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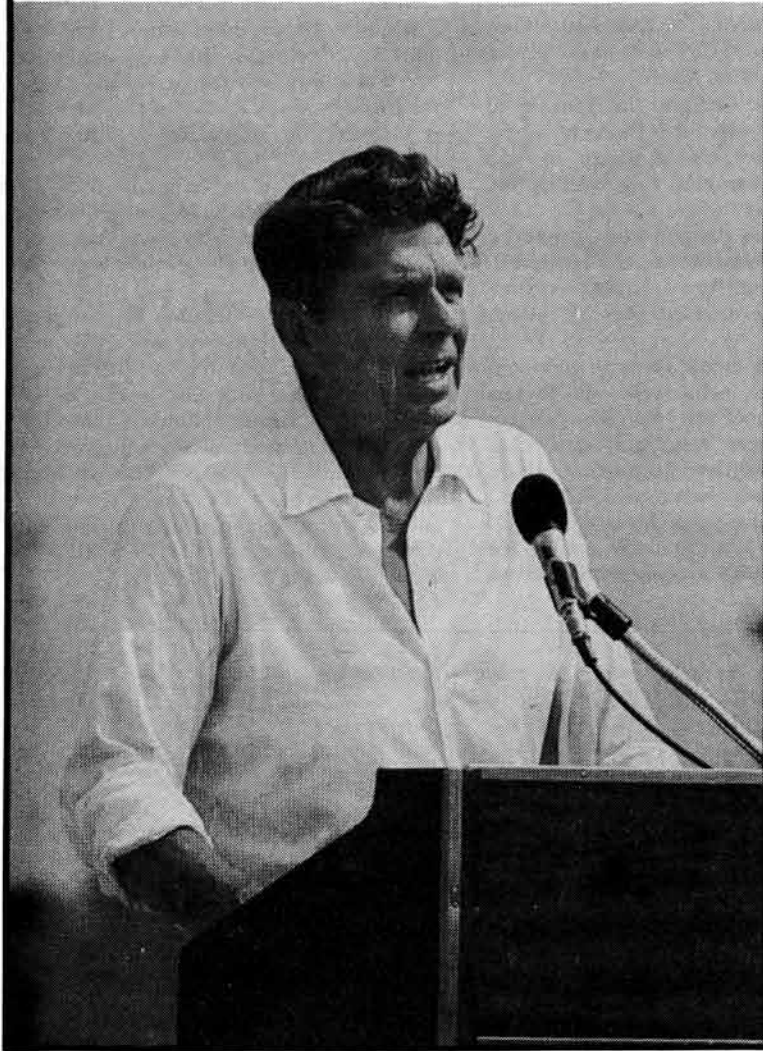
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## **U.S. Elections: The Meaning of Reagan's Victory**



**REPORT FROM  
A LIBERATED  
ZONE IN  
EL SALVADOR**

**HUNDREDS OF  
THOUSANDS MARCH  
AGAINST NATO  
IN GREECE**

**THE IRANIAN  
REVOLUTION  
AND U.S.  
IMPERIALISM**

**Nicaragua: Interview With Sandinista Union Leader**

# NEWS ANALYSIS

## What Reagan's Victory in the U.S. Election Shows

[The following article appeared as an editorial in the November 14 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

Reagan's 51 percent victory is being trumpeted by many media commentators as a "conservative tide" sweeping the country, which will shape politics in the months and years ahead.

This is wrong on two counts.

First, it misreads the attitudes of the masses of working people, who are angry, distrustful of big business and its government, and more dissatisfied with the choices offered by the two-party system than any time in decades.

Second—contrary to the media hype about "Decision '80"—these elections are not where the course of events affecting our lives is decided.

Will there be a draft? A war? Will wages keep up with prices? Will racist killers be brought to justice? Will women move forward toward equality? Will we have jobs? Will nuclear plants be shut down?

The capitalist rulers make and carry out *their* decisions on such questions with little if any regard for which Democrat or Republican is elected.

And working people have never been able to impose *our* will on these matters through voting. Street demonstrations like those of the civil-rights and antiwar movements, powerful strikes like those that built the unions in the 1930s—these are the methods that have brought us social progress. Regardless of which Democrat or Republican is in office.

The Reagan sweep conveyed a simple message: "Throw the bum out!" It was a repudiation of the record of Carter and the Democratic Congress, especially the wringer of inflation and unemployment that working people have been put through.

As people groped for a way to express their desire for change, the most important feature of the election was *what wasn't there*—a mass working-class alternative, a labor party.

American workers have yet to create a party based on our own class organizations to fight against the parties of the employers. Instead the leaders of the unions, Black and Chicano communities, and women's organizations tell their members to keep on choosing between the Democrats and Republicans—two parties that, under the guise of representing "all the people," always uphold the profit interests of the rich.

This two-party lesser-evil fraud is the only framework known to the great major-

ity of people. And in that framework there is *no way* to cast a vote for peace, for equal rights, for higher living standards, for a safe and clean environment.

Union officials spent millions of dollars trying to get out the vote for Carter, warning that Reagan was hostile to the interests of working people. It was all true. But workers had four years of experience with Carter's antilabor actions. Experience counted for more.

The danger of war today is a big concern among American working people. But where was the peace candidate? Reagan—who calls for bigger arms budgets, opposes aid to Nicaragua, defends the Vietnam War, and raises the idea of blockading Cuba? Or Carter—who introduced draft registration, ordered U.S. forces to attack Iran last April, and threatens to go to war for oil in the Persian Gulf?

This much is certain: the reason 43 million people voted for Reagan is not because they are ready to go to war against Iran, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, or anybody else.

On social issues, Reagan was the darling of the Ku Klux Klan, Moral Majority, anti-abortion and anti-Equal Rights Amendment bigots, and other extreme right-wingers.

This meant the most to Blacks making a lesser-evil choice, who went six to one against the Republican. And Reagan got significantly fewer votes among women than men, apparently reflecting opposition to both his anti-women's rights stands and his belligerent foreign policy statements.

Yet *only one Reagan voter out of ten* said the Republican's conservative views

were key to their voting for him.

As for Anderson, despite some interest sparked when he pinned on an "independent" label, the longer he campaigned the clearer it became that he offered no fundamental alternative to Carter or Reagan.

Election results under these conditions give only the dimmest and most distorted reflection of real political relations.

Beneath the surface, profound changes are taking place in the thinking of millions. Questioning. Discontent. Weighing new ideas.

Beset by economic hardship and uncertainty while watching corporate profits soar, pounded by phony shortages and price explosions, outraged by government lies and cover-ups, American workers and farmers are losing faith in the system's ability to provide a better future. They have a good idea whose side the government is on, and it's not theirs.

The "Vietnam syndrome" has broadened into a healthy suspicion of U.S. foreign policy aims anywhere in the world.

Women, Blacks, and Latinos have developed the conviction that they are entitled to equal rights and the confidence to fight for them. And the justice of their demands is increasingly recognized by other working people.

Democrats and Republicans alike want to reverse these attitudes and tried to use the election campaign to do so. But neither the campaign nor Reagan's election can accomplish that.

This is not to belittle the danger of Reagan's right-wing program. It is not to deny that in a deepening social crisis large numbers of working people can be confused by demagoguery blaming their problems on Blacks, women, immigrants, environmentalists, "welfare bums," Arabs, Iranians, Cubans, Russians. That is exactly the direction in which the capitalist rulers are trying to shift all political debate.



But the outcome of this election should make it clearer than ever that working within the two-party system cannot and will not stop the rightward drift of capitalist politics.

The confusion and contradictions in the minds of working people can't begin to be overcome until, through the process of struggle, a working-class leadership emerges with a perspective of uniting workers and their allies to fight for their common interests.

What will really determine the politics of the 1980s?

On one side, Reagan in the White House will try to implement his program of raising profits, weakening the unions, rolling back the rights of women and Blacks, cutting social services, beefing up the U.S. military, and trying to prepare the American people for war.

The same program Carter was trying to implement. The profit needs of American capitalism leave them no choice.

On the other side, working people are no more ready to accept austerity and war under Reagan than they were under Carter. No more ready to sacrifice for oil company profits. No more ready to believe government lies.

The changing attitudes are beginning to find expression within the organizations of the working class. In strikes to defend wages, jobs, and conditions. In shake-ups of the union structure. In the changing stands of the unions on social questions—supporting the ERA, defending affirmative action, beginning to take up the fight against nuclear power. More unions favor nationalizing the oil companies. Some union leaders are speaking out against the draft and against war in the Middle East.

And the desire for a political alternative is expressed in the growing discussion about forming a labor party. Of course, nearly all the union officials who temporarily appear to be at the head of this discussion fell into line behind Carter and the Democrats. Their perspective has not changed. But the hammerblows of the capitalist crisis will keep pushing the labor party discussion to the fore in the unions.

The real impetus for struggle, for change, for a new political course, comes from labor's ranks. And especially from the young workers.

Reagan's election won't stop them from opposing the draft, from fighting cop brutality, from demanding jobs, or from standing up to the capitalist austerity drive. Through painful experience they will learn how to make the unions their organizations and how to build a political party to fight for workers' interests.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance look forward with confidence to the 1980s—which will not be the decade of Reaganism, but the decade of America's young rebel workers. □

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## Washington Blocks Hostage Release

By Janice Lynn

Some half a million people marched past the U.S. embassy in Tehran November 4.

The massive demonstration was called by the students at the embassy to commemorate the first anniversary of the embassy occupation, and the anniversaries of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's forced exile in 1963 and the slaughter of Iranian students by the shah's troops at the Tehran University campus two years ago.

Revolutionary socialists in Tehran reported that the demonstrators were overwhelmingly young. There were large contingents of high-school students. Many, both young men and women, were armed with rifles and wore military uniforms. There were also contingents organized by the neighborhood committees and contingents of factory workers in their work clothes.

When the *pasdaran* (revolutionary guards) marched by, carrying rifles with red carnations protruding from the barrels, the crowd showered them with flowers. Pasdaran units have distinguished themselves in the fight against invading Iraqi forces.

Chants and slogans were leveled against the U.S. government for its continuing attacks against the Iranian revolution. Others affirmed the Iranian masses' readiness to defend their country against the Iraqi attacks. "Carter, Carter, shame on you. Saddam, Saddam, death to you," was one of the slogans.

"Death to Imperialism" and "No More Vietnams" were slogans chanted by the young demonstrators.

Commenting on this mass outpouring in the November 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, correspondent Bill Baker noted, "It was the action of a people conscious of what is called 'liberation from the chains of imperialism and foreign domination.'"

Some of the speeches took note of the U.S. elections occurring the same day. Both Carter and Reagan were denounced as representatives of U.S. imperialism, backed by the Rockefellers and other big banking interests.

Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Rajai told the crowd that both Carter and Reagan were seeking to protect "the interests of U.S. imperialism and attempting to subjugate the weak."

Following Reagan's victory in the U.S. elections, Tehran radio commented November 6, "The world situation and the unity of liberation movements have greatly reduced the scope for pistol-packing actors in Hollywood films."

Meanwhile, Iranian officials were still awaiting a reply from Washington to the terms proposed by the Iranian parliament November 2 for release of the fifty-two American hostages.

The parliament put forward a clear and simple method for resolving the hostage issue: noninterference in the internal affairs of Iran; unfreezing all Iranian assets; cancellation of all financial claims against Iran; and recognition of the Iranian people's legitimate right to the shah's stolen wealth.

A message from the Iranian Foreign Ministry requested Washington to reply "as soon as possible and to inform the world through the mass media."

But U.S. officials rejected this request for a quick and public response to the Iranian proposals.

"We cannot and will not negotiate our relations with other countries through the press," said U.S. State Department spokesperson John Trattner in response to what the November 5 *Washington Post* called Iran's "unorthodox diplomacy."

Trattner added that Washington would "move with deliberation and care" in formulating its answers to the Iranian proposals.

The State Department's claim that it needs time for "careful analysis" of the Iranian parliament's offer shows once again how Washington is prolonging the detention of the hostages.

These proposals are no different than what the Iranian people have been saying for the past year. There has been ample

time for "careful analysis."

Washington has cynically used the hostages to try to turn American working people against the Iranian revolution.

Whereas Carter said November 2 that the proposals "appeared to offer a possible basis" for resolving the hostage situation, U.S. officials later backed down even from that mild statement. Now they insist that the Iranian conditions are impossible for Carter to accept in their entirety.

Carter claims he does not have the authority to return Iranian assets frozen last November. Iran puts the value of these assets at \$14 billion. Lining up for their pound of flesh, more than 200 U.S. companies, with claims totaling an estimated \$6 billion against Iran, have obtained court orders that prohibit the return of the assets.

The list of claimants includes some of the biggest U.S. banks and corporations: Chase Manhattan (\$366 million); Citibank (\$118 million); E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. (\$93.4 million); Xerox Corp. (\$85 million); Morgan Guaranty Trust (\$66 million); American Express International (\$50 million); and Lockheed (\$11 million).

A spokesman for a Texas oil drilling firm, SEDCO, which is seeking \$175 million from the National Iranian Oil Co. for property nationalized by the Iranian government, asserted that SEDCO would not "roll over and play dead" for the release of the hostages.

These banks and corporations, which looted the wealth of Iran under the protection of the shah's dictatorship, are continuing to rip off working people in the United States and around the world. They refuse to "roll over and play dead," but they are perfectly willing to see American workers die to protect their profits.

By prolonging the hostage crisis, the U.S. imperialists hope to further their militarization drive and find new openings to attack the Iranian revolution. □

### Free Nemat Jazayeri!

Nemat Jazayeri, a leader of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), remains in Evin Prison in Tehran.

Jazayeri was arrested on September 8, but no charges have been brought against him. Jazayeri's family has been able to visit him and report he is well.

Due to the Iraqi invasion of Iran, cases are not being prosecuted. Jazayeri's co-workers, friends, relatives, comrades, and others in Iran are campaigning for his release so he may join in defense of the Iranian revolution against the Iraqi attack.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are urging that the following telegram be sent to Iranian Prosecutor General Ali Ghodosi, Office of the Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran:

I am a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of the U.S. government's threats and the Iraqi regime's criminal military aggression aimed against your revolution.

I am deeply concerned about the arrest of Ray-O-Vac worker Nemat Jazayeri, a staunch anti-imperialist fighter, who is being detained without any charges.

I call on you to secure his immediate release.

Copies should be sent to President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Tehran, Iran; Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti, Tehran, Iran; *Enqelab-e Eslami*, Tehran, Iran; and Kargar, Box #43/174, Post Area 14, Tehran, Iran.

## Imperialism, the Iranian Revolution, and the Iraqi Dictatorship

By David Frankel

Fred Halliday, a British journalist and member of the editorial board of the *New Left Review* magazine, has written extensively on the Persian Gulf region. Among his useful works are *Arabia Without Sultans* and *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*.

Unfortunately, Halliday's past studies did not prove much help to him when it came to analyzing the Iraq-Iran war. Halliday gives his assessment of the war in the October 8-14 issue of the U.S. Social Democratic weekly *In These Times*. His article has nothing in common with revolutionary socialism, nor, for that matter, with objective journalism.

Before taking up the details of Halliday's article, it must be stressed that his entire political framework is wrong.

### Imperialism Versus Iranian Revolution

Two mighty forces are locked in combat in the Middle East today. On one side there is imperialism, which has dominated the region throughout the twentieth century, and which is determined to retain its hold.

The imperialists themselves are constantly reminding us of the importance they attach to the Middle East. President Carter has publicly declared the willingness of the U.S. ruling class to go to war over the oil wealth of the Persian Gulf. And right now a combined U.S.-French-British-Australian fleet of some sixty warships is poised in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, prepared to intervene if an opening presents itself.

On the other side there is the Iranian revolution. This massive upheaval, which has drawn an entire people into political action, is the most important people's revolution to occur in the Middle East in this century.

Crushing the upsurge of the Iranian workers and peasants is a matter of life and death for imperialist rule in the Middle East. If the Iranian revolution continues unchecked, it will only be a matter of time until its example sets fire elsewhere in the region. Whatever temporary maneuvers the imperialist rulers engage in, they *must* launch new attacks against that revolution.

These are the fundamental forces at work in the Middle East right now, and the politics of the whole region revolves around their conflict. But nobody reading Halliday's analysis would have the slightest inkling of this.

Halliday has nothing to say about the Iranian revolution, its immense progres-

sive impact, the blows it has dealt to imperialism, or the hopes it has raised among the oppressed and exploited throughout the Middle East.

Nor does Halliday have anything to say about the role of imperialism. He mentions Washington, along with the Soviet Union, in the second-to-last paragraph in his article.

Halliday notes that the Soviet regime, "and many Arabs suspect there is more collaboration between Iraq and the U.S. than meets the eye."

And what does Halliday think about Washington's responsibility for inciting the war? He does not say.

Similarly, Halliday says, "The Russians also oppose any unilateral move by Western nations to install a naval force in the Gulf."

Presumably, Halliday also opposes the presence of the imperialist fleet currently menacing Iran. But he does not think it important enough to say anything about it. He does not have a word to say about the continuing imperialist threats against Iran, including threats from his own government.

Finally, Halliday makes no distinction at all between the role of the Soviet workers state and that of U.S. imperialism. His article puts them on an equal plane, saying:

"Neither Moscow nor Washington is willing to see the other take initiatives in the conflict that might give an advantage, however disinterested and objectively pacific such initiatives might be."

Does Halliday think that Washington may take some "disinterested and pacific initiative"? Perhaps one like the humanitarian commando raid of last April?

### Who Is Iran's Main Enemy?

The omissions in Halliday's article are not the result of an oversight. As he explained in the May 21-27 issue of *In These Times*, his view is that "the main enemy in Iran is not the liberal camp, nor, given its present weakness, U.S. imperialism. Rather it is the clerical right with its policies of intolerance and its mania for bogus anti-imperialism."

To say that the main enemy of the Iranian revolution—or for that matter, of any revolution in the world today—is not imperialism is to toss aside not only Marxism, but the entire history of the twentieth century.

As Lenin explained in 1916, we live in the epoch of imperialism. Until World War II a handful of imperialist powers, led by

Halliday's own country, directly ruled over the great majority of the nations in the world. These imperialist powers still control the world economy.

No revolution in our epoch has been able to escape the attacks of imperialism. Since its defeat in Vietnam, Washington has been forced to be more circumspect in its overseas interventions, but the imperialist economic blockade of Iran, the freezing of Iranian assets, and the stationing of an imperialist fleet off its coast should ring some warning bells for Halliday.

Of course there are other reactionary forces—such as the Baathist regime in Iraq—that threaten the Iranian revolution. But all the reactionary regimes in the semicolonial world ultimately depend on imperialism for their survival. In that most basic political sense, the most "liberal" imperialist government is more reactionary than the most dictatorial, corrupt, and backward-looking semicolonial regime. British parliamentary democracy is more reactionary than the sultanate of Oman, and American imperialism is a more reactionary force in the world than the Saudi Arabian monarchy.

What about the "mania for bogus anti-imperialism" that Halliday talks about?

Over the past two years the Iranian workers and peasants have repeatedly mobilized in their millions against U.S. imperialism. These mobilizations have politically isolated the proimperialist forces within Iran, have forced the government to carry out sweeping anti-imperialist measures, and have increased the self-confidence and level of organization of the toiling masses.

Is the justified hatred of the Iranian workers and peasants for U.S. imperialism a "mania"? The imperialists view it that way, but not revolutionists.

Breaking with the racist regimes in Israel and South Africa, and refusing to sell them oil, were not "bogus" steps by the Iranian government. They represented a genuine advance for the anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world, and they were an inspiration to the Palestinian people and to the Black masses in South Africa.

Other anti-imperialist advances in Iran include the closing of all U.S. bases, the expulsion of U.S. military personnel from the country, the nationalization of many imperialist-owned enterprises, and the government's adoption of a firm position against any U.S. intervention in the region.

But the maintenance of the capitalist

system in Iran leaves the country vulnerable to new imperialist inroads in the future, both economically and politically. The only thing preventing the reassertion of imperialist domination in Iran is the continued mobilization of the workers and peasants.

Instead of defending these mobilizations—which were propelled over the past year by the anti-imperialist struggle focused on the U.S. embassy—Halliday implies that they play a negative role.

Thus, he says in his October article that the Iranian leaders “proved incapable of defending their population, since the protracted and diversionary dispute with the U.S. over the hostages has left Iran without adequate military supplies.”

Because he fails to understand the central role of imperialism, Halliday is unable to understand the politics of the Iranian revolution.

#### Clerical Reaction?

As Halliday made clear in his article last May, his view is that Iran is in the hands of “the clerical right” led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. He sees this as the main danger to progress in Iran.

This is also the view that is put forward in the imperialist media. Khomeini’s religious ideology and his call for an “Islamic revolution” are used to create the impression that what is happening in Iran is a descent into medieval madness.

By stressing the religious and cultural nationalist practices of the Iranian regime, Halliday adapts to this racist, imperialist campaign against the Iranian revolution.

It is certainly true that religion and religious ideology are reactionary in and of themselves. And there is no lack of examples of the way religion is used for reactionary ends. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin refers to the Five Books of Moses to justify the Zionist occupation of Arab land. Baptist lay preacher Jimmy Carter spouts religious cant while conducting the affairs of the U.S. imperialists. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the Saudi Arabian royal family also use religious demagoguery.

But where is the campaign in the imperialist press against religious action in these instances?

What is different in Iran is that a revolution is going on there. That—and not the question of religion—is what is fundamental.

Instead of basing his approach to events in Iran on the revolution there, Halliday bases it on the role of religion *in general*. He identifies religious attitudes in Iran with right-wing politics, and thus confuses the masses of workers and peasants with the religious hierarchy, since they share similar religious views. If, as Halliday argues, religious ideology is the main danger in Iran, then the masses are part of the problem.

But the religious ideology of the Iranian

workers and peasants is merely the form that their progressive social aspirations take. The clerical rightists in Iran have been unable to halt the progressive anti-imperialist mobilizations of the masses, and have been forced to adapt to the mass movement.

Of course it would be preferable if the Iranian masses did not have religious illusions. But they do. And in any case, when has there ever been a revolution where the workers and peasants did not have religious illusions?

The massive struggle against the shah’s dictatorship was also a nationalist movement against foreign domination and against a regime imposed by imperialism. Identification with a national religion, as opposed to the culture and religion of the foreign oppressors, often plays a big role in such national liberation struggles.

An example of this in the past was the identification of the oppressed masses in Poland and Ireland with the Roman Catholic Church which was seen as a national institution.

In the case of Iran, the political role of Islam is even clearer. Muslim mosques served as organizing centers for the mass movement against the monarchy, and Khomeini was the undisputed leader of the anti-shah movement. His intransigence in the struggle against the monarchy gave him enormous prestige.

Khomeini has a mass following throughout the Middle East not because of his role as a religious leader—there are plenty of those. Khomeini’s prestige is due to the fact that he is seen as a symbol of the Iranian revolution, as a leader who has stood up to U.S. imperialism—and there aren’t many of those.

It is the anti-imperialist dynamic of the Iranian revolution, and the increasingly anti-capitalist direction of the Iranian masses that is shaking up the regimes in the region and that is behind the Iraqi invasion.

#### Halliday’s Case Against Iran

By abstracting the Iraqi invasion of Iran out of its actual political context, Halliday reduces the war to a contest between the two governments. Within this narrowly conceived framework, Halliday’s article is both factually and politically wrong.

At least Halliday recognizes that “the Iraqis are the deliberate aggressors—and the issues they raise for justifying the attack are, by any standards, trivial.”

However, in keeping with his general stance of ignoring the existence of the Iranian revolution, Halliday refuses to defend the revolution against attack.

Instead, Halliday argues that “the Iranian regime must also bear some responsibility for the outbreak for recklessly entering into a quarrel with Iraq that it was unable to contain and that has left it unable to defend its own people’s interests. By denouncing the Iraqis as ‘infidels’ and

‘little pharaohs’ and by stirring up religious and ethnic sectarianism, they fanned flames against which they have proved incapable of defending their population, since the protracted and diversionary dispute with the U.S. over the hostages has left Iran without adequate military supplies.”

There are three points in this paragraph of Halliday’s that deserve closer scrutiny—his charge that the Iranian regime is responsible for stirring up ethnic and religious hatred against Iraq; his claim that it is responsible for needlessly provoking the Iraqi regime; and his idea of how to defend the interests of the Iranian people.

Let’s first take up the question of whether the Iranian government is “stirring up religious and ethnic sectarianism.”

#### Are Iranians Stirring Up Hatred?

Exactly what “ethnic sectarianism” is Halliday talking about? The Iraqi regime certainly has tried to stir up ethnic hatred, portraying itself as the defender of the Arab nation against “Persian racists.”

But the Iranian government has taken the opposite tack. Instead of inciting hatred against the Arab masses, it has solidarized with the struggle of the Palestinian people and appealed to the Arabs to rise up and follow the example of the Iranian revolution. If Iranian propaganda was anti-Arab, it would have been politically impossible for Arab governments such as those in Libya and Syria to back the Iranian side in the war.

What about religious sectarianism? Since Iraq is a Muslim country, the only sectarian division that Halliday could possibly be referring to is that between the Shi’ite and the Sunni sects.

The overwhelming majority of Iranians and about 60 percent of Iraqis follow the Shi’ite branch of Islam. The capitalist media, in keeping with its thesis that the Iranian revolution is an outbreak of religious fanaticism, has generally characterized Iranian appeals to the Iraqi masses to rise up against the Baathist dictatorship as a sectarian appeal to the Iraqi Shi’ites.

Similarly, the big-business media focuses on the Shi’ite communities in Saudi Arabia and the other Persian Gulf monarchies when reporting on Iranian calls for the overthrow of these backward regimes.

If Halliday had one-fifth the political judgment of Iran’s Ayatollah Khomeini, he would immediately notice a discrepancy in this description of Iranian propaganda.

Khomeini has called for an Islamic revolution and appealed to pan-Islamic sentiment against imperialism. About 90 percent of all Muslims are Sunnis. How can Khomeini appeal to the masses to rise up and overthrow the status quo—which he does—without appealing to the Sunnis?

Furthermore, if the Iranians have embarked on a suicidal hate campaign against the Sunni majority and Arabs, why has this not been remarked upon by

the many opponents of the Iranian revolution in the Arab world? Why haven't Khomeini's anti-Sunni and anti-Arab statements been circulated and attacked?

The answer, of course, is that Khomeini's appeal is to all Muslims, not just to Persians or to Shi'ites. Unfortunately, this does not stop Halliday from repeating the slander that the Iranians are stirring up religious and ethnic sectarianism in the Mideast.

#### **Sunni Support for Iranian Revolution**

Shortly after the publication of Halliday's article, the *New York Times* published a dispatch from Abu Dhabi by Youssef M. Ibrahim which gave some of the facts about the supposed gulf between Shi'ites and Sunnis in regard to the Iranian revolution.

Ibrahim's October 25 dispatch described a prayer meeting in which "the preacher delivered an undisguised message of support" for Khomeini.

"It was the sort of daring performance that is repeating itself every Friday in mosques throughout the Arab world," Ibrahim said.

He noted in particular that "the preacher who spoke here yesterday was a Sunni Moslem defending the Ayatollah, who is the acknowledged leader of Shiite Moslems and who is increasingly viewed as a leader of all Islam."

After a four-week tour of the Gulf region, Ibrahim concluded that support for Khomeini and the Iranian revolution that he personifies is deep and that it is expressed "among Shiites and Sunni Moslems almost equally."

It seems that some of the bourgeois opponents of the Iranian revolution take more pains to get their facts straight than Halliday.

#### **A 'Reckless Quarrel'?**

What about Halliday's charge that the Iranian regime is somehow guilty of needlessly provoking the Iraqi rulers? He argues that the Iranian government is in the wrong "for recklessly entering into a quarrel with Iraq that it was unable to contain and that has left it unable to defend its own people's interests."

One could, with equal justice, attack the Iranian masses for their "reckless" action in overthrowing the shah, because that is the basis for the quarrel with the Iraqi dictatorship.

There was never any question about the hostility of the Iraqi regime to the Iranian revolution. Khomeini was expelled from Iraq as the protests against the shah began to pick up steam. The shah's wife was welcomed to Baghdad on a state visit while the defenders of the monarchy were gunning down demonstrators in the streets of Tehran.

Once the new government took power in Iran, the Iraqi regime began complaining about the appeals from Tehran that called

on the Arab masses to emulate the example of the Iranian revolution and overthrow their reactionary rulers.

Halliday thinks such appeals, particularly those directed at the Iraqi masses, are "reckless." He seems especially incensed at the Iranian government for describing the Baathist rulers as "little pharaohs." Would he find "tinhorn dictators" more acceptable?

Whatever Halliday thinks, revolutionary socialists welcome the fact that a government is now in power in Iran that calls on the masses to overthrow the reactionary monarchies in the Gulf, instead of one that collaborates with imperialism in order to prop them up. This is an advance.

Moreover, these appeals by the Iranian government reflect the revolutionary pressure of the Iranian workers and peasants. This was also the case with what Halliday calls the "diversionary dispute with the U.S. over the hostages."

Halliday wants a toned down, genteel revolution—one that will be polite to the oppressors, one that will not go around being "reckless," "stirring up" conflict and hostility, or "fanning flames" of discontent. He just does not like the real thing.

#### **Defending the Revolution**

Tied in with Halliday's charge that the Iranians have needlessly provoked the Iraqi rulers is his argument that the conflict with Iraq "has left [the Iranian regime] unable to defend its own people's interests."

The interests of the Iranian *workers and peasants* can only be defended by extending and deepening the revolution.

Friction with the counterrevolutionary regime in Baghdad has increased along with the continued mass mobilizations of the Iranian workers and peasants. That is Hussein's real target.

Insofar as the Iranian leaders have responded to the revolutionary pressure of the Iranian masses by calling for an extension of the revolution, that is all to the good.

The Iranian government and the Khomeini leadership can certainly be criticized for not going far enough in attempting to mobilize and organize the toiling masses, for their attacks on the national rights of the Arabs and Kurds within Iran, and for their frequent attempts to put the lid on mass action. But Halliday's criticisms seem to be directed against the positive steps of the regime.

#### **A Neutral Policy**

Halliday concludes his article by urging a policy of strict neutrality in the Iraq-Iran war, which he calls "the product of nationalist follies of both governments."

Thus, he places the twelve-year-old dictatorship in Baghdad, which came to power through a military coup, on the same plane as the Iranian government, which came to power twenty-one months ago through a

popular insurrection against an imperialist-backed monarchy.

Already molded by its origin, the Iranian government has been forced to carry out sweeping anti-imperialist measures as it attempts to retain control of an increasingly anticapitalist working class and peasantry. Moreover, Khomeini draws his authority from the support of the most exploited and oppressed, at least among the Persians.

Halliday is quick to point out the "many crimes" of the Iranian government. These "many crimes"—real and imagined—have been emblazoned on the pages of the imperialist press for more than a year.

But it was not these crimes that caused Saddam Hussein to order his army into Iran. It was not Khomeini's religious practices, nor was it the oppression of national minorities in Iran. It was Hussein's fear of the Iranian revolution; it was the progressive actions of the Iranian government.

Revolutionary socialists, of course, would like to see a workers and peasants government in Iran that would initiate the socialist transformation of the country. Only such a workers and peasants government can definitely free Iran from the imperialist yoke and meet the needs of the toiling masses.

However, as long as the workers and peasants of Iran are not able to replace the present capitalist government with one of their own, it is necessary to defend the existing regime against attacks from the right. It is precisely through their mobilizations in defense of their revolution that the toiling masses will strengthen their self-confidence and organization, and lay the basis for establishing a government of their own.

Finally, if defense of the Iranian revolution against the Iraqi invasion is the task of the day inside Iran, it is doubly so in the imperialist centers that have oppressed Iran for so long and that continue to threaten its right to self-determination today.

Defending the Iranian revolution is also a key task of the workers movement in the imperialist countries because it is through such a defense that the working class can best answer the imperialist militarization drive currently focused on the Middle East.

Halliday's neutral stance obstructs this vital task. It is a disservice to the Iranian revolution and to the world working class as a whole. □

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### Latin Dictators Hail U.S. Election Results

By Fred Murphy

The streets of the wealthy western suburbs of San Salvador rang with the sound of music and guns being fired in the air on the evening of November 4. El Salvador's ruling rich were celebrating Ronald Reagan's victory in the U.S. presidential elections.

"I think Reagan's victory will intimidate the subversives," said a leader of the extreme-rightist Broad National Front (FAN). The FAN is headed by Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson, who is widely believed to be the chief of El Salvador's right-wing death squads.

"This is the moment for Major D'Aubuisson," the FAN leader continued. Reagan's "cause is the same as our own."

The FAN's Guatemalan counterpart, the National Liberation Movement (MLN), was equally pleased with Reagan's victory. Reagan symbolizes "respect for moral and democratic values," MLN leader Leonel Sisiniega Otero declared.

Among those celebrating in the Caribbean was Jean-Claude Duvalier, who rules Haiti as "president-for-life" with the help of a terror gang known as the Tonton Macoutes. "We believe some changes will take place toward Haiti and Latin America in the United States," Duvalier said. "We wish all kinds of success to President-elect Ronald Reagan as leader of the free world."

General Luis García Meza, the Bolivian dictator whose troops and paramilitary gangs murdered hundreds of tin miners and their families after the army seized power in July, also hailed Reagan's election.

"Undisguised optimism prevailed in official circles here about the possibility of a quick end to the international blockade against the military government once Reagan assumes the presidency," a United Press International dispatch from the Bolivian capital of La Paz reported November 5.

"Happiness with Reagan's victory was visible in various official circles" of the Argentine military dictatorship as well, the UPI reported from Buenos Aires November 5.

#### Why the Gorillas Rejoice

What makes the gorillas of Latin America and the Caribbean so pleased with the victory of Ronald Reagan is that he and his advisers have been among the most vocal advocates of the U.S. ruling class's shift toward more openly right-wing policies south of the Río Grande.

The Carter administration has already

been implementing this shift, with its military aid and intervention against the rebels in El Salvador, stalling on badly needed economic assistance to the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, in creating threats against Cuba, destabilization campaign against the Manley government in Jamaica, and efforts to improve relations with the military dictatorships in Chile and Argentina.

The Republican Party's platform called for deepening these moves. It opposed even the token aid Carter has provided to Nicaragua.

It also called for consolidating the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico by making it the fifty-first state, and declared that this "would demonstrate our common purposes in the face of growing Soviet and Cuban pressure" in the Caribbean.

Reagan's advisers have already indicated plans to step up aid to counterrevolutionary forces in Central America. "It's pretty clear that the Guatemalans will be given what aid they need in order to defend themselves against an armed minority which is aided and abetted by the Cubans," Reagan aide Roger Fontaine told the *Miami Herald* in July.

Fontaine recently reiterated Reagan's opposition to providing any aid to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, "so long as they continue with their Marxist inclination."

According to United Press International, Fontaine "added that if at some point it should happen that the people of Nicaragua get tired of that version of bankrupt Marxism and take the situation into their own hands, then the United States could offer them some type of aid." In that way the Reagan adviser openly encouraged counterrevolutionary forces inside Nicaragua.

Reagan's stance toward Cuba was indicated by his call for a military blockade of the island following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan last December. It should also be noted that one of the president-elect's first appointees to his "transition team" was Florida Senator Richard Stone, who is best known for his outspoken attacks on Cuba and for the support he enjoys among counterrevolutionary exile groups in Miami.

It is clear that the Reagan administration will be responsive to the calls for a more belligerent stance against the revolutionary upsurge in the Caribbean and Central America that have begun to appear in the columns of the big-business press in the United States.

The tone was set by an October 23 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled "The Collapsing Caribbean." It warned of an alleged "Soviet projection of significant power into an area that stretches along the entire U.S. southern border" and complained that "the U.S. has so far countered the Soviet threat with platitudes about human rights. . . ."

In El Salvador, the *Journal* editors said, "The anti-government operations . . . are being directly aided by the Cubans, Sandinistas and the international Marxist terrorist apparatus. . . ." And they claimed that "a well-disciplined Communist force, trained abroad and directed from Havana, is operating in Costa Rica. . . ."

The *Journal's* sudden discovery of a "Soviet threat" south of the border echoed themes that have been appearing for some time in the widely read capitalist magazine *Business Week*. Under the title "The Growing Communist Threat in Central America," Sol W. Sanders wrote in the April 14 issue that "there is increasing evidence of subversion" in the area, "not only from Cuba but directly from Russia itself."

Sanders saw a threat of "Cuban colonial exploitation of Central America" and declared that Mexico's oil wealth is "the real prize at which Communist infiltration and subversion in the region aims."

In the September 1 *Business Week*, Sanders warned that "a hard-core Marxist element allied with Moscow and Havana is thwarting U.S. aims" in Nicaragua. And in the October 13 issue of the magazine, an unsigned article cited the fears of Guatemalan army officers that "an international cabal run by Latin revolutionaries—backed directly by Cuba, indirectly by the Soviet Union, and possibly by the Nicaraguan Sandinistas . . . may have for the first time penetrated Guatemala's Indian population. . . ."

By hammering away at the "Red threat" theme, these prominent organs of the U.S. ruling class hope to turn U.S. public opinion in favor of the moves the Reagan administration will have to make if it is to halt the spreading revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean. Such cold-war-style journalism is part of the capitalists' overall drive to shift the framework of U.S. politics to the right, just as the Republican platform and the Reagan campaign were.

#### No U.S. Intervention!

But the U.S. rulers know how unpopular direct military intervention abroad would be with American workers and youth. The fact that both Reagan and Carter tried hard to establish their credentials as "peace candidates" in the last weeks of the campaign shows that.

The revolutionary forces of Central America and the Caribbean are not taking the increasing imperialist threats lightly, nor should they. The Cuban people have



mobilized in their millions on several occasions this year to repudiate Washington's provocations. In Grenada and Nicaragua, the workers, peasants, and youth are enthusiastically joining the popular militias that are being built on a massive scale. The mass organizations and revolutionary groups of El Salvador are strengthening their unity and preparing for a final offensive against the genocidal junta.

Responding to Reagan's election, Nicaragua's ambassador to Mexico Aldo Díaz Lacayo said his government "has nothing to fear. It feels itself to be totally backed up by its people, is favored by the solidarity of

all the peoples of the world, and also enjoys international solidarity from a number of the world's governments."

U.S. military intervention in Central America would mean "Vietnamization" of the entire area, Díaz declared. "And if that should happen, the people of Nicaragua would necessarily be involved in that Vietnam-style struggle. . . .

"No Central American country could avoid involvement in such a struggle, not even Costa Rica."

Mexican President José López Portillo also took an unequivocal stand against U.S. intervention in his remarks on Rea-

gan's victory. Reagan should stay neutral unless he is seeking a war "in the style of Vietnam," López said. "Do not intervene," he told Reagan. "Respect the internal processes of these countries, because they are adult nations capable of governing themselves."

Even Colombian President Julio Turbay, no friend of liberation struggles, warned Reagan against intervention in Latin America. "That would be impossible," Turbay said, "because public opinion is not in agreement in any way with military interventionism in the countries of the continent." □

## Terror Against Peasants in Morazán Province

### Salvadoran Army Meets Stiff Resistance

By Fred Murphy

The Salvadoran army's mid-October offensive in Morazán Province ran into tenacious resistance from the guerrilla fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

According to an FMLN communiqué issued during the first week of November, the revolutionary forces inflicted some 300 casualties on the government troops, captured substantial quantities of military supplies, and downed a helicopter.

The FMLN also said its forces had wounded and captured a U.S. soldier who was wearing a Honduran army uniform.

U.S. advisers accompanied the 3,000 or more Salvadoran army troops when they began their effort to drive units of the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP)\* out of the northeastern province of Morazán. Despite backing by jet fighter-bombers, helicopter gunships, and heavy artillery, the offensive apparently failed to achieve its aims.

The government forces did sow terror among the peasants of Morazán, however. Some 50,000 refugees fled to the province's main towns or to neighboring Honduras to escape the army's attacks. According to the FMLN, entire villages were destroyed by artillery attacks and by 500-pound bombs dropped from planes.

More than 500 civilian residents of Morazán lost their lives. In addition, the FMLN said, twenty members of its regular guerrilla forces and 150 members of the local people's militias were killed.

Elsewhere in the country during the first week of November, FMLN units briefly occupied seven towns. The most significant of these actions was an attack on a prison in Tonatepeque, fourteen miles

northeast of the capital. Thirty-eight political and other prisoners were freed and the prison was burned to the ground.

While the opposition forces were holding their own against the regime and taking further steps toward unity, the longstanding split in the Salvadoran officer corps was sharply revealed once again.

On November 3 junta member Col. Adolfo Majano narrowly escaped an assassination attempt in San Salvador. A powerful dynamite bomb went off just ten yards from Majano's car, killing three

children and wounding twenty persons.

Majano declared categorically that the attack was the work of "ultrarightists." But the ruling junta's own statement on the attack blamed it only on "extremist elements," with the implication that leftists were involved.

Majano and the grouping of younger, liberal-minded officers he represents have retreated time and again in face of the more openly right-wing sectors of the armed forces and the security apparatus. The latter, headed by junta member Col. Abdul Gutiérrez and Defense Minister Col. José Guillermo García, have had the upper hand since shortly after the October 15, 1979, coup. They have pushed Majano's supporters aside within the military hierarchy, and now have apparently attempted to eliminate him physically.

After the attack, Majano reiterated that he has no intention of resigning from the junta. □

### 'United to Fight Until Final Victory!'

Formation of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), announced in El Salvador in early October, represents the effective fusion of three of the organizations that have been leading the revolutionary struggle against the U.S.-backed military/Christian Democratic dictatorship.

The FMLN has been formed by the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), and the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL). According to the front's founding statement, reprinted in the October 12 issue of the Managua daily *Barriada*, the three groups have established "the necessary mechanisms for making strategic decisions . . . by adopting democratic centralism as the basis of their functioning, with decisions being made by majority rule."

The statement announced that the FMLN would henceforth use a single flag (a star and the letters FMLN in white on a red field) and a single pair of slogans: "United to fight until final victory!" and "Revolution or death—we shall win!"

Four united military staffs have been set up to lead the four fighting fronts the FMLN has established throughout El Salvador.

The statement also announced that a unified FMLN propaganda organ, to be entitled *Venceremos*, would soon begin publication.

The leadership body of the new front will continue to be called the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU).

The fourth main revolutionary group in El Salvador, the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN), hailed the formation of the FMLN as "a qualitative leap toward the constitution of the united party of the proletariat. . . ." The FARN also declared its readiness for "immediate reintegration" into the FMLN. It acknowledged that its August withdrawal from the united front the four groups had formed "was a mistaken step."

According to reports from San Salvador on November 5, an FMLN statement announcing the reintegration of the FARN into the front was "expected momentarily." □

\*The ERP now forms part of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. See accompanying article.

## A Visit to a 'Liberated Zone' in El Salvador

By Lars Palmgren

EL SALVADOR—A few hundred yards from the main road we encounter our first barricade, immense stones piled across the path. The barricade is, in effect, a border marker. Beyond it the authority of the governing junta does not hold.

Several other journalists and I have just entered a "liberated zone" in central El Salvador controlled by the Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL).

As we travel deeper into the zone, passing more barricades across roads and paths, we realize that the area is quite different than we had imagined. I had pictured a remote, inaccessible, hidden guerrilla camp.

But from where we stand we can see the whole southern slope of the volcano. We see big fields of corn and other crops, and several villages with thousands of inhabitants. This is not an isolated guerrilla camp. Rather it is a living community, where people work or go to school, living their family lives.

From the look of things this could be anywhere in El Salvador, but here the people are in charge and are beginning to build a new kind of society.

As we move deeper into the liberated zone, the tensions we have felt since leaving San Salvador begin to dissipate. We are greeted by the armed detachment that will guard us. They are peasants and rural workers, young and old, armed with rifles and pistols. Some raise their fists in salute, broad smiles breaking across their faces.

After hiking for several hours along almost hidden roads and paths, we come to the central village. There is a crowd of children waiting. Laughing, they run around us. Some of the braver ones come up to touch our cameras.

But aside from the children, life goes on as usual. Women are grinding corn for tortillas in front of their houses. Men are working in the fields. It looks like any of a thousand Salvadoran villages, except for the fact that we can see weapons everywhere.

The village church has been turned into a field hospital. It is run by an older worker who has had no formal medical education, although he has had some experience with traditional medicine. The wounded are in hammocks inside the church, and a medical dispensary stands where the altar used to be.

One of the wounded suffered burns on his face and arms when he tried to set fire to an army vehicle in Zacatecoluca yesterday. The others, the youngest only twelve, suffer from gunshot wounds.

"Thank god, no one is really hurt badly," the hospital chief tells us with a concerned tone. "We have very few facilities for treating the seriously wounded, and there is almost no way we can evacuate them to some place where they could get better care."

Down the road a little way is the school, which is now being used as a training camp. On the soccer field about eighty new recruits, men and women, are listening to a veteran explain how to use an FAL rifle. The veteran guerrilla and the recruits are dressed in street clothes—T-shirts, shorts, running shoes. They share the field with three grazing horses and playing children.

From the soccer field we can see the valley spread out like a green carpet. It looks so peaceful that you almost forget that there is a civil war going on in El Salvador. But the mood is broken by the sound of an airplane. I look up, but am unable to see it.

"Don't worry," says Juan, one of the guerrillas, reassuringly. "They frequently fly over us at a very high altitude, but they never dare to come too close unless they are launching a full-scale invasion of the zone."

Seeing the nervous looks on our faces he explains that although the government troops "know we are here, they don't attack unless they have several thousand soldiers, backed up by planes and helicopters. And if that was happening, we would already know about it."

The last time government troops entered the zone was on August 30. Helicopters landed on the soccer field and troops marched in from the valley. A guerrilla explains that "most of the population had already hidden before the first troops arrived, but a few had not. Some of the women were raped and two were murdered."

The troops, who had dogs with them, set fire to about thirty houses, mined the area, and poisoned some of the water supply. But they were driven out after staying in the village for five days.

According to Juan, "the revolutionary army attacked their camp and killed about thirty of the soldiers. Our constant attacks forced them to withdraw, and they have not been back since then."

Juan, who is about 22, is a member of the revolutionary army, whose base camp is further up the side of the volcano. In addition to the revolutionary army, which is made up of full-time fighters and is the best equipped fighting force, the revolutionists are organized militarily on two

### University Rector Slain

Right-wing Salvadoran death squads claimed another prominent victim on October 29. Félix Anotonio Ulloa, the rector of the National University of San Salvador, was gunned down in his car on a main street of the capital.

Ulloa, forty-three years old, was a member of the Revolutionary Democratic Front. Since government security forces occupied and shut down the university in late June, Ulloa and his colleagues had been involved in negotiations aimed at securing the reopening of the campus.

Shortly before his assassination Ulloa was elected president of the World University Service, an educational organization based in Geneva, Switzerland.

other levels—the militia and the guerrilla units. The militia, Juan explains, "is a self-defense structure, and almost everyone here belongs to it."

The guerrilla units are also made up of part-time fighters, but in contrast to the militia, they carry out offensive actions, such as ambushing military vehicles or convoys.

As night begins to fall, the new recruits are still on the soccer field. They have broken down into three groups for political discussion. A group of women, returning from the river with loads of laundry, crosses the soccer field. They exchange jokes and comments with the guerrilla recruits.

I am continually struck by the contrast between the daily bombings in San Salvador and the open warfare in the department of Morazán, which the military had prevented me from entering a few days earlier, and the peacefulness of daily life here in this liberated zone.

The first attempts to organize the peasants here took place in 1972, and for eight years the work of organizing has continued. As Juan explains, "we have fought constantly since then. We have fought the army, the informers, and the paramilitary gangs organized in ORDEN. We have fought for our right to the land."

Today ORDEN has been eliminated from the area. "We have our own army, our own militia, our own guerrilla units—and we have taken over the land," Juan says.

There are several villages in the liberated zone. Each of them is run by a five-

person steering committee elected by a village assembly. Within the steering committee there is a division of labor among the members, one of whom serves as general secretary.

The general secretaries of each village committee, in turn, are members of a special council which runs the whole area.

Regular assemblies are held in each village and for the whole area. In these assemblies there are discussions of the conditions in the area as well as political education by the revolutionaries.

I ask Juan how production is organized in the zone. He says that some of the people work their own plots, although most of the land, which used to be a single hacienda, is now worked communally. As part of the government's cosmetic "land reform," the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation (ISTA) bought the hacienda from its owner. So formally it belongs to the state.

"But in practice," Juan says, "we own it. We have managed to force ISTA to deal with us about prices and terms of credit." He adds, however, that because of the war they have not been able to plant to the extent they would like.

Later in the evening we attend a dance. After traveling along a small path through the forest and crossing two small rivers we reach the house where the dance is to be held. It is guarded by several compañeros with rifles.

There are 200 to 300 people inside the house. In a corner there is a small band—a bass, two guitars, and a drum. Dancing couples fill the area.

On the wall a weekly schedule for the guerrilla recruits is posted. The schedule contains a full list of activities from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m.

At one point the music stops and an older man stands on a stool to address the crowd. "Long live proletarian internationalism," he begins. The crowd responds with "Viva!"

"Long live international solidarity!"

"Viva!"

The speaker explains that the struggle is international in scope. The enemy is not only here in El Salvador, but all over the world. "We are, therefore, proud," he says, "to welcome fighters from other countries to our community. We are proud that they have come here to learn about our struggle so they can inform the comrades fighting in their own countries."

The crowd turns to look at us and begins applauding. We are asked to say a few words. Each of us gets up on the stool in turn and introduces himself, saying a few words about our resolve to strengthen international solidarity with their struggle.

The faces on the dance floor are filled with hope. These poor peasants and workers in this small liberated area of El Salvador recognize the importance of international solidarity and know that if we

can make the slogan about proletarian internationalism come alive in a concrete way, that can directly aid their struggle. It can even mean victory rather than defeat, life rather than death.

Looking out at those faces I think each of us more concretely recognizes how important it is to build international solidarity for the Salvadoran people.

Then another veteran gets up on the stool and explains the purpose of the dance. "Of course," he said, "it is good for us to get together and have a good time. But this dance has another very special purpose. It is to collect money for our revolutionary army, for food for our soldiers."

The veteran passes around a hat. People drop coins into it. The music and laughter

begin again. A dance for the revolution!

On the way home we are all silent, filled with our own impressions. Five hours later we arise with the sun. The guerrilla recruits are already training on the soccer field. Another day of preparation for the decisive confrontations has begun.

Looking over the scene I realize that while I have been in the liberated zone I feel as though I were in Nicaragua, where the victory has already been won. But seeing the training going on jolts me back to the realization that here the decisive battles are still to come, and that the outcome is not yet certain.

International solidarity work can help tip the balance in favor of these Salvadoran revolutionaries.

October 26, 1980

## French Government to Try Martinique Socialists

On November 21 three proindependence and socialist activists on the French-ruled Caribbean island of Martinique will go on trial for "illegal occupation of administrative offices," a charge that carries a sentence of up to two years imprisonment and up to a 1,000 franc (US\$230) fine.

The charges stem from the July 4, 1979 occupation of the French government-owned FR3 television studios in Martinique

arrested on charges of attacking whites on a beach. In fact, however, the incident began when one of the young Blacks was beaten up by French colonial soldiers. The beaten youth then called on his friends to help him fight back.

The colonial authorities decided to make an example of the six young Blacks. But a broad-based Committee to Support the Imprisoned Youth was established in the capital city, Fort-de-France. Hundreds of young people demonstrated to demand their release.

When it was learned that one of the imprisoned youth had "committed suicide" in his cell after several months in jail, demonstrators marched on the FR3 television studios.

FR3 television had never reported a word about this case and the protests that had been going on. The demonstrators demanded that the news of the "suicide" be reported. Instead, the director of FR3, a Frenchman, ordered all television transmission in Martinique cut.

It is in connection with this demonstration that the three activists now face trial. They are Renée Ravoteur and Gilbert Pago, both members of the Groupe Révolution Socialiste, and Gérard Beaujour, a member of Combat Ouvrier. The Groupe Révolution Socialiste is the Antilles section of the Fourth International.

Charges against a fourth defendant, a member of the Martinique Communist Party, were dropped.

A broad defense campaign is being organized in Martinique to demand that the charges against the three activists be dropped. Organizers of this campaign are also asking people outside of Martinique to send telegrams to the Préfet of Martinique asking that the charges be dropped.

Telegrams should be sent to: Préfet de Martinique, Tribunal de Fort-de-France, Fort-de-France, Martinique. □



Révolution Socialiste  
Renée Ravoteur, one of three Martinique socialist and pro-independence activists facing trial.

by some 150 demonstrators. They were protesting the station's refusal to report on the arrest of six Black youth and the subsequent death of one of them, who supposedly "committed suicide" while in police custody.

That incident, which became known as the "Schoelcher affair," began in April 1979 when six young Martinicans were

## Cuban Leader Speaks on Victories in Nicaragua and Grenada

[The following is a dispatch from Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency, which appeared in the November 2 issue of the Cuban English-language *Granma* weekly.]

\* \* \*

BERLIN, October 21—Jesús Montané Oropesa, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, said here today that the revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada were the most important events in Latin America since 1959.

Speaking at the International Scientific Conference on the Struggle of the Working Class against Imperialism, the Cuban leader added that these victories took place amidst a U.S. imperialist counterrevolutionary offensive against the peoples of the hemisphere.

In his paper, Montané, the third speaker during the morning session held at the Palace of the Republic, discussed the movement for national and social liberation in Latin America and the Caribbean. He said that the victories of Grenada and Nicaragua were an expression of the upsurge of the popular and revolutionary movement in the area.

The head of the General Department of Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba said these new gains should be viewed in the framework of the historical stage which opened up in the hemisphere following the victory of the Cuban Revolution. These new victories did away with the myth that other revolutions in the hemisphere were impossible, he added.

Montané said the Nicaraguan process showed that the United States is unable to resort to fascist or reformist measures when faced by a genuine revolution grounded in the armed and united masses.

The enemies of the Revolution will be much less successful than they were in 1959 if they try to have people believe that the victories in Nicaragua and Grenada are isolated and unique cases which do not reflect the realities of the peoples' struggle for genuine liberation in Latin America, he said.

The Cuban leader stated that Nicaragua's victory confirmed the effectiveness and viability of armed struggle as the decisive means to take power in countries where all other paths are closed and the vanguard relies on the masses and achieves firm unity.

He stressed that these countries had shown that the only guarantee for the development of a program of radical anti-imperialist change is the elimination of the

bourgeois state apparatus and the creation of a new army recruited from the people.

On referring to the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean, Montané said a great historic shift is under way there. He explained that, although the revolutionary movements have different features, take different forms and advance in varying degrees, they are all part of the historic trend toward anti-imperialist national liberation.

He said the shift in the balance of forces in favor of socialism and the development of the popular and revolutionary movement in Latin America has transformed what was formerly the backyard of U.S. imperialism into an area that the imperialists are finding increasingly difficult to control and to impose political decisions on.

"The United States has no structural or intermediate solutions to ease the economic and social crisis in underdeveloped Latin America. It is having increasing differences with many governments which it is no longer able to manipulate like puppets."

Montané said that the strategic military, economic and political value which Washington attaches to Latin America and the Caribbean poses a challenge to the revolutionary movements for national and social liberation in the area.

He added that, following the victory of the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. ideologues realized that the popular and revolutionary parties and movements in Latin America based their actions on profound ideological and political factors.

This led the imperialist ideologues to chart a course of action aimed at carrying out provocations to discredit the socialist model as the only alternative which could pave the way for liberation and economic development. They also tried to split the revolutionary forces, he added.

In spite of the Alliance for Progress, the Peace Corps, coups and reformist pipe dreams, he said, they were unable to stop the advance of revolution initiated by Cuba in 1959.

Regarding the forms of struggle in Latin America, he said that at times a false alternative has been posed between armed and other forms of struggle.

"The revolutionary content of any form of struggle is determined by its results, that is, whether or not it leads to an advance or retreat of the masses vis-à-vis their ultimate objectives."

The Cuban leader said experience in his country showed that dividing political and military functions adversely affects both.

"Only an integral political-military concept makes it possible to pass at the right time from one main form of struggle to another depending on the stages and circumstances of each process."

In his speech to the Conference which he entitled "The Common Struggle of the Workers and National Liberation Movements against Imperialism and for Social Progress," Montané said that with the advent of the '80s new political, economic and social factors have developed, while the revolution ripens and added possibilities for liberation exist.

In the contemporary revolutionary situation in Latin America, one of the unique features is the growing participation of Christian sectors in the popular and revolutionary struggles, he remarked.

He said it was very important to grasp the features common to the area, focused on united efforts to destroy the common enemy, a view shared by the Communist Parties and revolutionary movements in Latin America.

Montané praised the watchful attitude displayed by Latin American revolutionaries toward the Maoist groups, which are bankrupt, he said, adding that they are insignificant in terms of size but damaging because of their provocative actions which benefit imperialism.

On summarizing the revolutionary upsurge in the region, he said that Latin America is witnessing a merging of class and national liberation struggles, an original combination of democratic tasks linked to socialist objectives and the struggle for anti-imperialist liberation of the workers and peasants from capitalist domination.

The Cuban delegate praised the opening speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist United Party of Germany, which, he said, would provide guidelines for discussion at the Conference.

Montané hailed the participation of delegations from the socialist camp and the national and social liberation movements and parties in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Conference, organized by the Central Committee of the SUPG and the international magazine *World Marxist Review*, was attended by representatives of 116 Communist and Worker Parties and national liberation movements. □

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## Nicaragua—New Efforts Toward Trade Union Unity

By Lars Palmgren

MANAGUA—"We want to initiate a broad discussion involving the entire Nicaraguan labor movement, with the aim of arriving at common points of view regarding the problems the revolution faces today," said Denis Meléndez, a national leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), at an October 31 news conference here.

The CST held the news conference to announce that it was inviting all Nicaraguan trade-union organizations to participate in a meeting on November 15 and 16 to open the broad discussion Meléndez referred to.

The CST's initiative is an important one, not only as a step toward the unification of the Nicaraguan labor movement but also because it is the first public initiative of its kind since the revolutionary victory of July 1979. It represents an effort to cut through the relatively sectarian practices that characterized the trade unions during the first year of the revolution.

As Edgardo García, general secretary of the Rural Workers Association (ATC), said at the October 31 news conference, "One of the big problems we have had during the past year is sectarianism inside the working class. That goes both for ourselves and for the other union federations."

The organized labor movement in Nicaragua has taken tremendous steps since the revolution began. Before July 19, 1979, according to CST General Secretary Iván García, only 7.5 percent of urban workers were organized in trade unions, and only fifty union locals were registered with the Ministry of Labor. Today, there are 529 locals registered, representing 80,652 workers. This amounts to some 80 percent of the urban labor force.

Another measure of the steps forward in the trade-union field is the number of signed collective-bargaining agreements. In the nineteen years before the revolution,

a total of 190 such agreements were signed in Nicaragua. But from September 1979 to June 1980, more than 200 contracts were signed.

Most of the new trade unions formed in Nicaragua have affiliated to the CST. But the other union federations have also grown in membership (see chart).

There is no doubt that Nicaraguan workers have made gigantic strides forward in terms of organization. But the figures do not tell the entire story.

When the FSLN took the initiative to organize the CST shortly after the Sandinista victory, it was not with the aim of building yet another federation, but of creating a single, united trade-union movement in Nicaragua.

The first step was to be the holding of a CST Congress in January 1980. The original idea was to follow the Congress up by holding a discussion with the other trade unions in order to create a single confederation in a relatively short period of time.

Things did not work out according to this plan. The CST has yet to hold its first congress. During the past year its relations with the other federations have not improved. There are many reasons for this.

Sectarianism, as Edgardo García said, is one important factor. This is not a question of individual attitudes, but a political problem. The leaderships of all the union federations respond directly to some political grouping:

- The Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN) started out as a Christian Democratic current. But lately it has more and more become the trade-union arm of the bourgeois party headed by ex-junta member Alfonso Robelo, the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN).

- The Confederation of Trade-Union Unification (CUS) was set up in the late 1960s with the aid of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in the United States, acting through

the imperialist-sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

- The Confederation for Trade-Union Action and Unification (CAUS) is controlled by the Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN), one of two pro-Moscow Stalinist groupings here.

- The Independent General Workers Federation (CGT-i) is controlled by the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), the other pro-Moscow group.

- And the CST, of course, is led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The leaders of the CTN, CUS, and CAUS have done all they can to prevent unification of the labor movement. The CTN and CUS leaders do this because they represent the interests of the bourgeoisie. A united trade-union movement would threaten the still-existing economic power of the capitalists. On the other hand, a labor movement with internal divisions means more maneuvering room for the bourgeoisie.

The CAUS leaders do not respond directly to the interests of the bourgeoisie. But the PCN, which controls the CAUS, adheres to a sectarian version of the "two-stage" schema of Stalinism. The July 1979 triumph, the PCN holds, opened the "democratic stage" in the revolutionary process. The PCN acknowledges that the FSLN is leading this stage, but it holds that the "proletarian" stage is now on the agenda. That, of course, must be led by the PCN, and so the CAUS has tried to turn the workers against the FSLN and the CST.\*

The tactics of all three of these union federations are aimed at outflanking the CST and the FSLN by irresponsibly playing on the objective problems facing Nicaragua. The strikes the CAUS called in February of this year to demand a 100 percent wage increase are just one example of this.

What makes this tactic feasible is the catastrophic economic situation the revolution inherited from the dictatorship. The revolutionary government has been unable to respond quickly to all the material needs of the working class. The FSLN and the CST have been forced to argue against demands for wage increases and against the use of the strike weapon at this time. They have had to explain instead the need to increase production and boost the "social wages" of the workers while holding

\*For a background article on the PCN and the CAUS, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 7, 1980, p. 710.

Federation	Number of Unions	Percentage of Unions	Number of Workers	Percentage of Workers
CST .....	394	74.5%	66,322	82.2%
CGT-i .....	21	4.0	3,842	4.8
CTN .....	48	9.1	3,721	4.6
CAUS .....	22	4.1	2,788	3.4
CUS .....	19	3.6	1,424	1.8
Unaffiliated .....	25	4.7	2,555	3.2
Totals .....	529	100	80,652	100

Source: Sandinista Workers Federation, October 31 news conference.

money wages at noninflationary levels.

In this situation the leaders of the CTN, CUS, and CAUS have sought to present themselves as militant, consistent defenders of the workers' needs—leading the fight for wage increases.

On the other hand, the CST calls on the workers to boost production and productivity and take responsibility for the overall economic situation in the country. The other unions have seized on this to label the CST as the voice of the "new bosses," with the aim of attracting less conscious workers.

The relative success the CTN, CUS and CAUS have had cannot be explained only by their ability to manipulate the workers on the basis of the difficult economic situation. Another factor has been the CST's own weakness. In a document published in the October 5 issue of *Barricada*, the CST's Secretariat of Propaganda took up this problem.

"One of the limitations we had," the document said, "was inability to pay adequate attention to all the unions affiliated to the CST. This led us to handle the problem with the support of a great many compañeros who, despite their commitment to our vanguard, the FSLN, did not have the trade-union experience necessary for carrying forward such a big project as the CST."

But it has not only been the lack of trained cadre that has limited the CST and given rise to errors: "the basic and fundamental thing is that organized work was limited to a reservoir of personnel that was weak in quantity and quality. The task of involving local union leaders to the maximum was not carried through. In many cases the Provincial Executive Committees did not reflect or express the representation of the ranks."

This organizational weakness, the CST document explained, accounts for many of the mistakes: "From that standpoint it can be understood why many conflicts arising out of authentic demands did not enjoy the support of many leaders. This created conditions in which other federations were able to capitalize on the just demands of the workers."

The CST document also noted the traditions of "bureaucratic centralism" and "paternalism" in the Nicaraguan labor movement. One of the most important tasks today is to overcome that tradition, because, as the document pointed out, "leaders must not make decisions in the name of the working class; the workers must make their own decisions and choose their authentic leaders."

That is the principle to be applied by the CST: "A concrete demonstration that we have overcome the old styles of work will be the training of cadres forged through carrying out the tasks of the CST. Those leaders who stand out in their work will be placed in the top posts of the federation."

This self-critical evaluation of the CST's

own work underlines the importance of its call for a meeting of all the union federations to discuss developing a common outlook on the most pressing problems confronting the revolution and the working class. The CST has proposed a new starting point for building a united trade-union federation in Nicaragua.

This is not—as the reactionary bourgeoisie daily *La Prensa* tries to make out—a maneuver to force the other federations to subordinate themselves to the CST. "We want to encourage a broad discussion with all the union organizations," the CST leaders emphasized at the news conference.

Commander Tomás Borge elaborated on the FSLN's approach to this question at a November 1 news conference. "The unity of the working class cannot be imposed by decree," Borge said. "What this is all about is starting a process that can lead to greater unity."

Borge also reiterated the FSLN's position on the relation between the trade unions and the state. While many critics have accused the CST of acting as part of the state apparatus rather than as an independent workers organization, Borge said, "our criterion is that the trade unions cannot be independent with respect to the revolution—they must be part of the revolution. But this does not mean they should not be independent in relation to the state, in relation to the government. If it happens that in order to satisfy its genuine demands a workers group has to confront the government, then it is the duty of the trade-union leaders to put themselves in

the vanguard of that fight—even if they have to confront the revolutionary government."

On November 15 and 16 the initial discussions among the various union organizations will take place. Possibly there will be a sharp debate. The points raised by the CST do not promise milk and honey to the workers; on the contrary, they call on the unions to assume responsibility for the problems the revolution confronts today.

The points proposed for discussion by the CST are:

"1. Increasing production and productivity.

"2. Improving working conditions and social services and increasing wage levels in accord with the economic situation of Nicaragua.

"3. Maintaining strict revolutionary discipline in the work places.

"4. Resolving labor conflicts without halting production."

These four points reflect the fact that the difficult economic situation will continue for quite some time. It is not an easy road that the CST has chosen. But the fact that they have taken the initiative, and that they address themselves to all the workers, independently of ideological orientation, means an increased possibility of responding to the demands that the revolution places on the workers—especially when what is involved in the long run is not simply increasing production but also preparing the way for integrating the workers directly into the management of enterprises and planning of the economy. □

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### Nicaragua Unions 'Must Play a Decisive Role'

[The following interview with Iván García, general secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), was conducted in Managua in September by Lars Palmgren. The interview was conducted in Spanish, the translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*Question. Can you give us some idea of the level of trade-unionization in Nicaragua today?*

*Answer.* With the victory of the revolution the organizational level of the workers took a qualitative leap. Under the dictatorship, only some 7.5 percent of the work force was organized. But since the triumph the various union federations have managed to organize between 70 and 75 percent of Nicaraguan workers.

That this percentage is no higher than it is can undoubtedly be attributed to the fact there still exists a considerable sector of workers who had jobs before but are now unemployed.

*Q. Are those who remain unorganized concentrated in any sector in particular?*

A. The unorganized are mainly concentrated in the small enterprises, where there are special difficulties in organizing.

We consider the main task at this point to be consolidating and strengthening the sectors that are already organized, with top priority on the most developed industries. To the extent that we are able to organize the workers, we will be better equipped to confront the tasks of economic reconstruction.

*Q. The objective situation in the first year of the revolution has given rise to a series of conflicts. In some cases, the CST's lack of cadres has exacerbated these problems. Could you tell us what kind of balance sheet the CST has drawn from these experiences?*

A. For the past year the CST has been carrying out an intense effort of political education inside the labor force, seeking to raise the low political level of Nicaraguan workers. Our working class is a very young one. We cannot speak of a developed working class, owing to the conditions of economic dependence and underdevelopment. In addition, a very economic spirit was inculcated in the workers movement by other political currents in the trade unions.

We should also point out the lack of experience of many compañeros in the CST. They have carried out the tasks of the organization with great willingness

and revolutionary spirit, but there is this limitation.

Despite the conflicts, when the concrete situation of the country is explained, the workers have shown that they can understand and orient themselves. What our experience in all these conflicts shows is that the workers must be told the truth. The economic reality we are living through must be clearly explained.

*Q. What experiences has the CST had with workers' control of production?*

A. Qualitative gains have been made in all the enterprises where the workers have direct participation in administration. The difference is obvious to anyone.

We could mention many enterprises where the workers have had direct participation in the administration of the enterprise, where administrative councils have been set up—Nicarao Textiles, the Benjamín Zeledón and Germán Pomares Ordóñez sugar mills, and so on.

We have begun to prepare a guide book on workers participation. It will draw together these experiences so that the workers can keep on learning and achieving still greater participation in the management of the enterprises that are part of the People's Property Sector [APP].

*Q. You have been speaking only of the nationalized sector, the People's Property Sector. Things are more complicated, I suppose, in the private sector.*

A. In the private plants, the bourgeoisie opposes the workers having direct participation. What we do in that case is orient the workers to exercise constant vigilance, to detect any maneuvers by the bourgeoisie to place obstacles in the way of production.

We have seen how the workers have been able to discover a series of maneuvers aimed at decapitalizing enterprises; where, for example, the capitalists have let machinery go to ruin and thus have sabotaged production. More than one enterprise has been confiscated as a result of such workers vigilance.

*Q. Once the initial, difficult stage of economic reconstruction has been completed, what role will the trade unions play?*

A. We think the unions will have to play a decisive role in developing the plans of the Sandinista people's revolution. The tasks of the unions will be two-fold: first, to work hard to consolidate the revolution; second, to defend the particular interests of the working class.

The unions' role will enable us, little by

little, to supercede the Government of National Reconstruction. By means of the workers movement we can go on transforming the state—making it more revolutionary, more Sandinista. We know that at the state level there are still interests different from those of the workers. Our task is to keep pressing to make this state more revolutionary.

*Q. What relationship should there be between the trade unions and the state?*

A. We think the unions should maintain their independence, both now and in the future. We are independent. We recognize that there is a revolutionary process here, a revolutionary government. But this does not mean we have to give up our class independence. We understand that it is one thing to participate in the state as the bearers of class consciousness, but it is something else to be totally absorbed by the state. The trade union movement must maintain its autonomy and independence in order to safeguard the interests of the workers.

We do not receive any aid from the government, nor will we accept any when the government is in a financial position to provide it. We do not think that would be convenient. The working-class organizations must support themselves on the basis of what their own members contribute. The paying of dues is a barometer that helps us to measure how devoted the workers are to their union organizations.

*Q. What can you tell us about the problem of trade-union unity?*

A. For us, working-class unity is a strategic task for the revolution. Only the unity of the working class can guarantee national unity—it is the pillar, the axis around which national unity turns.

The CST does not discount the possibility of initiating discussions with the other workers federations, so long as we are clear about the purpose of unity. We think unity must be around an objective, concrete task: unity for supporting the revolution in the tasks of economic reconstruction, in the task of building the new worker-peasant homeland. □

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## Women's Growing Role in Revolutionary Grenada

By Colleen Levis

Phyllis Coard is a central leader of the Grenada revolution. She has just been named secretary of women's affairs in the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Social Affairs. She is also national coordinator of the New Jewel Movement National Women's Organisation (NWO). On September 23 I had a chance to talk to her at the Women's Desk of the Ministry of Education in St. George's, the capital of Grenada.

I started by asking Coard to describe the situation women faced under the regime of ousted dictator Eric Gairy.

"Basically it was extremely dread, as we say. There was a lot of sexual exploitation. Women were desperate for jobs. Some 69 percent of women between fifteen and thirty years old were unemployed," she told me. Women were forced to sleep with government officials in order to get jobs. "With the revolution," she said, this deeply resented practice was "put a stop to completely and abruptly."

"Another problem that women faced was unequal pay for equal work." Coard gave the example of women agricultural workers, who earned EC\$5.50 a day (one East Caribbean dollar is equivalent to US\$0.38), while men earned EC\$6.50.

One of the first measures of the People's Revolutionary Government was to introduce legislation outlawing this practice. But, Coard explained, it takes more than laws to correct the situation. Particularly among agricultural workers, both men and women, there were different opinions about what constituted equal work. Were two jobs equal only if they involved the same amount of physical labor?

"For instance," Coard explained, "in the nutmeg pools, the cracking and peeling of nutmegs is done by women. This is not physically as exhausting because it doesn't involve lifting heavy weights. But it is extremely wearing on the eyes. And most women, after a period of two or three years, are forced to wear glasses. So in fact, I think they more than deserve the equal pay for equal work."

Through discussion these differences were cleared up, and many of those who were initially uncertain about what constituted equal work realized that the degree of physical exertion was not really an accurate criterion.

"By the nature of our government," Coard said, "we do not impose on people laws which they do not wish. Our style of government is to raise this in a national debate, to talk with women and men about it, and so allow the people to put their point, and to gradually arrive at a common position before implementation."

The government is also taking measures to provide paid maternity leaves, to ensure that no women will be fired because they become pregnant, and to increase child-care facilities.

"These three problems are very closely linked," said Coard, because "women want to enter into social production."

The government also encouraged a debate on the maternity leave question. Because of some opposition, the initial draft of the maternity leave law did not

include unmarried teachers and nurses.

"There's a high rate of illegitimacy in Grenada, and therefore this excluded a majority of women teachers. The position of our party and of our government is that all women should be treated equally. And all children also for that matter," Coard stated.

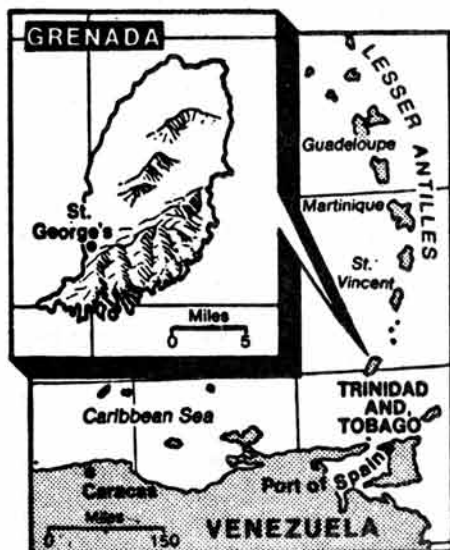
"We made it clear to the teachers' union and to the other trade unions and women's organizations that we wanted their views. And we were really very pleased, because the vast majority wrote back to say they felt this would constitute discrimination against women and that they were not in favor of this. So we've been very happy to change that in the final law."

I mentioned to Coard that I had spoken to one young woman who wanted to be a plumber, and who was arguing with a group of men that women could do such jobs. I asked Coard whether this was something new.

"Yes," she replied. "I think it's all part of the national debate which has been stimulated about what women's role in society is. Women really are starting to think about being plumbers and carpenters and things like that. A furniture cooperative for making furniture for day-care centers is being started."

I asked Coard about the functions of the Women's Desk. She explained that the desk, set up in June 1979, was charged with looking at the laws that affect women to see which discriminated against women, and to make proposals to change them. Another task "is to ensure that women take a full part in all the national programs."

A third task, she said, "is to try to forge a very broad unity among all the women's organizations in Grenada." She explained that there now were some twenty-three women's groups in the country. While the



### New Maternity Law Protects Women

A law providing for paid maternity leave for women workers was officially adopted in Grenada in early October.

Originally drafted in April, it was circulated to women's groups, trade unions, community organizations, employers associations, and professional groups for discussion and suggestions. "Many of their suggestions influenced greatly the final draft of the law," said Phyllis Coard, the secretary of women's affairs.

The law provides for three months maternity leave for all regularly employed women workers, with two of the three months fully paid for those who have worked at least eighteen months for the same employer. Women who are paid on a daily basis will receive about two-and-a-half months pay, since if

they lose work earlier in the pregnancy because of illness they are not covered by the usual sick pay.

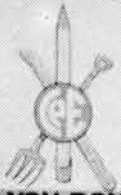
The employers are required to shoulder the maternity leave pay. For small businesses employing less than five people, the government will pick up half of the tab.

The maternity law also guarantees women the right to be reemployed by the same employer after the three months leave.

Employers found guilty of refusing women workers maternity leave or pay are liable to face a EC\$1,000 fine (US\$380) or six months in jail. Those found guilty of firing a woman worker because of pregnancy face a EC\$2,000 fine or one year in prison.



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Colleen Levis

### PHYLLIS COARD

NJM's National Women's Organisation is the largest, with thirty-six chapters, "we think the other women's organizations have a lot to contribute to the building of Grenada and we are shortly going to be meeting with them to discuss ways in which they would like to participate in the revolution."

Coard also discussed the growing role of women in the revolution, particularly in its defense.

"On the first day of the revolution," she said, "the people who turned out to actually pick up guns to fight against the dictatorship were all men. There was only one woman in the [People's Revolutionary] Army before the revolution."

This situation changed after June 19 of this year. On that day, counterrevolutionary terrorists planted a bomb at a rally, intending to wipe out the leadership of the revolution. Two young girls were killed when it went off, and a third died from her injuries a few weeks later.

"Following that incident, slightly over 50 percent of all the new militia volunteers were women," Coard said proudly.

She stressed the importance of the militia for the revolution. "Only through the people holding power, holding the weapons in their hands, will we be able to maintain the people's power. Women in the militia will be receiving political education and military training, as well as skills where this is at all possible."

"We want to ensure that our militia is politically very conscious," she continued. "They must always know what they're fighting for, not just who they're fighting for—what are the programs and policies which will benefit the working people of Grenada. These are the programs and policies they must be prepared to defend with their lives." □

## Campaign to Free Political Prisoners Can Have Big Impact

### Solidarity With the Bolivian People!

[The following article appeared in the October 30 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*, published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The beginnings of organized resistance to the Bolivian dictatorship and that dictatorship's international isolation mean that a solidarity campaign by the international workers movement could have an important impact inside Bolivia itself. This was one of the conclusions we drew in our analysis of the Bolivian situation several weeks after the coup d'état.\*

Recent developments make solidarity with the Bolivian people more urgent than ever, and confirm the kind of impact this solidarity could have inside that country.

Despite the censorship, despite the tight control over communications between the major Bolivian cities, and despite the isolation in which the mining regions are kept, the reports gathered by Bolivian workers organizations confirm that there is still widespread, systematic, and extremely brutal repression; that although some prisoners were released, the number of prisoners and persons who have disappeared is still growing; and that all leftist political and trade-union leaders who are not yet in custody are being actively hunted down.

The military dictatorship of Gen. Luis García Meza—having been unable to crush the workers movement that is organizing the resistance—has stepped up the activity of its unchecked repressive apparatus.

The dictatorship's social base remains extremely narrow and this further accentuates its international isolation.

Attempts by the Argentine military to work out an agreement between the present military government and former dictator Gen. Hugo Banzer and his Nationalist Democratic Action (ADN)—have totally failed. The present military dictatorship is so discredited—especially after the revelations in the U.S. Senate regarding its close ties with the drug traffic and the Mafia—that for the time being, Banzer and his followers prefer to continue presenting themselves as an alternative rather than supporting this regime, even though its political orientation is close to their own.

This in itself is the clearest indication of the dictatorship's political isolation. Its isolation is catastrophic considering that Bolivia's foreign debt is being renegotiated

\*See *Intercontinental Press*, October 20, 1980, "The Bolivian People Under the Military Boot," by Jean-Pierre Beauvais, p. 1077.

and new loans are urgently required to avoid bankruptcy.

Even the Argentine dictatorship is beginning to feel that the provocative attitude of certain members of the García Meza government is rather distressing and that the price for keeping this regime afloat is a little too high. This is why over the last few weeks the Buenos Aires government has refused to grant a new million dollar loan to Bolivia and why renegotiation of the price of Bolivian gas sold to Argentina is still at an impasse.

The experts of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) must not be allowed to secretly refloat the junta, which is isolated and which has its back to the wall economically.

The junta must not be replaced by another dictatorship that may be more presentable outside Bolivia but has the same objectives inside the country. The junta must be overthrown! The results of the June 29 elections must be respected!

Hernán Siles Zuazo, the presidential candidate who received the most votes and whose election by the Parliament was certain, must be allowed to take office. This does not mean, however, that we give any support whatsoever to his political views or to those of his government.

The mass arrests and disappearances must cease!

Freedom for Juan Lechín [executive secretary of the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB)], Simon Reyes [another trade-union leader] and all the other militant Bolivian workers now in prison!

Freedom for our comrades, Felipe Caballero, Amadeo Vargas, and José A. Pérez! These comrades are leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR-*Combate*), Bolivian section of the Fourth International, and trade-union leaders. Caballero is secretary of the Bolivian Workers Federation in Santa Cruz. They were arrested October 16 in La Paz, but their place of detention is unknown. Their lives are in danger, as are the lives of the thousands of other prisoners who fill the prisons, the stadiums, and the concentration camps in the forests of the Bolivian Amazon.

Their lives must be saved!

Solidarity with the Bolivian people and their resistance to the criminal García Meza dictatorship!

October 24, 1980

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## Big Swing to Labor Party in Australian Elections

The Australian Labor Party (ALP) scored significant gains in the October 18 parliamentary elections, although the Liberal-National Country Party (L-NCP) coalition headed by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser retained its majority.

According to *Direct Action*, newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party of Australia, "This swing against Fraser is a victory for Australian workers, who have begun to fight back against the ruling-class offensive of the past five years." The socialist weekly said that the results were "a reflection of the rising level of struggle by wide layers of the working class—especially during this year."

The parliamentary majority for the capitalist party coalition does not accurately reflect the popular vote, which was about 46 percent for both Labor and the L-NCP coalition. Overall, the swing to Labor compared to the 1977 election was more than 6 percent. Electoral gerrymandering underrepresents Australia's urban working-class.

"A majority of Australians voted against Fraser and the coalition parties," *Direct Action* staff writer Jim McIlroy explained in the October 22 issue. "That means they rejected the harsh austerity policies of the past five years, together with Fraser's warmongering."

McIlroy pointed out that the results were a rebuff to Fraser's support earlier this year for Washington's Olympic boycott. Fraser's efforts to prevent the Australian team from going to Moscow failed. This reflected opposition among Australian workers to falling in line behind the militarization drive intensified by the Carter administration after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

"The election result is a blow to the ruling class's aim to have Fraser lead another three years of hard-line anti-union, anti-worker confrontation," McIlroy explained. He pointed out that the swing to Labor was greatest in those Australian states where class confrontations between working people and the employers and employers' parties had been sharpest over the past year.

For example, in the state of Western Australia, the trade unions have been involved in several big economic and political battles, including a fight to defend Aborigine land rights against the state government and a U.S.-owned mining corporation. There, the shift to Labor was 10.2 percent.

There was an 8.8 percent swing to Labor in Victoria, where there has been growing ferment around issues such as the thirty-

five hour workweek among workers in the petrochemical, automobile, and metal industries.

During the elections, the SWP of Australia campaigned around the slogan, "For a Labor government with socialist policies." The ALP is the mass party of the Australian workers, organizationally based on the trade unions. A vote for this party by Australian workers is a class vote against the parties of the employers, whose profit interests are directly counter to the interests of workers.

"By throwing out the Liberals," an article in the October 15 *Direct Action* explained, "working people can deal a setback to the enemy."

Except in those races where the SWP was running its own candidates, it urged a first preference vote for Labor. In the nine races where SWP candidates were on the ballot, it urged a first preference vote for the SWP and a second preference vote for Labor. (Australian ballots are cast on the basis of a weighted preference system.)

Because of the conservative and class-collaborationist policies of the current leadership of the Labor Party and trade unions, however, Australian workers were not presented in the elections with clear solutions or a struggle-oriented perspective to turn back the ruling-class attacks. As *Direct Action* explained, this was the main reason that Labor lost the election, despite the shift back in its direction by workers disgusted with the L-NCP coalition's policies.

There were big national and interna-

tional issues under discussion during the election, however.

*Washington Post* correspondent Peter Costigan reported from Canberra the day following the election that Fraser has "offered the U.S. Navy use of Cockburn Sound, near Perth, as either a home or staging base and invited the U.S. Air Force to use Australian air bases for B52 bombers. He said his government would give the green light for them to carry nuclear weapons."

On the other hand, according to Costigan, Labor Party leader Bill Hayden "said that nuclear weapons would not be allowed under a Labor government, that he did not see the need for B52s to come to Australia and that the U.S. Navy would not be allowed to establish a home port anywhere in Australia."

In a dispatch several days earlier, Costigan had noted that the question of collaboration with Washington's military moves "is an awkward issue for Bill Hayden, who is personally a strong supporter of the American alliance. . . ." But the Labor Party leadership was forced to take account of the resistance by Australian workers to being dragged into a military adventure by Washington.

As a result, Costigan reported, Fraser adopted the election theme that "defense and foreign policy cannot be trusted to the 'socialist' Labor team." Instead of answering Fraser's warmongering charges, *Direct Action* explained, "Hayden tried to outbid him on defense spending."

Another important issue in Australia

### Arsonists Damage SWP National Office

The headquarters of the Australian Socialist Workers Party, was severely burned in an arson attack October 25.

There were no injuries. Heavy damage was done to the building, which houses the national and Sydney offices of the organization.

According to an article by Jim McIlroy in the October 29 issue of the socialist weekly *Direct Action*, this was "one of the most serious attacks on a left-wing organisation in Australia for many years."

The fire came a week after the Australian elections. The SWP ran nine candidates and had a very visible campaign.

There is no indication of who was responsible for the attack on the SWP.

But there are contradictions between the reports of the police and the fire departments.

The police say the fire was accidental. Fire fighters on the scene reported signs of forced entry on a door to the building.

An editorial in *Direct Action* describes the attack as "a warning to all left and labor movement organisations. . . . If the people who carried out this attack are allowed to get away with it, then no radical organisation, trade union, or even ALP [Australian Labor Party] headquarters is safe. . . ."

The SWP is launching an emergency fund appeal in order to get its offices operating again.

today is the mass opposition to nuclear power, and specifically to the mining of the country's uranium reserves.

Australian unions have been in the forefront of the fight against uranium mining, and the ALP's opposition to this dirty and deadly business is very popular among a big majority of Australians.

Yet, *Direct Action* pointed out that the ALP leaders didn't campaign on this question, claiming—in the words of one top official—that, "We found uranium wasn't an issue." Hayden even implied a weakening of the ALP's position, saying that the "technical problems" involved in the mining "would be overcome."

The ALP also failed to back the campaign for a thirty-five hour workweek to combat unemployment; said that a Labor government would not support a full cost-of-living increase for workers reviewed quarterly; and promised the capitalists not to impose a capital gains tax.

Despite the inadequate program of the ALP leadership, however, the bosses were eager to prevent a Labor victory at the polls.

According to McIlroy, this reflected "the concern by big business that a Labor victory would have given a massive boost to working-class confidence" and would signal a new round of struggles for better wages and around other questions of concern to workers.

This worry among the bosses and bosses' parties is understandable at a time when inflation is running at 11 percent in Australia and the official unemployment rate is 6 percent—that is, 400,000 people out of work according to the government's own figures, and nearly double that number in reality.

Before the election, one government official warned of an "all-out attack on wage restraint" should Labor win. Unfortunately for the capitalists, McIlroy commented, "this 'all-out attack on wage restraint,' as well as on unemployment, uranium mining, social welfare cutbacks, and anti-union laws is likely to be accelerated by the election result, even though Labor lost. . . ."

"The strong swing against Fraser in this election means that the workers' fight back—which had begun to develop momentum in 1980—will be given new impetus in 1981," McIlroy explained. "The setback to the government is primarily a result of the successes of the fight back this year."

These victories in the streets, on the picket lines, and in the elections in 1980, McIlroy concluded, must now be used by the labor movement "to launch a more massive and co-ordinated drive against the government and its reactionary policies in 1981." □

## Hundreds of Thousands March in Athens

# Greeks Protest Reentry Into NATO

By Bob Misailides and Rena Cacoullos

"Out of NATO forever," and "Out with the murderous U.S. bases" were among the slogans raised as 300,000 to 500,000 people marched in the streets of Athens on October 22 to protest the Greek government's decision to reenter the NATO military command.

Recalling the role of the imperialist alliance in helping to impose the brutal seven-year dictatorship of the Greek colonels in April 1967, the marchers also raised the slogan of "No to NATO of the April dictatorship."

After the fall of the military junta in 1974, mass pressure and resentment forced the Greek government to withdraw from NATO's military wing, although it remained within the political framework of the alliance. The size of the October 22 protest clearly indicates that mass opposition to NATO is still very much alive.

The protest was called by the youth organizations of the major opposition parties, mainly the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). In addition, the National Student Federation called for a four-day occupation of the universities across the country. Demonstrations against NATO took place in all major cities.

In contrast to the reaction of the Greek workers and peasants, the regime's decision to reenter NATO was enthusiastically welcomed by the U.S. and West European governments. President Carter called it "a big step forward."

According to news reports, the British Foreign Office "warmly received" the decision, while the West German government expressed "satisfaction."

Although relations between Greece and Turkey have been very strained, especially since the Turkish occupation and partition of Cyprus in 1974, the Turkish regime went along with Greece's reentry into NATO's military wing. Previous attempts to reincorporate Greek forces had been vetoed by the Turkish government, but this time a statement by the Turkish Foreign Ministry declared that "this development, given the present world situation, also serves the interests of Turkey."

"The present world situation" is a clear reference to the Iranian revolution on Turkey's eastern border.

As for the Greek government, it faces a general election in 1981 and growing discontent among the working class and peasantry. The ruling New Democratic Party has been carrying out a harsh austerity policy aimed at the workers and

peasants. Inflation reached 25 percent in 1979, while wages increased by a maximum of only 15 percent. At the same time, the 100 largest companies had profits of 132 percent.

Confronted by a deteriorating economic situation, the government has passed a number of antiunion laws intended to prevent the workers from defending their standard of living.

The decision of the Greek regime to make its move in regard to NATO at this point reflects both the pressure exerted by Washington as a result of the Iranian revolution, and the government's fear that it will be facing even greater opposition in the future.

According to NATO sources in Brussels, "Greece and Turkey agreed for the time being to keep secret the terms of the agreement [on NATO] in order to avoid possible internal reaction."

The massive protests on October 22 were an indication of the kind of anti-NATO movement that could be built in Greece. However, both the KKE and PASOK have a basically parliamentary orientation and seek to avoid the kind of sharp confrontation with the capitalist class that a systematic mass struggle against NATO would entail.

Furthermore, PASOK in particular, but also the KKE, cultivate a reactionary national chauvinism against Turkey that disorients the anti-NATO movement and cuts across the genuine anti-imperialist sentiment of the Greek workers.

Andreas Papandreou, leader of PASOK, accuses the government of making "national concessions" to Turkey. He declared:

"We maintain that the terms of Greece's reentry into the military wing of NATO are nationally unacceptable . . . because they lead to concessions of Greek sovereign rights to Turkey."

But it is not "national concessions" to Turkey that are threatening the Greek workers. As thousands of workers who protested in Athens on October 20 demanded:

"End austerity!" "No layoffs!" "Measures against unemployment!" "United we will win!" and "Out of NATO forever!" □

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## New Battles Shaping Up in Poland

By Gerry Foley

Tensions are rising again in Poland as Solidarity, the independent trade-union federation, continues its preparations for a new series of protest strikes to begin on November 12.

On November 6, the first secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Stanislaw Kania, broadcast a threatening speech over national TV. He said: "There are people who build on maintaining and fanning workers' dissatisfaction. There are people who clearly aim at socialism and our alliances." He characterized these unnamed people as a "stalking counter-revolution."

Solidarity plans a chain of two-day local general strikes moving from city to city across the country if an appeals court does not remove the additions to the union's statutes made by a Warsaw district court judge on October 24. Among other changes, the judge inserted a pledge that the union would accept the Communist Party's "leading role."

The government is responding to the threat of new strikes by trying to put the blame on the unions for the rapidly worsening state of the economy.

Kania has announced that Poland's national income will show an absolute decline for the second year in a row, and the harvest this year is expected to be the worst since the Second World War. These problems are being aggravated, according to Kania, by "persistent social tension."

Severe shortages of a whole range of necessities are being reported—meat, flour, milk, lard, margarine, butter, kasha, sugar, and even salt. Moreover, flooding has cut the potato crop in half. Since potatoes are used for livestock feed, it is predicted that many farmers will have to reduce their herds.

By mid-September, industrial production had fallen by 20 percent and coal extraction is expected to fall 8 million to 10 million tons short of the annual target of 208 million tons. Coal is Poland's most important export.

An official report issued a few weeks ago indicated that instead of achieving the trade surplus hoped for this year, Poland may have a deficit running as high as \$900 million.

What this picture reflects is the crisis of the system of bureaucratic rule. The bureaucracy's method of trying to solve the country's economic problems has in fact intensified them; its system of economic management is a failure. But the workers

are not yet in a position to reorganize the economy.

Such difficulties are the storm clouds that indicate how deep the crisis in Poland is and that it will not be resolved without basic changes in the way the country is run.

In a situation of this type, stresses and strains will obviously increase. But the U.S. press has started to portray the Polish workers as headed for defeat before the decisive struggle has even begun.

For example, *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton wrote November 6 that "the hope for a reborn Poland . . . has given way to a deepening sense of uncertainty and pessimism."

Darnton claimed that the Polish masses were losing heart because they had expected all their problems to be solved immediately by the Gdansk accords, and were therefore surprised by the continuing deterioration of the economy.

The Polish people have an experience with adversity and having to fight against great odds that is matched by few peoples in the world. It is ridiculous to claim that the Polish workers began their struggle against a Stalinist bureaucracy backed up by the power of the bureaucrats in Moscow and the rest of the East European bloc without expecting a long battle.

The claim that the Polish masses are becoming demoralized makes no sense in the present situation. If that were true it would be impossible to explain the independent unions' more and more daring challenge to the regime.

In fact, the reports in the international press generally concur that there is a powerful and growing pressure from the ranks on the leadership to take on the bureaucracy.

For example, Bernard Guetta wrote in the November 2 *Le Monde*:

After the end of the [latest round] of negotiations, the national commission of Solidarity met again to try to clarify things. The only result of the discussion was that the most moderate member, the representative of Szczecin, came over completely to the strike proposal. This was after the ranks in his area declared their support for it overwhelmingly. (There were only two votes against and seven abstentions.)

In the November 7 *Times*, Darnton himself noted the militancy of the ranks, quoting Andrzej Kolodziej, a Baltic coast leader, who remarked:

"Gdansk [the local leadership] is very militant, and the workers are even more militant. If we introduced what people are

saying in the factories, the rest of the national commission [of Solidarity] would run away."

The *New York Times* correspondent went on to explain:

"Mr. Kolodziej, who is only 24 years old, ran the strike in the nearby Gdynia shipyard, where workers locked up directors for 48 hours without food and forced them to stand up on a cart to account for their misdeeds."

The Polish bureaucracy has interpreted reports such as Darnton's about pessimism in Poland as reflecting fear by the imperialists of an explosion in Poland. It uses that as an argument to try to convince the Polish people to reconcile themselves to the status quo.

Thus, the main Warsaw daily *Zycie Warszawy*, wrote in its November 1 issue:

The comment [in the U.S. press] on the Polish theme is much more restrained now and there is a much more perceptible concern about the effects such events might have on the international situation. This concern is still more marked in the statements of responsible U.S. politicians who express Washington's growing fears that tension and instability in Poland will have more and more deleterious effects on the world situation.

The Polish bureaucracy is also continuing and escalating its attempts to frame up opposition leaders such as Jacek Kuron and other members of the KOR. It has been prodded by Moscow to move more decisively in this regard.

In its October 23 issue, *Pravda* published an article, purportedly based on one in the Polish CP organ, *Tribuna Ludu*, claiming that the first extensive programmatic document written by Kuron since the August-September strikes was a call for counter-revolution. (See page 1203 for Kuron's article.) *Pravda* declared:

In this document Kuron says that he and his group would like all layers of the society to have so much "autonomy" that the party and the state could not make decisions about the country's development.

He says that the governmental institutions should be "dismantled" gradually, using as a lever the new "structures" in Polish society.

According to a November 4 Reuters dispatch, *Tribuna Ludu* has recently accused the KOR of maintaining contacts with "Trotskyist" groups in Western Europe, which are "linked to terrorists."

The tensions within Poland and the pressures on it from outside are going to continue to grow. Extremely powerful forces are at work, and the stakes are very high.

It becomes more and more important for the international socialist and workers movement to be aware of the dimensions of the confrontation that is shaping up in Poland and to mobilize support for the Polish workers and peasants. □

## 'The Polish Workers' Demands Are the Same as Ours'

[The following article, written by the Brazilian workers leader Luís Inácio da Silva (better known as "Lula"), appeared in the August 29 issue of the Brazilian daily *Folha de São Paulo*. The article was written and published before the signing of the Gdansk agreement August 31.

[Lula is a leader of the powerful metalworkers union and is president of Brazil's independent working-class party, the Workers Party (PT).

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

April 1980: More than 150,000 metalworkers from the industrial suburbs of São Paulo [Santo André, São Bernardo, and São Caetano—the industrial triangle known as ABC] went on strike. At numerous mass meetings held in the Vila Euclides stadium the workers reaffirmed their determination. The factories stopped running, without even one picket line out in front and without any violence. The decisions taken came out of a clear understanding of the problems confronting Brazilian workers today.

These 150,000 workers decided to stop work after suffering years of unrestrained exploitation, where highhandedness and an archaic forty-year-old labor law were combined with the most modern forms of working-class superexploitation, such as the FGTS [a "social" fund that is made up of obligatory deductions from workers' wages, over which the workers have no control and from which they derive no benefits].

What crime did we commit by peacefully demanding a 15 percent wage increase, job security, a reduction in the workweek, and the right to have trade-union delegates freely elected in the factories?

The truth is, our only crime was that we dared to openly express the deeply felt aspirations of the entire Brazilian working class. We demanded the most elementary right: to be considered human beings. That is, to have freedom to organize and participate; freedom to negotiate; the freedom to determine our own destiny, alongside and even within the framework of a democratic confrontation with other sectors of Brazilian society; the freedom to alleviate our children's hunger and malnutrition so they have the chance to escape the very high rate of infant mortality; improvements in education, housing, basic medical protection, and transportation; land for those who work it; and finally the freedom to fight against all this poverty that is suffocating the class that produces all the wealth in this country.

The response to the demands of the 150,000 metalworkers was immediate: the area was besieged by the military, the union headquarters was surrounded and seized. Workers were brutally beaten. We were arrested and thousands of workers were summarily locked out.

It must be recognized that in face of such a brazen criminal attack the employers—who call themselves liberals—had barely enough time to close ranks and block any possibilities for negotiations. Don't we live in a country where all the politicians responsible for our future call themselves democrats?

How many ministers were held accountable for their activities? How many had to resign? How many answered for their acts before the workers? Did they, perhaps, conduct themselves in such a way that a solution could have been achieved through dialogue? Since we must answer all these questions in the negative, we cannot help but wonder whether trade union rights are undemocratic demands.

### Brazil-Poland: The Irony of Fate

August 1980: More than 150,000 Polish comrades stopped working. They were represented by a strike committee that drew up a twenty-one point program for negotiations. The principal demand—defended by the strikers with all their might—was for the right to have independent trade unions. Even more surprising, they occupied their factories, demanded that they be able to eat meat every day, and sang the *Internationale* with the same pride with which we sang the *Hymn of Independence* in the ABC area.

They did not call for the restoration of capitalism in Poland. They want the kind of socialism in which it is possible, in practice, to run this state that has so long been called their state.

And, so far at least, there has not been the slightest violence used against the Polish workers. What's more, the prime minister and other top government officials had to resign. The authorities acknowledged that the present situation is the result of very serious errors in economic orientation. And—God forbid!—the workers are calling on the government to explain the country's true economic situation to the people.

And, much to the chagrin of all those throughout the world who maneuver against the working class, it seems that the immediate trade union elections that the Polish comrades demanded will take place—barring a complete turnabout in the present situation.

The irony of fate is such that in our

country, certain sectors who had so many criticisms of the São Bernardo strike couldn't find enough words to praise the strikes in Poland—in their attempt to show that the workers wanted a return to capitalism.

What is important to keep in mind about all this is that no matter what kind of regime there is, one basic thing must be secured: the working class must be respected and must determine the rules of the game in the social arena as well as the economic and political arenas.

The Polish workers' demands are the same as ours: they are demanding trade union rights, the right to strike, and the right to participate in economic decisions. They are doing what is necessary to convince the government that 150,000 heads think better than one (a conclusion that should be recognized by everyone). Who is wrong? The 150,000 Polish workers or those authorities who are today no longer in power and who thought that they alone held the truth? Who is right? The 150,000 ABC metalworkers or the minister of planning? Who is wrong? The workers or the minister of labor, who has been shown to be totally insensitive to social problems?

Who is correct? The metalworkers or the commander of the Second Army, who sees communists everywhere, conveniently ignoring that what is taking place today is not due to the actions of communists, but is due to the inability of our authorities to resolve the agrarian reform question, inflation, unemployment, and poverty? Who takes our people into consideration in all of this?

I would like to believe that everyone in Brazil who reads the news about Poland will make the comparison (even if unconsciously) with the ABC strike and will arrive at the only possible conclusion: the people are never wrong. The minority that refuses to submit to the correctness of the working class—that's who is wrong.

Other big movements are yet to come—in Brazil, in Poland, in the United States, and throughout the world. Wherever exploitation and restrictions on the rights of the working class exist—the stability of the regimes, no matter what kind they are, will be badly affected. And it will be even worse in Brazil, where we are subjected to unrestrained capitalism. □

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### Yugoslavs Protest Attacks on Free Expression

By George Novack

Representatives of thirty-five governments, signatories of the 1975 Helsinki agreement on human rights, will gather in Madrid November 11 to discuss the status of the "fundamental freedoms" they have promised to respect.

The last conference on the Helsinki accords was held in Belgrade during 1977-78. At that time the host Yugoslav government was itself guilty of numerous transgressions against human rights. The situation has not changed in the meantime.

This was made clear in an October 31 UPI dispatch reporting that a hundred Yugoslav intellectuals, including prominent dissidents, have petitioned the government to strike out clauses in the Criminal Code that curb freedom of speech and conscience. This year the public prosecutor admitted that many people were in jail for what he termed "cursing offenses"—that is, private complaints about the regime.

Among the more notorious violations of free expression is the plight of the eight professors belonging to the highly regarded *Praxis* group. Their review was for years the foremost organ for the unrestricted exchange of philosophical views in Eastern Europe.

The professors were suspended from their posts on the faculty of philosophy in Belgrade by the Serbian legislature in 1975 on the charge of "antisocialist" activities. They had been a thorn in the side of the Titoist authorities ever since their support of the students who occupied Belgrade University in 1968, demanding an end to social inequalities and urging other progressive reforms.

The *Praxis* people vigorously criticized the ideological regimentation and other Stalinist practices of the regime from the standpoint of socialist humanism. The official journal *Borba* wrote at the start of the action against them that they were "black sheep" who were misleading "the young flock" of dissenters.

The eight were forbidden to teach, to publish, give public lectures, or participate in decision-making functions. Over the past five years their case has been publicized worldwide. Protests against the deprivation of their rights have come from their colleagues, the students of all Yugoslav universities, a host of Yugoslav intellectuals and prominent figures in the academic communities of many countries. The mistreatment of the *Praxis* eight is rightly regarded as a gauge of the state of freedoms in Yugoslavia, particularly in view of their staunch defense of democratic

liberties, the principles of socialism, and the interests of the working class.

After Tito's death it might have been expected that a measure of liberalization could lead to rectifying the injustice done to these honest and courageous thinkers. This seemed possible because their situation had improved a bit at the beginning of 1978 while their appeal to the Constitutional Court was pending. (It was later denied.) Three of the eight, Mihailo Marković, Svetozar Stojanović and Zagorka Golubović were able to present papers at a seminar on "Rationality in Social Sciences" at the Dubrovnik Interuniversity Center and the editors of several scholarly journals solicited contributions from members of the group.

In November 1978 they organized lectures on philosophical subjects in private apartments in Belgrade to which university students and young scholars were invited. This "free university" outside of official educational institutions incited a scurrilous public campaign against them by party leaders. One Belgrade city official, Stepanović, declared at a party meeting on Jan. 20, 1979, that the group was "engaged in hostile activity against self-managing society." When they tried to sue Stepanović for slander, the court refused to hold the trial and responded that the functionary had not only the right but even "the duty to struggle against enemies."

In July 1979 Dobrovoje Vidić, chairman of the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, gave a speech, published in the official Belgrade daily, *Politika*, attacking "Praxists" and "anarcho-liberals" as "fifth column elements" who "undermine our socialist society" and "betrayed the ideals of the national liberation and the socialist revolution." He received a stinging reply in an open letter by Ljubomir Tadić and Mihailo Marković, two former partisan fighters who risked their lives many times struggling against Nazi occupation forces and their "fifth column elements" during the 1941-45 war, only to be stigmatized as "fifth columnists" themselves thirty-five years later.

Now the authorities have decided to close this case that has caused them so much trouble by firing the professors from the University altogether. On July 5, 1979 they proposed changes in the Serbian law on the universities for the fourth time in the last seven years. This change will soon deprive the dissident professors of all university rights. Seven of the professors have filed an appeal to the Constitutional

Court against this clearly unconstitutional administrative decree penalizing them for their philosophical and political opinions.

Communist party officials have sought to link the *Praxis* group with Washington's favored dissidents, Djilas and Mihailov, who had met with leading Croatian nationalists in mid-1978. The *Praxis* members have stated firmly that they do not share the political views of these men nor have contacts with either of them.

Supporters of the victimized professors are appealing for expressions of solidarity from international organizations and individuals concerned about freedom of thought and scientific research, and equal rights to employment without any political or ideological discrimination.

An informative report on this case is contained in "Yugoslav Notes VIII," which can be obtained from Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Dept. of Physics, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 02215. Protests on behalf of the *Praxis* eight should be addressed to Yugoslav embassies around the world. □

### Protest Repression in Sri Lanka

On August 8 a massive demonstration in Colombo, Sri Lanka, protested a government order dismissing some 40,000 public sector workers who had participated in a general strike several weeks earlier. The demonstration was forcefully broken up by the police and a violent attack was launched against the demonstrators. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 1, p. 889.)

A number of striking workers and leaders of the country's trade unions and political parties were arrested.

Among those detained were Vasudeva Nanayakkara, secretary of the United Federation of Workers and president of the Government Labour Federation (GLF); Gunasena Mahanama, secretary of the Government Clerical Service Union (GCSU); and Dr. Wicramabahu Karunaratne, general secretary of the Nava Samasamja Party (NSSP).

On October 4 it was learned that all but two of those arrested had been released on bail. Still being held in prison are D.I.G. Dharmasekera, who was one of the leaders of a 1971 island-wide youth uprising; and J.D. Silva, a member of the NSSP.

Those arrested face frame-up charges ranging from unlawful assembly, rioting, conspiracy to commit mischief, and damaging government and private property.

International solidarity is needed to secure the release of all those arrested and to protest the government's repression against the Sri Lanka trade-union movement. □

# DOCUMENTS

## Science and Technology Under Socialism and Capitalism

### Fidel Castro Speaks About First Soviet-Cuban Spaceflight

[The following is the text of a speech given by Cuban President Fidel Castro at an October 15, 1980, ceremony in Havana to welcome Yuri Romanenko and Arnaldo Tamayo, the two cosmonauts from the first joint Soviet-Cuban spaceflight earlier this year. It is reprinted from the October 26 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*.]

\* \* \*

Dear Comrades Romanenko, Tamayo and Shatalov;  
Distinguished Guests;  
Soviet and Cuban Comrades:

Today I was thinking of the way close, fraternal and friendly bonds between the Soviet cosmonauts and our people have developed throughout the history of our Revolution. It's only with the passing of the years that we can appreciate the importance of many events. Thus we recall that the first flight into space, man's first flight into space, coincided with the mercenary, imperialist invasion of Playa Girón [Bay of Pigs]. And just a few weeks later, in an evident demonstration of great solidarity, the Soviet Union sent Gagarin to visit our country. Gagarin left an indelible impression on our people, on all those who met him, because of his revolutionary, political, human qualities which were truly insuperable. Gagarin was, in fact, the first person to be awarded the Playa Girón Order, the Revolution's highest distinction.

Practically every Soviet cosmonaut has visited Cuba at one time or another, and several years ago our Party decided to build a rest house for Soviet cosmonauts on one of the best beaches in Cuba. (APPLAUSE) Some Soviet cosmonauts have visited our country several times. Gagarin was president of the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society. And now another cosmonaut, our dear Comrade Shatalov, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, is the president of the Friendship Society between the USSR and Cuba. (APPLAUSE)

To our people, the Soviet cosmonauts embody the Soviet people and the best fruits of the Soviet Revolution. Whereas Lenin's generation made the Revolution and the generation that followed defended the country and defeated fascism, the present generation is characterized by its great scientific and technological achievements and for having produced the daring men who have conquered space.

When Gagarin predicted that not too many years would pass before Cuban cosmonauts would travel to space, who could have imagined that 19 years later we would be meeting here to fete, to

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#### **Tamayo is our first cosmonaut, Latin America's first cosmonaut, and Africa's first cosmonaut.**

---

pay tribute to, to honor the Soviet-Cuban crew that made it possible for us to say that our country has already sent a man into space?

A cosmonaut is not selected at random. Tamayo said here that he feels honored, highly honored at having been chosen by our Party and our government to be the first Cuban cosmonaut. But he's wrong. A cosmonaut, I repeat, is not selected at random. Such a mission calls for exceptional qualities: a strong character, great ability, great courage, great coolheadedness, a revolutionary

attitude, very high morale and exemplariness. In a nutshell, it calls for being a Communist. (APPLAUSE)

I said recently and I reassert it now that the revolutionary virtues, the courage and many other characteristics that Comrade Tamayo embodies are precisely the virtues of our people. I also said that I was convinced that there were millions of Tamayos in our country, and I really am convinced of this.

He is a symbol of our people's character, determination, daring, courage, intelligence and revolutionary spirit. He symbolizes our heroic fighters, the heroic fighters who gave their lives for the sake of the triumph of the Revolution or defending the Revolution. He symbolizes our people's heroic internationalist fighters, our heroic

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#### **Tamayo symbolizes our people's heroic internationalist fighters and the vanguard of our working class.**

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internationalist workers. He symbolizes the vanguard workers of our working class, the exemplary workers. He symbolizes our Heroes of Labor. However, it takes exceptional circumstances and exceptional merits for our people to select someone to symbolize them.

The Revolution opened the doors for him, as it did for our youth and as it did for all our people: providing the opportunity to study, to improve his education and to serve his people.

This option was open to him as a poor young man—it has been said repeatedly that he was born to a poor family. It is indeed symbolic that our first cosmonaut, Latin America's first cosmonaut and Africa's first cosmonaut—it is not a whim on our part to say that he's also Africa's first cosmonaut, because Tamayo, who is eminently black, also has Indian and Spanish blood running through his veins and he symbolizes the African, Indian and Spanish blood that merged in the crucible of our history and gave rise to our people. . . . This is why we say that he also symbolizes Africa, since he's the first descendant of Africans to travel to space. (APPLAUSE) It is indeed symbolic that a man of such a poor family should have accomplished such an extraordinary feat, because only through the Revolution, through the Revolution alone could a young man like him have had such an opportunity.

When Tamayo joined the Rebel Youth organization; when he like thousands of other young people like him went into the Sierra Maestra and climbed Turquino Peak five times as one of the tests our young people had to pass; when he began taking part in revolutionary activities; when he attended the schools set up by the Revolution; when he answered the call to start training our first pilots in 1961; when he went to the Soviet Union; when he returned to our country and continued his studies, steadily improving his education and maturing; when he continued developing first as a Young Communist and afterward as a member of the Party; when he became a more and more experienced pilot in our Revolutionary Armed Forces; when he went on assuming greater responsibilities; when he rose in rank among our officers; and when he conducted himself in an exemplary, irreproachable, revolutionary, communist way all that time, almost 20 years, it was he, Tamayo, not us, who unconsciously

and without trying chose himself to be the first Cuban cosmonaut. (APPLAUSE)

The lives of thousands of our compatriots have been like this. Such has been the life of every revolutionary leader, of every member of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of our Party, of all our leaders. Such have been the lives of our administrative cadres, of our ministers, of our vice-presidents, of the members of our National Assembly of People's Power, of the officers in our Revolutionary Armed Forces and in the Ministry of the Interior. Such have been the lives of thousands upon thousands of doctors, of tens of thousands of technicians, of more than 100,000 teachers. Such have been the lives of our Heroes of Labor, of our dedicated, hard-working, militant masses. This is because all of them, who in the main came from poor families—also without trying or wanting to—chose themselves for the positions they now occupy in our Party, in our government, in our Revolution. (APPLAUSE)

No honors of any sort were being sought on this spaceflight. The purpose was to fulfill a series of objectives of great importance for the world, of great importance for our country.

One of the most valuable things in connection with the spaceflight was the research that was carried out. Comrades Romanenko and Tamayo have spoken of the research, various medical experiments, research on the characteristics of our country and its natural resources, research on materials of great value which are

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### **We feel prouder as revolutionaries than as Cubans. Ours is not a nationalist but an internationalist pride.**

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indispensable for the development of electronics and microelectronics and research on solar energy and the possibilities for its utilization. In short, a great deal of useful research was carried out.

The great value of such research is not reflected in either the number of experiments or in the content of each one, but in the importance that everything that can be developed, discovered or investigated through spaceflights has for the whole of humanity.

If we want to have a concrete idea of how useful this effort by man is, suffice it to say, for example, that thanks to satellites we can know immediately what the weather is like, obtain photos of hurricanes and their course. Satellites are very valuable devices that enable us to cope with these phenomena, to have enough time to adopt measures that can save thousands of lives. Thanks to satellites, in fractions of a second, millions of people in our country were able to follow what was going on in Baikonur [site of the launching in the USSR]. Thanks to satellites, high seas navigation is much safer today. Thanks to satellites, peoples can communicate with one another in a matter of minutes, regardless of distance.

Therefore, humanity has already drawn many benefits from space research.

Could anyone have imagined only a few decades ago these extraordinary events that our generation has been witness to? In Lenin's time, for instance, the world was far from imagining that that Revolution, the first socialist revolution, the first proletarian revolution, the first worker-peasant state so fiercely attacked by the forces of reaction that it grew into collective intervention, would bear these fruits. Who could have imagined that that country would be the first to conquer space? It was the USSR that paved the way for the conquest of space. (APPLAUSE) The USSR sent up the first satellites and put the first man in space. And nobody can deprive it of that merit, of that glory, of that honor, nor can they deny this fact.

The USSR is the country that has continued the most serious space research, without spectacular feats, without sensationalism; and we have seen this in the last 20 years, in the systematic work that the USSR has been carrying out in space year after year, and

not with purely commercial aims but rather with truly scientific aims.

We have been aware of these achievements in the last while, because we had never been so close to such events as we are now. We had read, seen and heard about the spaceflights, but we had never followed them so closely as this time, when it was a Cuban cosmonaut's turn to take part in one of them.

Quite possibly we have learned more about cosmonautics and space in these last few days than we did in the last 20 years. In a matter of days we became more aware of the colossal effort made by the Soviet people in this field than in the last 20 years, beginning with the opportunity to watch the sensational, spectacular, incredible takeoff of that gigantic booster rocket from Baikonur and later the linkup and the work done in space, while at the same time learning about the Flight Control Center, the computers, the Yuri Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center, the experiments that were being done and how they were being carried out.

It is really incredible that in a generation's time, practically in the normal life span of a person, we have gone from fiction—because spaceflights were material for fiction stories when many of us who are not so old yet were children, when spaceflights were the subject of science fiction movies and books—when in the average life span of a person such extraordinary changes have taken place.

What we have seen in these past 20 years is without a doubt a victory for socialism.

I do not deny nor will I deny now that the capitalists and the imperialists have also made important technical achievements. I'm not going to say that they're underdeveloped when it comes to technology and science. But there's a difference, and that is that we know that what they're developing, that all the science and technology is not for our benefit, that it is against us; that it's not meant to help us but rather to exploit us. It's not meant to make us feel more secure but rather to make us feel more insecure. And who besides Cuba has more moral right to speak this way, since Cuba can't even rejoice over the discovery in the United States, say, of a more effective kind of aspirin to relieve headaches, because it's forbidden to sell even aspirin to Cuba. That's the difference between that kind of achievement and the significance that socialism's achievements in the field of science and technology has for us and for humanity as a whole. We feel the victories of the Soviet Union to be our own. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

We would be guilty of narrow-minded chauvinism—although, of course, any kind of chauvinism is narrow-minded—of sheer vanity, if we were proud of the fact that a Cuban traveled into space and nothing else; if we felt that such a feat made Cubans superior to other peoples. Nothing could be further from the truth. We feel prouder as revolutionaries than as Cubans, we are proud of the Revolution, we are proud as socialists, we are proud as Communists, because it was the Revolution, socialism, the brilliant ideas of Marx and Lenin, the struggle of the Soviet people that made these feats possible, together with the efforts of thousands upon thousands of scientists and research technicians, all of whom we could symbolize in the figure of one man, for example, Sergei Koroliov, the father of the development of spacecraft.

Like him, thousands of scientists and technicians, hundreds of thousands of workers, an entire people, worked to reach the achievements we now consider as our own. And it was thanks to

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### **Such feats demonstrate how much a people can achieve with revolution and socialism.**

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the Revolution, to socialism and communism that such victories were possible. They are victories that benefit and encourage all the peoples of the world, above all the underdeveloped countries, those peoples whose economic and scientific resources don't allow



them to perform feats of this type by themselves. All Cubans are aware of the modest extent of our contribution. This is why we are proud of this feat as revolutionaries, as socialists, as Communists, as internationalists. (APPLAUSE) Ours is not a nationalist but rather an internationalist kind of pride.

What we have witnessed in the last few days has been really encouraging, and our people felt really happy and filled with an

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**It is painful to think that technology that can do so much for humanity can also be used to destroy humanity.**

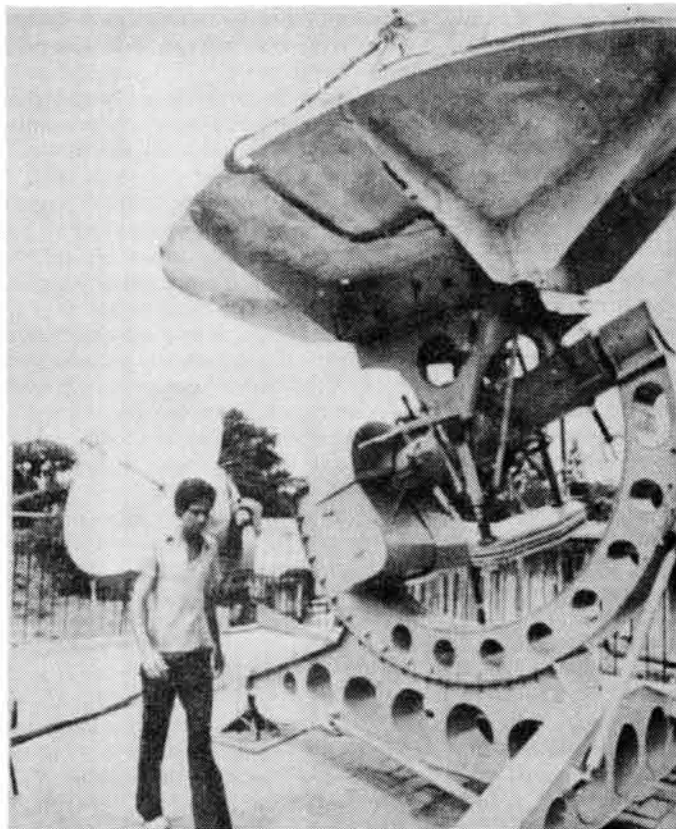
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emotion they had seldom experienced before. They felt tremendously stimulated, but as revolutionaries, socialists and internationalists. I say this because I want our feelings to be clearly understood. These feats, these achievements make us more revolutionary, strengthen our convictions and demonstrate how much a people can achieve with revolution and socialism. This is why today we can say, not because we have exceptional merits or because we are superior to other peoples, but rather because of the Revolution, socialism and internationalism, that now we are not only the leading Latin American country in public health, the leading Latin American country in education, the leading Latin American country in social development—a country that has eradicated an infinite number of evils: begging, prostitution, drug addiction, gambling, etc., etc., etc.—and the leading Latin American country in sports, but also the leading Latin American country in space. (APPLAUSE) Romanenko explained that we were the world's ninth space power and all I can say is, yes, the ninth space power, considering that the Soviet Union's space power also belongs to us. (APPLAUSE)

Humanity could draw an infinite number of benefits from these achievements; from these successes in research, science and technology; countless pressing problems could be solved. Countless sources of anguish could be eliminated in many fields today. When we observe the precision of those marvelous machines, the things they can do and how they do them; when man is capable of building such perfect machines; when man is capable of solving such complex problems and does so with such accuracy—something that can be appreciated in the course of a spaceflight—we can't help but think of the criminal nature of war, of the criminal nature of the arms race. I say this because the same precision, the same exactitude also characterizes nuclear arms and strategic missiles. And it's really overwhelming, really painful to think that technology, that can do so much for humanity, can also bring about the destruction of humanity. Recently we learned of the explosion of a U.S. Titan missile. Luckily it was the missile alone, but it was armed with a 20-megaton warhead, that is, one with 1,000 times the destructive power of the first bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

At this stage and considering the realities of this world, it is really absurd for the imperialist countries still to harbor their ambitions or for circles in the imperialist countries to advocate military superiority over the socialist camp. It is common knowledge that parity, in other words, a balance of military power more or less, has been reached in today's world. However, there are still imperialist circles that advocate the arms race and military superiority. If the theory of military superiority were put into practice it would force the socialist community, chiefly the Soviet Union, to make an enormous effort in the military field, because, as the Soviet Government and Party have stated categorically, the Soviet Union will never allow the imperialists to gain military superiority over the socialist camp. (APPLAUSE)

However, what interest can socialism have in the arms race? Of what interest is arms production to the socialist economy? Whereas the production of weapons is one of the resources that the capitalist countries exploit to seek profits, to create jobs, to alleviate their crisis, what's in it for the socialist countries? The



Part of a Cuban radio astronomy station, used for studying radiation from the sun. Under a planned economy, scientific research can be used to benefit all of humanity.

socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, are characterized not only by full employment, but the more developed ones even have problems due to a lack of manpower.

As a matter of principle, the production of arms and the arms race are of no interest to the socialist economy. It's precisely the lack of identification between the interests of the system and the peoples' interests that forces capitalism to embark on that course, that forces the capitalist system to resort to the arms race.

Just today we read about the sale of arms, to the tune of thousands of millions of dollars—in this case, millions of francs—to an Arab country, a country that has a great deal of money

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**In contrast to capitalism, production of arms and the arms race are of no interest to the socialist economy.**

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because it has a lot of oil! And there it is, a colossal purchase by Saudi Arabia from France, worth 4,500 million dollars in one fell swoop.

The sale of arms and the arms industry keep on developing and transactions involving thousands of millions of dollars are made at the drop of a hat. Naturally, there are some countries who have many millions, too many millions in fact! But we mustn't forget that the rest of the world is partly paying for those weapons. I say this because when the underdeveloped countries have to pay the prices they're paying for oil—prices which are virtually beyond their resources—and when they have to pay more not only for fuel but also for semifinished raw materials and other products from the industries of the developed capitalist countries, there's no doubt that they are also paying part of the cost of those arms.

Thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of brains are still being put to the development of increasingly deadly,

increasingly accurate, increasingly precise, increasingly destructive weapons. And what we're witnessing is a spectacle that really seems staged by madmen, madmen!

If the imperialist countries insist on dragging the world along the road of the arms race, a day will come when the amount of explosives per capita will no longer be measured by the ton. If that trend continues, the day will come when every human being will have an atom bomb hanging over his head. And it remains to be seen—I repeat, it remains to be seen—whether man will be able to survive the means of destruction he himself has created. For there's no doubt that, sooner or later, international tension and the arms race lead to war, and there's no doubt either that the world's problems and the number of trouble spots are increasing instead of diminishing. We're not living in prehistoric times, we're not living in ancient times, in the Middle Ages or in the feudal era. In the past, what a man did might affect the clan or the tribe, and what a tribe did might affect several tribes. But today, what a man invested with power does can affect the whole world; today what a nation does can affect all nations. And the problem doesn't involve the danger of war alone. There are other problems associated with this whole international situation, problems that are increasingly worrisome.

A few minutes ago I mentioned the energy question. The energy problem has, for dozens and dozens of countries, become a vital question for their development. And under present conditions, there will be no development for dozens and dozens of countries in the world. The overwhelming energy problem is one of the serious problems that lie before the world. The food problem is another of the big problems that lie before the world. Twenty years hence—and 20 years fly by, it's already 20 years since the triumph of the Revolution, it's almost 20 years since the first spaceflight, almost 20 years since Gagarin visited our country—20 years go quickly and in 20 years' time the world will have 6,400 million inhabitants.

Just today FAO [UN Food and Agriculture Organization] put out an appeal to world opinion in view of the fact that over 200 million people are going hungry in Africa and Southeast Asia. Agricultural development, food production, requires machinery, requires fertilizer, requires pesticides, requires energy. There are environmental problems, the problems of water pollution, soil destruction, the destruction of forests, the destruction of nature. There are tremendous, growing problems in the world. How can these problems be solved in a climate of international tension and with the arms race?

What we've experienced these days should serve to make us more aware of these problems and these realities, and of the importance of the struggle for international détente and peace.

Our people do what they can and what is their duty.

In our country we have set up the best of conditions to work toward the future in the conservation of our resources, in improv-

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### **There will be no holding back the march of progress, history, and the struggle for independence and liberation.**

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ing living conditions in the countryside and in the cities. We are making an enormous effort to preserve the health of our people more and more; we are making a gigantic effort to educate the new generations. As far as our forces permit, it is also our task to work as much as possible for international peace and understanding among peoples and to further our international cooperation with underdeveloped countries that are even poorer than we are, that need that cooperation. The struggle to try to change the present course of events, to try to prevent the world from continuing along the path of the arms race and war, which can only lead to a dead end and can only mean applying the marvels of science and technology to the destruction of life, of hundreds of millions, or perhaps thousands of millions of human beings, that decisive struggle lies not in our hands, but in the hands of all

revolutionary countries, all progressive countries, all aware governments.

I think that this achievement, this feat carried out by our Soviet brothers with the participation of a compatriot of ours, should be a source of encouragement to us. Tamayo and Romanenko, the first two to receive the title Hero of the Republic of Cuba, should stand as an example to our young and our people as a whole, as an example to all the members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, an example to our Young Communists, to our Party members, to all students and workers. Because what is as clear as daylight is that such feats are not possible without a great effort and a lot of sacrifice and study. We have all learned of Comrades Romanenko and Tamayo's dedication in preparing for the flight. Long periods of study and training that required perseverance, tenacity and willpower so as not to just carry out

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### **We are prepared to defend the first socialist state in the western hemisphere to our last drop of blood.**

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mechanical tasks and be able to deal with problems as they cropped up but to undertake serious scientific research. Tamayo would not have been able to carry out his mission without the willpower he showed, without his sense of duty, without his dedication to study and work, without his perseverance. For this reason they should stand as an example to all revolutionaries.

I was saying that there were problems in the world, serious problems. We are not, however, pessimistic. I believe that the intelligence and capacity of man will prevail over the reactionary, retrograde, irresponsible forces that are risking world survival, that are risking world peace and threatening setting the world back incredibly.

There will be no holding back the march of progress, because there can be no holding it back; there can be no holding back the march of history and the march of the struggle for independence and peoples' liberation. It's absolutely ridiculous, a great lie and trick, to attribute peoples' liberation movements and revolutions to alleged Soviet expansionism. The Soviet Union had nothing to do with the rise of the Cuban Revolution. Lenin's ideas, the changing world balance of forces had a lot to do with the rise of the Cuban Revolution but not the Soviet state. The Soviet state had nothing to do with the appearance of the Revolution in, say, Nicaragua or with the Revolution in Ethiopia, a country that was not resigned to continue living under a feudal regime, an age-old kingdom.

Who can blame the Soviet Union for the liberation movement in Angola and Mozambique? Who can blame the Soviet Union for the struggle of the Vietnamese people for their liberation? These are nothing more than lies and pretexts on the part of the imperialists. That is why I believe that the peoples' struggle, the peoples' progress, the peoples' liberation movements will not be held back, that humankind will be capable of winning the battle for survival too.

And in this increasingly interrelated world, we will do our part; we will work for our country and we will also help other countries. We are prepared to follow a constructive policy, a policy of peace, as we are also prepared to defend our country and our Revolution and our cause tooth and nail! (APPLAUSE) We are prepared to defend the first socialist state in the western hemisphere down to our last drop of blood! (APPLAUSE) And those who talk of leveling a naval blockade on Cuba and attacking Cuba should be well aware of this! (APPLAUSE)

I was deeply moved as I listened to the beautiful heroic anthems of the Soviet Union and Cuba at the opening of this ceremony, this historic ceremony, which is proof of the close, indestructible, eternal friendship between our two peoples.

Patria o muerte!

Venceremos!

(OVATION)

# DOCUMENTS

## Jacek Kuron Assesses Stage of Movement

### Polish Opposition Leader Discusses Which Way Forward

[The following document represents the first major attempt by Jacek Kuron, one of the main political leaders of the Polish opposition, to assess the situation after the August-September strikes and chart a way forward. As such it has been the focus of attacks in both the Polish and Soviet Communist Party press.

[Kuron's article was originally published in the *Biuletyn Informacyjny* of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR).

[We have taken the text from the October 25 issue of the New York Polish-language daily *Nowy Dziennik*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The events that we have been witnessing have shaken the foundations of the system under which we live. The kingpin of the functioning of all the institutions of this society has been undermined, that is, the state monopoly on organization, information, and decision making. The striking workers initiated this process by forcing the authorities to agree to permit the organization of independent trade unions, and at the same time they did so by actually organizing such unions.

Try to imagine what would happen if in the Polish State Railways, where all traffic is subordinated to a schedule set from above, a certain number of trains started following a schedule established democratically by the railway workers or the passengers. This is what the independent trade unions represent for a system in which the entire society is directed by the party-state central authority.

Obviously, a social system, even a totalitarian one, is never as airtight as a train schedule. Nonetheless it cannot function in accordance with two opposing principles.

The problem I am talking about can be seen in the case of the economic plan. Every year around the end of September and the beginning of October the plant managers and production teams get the outlines of next year's plan. These are supposedly submitted to them for consultation. Usually, these projections are greeted with more or less sharp criticism. And then the central authorities proceed to send down the plan, without making any adjustments to meet the objections raised.

Such a situation cannot be repeated this year. The people are strong. They have an organization. Already, in the meetings of the work force in various factories, it can

be seen that the plan's proposals will be rejected.

Can the authorities, then, draw up a plan that will be both effective and correspond to the aspirations of the society? It should be noted that this is the fundamental question for the system under which we live, and there have been several attempts to produce an affirmative answer to this question.

In 1956 in Poland, economists, factory managers, and the movement for workers self-management worked on this question. In fact, this problem was not solved then, nor has it ever been up till the present. No one is working on this problem now. But the economic plan will either be accepted by the entire society, or it will be rejected. In the latter case, the trains running according to different schedules will come into collision.

The same phenomenon has already begun to appear in other spheres where the development of independent trade unions has promoted social activity. We all know about the housing cooperatives whose members have begun to take advantage of the statute in order to function as genuine cooperatives. A similar course is being taken in some medical cooperatives. This will soon be followed by the development of a whole field of cooperative work; consumers cooperatives, farmers cooperatives, suppliers cooperatives, sales cooperatives, and so on.

Sellers cooperatives are becoming an important basis of self-management for farmers, a program for which is being put forward by the farmers unions.

The intellectual workers grouped in independent unions and the developing independent student movement want to carry out a program of autonomy for the institutions of higher learning and autonomy for scholarly and scientific work.

Every one of these movements, and I have by no means mentioned them all, tend to radically reduce the sphere of control of the central authorities. Each one thus helps to break down the system of centralized rule, and therefore the apparatus of centralized rule.

In order to halt this breakdown, the apparatus must either bring the independent social movements under its control, and deprive them of real content, or it has to democratize the system and do so quickly.

The first solution is not very likely.

Society is already organized independently of the state authorities. It can, therefore, push through a genuine democratization and at the same time serve as the guarantor of this democratization. This is the first time in thirty-five years that we are dealing with such a situation of self-organization of society and such a push for reform.

In face of an organized society, the government is helpless. It has no social base. There are no groups to which it could appeal. It can only use troops, and in the present situation they would have to be foreign troops.

Is the second solution, therefore, possible? Can the apparatus quickly change its nature and the system? That is unlikely. If it cannot do that, will it make a suicidal attempt to stop the movement by force? Such a move could easily end in Soviet intervention. The authorities are inclined to exaggerate this threat, but it cannot by any means be discounted. Should we then try to hold back the movement in order to avert this threat of intervention?

In order to answer this question, we have to remember that every social movement has its own dynamic, and it cannot arbitrarily be directed this way and that way, either from the inside, that is, by its leaders, and still less from the outside, that is, by its advisors.

The people who have been deprived of their rights for long years and intimidated into submission have already emerged as a powerful force. But they have not yet fully realized this. They do not believe that they can achieve their aspirations, and all the more so because they have not yet been able to articulate these aspirations. They are simply rebelling against the conditions in which they live and the authorities who are responsible for these conditions.

Many people still do not believe that anything can be achieved, but they have already begun to act. So, at the beginning it is possible to put forward even the most minimal demands, and the movement will organize itself around them. If we were today to raise demands that go further, such as independence for the Polish state and parliamentary democracy, which unquestionably correspond to the aspirations of the Polish people, they would not draw the broad masses of society behind them.

The movement would not organize itself around such demands because in the consciousness of the masses such a program is not realistic. Therefore, in the initial

stages of the movement it is possible only to put forward very limited demands, which correspond not so much to the aspirations of society as to what the people consider essential.

However, if people coalesce around limited, or even the most minimal objectives, they start to act. A movement develops. And then every success helps the people articulate aims and demands that come closer and closer to corresponding to the aspirations of society. We can see this most clearly by looking at the development of the great wave of strikes in August and September.

These actions had been developing for a long time before the slogan of independent unions was raised. Before this point was reached a long and difficult road had to be traveled from the timid organization of workers commissions in Ursus. In the beginning, they were not even openly called that. It was necessary first to clearly articulate demands on organizational questions, freedom of speech, release of the political prisoners, and so forth.

Last July, during the Lublin railway strike, the workers dissolved the old yard council and demanded new elections. At that point in the strike wave, this was the program that most fully corresponded to the aspiration of the workers to have their own genuine representatives.

The leaders who raised this demand were elected to the new yard council. But if during the Baltic coast strikes the strike committees had retreated to the level of the Lublin demands, they would have lost their leadership. They would either have been ousted, which was not very likely, or the movement would have suffered a defeat. If there had been elections, the strike leaders would not have won them.

For this reason the present leaders of the unions cannot from any standpoint put forward a program for limiting democracy to questions of wages and conditions. They cannot come out against Polish society taking up a program of self-management in agriculture, the economy, and in science, scholarship, and culture. They cannot say that production teams should not reject the proposals of the plan. That is, they could, of course, make such calls, but no one would listen to them, and they would immediately lose their authority.

It is no solution either to say nothing about the disintegration of the state authority that I have described. This is a fact. And if the movement for democratizing society did not take this reality into consideration in its program, it could suffer a defeat of unforeseeable consequences.

The weaker the government is, and—which is almost the same thing—the more incapable it is of adapting its policy to the situation, the more the movement for democratization will radicalize. Radicalization here means turning toward direct opposi-

tion to the government, to its political structures.

Every step forward in face of threats weakens the feeling of intimidation. It is true that Poles feel the threat of Soviet intervention. But the government and some circles of the liberal intelligentsia exaggerate this. During the Lublin strike, which did not raise any political demands, this argument was openly used, and it had a certain basis. Other strikes ensued and this threat began to lose its force.

During the Baltic coast strikes, the government did everything it could to spread rumors that Soviet tanks were going to come in at any minute. When the strikers won, regardless of whether or not there was a real danger of Soviet intervention, in the public consciousness, this threat declined in importance.

Can anyone place limitations on the movement's dynamic? This can and must be done. But the only way to do it is with a program that will enable the movement to develop and at the same time make it conscious of its own limitations. The time has come to realize that we have entered the stage of a mass movement, and that only those who clearly and publicly define their goals can act effectively.

No half truths, behind-the-scenes dealing, or discreet negotiation can have any effect on the movement. This sort of thing would only facilitate rumor-mongering and intrigue. Democratic conditions help to clarify differences and resolve them. The time has come for publicly formulating a program of democratization through a public discussion. Before we can reach agreement on a common program, we will certainly have to differ. The only thing that we must be careful of is to make sure that everyone can understand what the differences are about.

The proposal for clearly defining programs and their limitations will meet opposition only from those who think that certain words, and the names of those who long ago pronounced these words, are sacred. Such opponents would be right only if the analysis presented here were wrong, that is, if the process of democratization could be limited today to the unions and to the problems of wages and conditions. They would be even more right if the unions could hold back the demands of society for higher wages in face of the decline in the living standard, or that they could do this without any real program for repairing the economy, or that they could do this by sticking to the program that the authorities are offering in this area, and not for the first time either. I think that such a notion would be both utopian and adventurist. I do not think that the Soviet authorities are inclined to take such notions seriously. I think that they will either accept a democratization within certain limits, or they will invade, regardless of the words we use.

I wrote that there is a chance to direct

the social movements so that they will keep their demands within the limits of national security. This chance depends on working out a program of democratization that would correspond to the aspirations of Poles but not exceed those limits.

The outline of a such a program was formulated long ago by the milieu, taken in the broadest sense, that was working with the KOR, that is, the groupings around the publication *Robotnik*, the free trade unions in the Gdansk area, the peasants' self-defense committees, the activists in the Student Solidarity Committees, and so forth.

This program called for independent trade unions, self-management groups of workers and neighbors, and autonomy of science, scholarship, and culture—in a nutshell for building democracy at the basic levels of the society.

Such a movement cannot raise demands for overthrowing the political authorities, but by its existence and the insinuations it creates it poses demands on these authorities. Moreover, and in the present situation this is its most pressing task, it will help the authorities meet these demands.

I am thinking here about the movement of managers, experts, and scientists who will take up the task of working out a program of economic reform and give impetus to the work of self-management bodies of various types under an economic plan. In the future this movement must extend its field of activity to the entire state administration.

Today, already in discussing projects for reform of the economy and the plan, it is possible to build an extensive self-managing working group that will become both a condition for carrying out this whole program of reforms and be one of the strengths of the process.

In the process of democratization, the society can build its future without exceeding the limits of national security. Moreover, these limits are not fixed. They widen with the worsening of the USSR's international position, with the growth of centrifugal forces in that country and in its sphere of influence, as well as with the economic dependence of the Soviet bloc on the West.

Parliamentary democracy and independence represent the aspirations of Poles. We cannot pose such demands today as immediate goals. However, we do pose them as long-range objectives toward which all our activities are directed. We have set out on a road on which there is no turning back. I think that today the USSR will accept that sort of democratization from below that I described rather than have to resort to armed intervention. Tomorrow, it might accept further steps in this democratization in return for guarantees of its military interests. The day after tomorrow, who knows. . . .

The important thing is that Polish society must be ready to take advantage of



Polish trade union leader Lech Walesa speaking to workers in Gdansk.

every real chance, and that means organizing in independent movements for self-management of various activities.

In the light of such a program, what immediate demands should be raised today?

In the first place, it is necessary to clearly define the tasks of the independent unions that have been built as organizations of the workers dedicated to defending the workers' interests. The unions must not intrude into the government's area of responsibility, or initiate economic reforms, or structural changes, or changes in the functioning of this administration, and they must not pull this administration's chestnuts out of the fire. It is understandable that there is very strong pressure for this today because at the moment the trade unions are the focus of self-organization for the society, and the society wants to decide its own fate. This can be seen clearly in the Gdansk agreement, which is an agreement between the state and the society and touches on almost all areas of life.

But the activists must resist such pressure, not in the sense of rejecting it, because they cannot do that. The unions can only take up part of these demands—the defense of the clearly and unambiguously defined interests and demands of the workers. Next, the unions should give impetus to other forms of democracy, that means such social institutions that could take up demands that society wants taken up, and thus promote various types of self-management, first of all in the economic sphere.

From this standpoint, two initiatives by the Gdansk unionists seem important to me. One is the concept of little workers parliaments organized or promoted by the unions. In such parliaments, the workers would take up various questions, such as the coordination of factories or even whole branches (there is a project for a little

parliament of building workers). The responsibility for the decisions of these assemblies would be assumed by the participants and by the government, with which they would negotiate, not by the unions.

The second initiative is still more interesting from the institutional standpoint. That is the concept of having factory councils represent the personnel. This calls for turning over the social welfare funds previously set aside for the trade unions to take care of a whole series of administrative tasks to a council elected by the entire work force. This council will not be tied formally to any union. It would be chosen in elections in which the various unions and other organizations could present slates.

This council would administer the social welfare fund and the aid and credit funds. The unions would not substitute themselves for this whole administrative structure. They would run candidates in the elections. They would watch over its functioning. Through their representatives in the councils they could exercise an influence on them, assist them, and defend them. But they would not in any way replace them.

The immediate advantage of this arrangement is it does not dump all sorts of administrative tasks on young trade-union activists. If they are not burdened by administrative tasks, the unions can preserve their working-class character, and the union leaders will not be turned into administrators.

Such factory councils would become a splendid school for democracy and at the same time an embryo of workers self-management, which would not in any way become mixed up with the unions.

Secondly, I think that the most pressing task at the present moment is building a movement for economic reform. I have already written about who the participants

in this would be and what the tasks are. The trade unions have to fight now on questions related to the living standard and working conditions. They have to do this from the beginning, from the moment that they begin to organize, and they have to wage this fight consistently and effectively.

It has to be remembered that the unions represent only one point of view, and this standpoint has to be brought into balance with the others through negotiations. The trade unions cannot immediately assume the standpoint of the society as a whole. The interest of the society in general can only be formulated on the basis of balancing various tendencies and needs, when those directly concerned can express their points of view freely.

The state's domination of the citizens is based on the fact that no one represents their points of view. In reality everyone represents the point of view of the state and the state's interest. This is deleterious not only to the citizens but to the state, or to the state above all. The balancing off of the various interests has to be done on the level of social movements.

In questions related to the plan and economic reform, negotiations should take place between the union movement and the movement for economic reform and workers self-management. But this process cannot be limited to that. Already a farmers self-management movement is emerging. It is initiating a program for reform of agriculture, and it needs the support of specialists in the relevant fields. This movement has to bring the specific interests of agriculture and the farmers into balance with those of the trade unions and the economic reform movement.

Another major question, which has already been mentioned, is independent organizing work in all areas of social life. Alongside self-management in science, scholarship, culture, and the economy, it is necessary to build self-management on the lower levels of education. It is also necessary, and by no means less important, to build a movement in defense of human and civil rights, in defense of the independence of the courts and the bar.

Of course, I have not mentioned all the spheres of action of the social movements. There is no doubt that every possible area will be drawn in because the entire society is mobilizing more and more and such activity always spreads in all directions.

In the face of such a pluralism of social movements, all attempts at centralizing this activity from above are doomed to failure. What is needed is agreement on the levels of organization and program. The activists of the various movements must jointly, and that means publicly, work out programs, express their differences and divide on them, and agree and come together. An enormous task of building democracy lies before us. It can only be accomplished by democratic means. □

# Statement of the Fourth International

## Halt the Murder of Kim Dae Jung!

[The following statement was adopted September 28 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

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1. Chon Doo Hwan's military court sentenced Kim Dae Jung to death on September 17. The military judges also sentenced twenty-three codefendants to prison terms ranging from three to twenty years. The South Korean military under the new strongman, President Chon Doo Hwan, wants to physically eliminate Kim Dae Jung, the most popular liberal oppositionist.

Kim Dae Jung and his twenty-three codefendants were arrested, together with 1,200 opposition activists, by the military on May 17, when Chon Doo Hwan took full power through the imposition of emergency martial law throughout South Korea, just before the May 21 popular uprising in Kwangju against the military. The court-martial of Kim Dae Jung and his codefendants was nothing other than a continuation of the military's brutal suppression of the Kwangju masses.

An appeal court on September 5 upheld death sentences for Lee Jae Mun and Shin Hyan Shik, two of seventy-three persons accused of being members of the Liberation Front for the South Korean People. The Martial Law Command indicted 175 persons, who were arrested during the Kwangju insurrection, on sedition and other charges.

Chon Doo Hwan's military court is in full swing. The totally fabricated trial against Kim Dae Jung and his codefendants and the death sentence imposed on him are an essential component of the military's entire repressive operation against the South Korean masses.

Halt the murder of Kim Dae Jung, and defend his twenty-three codefendants! Repeal the September 17 sentences of the court-martial! Stop the military trial against the Kwangju 175! Release all political prisoners!

2. The massive Kwangju uprising in May has revealed the depth of the crisis of the South Korean dictatorial regime. The military/secret police regime faces a real threat from the broad masses of the oppressed urban population, among whom there are about 8 million workers.

The October 1979 uprising of the popular masses in the two southern cities of Pusan and Masan led the secret-police chief to assassinate his "master," Park Chung Hee. The political crisis of the dictatorial regime became generalized. Since the end of last year, broad layers of workers devel-



KIM DAE JUNG

oped militant economic struggles, destroying the structure of the yellow company-unions.

In March and April the students joined the movement against the oppressive regime backed by the military, and by the end of April the student movement became the countrywide political strike-force of the popular masses. The showdown between the merging forces of the students, workers, and other oppressed urban masses on the one hand and the military on the other was the May Kwangju mass uprising and the military's bloody suppression of it.

The Kwangju uprising is not the end. The final account has not yet been settled between the mass movement and the dictatorial military in South Korea. Since the Kwangju insurrection, the South Korean situation has entered a new stage. It remains marked by the broad national uprisings of the preceding months and is overshadowed by the possibility of new sharp and direct confrontations between the military, led by Chon Doo Hwan, and the oppressed masses.

The central rallying call of all the oppressed—the workers, the vast urban poor, the students, and the rural poor—is for democracy. The principal enemy is the military regime under Chon Doo Hwan, who has now become the new strongman president.

3. Democracy is the immediate and fun-

damental demand of all the oppressed in South Korea. It is the central rallying call around which the popular masses will unite to overthrow the military dictatorship.

The victorious advance of the South Vietnam armed liberation struggle in 1968-72 was a major international blow to the Park Chung Hee military regime, which was established through the 1961 coup. Under the worsening international situation, the Park Chung Hee regime made feverish efforts in its export-oriented neocolonial industrialization. Until 1978, it was temporarily successful. South Korean exports expanded tremendously in the international capitalist market. Under the inevitable inflationary situation, the average level of annual wage increases was 32% between 1974 and 1978, according to the official statistics, and it is said that the proportion of national income going to wages rose from 40% to 46% in the same period. The Park Chung Hee regime thus bought time for its political survival.

But the export-oriented economy has entered a structural crisis since the end of 1978. This was the social and economic background to the rise of the militant new workers struggles since 1979. The crisis of the Park regime became generalized in 1979. Consequently, Park was assassinated by his secret-police chief.

The workers who conducted the struggles of 1979 and 1980 represent the new South Korean working class, which has been formed through the very process of the neocolonial industrialization since the end of the 1960s. Their major demands were for wage increases to compensate for high inflation and the right to form free trade unions, to freely negotiate labor contracts, and to strike. These demands are essentially democratic, but they are totally incompatible with the South Korean neocolonial regime and its export-oriented economy. The cry for democracy is the central political demand of the South Korean working class and the other oppressed masses. The popular overthrow of the military dictatorship under the cry of democracy will open the way for generalized mass struggles by the working class and other oppressed social layers.

End martial law! Down with the Chon Doo Hwan dictatorship! For freedom of the press, association, and opinion! For the workers right to form free trade unions and to strike! For convocation of a popular, sovereign constituent assembly! For a government of the oppressed and exploited; a government of the workers, peasants, and soldiers!

4. Korea has been divided between the workers state of North Korea and neocolonial South Korea since the time when Japanese colonial domination was overthrown at the end of World War II. The confrontation between the North and the South has continued since the Korean war of 1950-53. The neocolonial regime in South Korea relies heavily on U.S. imperialism militarily and on Japanese imperialism economically.

In South Korea, 39,000 U.S. troops are stationed along the cease-fire line in a direct confrontation with North Korea. The South Korean neocolonial state is backed up by the U.S. air force and navy, with their military bases in Japan. The Japanese armed forces are now an organic component of the whole imperialist military set-up in the Northeast Asian region, in confrontation with North Korea and the Soviet Union. When the Kwangju masses rose up and the South Korean military moved to suppress them, U.S. imperialism deployed two warning-control aircraft (AWACS) to Okinawa and two carriers of the Seventh Fleet to the Korean Strait near North Korea.

In addition, the South Korean export-oriented neocolonial economy is heavily dependent on the Japanese imperialist economy for financial capital, processed raw materials, engineering know-how, etc. The feverish export-oriented industrialization has not changed South Korea's fundamental dependence on the international imperialist economy, especially on the Japanese imperialist economy.

The United States, Japan, and South Korea form an organic imperialist-neocolonial set-up in Northeast Asia. It is a strategic edge of the global imperialist system in the present confrontation with the rising colonial revolution. The South Korean masses have the capacity to throw this set-up into a grave crisis, opening a new front in struggle against international imperialism, after the Iranian revolution in the Middle East and the Nicaraguan revolution in Central America. Thus, the stakes in South Korea are high, both for international imperialism and for the world proletariat.

5. The South Korean popular struggle to overthrow the military dictatorship is simultaneously a decisive part of the international struggle against U.S. and Japanese imperialism in the broader region of East Asia.

The popular overthrow of Chon Doo Hwan's military rule would have a direct impact on the masses of North Korea. We have not heard the independent voices of the North Korean workers and peasants under the bureaucratic bonapartist rule of Kim Il Sung for decades. But, as the dissident poet Kim Chi Ha, who is still in jail, once pointed out, "The spring in Athens will be followed by a spring in Prague, thus the whole Korean peninsula will be covered by the spring." The popular

overthrow of the South Korean military dictatorship would give the Northern masses the opportunity to raise their heads against the bonapartist bureaucracy.

In Japan, the solidarity campaign in defense of Kim Dae Jung and his codefendants is now tending to become a workers' political struggle against the Japanese bourgeois government. The South Korean situation is directly influencing the Japanese workers movement.

In Taiwan, the broad masses have been raising their voices and expanding their opposition to the repressive mandarin-Chinese Kuomintang regime. The neocolonial regime in Taiwan is also heavily dependent on U.S. and Japanese imperialism. The popular overthrow of the South Korean military dictatorship would intensify the opposition of the workers and peasants to the Kuomintang regime. It would also strike a severe blow against the anti-Soviet, proimperialist international policy of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Japanese imperialism relies totally on the military regime in Seoul to defend its neocolonialist exploitation of the South Korean workers. Chon Doo Hwan's military dictatorship is the guardian of the neocolonialist interests of the Japanese bourgeoisie. Massive social struggles by the South Korean workers and other exploited masses, which would be encouraged by the overthrow of military rule, would develop against the whole neocolonial economic and social structure that was framed under the Park Chung Hee regime. South Korean workers will vigorously attack Japanese capital and their neocolonial exploitation. The struggle against neocolonialism will be closely combined with a struggle for national unification with North Korea.



Soldier beats protester in Kwangju.

The most fundamental task of all the Korean workers and peasants is their national unification. And Korean unification is only possible on a socialist basis, under genuine workers' democracy.

The South Korean military and U.S. and Japanese imperialism are the major obstacles to the unification of Korea. The popular overthrow of the military dictatorship is the decisive springboard of the struggle for national unification of Korea. The struggle for national unification will be conducted through the workers and peasants struggle for their own government, combined with the anti-imperialist struggle against the counterrevolutionary alliance of U.S. and Japanese imperialism with neocolonial South Korea.

The South Korean workers and peasants struggling for national unification will look for active support among their comrades in the north fighting against the Kim Il Sung bureaucratic regime. The unification of Korea, which is in the basic interests of the workers and peasants, will be realized through the combination of a proletarian revolution in the South and a political revolution in the North.

Down with the joint U.S.-Japanese military backing to South Korea! Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Korea! Abrogate the U.S. and South Korean military treaties!

Confiscate Japanese capital and all other foreign capital! Expropriate all the monopolies tied up with the regime!

For immediate economic cooperation with North Korea!

For a workers and peasants government! Long live the socialist and democratic unification of Korea!

6. The U.S., Japanese, and other governments of the imperialist bourgeoisies are asking Chon Doo Hwan not to execute Kim Dae Jung. This is totally hypocritical on their part. All these governments agree about the "lack of a basis for democracy" and the absolute necessity for a military regime in South Korea. They are just asking Chon Doo Hwan to show a "slight leniency" toward Kim Dae Jung in order to give a cover for imperialist bourgeois democracy.

But this "slight leniency" is not slight at all for the South Korean military regime. It would mean showing a major weakness of military rule in face of the South Korean masses. It is a necessity for the military to physically eliminate Kim Dae Jung, who has become the symbol of the South Korean masses' struggle for democratic rights and their opposition to the military regime.

Build the international movement to halt the murder of Kim Dae Jung! Raise the banner of solidarity with the South Korean workers and peasants! □

### H-Block Tour Organizer Jailed in U.S.

By Gerry Foley

As protests grow internationally against the British treatment of Irish political prisoners, the United States government is holding a spokesman for the H-Block hunger strikers—a survivor of an assassination attempt by a British hit squad—in prison in New York City.

On October 27, a hunger strike began in the special punishment block of Long Kesh concentration camp, known as H-Block. Seven men chosen from volunteers have vowed to starve themselves to death unless intolerable conditions imposed on the roughly 500 Irish political prisoners who refuse to accept criminal status are ended.

Desmond Mackin came to the United States to tell the story of the political prisoners.

Mackin entered the U.S. without a visa in August because Washington will not let released Irish political prisoners come to tell their own story to the American people. His purpose was to organize a tour for former H-Block prisoners, who also entered without visas.

Mackin was picked up early in October. He has been jailed in New York City's Metropolitan Correction Center for more than a month, awaiting an extradition hearing, which he expects to come around mid-December.

When Mackin was arrested, officials told him that they intended to make an example out of him, that they thought it was a mistake just to deport Irish political prisoners without inflicting some other punishment on them.

The charge on which Mackin faces extradition is implication in the 1978 shooting of a soldier.

The truth is that the SAS, the British counterinsurgency force, tried to assassinate Mackin and a companion, as they had murdered at least twelve Catholics that year. Both Mackin and his friend were very badly wounded.

The 1978 murder campaign was so blatant and bloody that even the chauvinist British press started complaining. One young teenager was blown away by a concealed hit squad when he came to see if an arms cache he found and reported had been taken away. Even some duck hunters found themselves transformed into the hunted.

In the wave of revulsion against these murders, even a special juryless court of the type that tries such cases had to admit that there was no evidence that Mackin and his companion did anything illegal.

The companion was released. But the indictment still stands against Mackin

because he fled before the trial to escape military harassment. The U.S. government has held him prisoner for more than a month on the basis of this charge.

I went to talk to Mackin as a visitor, after prison officials failed to act on my request to conduct an interview. He told me that other journalists had also been given the runaround.

Mackin is a quiet, politically well-informed man of twenty-five. He has grown up under conditions of massive terror. But despite his harrowing life as the quarry of the state's gunmen, lawyers, and jailors, he had a relaxed, humorous attitude. He told me he was learning a lot about America. The overwhelming majority of his fellow prisoners are Black and Hispanic.

But Mackin wants to get out to go on telling the truth about H-Block and the situation that produced it.

His case symbolizes the cooperation between the U.S. and British governments in trying to keep fighters against inhuman repression imprisoned behind a wall of lies.

While the U.S. government holds Desmond Mackin in prison, the country's rulers have started rolling out their big guns to stop the growth of support for the H-Block hunger strikers.

In an editorial November 5, the *Washington Post*, one of the most influential voices of U.S. capitalism, warned against any softheartedness toward prisoners who have chosen to starve themselves to death rather than continue to live in the total deprivation and degradation imposed on them.

"The strike is bound to start looming large in the American consciousness as Christmas nears. Calls will come, from troubled Irish-Americans, IRA sympathizers and humanitarians, to have the British do something. Americans as a whole need to understand, however . . . that what is involved is an assault on the very tissue of authority by which any government is sustained."

The writers showed that they themselves have no knowledge of the Irish situation. For instance, they put Long Kesh in Belfast, while actually it is twenty miles away, a long distance for Northern Ireland, which is only fifty miles deep.

There is only one true, honest statement in the entire editorial. It is the one that indicates that the U.S. rulers know that a wave of revulsion against the treatment of Irish political prisoners is coming and that they are afraid of it.

The *Washington Post's* description of the background to the hunger strike is crudely tendentious:

"Their [the hunger strikers'] purpose is to compel the British to give them political status, and thereby to legitimize both their employment of terror and their cause. They belong to a group of prisoners whose previous efforts to achieve these goals—by a 'dirty protest' involving a refusal to wear prison clothing, bathe or use toilets and by seeing to the murder of prison guards in their homes—had failed."

The fact is that the political prisoners were denied sanitary facilities when they refused to accept criminal status. Then when they went for their allotted few minutes to use a communal toilet in the morning they were systematically harassed, beaten, and humiliated by the guards.

So, they were forced to stay in their cells. When the chamber pots overflowed, not only were they not emptied but the defenders of the "authority by which any government is sustained," the guards, occupied themselves in sweeping urine back into the cells. When the prisoners tried to throw the feces out the window the upholders of the "authority" the *Washington Post* is concerned about diligently pitched it back in.

The guards strove to get the prisoners to accept this "authority" by continually beating them and subjecting them to frequent anal searches.

The jail officials tried to get the prisoners to accept this "authority" by depriving them of all reading material—except for urine-soaked shreds of a bible—by denying them decent food, medical care, recreation, or contact with the outside world, by humiliating and degrading even the few visitors they were allowed.

Obviously a certain type of person was needed to defend this "authority." The guards come from the same layer of the proimperialist Protestant caste created by British rule that has produced generations of murder gangs and pogromists. In this case, the state pays these worthies to maintain its "authority" by indulging in their favorite sport—bashing members of the oppressed population. It also offers popular fringe benefits, such as cheap booze.

The editorial does not say why political status could be granted from 1972 to 1976, and had to be withdrawn precisely in the latter year. Nor does it say anything about the oppressed Catholics shot down in their own neighborhoods by British troops, much less mention the civil rights demonstrators systematically slaughtered by British paratroopers in 1972.

The capitalist class that the *Washington Post* speaks for agrees with its British counterpart about what is required to maintain the "authority by which any government is sustained"—repression and lies. □