

Q. So it could be said that the revolutionary war has already begun in El Salvador?

A. Certainly. We see the war process as a long one, with various stages. In this sense the revolutionary war already began quite some time ago. What must be pointed out now is that we have entered a new stage in the war process, the stage of generalized harassment of the regular forces. We might say that the objective of this is to tie down the enemy, to immobilize the regular army and the security forces by means of the systematic harassment that the people's army is carrying out.

Q. What is happening among the ranks of the government's armed forces? Is there growing discontent or indiscipline?

A. We know that demoralization has been deepening among the government forces. The number of desertions has increased, especially in the army, which is based on peasant conscription.

I could give you an example: In the Sonsonate region the army called up the reserves—around 5,500 peasants—and only 600 showed up. In El Salvador at present the peasants are fleeing not only from the repression but also from conscription, because they do not want to serve in that repressive army.

I could also point out that in situations where the repressive forces of the regular

army have surrounded units of the people's army, the latter have always been able to break out, precisely because of the low morale of the army troops.

The same does not hold for the National Guard, which is demonstrating greater willingness for combat. National Guard members are not conscripts but rather career soldiers. They know their lives are at stake, because the people know what the National Guard has made them suffer.

Q. What is the situation of the economy? It has been said that there is a serious crisis.

A. In fact, because of the situation of struggle and war, the economy of El Salvador is passing through the worst crisis in its history, comparable only to the crisis of 1930.

Private investment has not only come to a halt this year—there has even been *disinvestment*. Earlier investments have been taken out of the country. Since October of last year foreign investment has dropped by 46 percent. This of course has a devastating effect on the economy as a whole. Unemployment has risen by 15 percent this year because of factory closings, the impossibility of carrying out harvests, and so on.

As for government revenues through taxation, if we compare what the regime has taken in this year with last year's figures we see that there has been a drop of 20.6 percent. On top of this is the annual inflation rate of 35 or 40 percent. So the economic situation is really critical.

International banking sources have calculated that since the beginning of 1979 about \$1.5 billion has left the country. This has taken place in two ways: On one hand, income from exports does not enter the country but is deposited in banks in the United States or in Europe. On the other hand, there is what we pointed to earlier—*disinvestment*, removal of capital. Even machinery has been taken out of the

industrial plants of the country.

Q. It would seem that the government itself must be heading for a fiscal crisis. I recall the last days of Somoza in Nicaragua, when he was able to obtain loans from the international banks. What will the junta do? Will it have to ask for help from the International Monetary Fund or from the big New York banks? And what will the bankers do, having been through the Somoza experience?

A. Yes, the fiscal crisis of the state is quite serious, as the junta's principal sponsor, the U.S. government, has acknowledged. In this year alone the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) has given the Salvadoran government more than \$87 million in bilateral funds.

It's really striking to note how the \$75 million for the revolutionary people's government of Nicaragua has been held up and dribbled out while between February and September of this year the U.S. government has thrown more than \$87 million in AID funds into the garbage can—without, of course, having any problems in Congress.

That is only the economic aid—I am not including the military aid of \$6.7 million the U.S. government has provided.

As for the international banks, the situation is the following: We have to distinguish between the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IADB's position has been to provide major aid to the junta, owing of course to the predominant role of the United States in the IADB. In 1980 the IADB has approved \$18 million for El Salvador.

As for the IMF, the amount obtained is smaller. We know that both in the IMF and in the World Bank there is considerable negative reaction to giving funds to El Salvador.

This has a clear explanation—they recall what happened with Nicaragua. After the September [1978] insurrection there, they thought everything was over, that Somoza had regained stability. By March and April [1979] they were giving very big loans to Somoza. Only in July did they realize that that made no sense. Therefore the European bankers in the IMF are especially reticent about throwing their money away, about seeing it squandered on a government that is in its death agony. The junta is like a terminal cancer patient being kept alive through continual blood transfusions—the funds of the AID.

Q. AID funds are usually assigned to specific projects. But because of the crisis of the state, it seems there could be problems concerning the use of these funds. Do you have any information about this?

A. We have always suspected that these AID funds, which are supposedly assigned for housing construction, for small-

business loans, for agrarian reform, and so on, do not always wind up where they belong.

What is interesting about this is that the AID in El Salvador itself has denounced the fact that funds handed over for social projects have been and are being used for military purposes. For example, Mr. Daniel A. Chaij, the AID's interim director in El Salvador, sent a letter dated August 29, 1980, to Napoleón Duarte, member of the government junta. Chaij pointed out and



Fred Murphy/IP
RUBÉN ZAMORA

provided proofs that AID funds were being used for military purposes. I'll quote from his letter:

"Diversion of funds could, at the least, result in a possible embarrassing situation for both governments and call for the return and reimbursement of the money, equipment, and materials used in activities not agreed upon, and could in fact give rise to serious criticism in our Congress."

So the AID itself provides the proof necessary to establish that the Salvadoran government, in its desperate attempt to contain the struggle of an entire people, is making use of these funds for repressive military purposes.

Q. Much is being made in the U.S. news media of the "agrarian reform" in El Salvador. But I have also seen reports that the concrete effects of the agrarian reform could mean famine this year—that crops are not being harvested, and so on. What can you tell us about this?

A. The military/Christian Democratic junta's supposed agrarian reform is certainly having some negative effects on production. The country is going to suffer a severe shortage of beans this year. Along with corn, beans make up the basic diet of the peasantry—that is, of the majority of the Salvadoran population.

The price of beans has reached levels

that make them practically inaccessible. Last year a pound of beans cost between 70 and 80 centavos in El Salvador. This year, beans have reached a price of 2 colones and 40 centavos [1 colón=US\$0.40]. So there has been a tremendous drop in bean production with a corresponding shortage and price inflation.

As for corn, the situation is not so serious.

In terms of agricultural export products, which provide the bulk of the country's foreign currency income, cotton production has dropped by around 30 percent. We don't yet have the figures for coffee since the harvest just began in September.

What can be said for certain is that in some regions of the country—particularly around the volcanoes where the best coffee is produced—the landlords are not harvesting. Rather it is precisely the forces of the people's army that are located in those zones that are harvesting the coffee. They sell the harvest in order to provide for the people's army and for the peasants who live in those zones.

Q. It was reported recently that there is a training program for Salvadoran officers at a U.S. military base in Panama, and that protests have taken place there against it. Do you have any information about the attitude of the Panamanian government toward this?

A. The news that 300 officers and non-commissioned officers of the Salvadoran army were being trained in the Canal Zone really caused a big scandal in Panama. President Aristides Royo made a sharp public statement, saying it is totally inadmissible that Panamanian soil be used to train a repressive army. President Royo was very clear, both in rejecting such training and in characterizing the Salvadoran army as a repressive one.

We think President Royo's position was correct, a position upholding Panama's national dignity. We also think such abuses on Panamanian soil should be prevented. Besides everything else, they are an attack on the Canal treaties that the Carter administration signed with the Panamanian government.

Q. Finally, I would like to ask what you consider to be the most important tasks for the movement of solidarity with El Salvador in coming months, both in the United States and in other countries.

A. The Revolutionary Democratic Front has pointed to five fundamental tasks for the solidarity movement in this period:

In the first place, it is important to denounce and oppose the growing military intervention by the United States in the internal affairs of El Salvador.

In the second place, it is necessary to continue to denounce the violations of human rights in El Salvador.

The third task of solidarity is to publi-

cize the refugee problem that is arising in El Salvador. At this moment we already have some 40,000 refugees—both those inside the country and those who have had to flee to neighboring countries—who are facing really horrible conditions and who are subjected to abuse by the security forces. This is a very serious problem that is growing week by week. Only in the past week, for example, we learned that 2,500 more refugees resulted from a military operation by the army in Morazán Province.

The fourth task is to denounce the military junta and expose the true nature of

the government—to explain that it is not a centrist, progressive government but a counterrevolutionary, terrorist, right-wing government. That is what there is in El Salvador.

And, finally, the task is to publicize and seek support for the Revolutionary Democratic Front as the expression of the broad alliance of all the democratic, progressive, and revolutionary social sectors of our country, and as the only progressive alternative of power that can provide stability, peace, and justice to our homeland.

Those are the five tasks. □

'A Preinsurrectional Rehearsal'

What the August General Strike Accomplished

[The following is the final part of an article by Fernando Torres that appeared in the November 17 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist magazine published fortnightly in New York. The article is based on an interview Torres conducted with Farid Handal, a leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"We conceive the final stage of the Salvadoran revolutionary process as an armed people's insurrection," Handal said.

An insurrection, Handal explained, is an event in which "an entire people takes part in revolutionary action—some in sabotage, others joining forces to attack the enemy, others in rearguard tasks—communications, supply, first aid, and so on."

All this must be taught to the people, Handal continued. At times this is done clandestinely. However, "in our case, our leadership decided to launch this teaching process in a massive way."

That is why the general strike of August 13-15 was called. During and after the strike, the Salvadoran and U.S. news media said it was a total failure. What really happened?

Handal explained that "we did not call it a strike but rather a preinsurrectional rehearsal." The aim was "not to make a show of strength," since "we no longer have to demonstrate the strength we have in such terms."

Instead, the purpose of the strike was "to guarantee that in the big working-class residential areas the workers would be present on August 13, 14, and 15." The popular forces took over these areas in the main cities and in smaller ones as well. For three days the army failed to penetrate them.

The popular forces took advantage of

this "to give training in first aid, in the fabrication of arms, in the cleaning and handling of weapons, in protecting the aged from aerial attacks, and so on."

The rehearsal for insurrection enabled the popular committees in each neighborhood to be linked up: "It is these committees that will be the main ones responsible for leading the masses in the tasks of the

Rights Leaders Attacked in Guatemala, El Salvador

Leaders of the Human Rights Commissions of both Guatemala and El Salvador have been the victims of terrorist attacks in recent days.

María Magdalena Henriques, one of the main spokespersons for the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador, was found murdered near that country's capital on October 7. Her body was found buried in the sand along a roadside. She had been shot four times in the head and twice in the chest.

Henriques had been shopping in downtown San Salvador on October 3 when she was kidnapped by gunmen. Witnesses—including Henriques's small son—said that two uniformed policemen were among the kidnapers. Officials of the Salvadoran junta denied that the police were involved.

On October 26 the administrator of El Salvador's Human Rights Commission, Ramón Valladares, was assassinated by unidentified gunmen as he was driving his car.

Irma Flaquer, a journalist who was the coordinator of the Guatemalan Commission for the Defense of Human Rights, was gravely wounded and kidnapped when terrorists attacked her car in downtown Guatemala City on October 16. Her son, Fernando Valle Flaquer, was killed in the

insurrection," the FDR leader said.

Handal emphasized that the events in mid-August cannot be gauged with the yardsticks traditionally applied to strikes—by the circulation of buses or by commercial activity, for example.

In the days leading up to the strike, the Salvadoran government launched a vast campaign of intimidation—everything "from a subtle letter from the junta itself saying 'we will be grateful if you do not shut down' to direct threats signed by d'Aubuisson [chief of the paramilitary bands] saying 'if you shut down I will kill you.'"

Shops remained open, Handal said, "but without employees. Some did have employees, but none had customers." The buses circulated, "but they were all militarized, with four or five guardsmen plus a driver."

Far from being a failure, the strike met its objectives, making it clear that the revolutionary forces of El Salvador have the capacity to mobilize the population in military action against the repressive forces.

"The preinsurrectional rehearsal," Farid Handal concluded, "is part of the heritage that the Salvadoran people and their revolution will leave the other peoples of the world when the time comes for them to make their own revolutions." □

attack.

Flaquer had already been the victim of other attacks by paramilitary groups and the Guatemalan police. She narrowly survived a bomb attack during the regime of Gen. Carlos Arana Osorio, whose massacres of workers and peasants in eastern Guatemala she had denounced. In June of this year detectives from the National Police had attempted to kidnap Flaquer, but failed.

The human rights commission Flaquer headed was dissolved earlier this year. In a letter published in the Guatemala City daily *La Nación* on July 19, Flaquer and the commission denounced the daily assassinations of opponents of the Romeo Lucas García regime. Owing to the intensity of this repression, the letter said, "the members of the Commission do not want to commit themselves to an effort that . . . is not only suicidal but useless. We know that we cannot work freely since just one attempt to investigate a murder, torture case, or other violation would be enough to get our members assassinated."

Guatemala's Democratic Front Against Repression has called for actions and protests aimed at gaining the release of Irma Flaquer. It is feared that she might become the seventeenth journalist murdered in Guatemala this year. □

The Significance of the Fiat Strike

By A. Duret

The Fiat workers have just been dealt a major blow by the bureaucrats who lead their unions. There have been few occasions when the term "betrayal" fits the policy of the reformists so perfectly.

When Agnelli, the head of Fiat, tried to institute massive permanent layoffs, the Fiat workers mobilized and fought harder than at any time since the "hot autumn" of 1969. Their determination was so great that they broke through the isolation in which the union leaders tried to keep them, and they won the clear support of the Italian working masses.

Finally, when the bureaucrats moved to impose the shameful agreement they had reached with management, most of the workers in Fiat's traditional bastions said "no." Today, however, the union leaders are trying to convince people that the agreement was supported by a big majority of the workers.

General Strike in Solidarity

On Friday, October 10, some 15 million workers (some estimates placed the number as high as 18 million) took off from work for four hours to show their support for the Fiat workers. In Milan and Turin there were big demonstrations. In Rome, tens of thousands of people took to the streets.

On Saturday, October 11, the students in Turin proclaimed their solidarity with the Fiat workers. The factory councils in Fiat's Lingotto and Lancia plants joined the students in calling the demonstration, and all the left forces participated. On that demonstration the students also put forward their own specific demands, which focused on jobs and extension of social services. Nearly 20,000 demonstrators marched to Gate 5 of Fiat's sprawling Mirafiori plant, proving that it is possible to bring together the student and workers movements when the workers movement shows its willingness to engage in anticapitalist mobilization.

After the October 10 general strike, the trade-union bureaucrats decided not to organize any more activities that went beyond the confines of the plants. Such activities would have made it possible to consolidate the strikers' ties with broad sectors of the population of Turin and other cities. Only the picket lines were retained.

In this situation, Fiat management brought together white collar workers and foremen from all over Italy for an anti-strike meeting at Turin's Teatro Nuovo. Agnelli took good care of his supporters,

who had their transportation paid for and got a day's pay for attending.

The Metalworkers Federation (FLM), representing the strikers, did not mobilize the workers against this management counteroffensive, even though the number of foremen and white collar workers who actually agreed to play Fiat's game was quite small. Despite press reports of up to 30,000 demonstrators, the demonstration in the streets of Turin, protected by the police, attracted less than 10,000 people. As soon as the meeting ended, the gathered scabs faded away. The placards that were so carefully painted in the Fiat offices were abandoned in the plaza.

Layoffs Accepted

On Tuesday night, October 14, the union leadership, looking for a pretext to justify a retreat, seized upon this "mobilization" of foremen and white collar workers. The union negotiators reached an agreement with management that in fact accepted massive layoffs.

The first of the agreement's eleven points stated that the permanent layoff letters that management had sent to workers were now cancelled. This was a management concession in form rather than substance, because the second point stated that from October 6, 1980 to December 31, 1981, about 23,000 workers would be laid off and would go on a government plan that paid them 90 percent of their regular wages.

Up to then the union had rejected such a measure, proposing instead that layoffs be rotated among the whole work force. It had hoped that this would prevent a separation from developing between the employed workers and those who were laid off. To protect the union cadres and activists, the union had also opposed letting management decide who would be laid off.

Acceptance of the present agreement means that the union gave up on both those points.

Other measures rounding out the agreement were: encouragement of early retirement and voluntary departures; a hiring freeze; acceptance of the company's right to transfer workers to Fiat plants throughout the Piedmont region; and retraining for the workers under the unemployment compensation plan.

On June 31, 1981—depending on how production and sales in the Fiat group develop, and taking into account the number of voluntary departures and early retirements—management promises to

begin considering calling back workers who were laid off. Quarterly meetings between the bosses, the Regional Labor Office, and the unions will examine the situation in the job market. Fiat also stated that it will take back all the workers who still have not found jobs by June 31, 1983.

Because of the workers' resistance, management could not get the union leaders to agree to immediate and permanent layoffs. The agreement, however, will allow the bosses to end up with the same thing. In the meantime they will have established conditions that disorganize and weaken these workers, who for years have been in the forefront of the class struggle in Italy.

Council Opposes the Bureaucrats

On Wednesday, October 15, the Fiat workers' Central Council, made up of all the delegates, met. Many workers who are not delegates also attended. The union bureaucrats threw all their weight into the battle and sent their top representatives. There were the leaders of each of the three national union federations—Lama from the CGIL, Carniti from the CISL, and Benvenuto from the UIL—and three leaders from the FLM and others from the CGIL, including Bruno Trentin.*

The workers immediately showed their mistrust by refusing to grant all these "gurus" unlimited speaking rights, in order to prevent them from drowning the problem under a stream of words.

In outlining the results of the negotiations, the bureaucrats did not even try to explicitly defend the content of the agreement. They limited themselves to stating that the declining participation in the picket lines and the demonstration of the white collar workers had led to an unfavorable relation of forces, requiring that they accept this kind of agreement.

Bruno Trentin, with all the skill that characterizes him in these situations, tried to set up a smokescreen and justify the capitulation as part of some clever strategy.

But a delegate from the Spastura plant, basing himself on the concrete experiences of the previous weeks of struggle, rose to expose the fallacies of Trentin's arguments. That militant—who is a member of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR—

*The CISL (Italian Confederation of Free Trade Unions) is the Catholic federation. The CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor) is the federation led by the Communist Party. The UIL (Italian Workers Federation) is led by Social Democratic forces.

Each of these federations has a metalworkers union affiliated to it. The FIM (Italian Metallurgical Federation) is linked to the CISL. The FIOM (Federation of Metal Industry Employees and Workers) is part of the CGIL. The UILM (Italian Union of Metallurgical Workers) belongs to the UIL.

All three of the metalworkers unions are part of the FLM (Metalworkers Federation).

the Italian section of the Fourth International)—received prolonged applause from the audience, showing that there was widespread rejection of the union leaders' explanations.

This sentiment had been already expressed when Rocco Papandrea—a delegate from the Mirafiori plant and member of the LCR—presented a kind of counterreport to the introductory remarks by Galli (from the FLM and the Communist Party) and Mattina (from the FLM). The delegates, including those who were members of the CP, were unambiguous in expressing their opposition to the agreement. When Carniti (from the CISL) finished speaking, he was roundly booed.

The trade-union secretaries then hurriedly left the hall, without calling for a vote by the Central Council. They were afraid that rejection by that body could directly lead to rejection of the agreement by the workers assemblies in the factories.

It was a crude maneuver by the bureaucracy, which the delegates did not let pass. To counter it, Rocco Papandrea put forward a motion in the council. The motion repeated the FLM's original objectives, and therefore opposed the provisions for permanent layoffs and for letting the bosses decide who would be laid off. There was a great deal of support for this motion. But representatives of the left wing in the FLM then argued that given the presence of many non-delegate workers, the meeting lacked legitimacy. Because of that, they said, the meeting could not make a binding decision. Finally, the motion was submitted to a straw vote and was adopted by a large majority.

That evening, the FLM section in the Mirafiori plant refused to reproduce a leaflet that contained the motion and the vote on it. It hoped to hide this important information from the workers on the morning shift. The union apparatus did everything it could in that regard. But many militants made efforts to take direct charge of distribution of the motion.

It is also significant that *l'Unità*, the CP daily newspaper, and *Il Manifesto*, another left-wing paper, remained silent about the fight within the council. Only *La Stampa*, the Turin daily controlled by Agnelli, reported the confrontation within the Central Council.

The Vote in the Workers Assemblies

On Thursday, October 16, assemblies were held in the main Fiat plants. The bureaucracy, conscious of the stakes, pulled out all stops and sent the top leaders of the union federations to Mirafiori to defend the agreement. Lama went to the body shops, Benvenuto was sent to the stamping plant, and Carniti to the machine shops. Everywhere there were sharp questions. But the union leadership had organized things well. For example, several minutes before the vote was to take place at the machine shop meeting, the



Fiat strikers.

Business Week

white collar workers and foremen made an orderly appearance. They supported the agreement.

This largely explains why the accords were approved at Mirafiori by a small majority of the day shift. After the vote was taken, arguments broke out and there were confrontations between white collar and blue collar workers. Lama had to flee through the same exits that the bosses and their representatives have used so often since 1969. Carniti ended his explanations in the infirmary, and Benvenuto needed the help of a police car to take his leave of the Fiat workers.

In other factories such as Spastura, the agreement was rejected by a 70 percent vote. At Lancia and Rivalta, the factory councils decided that the agreement was not even worth voting on.

The workers assemblies of the afternoon shifts at Mirafiori and Lingotto rejected the agreements. They had made advance preparations to insure that the white collar workers and foremen, who had not taken part in the struggle, could not interfere in the decision. The afternoon shift at Spastura, however, approved the agreement by a 51 percent vote.

In southern Italy the agreement was passed by very small margins, although the union tried to portray them as sweeping majorities.

Later in the afternoon a large group of workers left the machine shops at Mirafiori and marched to the body shops, and then to Lingotto. The demonstration then headed toward the center of Turin, where it was stopped by the police and the workers turned back toward Lingotto.

After October 16, confusion and disorientation were widespread.

A Crisis of Leadership

The union leaders consistently put forward one theme in the media: that the majority of the workers accepted the agreement. They worked out subtle calculations of the numerical size of the day shifts versus the night shifts. Lama had the temerity to state that those who opposed

the union leadership's proposal had some sympathy for terrorists!

Those who were in the forefront of the struggle feel that the real sentiment of the workers was for rejection of the agreement. The pressure from the workers was so great that within the FLM the idea of organizing another vote was being discussed. The central bureaucracy, understanding the threat that would pose to their policy, hastened to stop that kind of talk.

The unions dismantled the entire infrastructure they had established to run the strike, and the Communist Party did the same. Conscious that there was no other force with sufficient resources to organize and coordinate the workers' resistance, they counted on the fact that the vacuum left by the sudden dismantlement of the strike apparatus would disconcert the workers and lead to fragmentation of the movement.

There was a sharp division between the union apparatus and the delegates, union activists, and militant workers. In fact, the bureaucracy sought the support of the layers of white collar workers and foremen organized by management and the most backward sectors of the workers.

In addition the bureaucrats appealed to many workers who, having spent so many years toiling in the plants, were attracted by the idea of early retirement and voluntary resignations with cash bonuses, or by the false hope that they could live on the unemployment compensation plan for a long period.

This division between a very large layer of advanced workers and the bureaucratic apparatus was expressed strongly even in the ranks of the CP. Many Communist activists simply refused to distribute CP leaflets that presented the agreement in favorable terms.

On Friday, October 17, there were again assemblies in some factories. A strike even broke out in Spastura. But the decisive obstacle to regaining the initiative was still the extreme difficulty in coordinating the opposition to the agreement. The members of the LCR and many delegates called for the Central Council to meet so that it could take direct charge of organizing the struggle and carrying on the negotiations, given the brutal sellout by the union leaders.

In this phase of the struggle a central contradiction could be seen. On the one hand the bulk of the workers who are the backbone of the Fiat union councils massively rejected the policies of the union apparatus. But no alternative leadership existed that could crystallize this opposition, that could offer it a way out and draw the ranks of the workers to it.

The outcome of the battle by the Fiat workers was determined, not by a lack of mobilization and combativity, but rather by a crisis of proletarian leadership. The absence of a strong organization that

could give form to a current in the trade-unions allowed the national union apparatus and the Communist Party to exert their full weight. The fact that LCR members were able to cut through specific maneuvers by the union leaders shows the potential that would have existed for a quantitatively larger organization.

A Defeat

Despite the resistance that the workers put up, their inability to find an alternative path sealed the victory of the bureaucratic apparatus and their own defeat. The agreement was a defeat in three ways.

First, the agreement actually adds up to accepting massive permanent layoffs in one of the bastions of the Italian working class, something that the relationship of class forces established in 1969 had heretofore prevented in any decisive branch of Italian industry.

Secondly, the layoff of 23,000 workers guts the union councils and removes a whole layer of young workers and working-class cadres from the factories. These are the very forces that stopped Agnelli's offensives in previous years. Moreover, reprisals have already begun against activists who were not included on the list of the 23,000 to be laid off. Management is trying to reestablish its unchallenged authority in the factory.

Third, the confrontation within the union itself and the fissure that appeared within it deals a blow to the FLM, which for some years appeared as a pole of attraction for workers' resistance. This could foster new antiunion currents among a layer of workers.

Without doubt, the bourgeoisie and the bosses will immediately try to push their advantage. Similar measures have been prepared for the steel and petrochemical industries. All this indicates that in Italy, as in other European countries, a second phase of the austerity policy is beginning under the shadow of the new recession. The government and the employers want to draw every possible advantage from the existence of the unemployment, which is much higher than in the 1974-75 recession.

Their aim is to strike hard against the unions and to develop specific strategies that will weaken the working class structurally (such as moving productive facilities, establishing a division between a stable force of full-time workers and part-time workers, and so on).

This new capitalist offensive will not take place without major confrontations. But the outcome of those confrontations will increasingly depend on whether there is a concrete outlook and vehicle that can provide an alternative to the policies of the reformists. □

Files Reveal Immigration Service Secret List

U.S. Government Threatens to Deport Socialist

Marian Bustin, a twenty-six-year-old coal miner, is fighting attempts by the U.S. government to deport her because of her membership in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Born in Scotland, Bustin moved to the United States permanently in 1977. She currently works as a belt cleaner in a West Virginia coal mine, and is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2095.

A staunch supporter of equal rights for women, Bustin helped to build several labor marches for the Equal Rights Amendment. In June she participated in a women mine workers conference. She is also active in the Morgantown, West Virginia, antidraft movement.

Bustin is a permanent resident of the United States. As such, she is supposed to be guaranteed the same rights as any other U.S. citizen, including freedom of speech, the right to affiliate with political organizations, and the right to privacy.

But because of her labor activism and socialist politics, Bustin has been the target of an effort by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the U.S. State Department to deport her from



MARIAN BUSTIN Stu Singer/IP

the United States.

This behind-the-scenes campaign was recently revealed when lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance \$40 million lawsuit against government spying obtained copies of the INS and FBI files on Bustin.

The files revealed that American embassy personnel in London wrote to the INS in 1977 informing the INS they had just discovered Bustin was a socialist. They wanted the INS to track her down and kick her out.

The INS then got FBI files containing reports from "confidential sources" that Bustin had attended some meetings of the SWP in 1974 and 75, at a time when she was vacationing in New York.

The U.S. government has claimed that FBI files from before 1976 are locked away in an archive and never used anymore. But less than three weeks after the INS request, the FBI handed over these 1974-75 files.

Documents secured in the SWP and YSA lawsuit have also revealed that the INS maintains an eighty-nine page secret list of proscribed and "questionable" organizations.

This secret list, it was revealed, is based on the Attorney General's list—a list that former U.S. President Richard Nixon declared in 1974 had been abolished.

The Attorney General's list—established in 1947—was a legacy of the U.S. government's witch-hunt following World War II. More than 300 organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, were put on the list with no opportunity for appeal.

This secret list was used to justify denying people jobs, opening their mail, tapping their phones, and burglarizing their homes.

The INS secret list targets 668 political organizations for special investigation, and attempts to bar or deport members of these organizations from the United States.

SWP attorney Margaret Winter told the *New York Times* that the SWP suit, filed seven years ago, was seeking to put a halt to exactly this type of black listing. The October 27 *Times* quoted Winter:

"The Government said in 1974 that they were not going to use the Attorney General's list any more, and in 1976 they said they had terminated the investigation of the party. Now we find that the Government is still using a list against us and other legal organizations."

In addition to Bustin, the INS is continuing attempts to deport SWP member Héctor Marroquín. Marroquín fled to the United States in 1974 after the Mexican government tried to frame him up on false charges of subversion and terrorism. Marroquín is awaiting a decision on his appeal to a deportation ruling and has renewed his request for political asylum.

The outrageous attempt to victimize Bustin because of her political views represents an attack on the rights of all working people. It is an attempt to convince American workers that it's not safe to speak out against the draft, not safe to be a union activist, or to fight for women's equality. □

DOCUMENTS

Fidel Castro's July 19 Speech in Managua

'We Are Ready to Give Nicaragua All Our Support'

[The following is the text of Cuban President Fidel Castro's July 19 speech in Managua, during the first anniversary celebrations of the Nicaraguan revolution. It appeared in the July 20 issue of *Barricada*, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The translation is by Mike Taber.]

* * *

Compañero leaders of the FSLN and of the Government of National Reconstruction;

Distinguished delegations and invited guests;

Valiant Sandinista soldiers and militia;

Dear brothers and sisters of Nicaragua:

Some may think that I am going to give a lengthy speech. Others perhaps think my words are going to be polemical. Nor will some be lacking who may consider it possible that I will give a fiery, revolutionary harangue here. [Applause]

But I am not going to be long-winded, nor am I going to introduce polemics into this rally, nor am I going to give a fiery harangue.

It would not be fitting for me to fail to consider what ex-President Carlos Andrés Pérez [of Venezuela] has already pointed out—the presence on this platform of delegations and individuals who come from the most diverse and varied systems, outlooks, and political shadings. There is something, however, that unites all of us today—even, I would say, the North Americans and ourselves [Applause]: this rally, this tribute, this recognition of the heroic people of Nicaragua and their historic victory of July 19, 1979.

I would like to say that I cherish the hope that all of us might understand that our presence here implies a commitment of solidarity, support, and aid to Nicaragua. [Applause]

I am not going to hide the fact that I was overcome with deep emotion when I arrived in this country at noon yesterday. I was struck by the warmth and enthusiasm of the children, by the beauty of your natural surroundings. The magnitude of this rally today is astonishing—the martial demeanor of the troops; the organization, discipline, and impressive silence in this plaza, where not even the buzzing of a mosquito can be heard; the attentiveness of the people as they listen to the speakers amid the scorching noonday heat.

Nor can we forget our arrival in Nicaragua, right in the territory of Puerto Cabezas, from where the mercenary invasion of Girón [Bay of Pigs] was launched. It is said that the tyrant Somoza, on bidding farewell to the troops, asked them to bring back at least one hair from Castro's beard. I have come with my entire beard, to offer it, if only symbolically, to the victorious people of Nicaragua. [Applause]

The embraces our delegation exchanged yesterday with the leaders of the FSLN and the government are fully symbolic of these times and of the changes that have taken place.

As I look at you here, I confess to you that I am reminded of our own people, our own rallies, our own masses. Because you are a profoundly revolutionary people, we Cuban visitors have the impression that we are in our own homeland.

But this historic miracle was not the work of chance or accident. The days of struggle are still too recent. Only a year ago the last shots of that long struggle, that long conflict, were still being fired. It is impossible to forget the feelings of admiration with which we listened to the news of the people's struggle, of a people

practically without arms—the people who rose up in Managua with but a few weapons, the people who rose up in León and took it with but a few weapons, the people who rose up in Estelí, in Masaya, and in other cities, and took them [Applause] with but a few weapons.

We also recall with admiration the heroic fighters on the southern front, and the anguish felt by all the friends and sympathizers of the FSLN as they wondered what was to be the fate of the revolutionaries rising up in Managua. We recall our happiness upon receiving the news that after many days of heroic struggle, the organized and concentrated mass of fighters of Managua had been able to retreat toward Masaya—from the military point of view a retreat, but really one of the greatest feats and one of the greatest victories of the people of Nicaragua.

The pages of heroism you have written will go down in history. But that spirit, that heroism, was not the product of chance either. For many years, Sandino fought to defend the independence of the homeland, and he blazed a trail for you.

For twenty years, the Sandinistas fought to bring down the tyranny and free their people. Twenty years! So on a day such as this the heroes cannot be forgotten; the outstanding ones cannot be forgotten [Applause]; the extraordinary merit of that indefatigable fighter who was [FSLN founder Carlos] Fonseca Amador [Applause] can never be forgotten. There were men who saw things from far off and prepared the way.

The Somoza dynasty tyrannized this country for nearly fifty years. But when the hour of freedom seemed most distant, there were men who thought, organized, and elaborated a strategy of struggle. Those men were the Sandinistas, the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

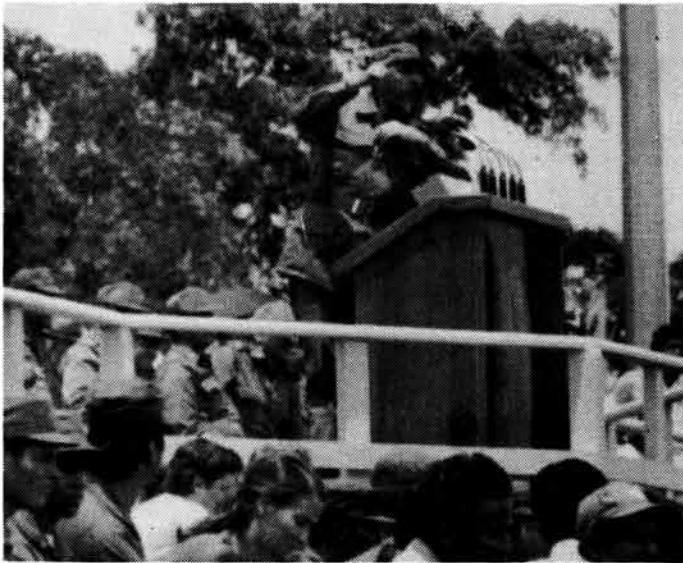
They elaborated a strategy, they elaborated tactics of struggle, and they went on perfecting them. They succeeded in pulling the entire people behind them. They are not the vanguard because they want to give themselves the title of vanguard. They are the vanguard because they learned how to win for themselves the place of the vanguard in the history and struggle of their people. [Applause]

And they were wise—we have them right here—they were wise, very wise indeed. They were wise in the struggle, and at the decisive moment they had the supreme wisdom to unite, achieving a unity that today appears to be stronger than ever. [Applause] They were wise in the struggle and they were wise in victory. And they have gone on being wise during this entire first year. Because as we see it the plan developed by the FSLN for the national reconstruction period—appealing to the entire people, appealing to the different social sectors to reconstruct the country, thereby allowing for a multi-party system and opposition—is one of the wisest things that any political movement in these circumstances could have done. [Applause]

And we are not just saying this here today. We said it almost a year ago, when on July 26, 1979—a few days after the victory—we received a large and prestigious Sandinista delegation on the date of our own anniversary. We wished them all of our sympathy and gave all our support to that plan, to that conception.

There are many who were afraid and who still harbor fears about the Sandinista revolution. There are those who seek to teach the Sandinistas what to do. We will never seek to tell the Sandinistas what they should do, or give or offer them free advice.

We are ready to give you all our support, all the solidarity of our



Fred Murphy/IP

Castro speaking at the July 19 celebration.

people without conditions—without conditions and without advice. We did not come here to teach or to influence. We came humbly to learn and to be influenced. [Applause] We are sure that the Sandinista revolution will teach us a great deal and that the Sandinista revolution will have a great influence on us, just as we are certain that your example will influence the rest of Latin America in an extraordinary way. [Applause]

I have deliberately refrained from mentioning points of conflict. I have refrained from mentioning names that you and we Cubans carry deeply in our hearts. We haven't wanted to mention points of conflict for reasons that I outlined at the beginning—so that no one will try to impute that we have come to Nicaragua to try to set fire to Central America or to try to put the torch to Latin America.

Besides, it is impossible to set fire to our peoples, it is impossible to bring a torch. As some of you said recently, the best, most fundamental, and most decisive aid you can bring to the revolutionary movement is your example—because peoples are like volcanoes: no one sets fire to them; they explode by themselves. [Applause]

And Central America and the Andean range are volcanic.

It is impressive, dear Nicaraguan brothers, what you have done in a year's time. What you have done in all fields, including in the difficult area of the economy. Yesterday we saw the excellent way in which the countryside has been sown and cultivated for kilometers and kilometers around.

We have seen the factories that are recovering. We know that the literacy campaign is going forward successfully, and that 108,000 Nicaraguans who have just learned how to read and write saluted the revolution today. [Applause] And that half a million more Nicaraguans will be able to receive their literacy certificates in the next few weeks. [Applause]

What country has done the same in so short a period of time, in the first year?

What other country has been able to organize a disciplined and combative army like this one in just the first year? We also know what an effort the Nicaraguan revolution has made to bring health care and well-being to the family.

Such achievements, such miracles can only be the work of revolutions. Only popular revolutions are capable of such feats.

You have a country with great natural resources. It is almost impossible to imagine how far you will be able to go down this road, despite the great international difficulties, despite the difficulties of the world economy. But of course, no one must think I am telling you that the fruits are just around the corner. Achieving the fruits of revolutionary labor—the work the people can accomplish when they get tired of so much poverty, so much underdevelopment, so much exploitation—requires a very long

road. Whoever tells you that you will see material fruits the very next day is lying to you. That is a demagogue. But whoever talks to you about the long road to be traversed, that is an honest leader. [Applause]

In spite of all these impressive things, what is most striking is the barbarous and brutal way in which the cities of Nicaragua were destroyed—the overwhelming human sacrifice that the people of Nicaragua had to give for their liberation. I recall the final days of the war and the first days of the triumph, the enormous sympathy that the Nicaraguan revolution evoked everywhere.

So much was said then of the help the Nicaraguan people needed. Thousands of millions of dollars were being talked about—thousand of millions, not only to rebuild the country but also to deal with the gigantic debt left by Somozaism. Facing up to all that required tremendous international aid. It is painful to affirm that today, one year later, the actual amount of aid received by Nicaragua up to now is only a few tens of millions of dollars.

Almost a year ago, we suggested the need to launch a campaign of emulation among all countries to see who could aid Nicaragua the most. Let us take advantage of this anniversary to reiterate that challenge—to appeal for such emulation in aiding Nicaragua. [Applause]

This noble people needs such help. It deserves such help. We hail collaboration with Nicaragua wherever it may come from. We even salute the aid that the government of the United States is reportedly going to provide. [Applause] I only lament, really and sincerely, that it is so little, given the wealth of the United States. It is little, for the richest country in the world. It is little, for a country that spends \$170 billion [a year] for military purposes. It is little, for a country that according to projections is going to spend a trillion dollars in the next five years on the military. [Applause]

How much more fruitful and beneficial those and other expenditures on the arms race would be if they were devoted to helping the world's underdeveloped countries—countries like Nicaragua that need it so much. [Applause]

The specialists, the statesmen, the economists, the analysts all know what the world's real problem is at this moment—the dangers that threaten universally, dangers of further arms races, of cold wars, and even of hot war. Concern is very deep among the most serious and sensible people the world over; above all, after hearing of the platform of the Republican Party of the United States. A horrible platform, threatening to peace. A horrible program that threatens to apply the big stick to Latin America once again. A horrible platform that speaks of reneging as much as possible on the Panama Canal agreements. One that also speaks of annexing the fraternal people of Puerto Rico, that speaks of supporting the genocidal governments of this hemisphere, that speaks of cutting off all aid to Nicaragua.

There is great concern in the world, and thus it is everyone's duty to do whatever is in our power to confront those policies and to fight to safeguard peace. We are in such a situation that one must practically fight to safeguard peace.

That is the situation in the world today. But we revolutionaries cannot be pessimists; revolutionaries are and always will be optimists. Nor will we let ourselves be intimidated. Our peoples have demonstrated throughout history their capacity for struggle. Our peoples must not be underestimated. Our peoples must not be deprecated.

And if an example of this is called for, here then is the example: the people of Nicaragua. [Applause] We are the descendants of Indians, of Blacks; we have some Spanish blood as well. From those three races we have inherited what is best—valor.

It is my duty to come to an end. Excuse me, dear Nicaraguan brothers, if I have been lengthy. [Applause]

Long live Sandino!

Long live the Sandinista revolution!

Long live the heroic people of Nicaragua!

Patria o muerte—venceremos!

West Germany—The Meaning of the Strauss Campaign

By Christoph Zieger

Franz Josef Strauss, the candidate of those who wanted an aggressive capitalist policy both domestically and abroad, did not become chancellor through the October 5 elections. But the objective of the "Stop Strauss" movement was not achieved. Neither the rightist politician nor his program were discredited.

The "Strauss Program" remains an immediate threat for the West German and the international working class. The increased weight of the bourgeois liberals in the coalition government of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) will make it easier for Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to introduce anti-working-class measures and keep the unions quiet at the same time.¹

If in the coming recession the SPD leadership is too strongly pressured by the mobilizations and struggles of its own working-class base, the bourgeois FDP can end the coalition and form a bloc with the Christian Democrats to take office in the 1984 elections.

Despite the threat posed by Strauss, the SPD barely increased its vote, while its bourgeois coalition partner gained over a million votes. This is the result of the demobilization carried out by the SPD leadership and the unions, who did everything they could to conceal the fact that what the Strauss candidacy represented was the capitalists preparing for an economic and political offensive.

Thus, the SPD constantly stressed that it was not aiming for an absolute majority but wanted to continue the coalition with the FDP. Schmidt achieved his goal. The workers movement was politically weakened and disarmed in the face of the coming economic crisis.

Economic and Social Background

According to the latest quarterly official figures, 800,000 persons in West Germany are out of work and another 42,000 are on reduced hours. In 1979, the government tightened the conditions for collecting unemployment benefits several times.

Thus far, however, the skilled workers who form the backbone of the unions, have not been hit in large numbers by the effects of the crisis. The brunt of unemployment has been borne by women, foreign workers, youth, and the handicapped, who have remained largely unorganized.

The workers in the industrial centers, who make up the majority of the 8 million

1. The SPD and FDP formed a governmental coalition in 1969.

members of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB), form the traditional electoral base of the SPD. And most of these workers have continued to enjoy a slight increase in their standard of living, or at least held their ground. These concessions were granted to the working class because in recent years West German industry has still been able to make enormous profits.

Such small continued gains and relatively high living standards are the objective basis for the confidence the workers continue to place in the capitalist system, which is officially termed "the socially directed market economy." This is also why they continue to rely on Schmidt, who presents himself as the best defender of this "socially directed market economy."

However, the first signs of the next recession are already visible in West Germany. From a starting point of 800,000 unemployed, the jobless rate rose in both July and August. At Ford and Opel in recent months more than 12,000 workers have been laid off. In the steel industry some ten thousand jobs are in danger. This is the reason that in 1978-79, the steelworkers fought a six-week strike for a shorter workweek. But they did not win their objective.

In the coming recession, large numbers of skilled workers in the centers of West German industry will be hit for the first time. It is not excluded that the unemployment figures will rise to 1.5 million or 2 million in the coming year.

Strauss and His Program

Strauss is known as a figure associated with scandal, as a representative of the right wing of the Christian Democracy, and as the friend of reactionaries such as Pinochet, Videla, and Thatcher and of neofascists in many European countries. These features shed some light on his political character. They do not explain, however, why both wings of the Christian Democracy ran him as their common candidate for chancellor.²

With the 1974-75 international recession and the new decline in the rate of profit that began in 1977, despite the large sums

2. The Christian Democracy is made up of two parties. By an agreement, the Christian Social Union (CSU) functions only in Bavaria, while the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) functions in the other nine West German states and in West Berlin. Strauss is the chairman of the CSU and the prime minister of the Bavarian state government.

taken in absolute profits, it became clear that the economic expansion in West Germany would not go on forever.

In the coming recession, not only is the rate of unemployment going to go up markedly and not only are wages going to be hit, but the government is going to be forced to start dismantling the network of social insurance, including unemployment benefits and medical insurance. It is also going to have to undertake a policy of redistributing income in favor of the big companies, and in this a buildup of arms production will play a major role.

The Social Democratic policy, which was designed for good times, is in danger of running up against its limits. Even the "slick operator" Helmut Schmidt cannot get the unions to accept every sacrifice without a struggle. And if the SPD started up an offensive against the unions while it was in the government, it would undermine its own base.

So, Strauss and the CDU/CSU are preparing to take on the job. Strauss's program is designed to be political cover for the capitalists' offensive. In all his writings and speeches, he consistently hits on the theme that he wants "sound government finances" and to restore the "soundness of the economy." And for him that means "putting a damper on social spending," privatization in the public sector, and increasing the workers' "individual responsibility" for keeping their jobs. That means that they should no longer let themselves become ill or worn out from their jobs and that they should abstain from all political activity, or else they will be laid off.

Strauss and his friends are launching more and more attacks on political and trade-union rights, and on the DGB in which the organized workers are united, in order to limit the workers' possibilities for defending themselves.

In order to achieve these aims, Strauss is mobilizing people on the streets. During the campaign, hundreds of thousands heard him at big rallies. The CSU and CDU had to become "fighting organizations," he said, "not political study groups." At the highpoint of the campaign, the CDU/CSU switched from the slogan of "Peace and Freedom" to "Stop Socialism."

Even though Strauss still resorts now and again to social demagoguery, he leaves no doubt about his basic intentions. He makes no bones about the historical confrontation to which the deepening crisis of capitalism is leading, about what side he is

on, or about what political measures flow from that today.

The fact that the CDU/CSU got "only" 44.5 percent of the votes does not mean that Strauss's operation has failed, but only that the time has not yet come for such a program. But it is coming.

The Line of the SPD

The SPD leadership's main objective was to neutralize the "Stop Strauss" movement, and to keep it from spreading into broader layers of the working class. The SPD tops feared any widespread politicization and mobilization, because that would put pressure on them. They would no longer have their hands free to carry out their policy of social partnership, since hopes and expectations would have been aroused that they are unable and unwilling to fulfill.

In an advertisement placed in all the big dailies, Helmut Schmidt addressed his "dear young fellow citizens," calling on them not to demonstrate against Strauss because in the final analysis this would only help him. The Young Socialists, the SPD youth group, were threatened with disciplinary proceedings if they participated in any action coalitions against Strauss or called for any. So, the Young Socialists often gave way to this pressure and drew back from such actions.

In the unions, the Social Democratic bureaucracy followed the same policy. Thus, the leadership of the DGB for Nordmark (Hamburg, Lower Saxony, and Schleswig-Holstein) declared that it was harmful to the labor movement for the trade-union members to participate in anti-Strauss actions.

In the office of the building workers union, a secretary was fired because she put a "Stop Strauss" badge on her typewriter. This was the start of a whole series of firings of those who wore "Stop Strauss" buttons in private industry and in public service. Only by filing suit in the labor court were most able to get their jobs back.

The SPD's main slogan was "Security for Germany." Strauss was presented as a man who could not control himself and was easily carried away by emotion. While Strauss was portrayed as a buffoon, Schmidt was held up as a "supreme statesman," who could keep everything running like clockwork. No reference to Willy Brandt or Herbert Wehner [the main figures associated with the SPD's 1972 victory] appeared on any of the official banners. All reminders of the great hopes for reform that came to the fore in the 1972 elections were to be avoided.

As late as the 1979 elections for the European Parliament, the SPD presented itself as a "workers party." Three union leaders were among its ten candidates. And one of its main demands was for a thirty-five-hour workweek. There was no trace of this in the campaign this year.

At most, individual candidates in some

working-class districts supported certain demands of the workers movement. But this did not alter the general picture of the SPD campaign.

Was an All-SPD Government Possible?

Throughout the campaign, there was one thing that all three parties fought for, and that was to prevent an absolute majority for the SPD in parliament and the possibility of an all-SPD government.



STRAUSS

In the North Rhine-Westphalia state parliamentary elections this year, the SPD got a majority of the seats, while both the CDU and the FDP suffered severe losses. The FDP vote in fact fell below the 5 percent threshold and the liberals lost their representation in parliament.³ This was the highpoint of a trend that had appeared in the two previous state parliamentary elections, in Baden-Württemberg and the Saar.

After Strauss was named as the joint candidate of both wings of the Christian Democracy, the CDU was no longer able to mobilize all of its electoral base. At the same time, the SPD held its vote in the working-class districts and even increased it.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, the SPD was able to increase its vote in its bastions, even though in some districts its share of the vote was already over 60 percent. It also scored big gains among the working population in more rural areas. The polarization between the SPD and a CDU/CSU headed by Strauss threatened to tear the FDP to pieces.

At this point, propaganda started to be concentrated from all sides against an all-SPD national government. First of all, the SPD tops expressed their regret that

3. In the various states of West Germany, the state parliaments are elected every four to five years. North Rhine-Westphalia is the most populous of the states and is marked by the industrial concentrations on the Rhine and the Ruhr.

the FDP lost its representation in parliament.

The North Rhine-Westphalia state Minister of Labor Farthmann declared that the vote amounted to "a political catastrophe on the national level." There was even an attempt to include some FDPers as ministers, although the party no longer had a parliamentary fraction (this, however, was rejected by the FDP).

After this election, the SPD leadership missed no opportunity to stress that it was not seeking an absolute majority and was planning on forming a coalition government with the FDP.

The CDU/CSU took the field against the "SPD state" and against the "trade-union state." The FDP struck up the same tune. But with its slogan "this time the broad questions are posed," it concentrated on opposing the "danger" of an all-SPD government.

It is pointless to speculate whether the SPD could have gotten an absolute majority in this election. What is certain is that the SPD, FDP, and CDU/CSU all agreed that this had to be prevented. The reason was that an SPD majority would clearly have led to a class polarization and to an upsurge of mobilizations, as well as hopes and expectations on the part of the workers, and this would have made it more difficult to carry out the bourgeois policy for dealing with the recessions, to which all three parties are basically committed.

Thus, the SPD failed to repeat the victory it won in the North Rhine-Westphalia state elections five months earlier. It barely managed to hold on to its traditional vote (in comparison with its 1976 result, the SPD lost a few thousand votes). At the same time, the FDP gained 330,000 votes, thereby capturing the bulk of the 460,000 votes that the CDU lost.

The Ecology Candidates

The Greens showed no great dynamism during the campaign, and the 1.5 percent that they got was even worse than the pessimistic expectations among their own ranks. In the final months before the elections, the Greens were paralyzed by an internal struggle between the left and right.

The Greens' lack of political seriousness was quite well summed up in their slogan "Strauss or Schmidt? No Thanks." They could neither see the problem nor offer any solution. The election result should speed up the disintegration of the Greens.

The 'Stop Strauss' Movement

When Franz Josef Strauss was named in July 1979 as the candidate for chancellor of the CDU and CSU, this was seen by broad sections of the socialist and labor movement as a declaration of war against the social and political gains of the working class. By the fall of 1979 and in the first months of 1980, actions against Strauss had been organized in many

areas. Placards, badges, and stickers were produced, as well as many pamphlets that explained his reactionary past and program. His appearances in the state parliamentary election campaigns were greeted with big protest demonstrations.

Union members formed Trade Unionists Against Strauss committees. They wore "Stop Strauss" buttons on the job, even though they were threatened with being fired. Many union locals protested when DGB President H.O. Vetter announced his intention to meet with Strauss. In West Berlin the Trade Unionists Against the Right—Freedom Instead of Strauss called a demonstration against the rightist in May when he was to attend the CDU convention. Some 12,000 persons took part in the protest.

Other actions brought together a political spectrum going from the revolutionary left to left trade-union leaders and sometimes even left Social Democrats. The threat posed by Strauss was sufficient even to get the West German Communist Party (DKP)⁴ to put aside its traditional sectarianism and to work together in action coalitions with the revolutionary left. However, by the summer the party leadership had already closed off this opening to a large extent, splitting many local coalitions.

Another form of struggle against Strauss was presenting Bertolt Brecht's poem "The Anachronistic Train, or Freedom and Democracy," which stigmatized the restoration of capitalist class relations in West Germany after the Second World War. In a train 300 meters long, every stanza of the poem was presented by actors, and Brecht's daughter Hanne Hiob read the poem at every station where the train stopped. In total, it traveled 3,000 kilometers through West Germany, passing through many cities, both large and small. It ended up on October 5, the day of the election, in Bonn.

The International Marxist Group (GIM—Gruppe Internationale Marxisten), German section of the Fourth International, took part in the anti-Strauss actions and argued for the broadest possible unity in action. It maintained that the only criterion for participation should be willingness to mobilize against Strauss and to counterpose to his program the most important demands being raised now by the workers movement, such as the thirty-five-hour workweek, equality for women, and no deployment of the new intermediate-range missiles in West Germany.

4. The German Communist Party (DKP) is directly linked to the East German bureaucracy and financially dependent on it. On every political question, the DKP takes the same position as the state and party bureaucracy in East Germany. It has a few cadres in the unions, but because of its subordination to the East German bureaucracy, it has no chance of gaining any political influence among West German workers.

Ultraleft forces often violently opposed demonstrations involving Social Democrats. They demanded that a call not to vote for the SPD be included in coalition platforms. Other elements, sections of the Greens and the centrists, opposed any mobilization against Strauss on the grounds that this would only strengthen Schmidt.

Thus, ultraleft splitting maneuvers and Social Democratic opposition to mobilization often went hand in hand, so that in the final weeks before the vote the anti-Strauss movement had already largely gotten mired down.

The GIM's Election Campaign

The GIM fought under the slogan "Stop Strauss, Vote SPD. For a Socialist Alternative to Schmidt!"

Along with participating actively in the anti-Strauss movement, the GIM campaigned to popularize its answer to the capitalist crisis. In rallies in seventeen different localities, the GIM explained the political importance of Strauss's candidacy. It pointed to the responsibility borne by the SPD leadership for preparing the ground for a Strauss operation.

The GIM explained why a class-struggle answer to Strauss had to be linked to criticism of the SPD's policies, as well as with a call to vote for the SPD. And at the same time it was explained that it was necessary to present a socialist alternative to Schmidt's policy, one that would involve consistent defense of the workers' interests and struggle for the establishment of workers power and socialist democracy. (See following document.)

This orientation was only adopted by a special conference called on short notice by the GIM this June, where the campaign was planned. Because of the foregoing internal crisis in the GIM and because of the lack of time, the organization was unable to run candidates of its own to stand on this program.

The GIM was the only political group in West Germany that participated in the

mobilizations against Strauss, called for a vote for the SPD, and at the same time put forward independently a class-struggle socialist program.

Through this campaign, the GIM was able not only to win a number of new sympathizers, but also perceptibly improved its possibilities for working in the unions and making an impact on the left sections of the Social Democracy. For example, Peter von Oertzen, a member of the SPD leadership, participated in a platform debate at one of the GIM's main rallies.

Where Do We Go From Here?

Equipped with an anti-working-class program for dealing with the recession, the CDU/CSU under Strauss is ready and waiting for the moment when the SPD can no longer keep the workers quiet. The weight of the bourgeois FDP in the government coalition has already considerably increased. The capitalists expressed their satisfaction in a spurt of stock buying.

In the negotiations over the new government program, they are talking about the need for "tighter control of finances," cutbacks in certain areas of social spending, and expansion of the arms budget, as well as continuation of the military and financial support for Turkey.

The Social Democrat-liberal government policy that is taking form and the coming recession will be a challenge for the workers. At the convention of the chemical workers union in September, for the first time an opposition formed that waged a sharp fight for union democracy.

Two weeks later, at the IG Metall convention, a resolution was passed condemning the deployment of the new intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe.

Only four days after the election, postal workers in a series of big cities staged warning strikes demanding shorter working hours for shift workers.

All these are signs that the trend is going in the right direction. □

German Trotskyists' Call for SPD Vote

[The following statement was issued by the Central Committee of the International Marxist Group (GIM), the German section of the Fourth International, in Frankfurt on September 13, 1980, three weeks before the elections.

[The statement was printed in the September 26, 1980, issue of the weekly *Was Tun*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Day after day Franz Josef Strauss puts forward his reactionary political program—whether in regard to the September 1 trade-union antiwar mobilization in Co-

logne, where Strauss came out in favor of NATO's rearmament policy, or the September 11 Stuttgart commemoration of the anniversary of the Chilean coup, where Strauss exposed his rather peculiar concept of freedom.

The economic situation indicates that a new recession has already begun. Strauss embodies the employers' solution to that recession. His model is the British "Iron Lady," Margaret Thatcher, who has allowed unemployment to rise from 600,000 to 2,000,000, who has attacked social benefits the workers had previously won, and who has introduced antiunion legislation to make it harder for the workers to defend

themselves.

There is hardly a city where Strauss meetings were not met by counterdemonstrations. His proclaimed objectives now require the presence of a big detachment of police, who have already been responsible for the death of one demonstrator in Hamburg.

It is not enough to count on Strauss losing the election. His political program will still be around after the voting ends on October 5, and the only way to prevent the application of that program is through mobilization in the streets, the factories, the offices, and the schools.

The SPD leaders, such as Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, feel that we should not confront Strauss because "troublemakers would distort the meaning of these demonstrations."

The leadership of the DGB trade-union federation, and the leaders of the main unions, oppose participation by union activists as such in these anti-Strauss activities. At the very moment when the DGB and the IG Metall union assert that they don't want to fall into Strauss' provocations, they are disavowing the union activists who try to fight the aims of the bosses, whichever government is in power. IG Metall, for example, has already retreated without a fight in the struggle against the giant Mannesmann steel company, which is trying to limit regular consultations with the union. Eugen Loderer, the head of IG Metall, agrees with Strauss on the passage of a law to undermine the gains of co-management, which would be a considerable setback compared to what now exists.

The SPD not only bears the responsibility for Strauss's return to the political scene during the 1967-69 "Great Coalition," it has further pared down its reform program, which for some years has already seemed rather moderate.

In the face of the approaching recession, the SPD's biggest concern is the maintenance of corporate profits. In the government the SPD does not defend the interests of the workers. In coalition with the liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP), Schmidt's governing principle has always been defense of capitalist interests. In the steel industry, for example, FDP leader Lambsdorff provides Schmidt with the arguments for rejecting defense of the gains of co-management and opposing a reduction of the workweek to thirty-five hours (through a change in existing legislation). Moreover, Lambsdorff favors increasing the legal workweek, not reducing it, and in Strauss-like manner Lambsdorff leads a struggle against what he calls the "trade-union state" in Germany.

Schmidt, Brandt, and Wehner fear actions against Strauss because they have no answer to his program. The SPD does not get its working-class vote because of the policies it follows in government but because of its traditional ties to the work-

ers movement and especially to the trade unions. The Social Democracy is afraid that after an SPD electoral victory, the working-class voters would expect it to be easier to achieve their interests and trade-union objectives.

The SPD leadership in particular fears too clear a victory in the elections—one like its success in the North Rhine-Westphalia elections not long ago—that would give it an absolute majority in the legislature, and thus the possibility of assuming sole responsibility for the government.

In answer to the publication of IG Metall, Schmidt has declared that it is "complete nonsense" to expect that the FDP, which the workers see as an unfit coalition partner, can become "superfluous" (as the IG Metall paper put it).

The bigger Strauss's defeat is and the more votes the SPD gains on October 5, the better the chances are for a fightback by the workers against the attacks on their living standards, jobs, and social acquisitions. A militant defense against the attacks of the bosses and a clear rebuff for Strauss will also create better possibilities for a united front with Christian Democratic workers on the trade-union level, and they will make it more difficult for an SPD government to oppose the interests of the workers, the women, and the youth.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party (DKP) portrays itself as an alternative to the SPD. But it places its own party interests above the need for common activities against Strauss. How does it differ from the SPD leadership on this specific point? And can the DKP really fight for a better world when it uncritically supports the bureaucratic repression in the German Democratic Republic, in Eastern Europe,

and in the Soviet Union, and when it says that the struggle of the Polish workers is reactionary?

The Greens [ecologists] have come out clearly against the nuclear program. But they do not think that the workers movement could offer its own program against the bosses and the state, much less win. Their ecologist program takes care not to attack the bosses' profit motive (and in this they are similar to the SPD).

Strauss's slogan "Freedom or Socialism" is a lie. The workers movement has no interest in choosing between the two evils of a market economy dominated by the profit motive and the unlimited and uncontrolled power of the corporations, and a bureaucratic dictatorship that takes away the individual's political rights, as in the states that pervert the ideal of socialism to justify Stalinist repression.

The tremendous strike movement of the Polish workers, which Strauss and the other professional anticommunists fraudulently solidarized with, showed the real alternative, the alternative of real socialist democracy. It is imperative that today we struggle to build a party that will fight for this socialist alternative.

No vote for the bosses' parties—the CDU/CSU or the FDP!

Vote SPD to prevent Strauss from winning the elections!

Against the reestablishment of the SPD-FDP coalition, the coalition with friends of the bosses like Genscher and Lambsdorff!

For a solely SPD government!

Against Strauss's program, against the SPD leadership's policies and its coalition with the FDP. For a mobilization in defense of the interests of the workers after October 5! □

Paraguayan Opposition Hit by Repression

Antonio Maidana, general secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party, and Emilio Roa, also a leader of the CP, were arrested in Argentina on August 27 and killed by police shortly thereafter, according to an Associated Press dispatch cited in the October 17 issue of *Latin America Weekly Report*.

The London-based newsletter also reported that Paraguayan CP Deputy Secretary Alfredo Alcorta and Argentine CP leader Enrique Gauna were both arrested in Buenos Aires in early October. Alcorta was accused of traveling with a Spanish passport.

Since former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza was brought to justice in Asunción, the Paraguayan capital, on September 17, Argentine security forces have been collaborating closely with the new wave of repression launched by the cops of the Stroessner dictatorship.

The prominent Paraguayan opposition

leader Domingo Laíno was seized at his home by armed police on September 30. A university professor and leader of the Radical Liberal Party, Laíno has been repeatedly harassed, threatened, physically attacked, jailed, and tortured by Paraguayan security forces during the past eight years.

Laíno's arrest was followed by the government-ordered shutdown of *El Pueblo*, a newspaper representing the views of two opposition groupings, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party (PRF) and the National Accord (AN). The Asunción daily *ABC Color* has been warned by Stroessner's newspaper, *Patria*, not to quote the opinions of National Accord leaders. □

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Why H-Block Prisoners Are on Hunger Strike

By Gerry Foley

International publicity is becoming the key to victory in the struggle of the H-Block prisoners of Northern Ireland, seven of whom launched an indefinite hunger strike at midnight on October 26.

A strong movement in support of the prisoners exists in Ireland, and there is considerable public awareness of the issues involved. However, so far the H-Block issue is not widely understood outside Ireland.

Most of the Irish political prisoners are ordinary youths, young men, along with some young women, who have protested in one way or another against the British military occupation of the Catholic ghettos of Northern Ireland, against the constant terror and humiliation to which the anti-imperialist population is subjected.

They were seized by troops or Protestant police, taken to "interrogation centers" where they can be held incommunicado for seven days, and then convicted of "terrorist" offenses by juryless courts on the basis of statements extracted from them.

This hunger strike is an act of desperation by men who have been buried alive in filthy dungeons, subjected to frequent beatings and gross humiliations, such as "rectal searches."

The prisoners are demanding the right to be treated as the political prisoners they are, rather than as convicts. They are naked because the authorities would not give them other clothes when they refused to wear the convict uniforms. As "violators of the rules," they were then locked up constantly in special isolation cells without toilets.

Their furniture was taken away, all but a piece of foam rubber lying on the floor to serve as a mattress. They were denied reading material, a chance to study or even play chess, and deprived of almost all contact with relatives and friends. Every day they refused to accept convict status, their sentences were doubled.

They were given only a few minutes to wash and empty their chamber pots in the morning. They were beaten on the way and had excrement and urine dumped over them. So, they had to refuse to go to the toilets.

The guards would not empty the chamber pots. They pushed the filth back into the cells when the pots overflowed. They threw it back in when the prisoners dumped it out the windows. Finally, the only way the prisoners could get it off the floor of their tiny cells was to smear it on the wall.

The British authorities tried systemati-

cally to break the prisoners. The attempts of religious leaders to negotiate a compromise were cynically exploited to create confusion.

When H-Block came up before the European Commission on Human Rights, the British claimed that since negotiations were going on with the Catholic primate, the prisoners had not exhausted their domestic remedies. So the commission refused to rule on the merits of the case. Then the talks were ended.

Before the hunger strike, new talks took place. The British claimed they were going to make a concession, and not demand that the prisoners wear prison clothing. In fact they only changed the style of uniform. But the international press is still reporting that the prisoners went ahead with their strike even after the authorities met their main demand.

The paucity of information about the H-Block issue internationally has given the capitalist press a free field for distortion.

For example, many U.S. papers ran a dispatch from the British news service Reuters that gave the following explanation for the hunger strike:

"In 1972 . . . special status was introduced for certain categories of prisoner. But this was abolished in 1976 on the government line that people in Britain could be jailed for common crimes only, not political beliefs.

"Campaigning for its reintroduction, about 300 jailed IRA guerrillas and 13 jailed members of pro-British guerrilla groups . . . have been refusing prison clothes, wearing only blankets and smearing their cell walls with excrement."

Other articles in the capitalist press have repeated the British government's charge that the protesters include "murderers."

The Reuters dispatch illustrates the British government's propaganda tricks. First, it does not explain that the status of political prisoner was won by a mass struggle in 1972, and that it was abolished in 1976 when the British claimed that the situation of unrest in Northern Ireland was ended. This assertion is not tenable.

Secondly, the anti-imperialist prisoners are coupled with "pro-British guerrillas," that is, imprisoned members of the Protestant rightist gangs. It is not explained that the protest of this tiny minority is not supported by their organizations for fear that this would help the anti-imperialists, who are the real victims of the repression.

The distortions in the international capitalist press are a brutal mockery, not just

of the H-Block prisoners themselves, who have been driven to choose such extreme action rather than continue living under the conditions imposed on them, but also of the persecuted Catholic people of Northern Ireland and the Irish people as a whole.

The fact is that the H-Block protest comes in the midst of mounting British terror against the Catholic population. For example, in the past five months four leaders of the campaign on behalf of the Irish prisoners have been murdered. The circumstances point to an assassination campaign by the British counterinsurgency force, the SAS.

The most recent case was the October 15 killing of two well known anti-imperialist activists in Belfast.

At 4:00 a.m. in the middle of the Catholic ghetto of Turf Lodge, two assassins broke down the door of Ronald Bunting's home, ran up the stairs, shot down Bunting and wounded his wife, and then went into the children's bedroom and shot Noel Lyttle, who was staying the night. They then made a quick, faultless getaway.

Lyttle was the press officer for the Relatives Action Committee, a group formed by the relatives of political prisoners.

It is hardly likely that any of the pro-imperialist Protestant gangster organizations would try such an operation deep in a Catholic ghetto or be able to pull it off.

In fact, the British capitalist press itself has reported that the SAS is known to have carried out over a dozen assassinations in the past two years. Yet the international capitalist press just repeats the British charges that the H-Block prisoners are "murderers."

The British can only hope to achieve their objective of breaking the Irish prisoners if international public opinion remains ignorant of the reasons for the H-Block protests. That is why it is essential for socialists, humanitarians, and civil libertarians to get out the truth and denounce the British government's murderous policies. □

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