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Salvadoran Junta Murders Six Revolutionary Leaders

- *International Protests Condemn Savage Killings*
- *Reagan Aides Promise More Arms to Assassins*
- *Revolutionary Front Elects New Leadership*



Formation of Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses in January 1980, a key step in process of unification that led to establishment of the Revolutionary Democratic Front. Juan Chacón, one of FDR leaders murdered by junta, is at left.

Proimperialist Regimes Threatened
**Class Polarization Deepens
Throughout Middle East**

**BEHIND THE
SHOW-TRIAL
IN PEKING**

NEWS ANALYSIS

Behind the Show-Trial in Peking

By David Frankel

On November 20 the former leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) most closely associated—aside from Mao Zedong himself—with Mao's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" went on trial in Peking.

The prime defendants are the so-called Gang of Four, headed by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing. The other members of the Gang of Four are Zhang Chunqiao, formerly Shanghai party boss and member of the Standing Committee of the CCP's Politburo; Yao Wenyuan, who was in charge of all the media in China during the Cultural Revolution; and Wang Hongwen, a former Shanghai factory guard who distinguished himself as a strikebreaker during the Cultural Revolution, was selected as a "trade union leader," and was later elevated by Mao to deputy chairman of the CCP.

Also facing charges is Chen Boda, Mao's political secretary and a leading figure during the Cultural Revolution. Chen and five former top military officers have been lumped together as "the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao clique" and linked to former Defense Minister Lin Biao.

Crimes of Defendants

Nothing quite like this trial has ever taken place in any Stalinized workers state. Unlike the infamous show trials staged under Stalin, the defendants in Peking really are guilty of many of the "towering crimes" they are charged with, and everybody in China knows it. If anything, the claim that the defendants were responsible for the persecution of more than 700,000 people and the death of some 34,000 understates the real figures.

One of the demands voiced by the movement for democratic rights in China has been for an open trial of the Gang of Four. During the period when Democracy Wall in Peking served as an open forum, wall posters asked what good would the regime's promise of due process be if it was not adhered to in political cases. The case of the Gang of Four was seen as a test.

Thus, the CCP newspaper *People's Daily* sought to reassure the Chinese people November 20, saying "China has now entered a new era of democracy and enforcement of the law."

Selected portions of the trial have been broadcast on Chinese television, newspapers have devoted much of their space to it, and 880 carefully screened "representatives of the masses" from all over China have been selected as an audience. In this way, the regime has sought to give the appearance of an open trial while guard-

ing against any embarrassing revelations.

It is as if mass pressure in the Soviet Union following the death of Stalin had forced Nikita Khrushchev to place some factional opponents such as secret police chief Lavrenty Beria on trial for the crimes of the Stalin era, instead of quietly shooting him.

Mao's 'Cultural Revolution'

Mao originally launched the Cultural Revolution in April 1966 as a means of wresting control of the CCP from his opponents within the party. While Mao used antibureaucratic demagoguery to mobilize millions of youth as a battering ram against his factional opponents, the conflict within the CCP was between two wings of a privileged bureaucratic caste. When Mao had gained control of the CCP he turned against the youth his faction had used, repressing the Red Guard groups and exiling huge numbers to remote areas of the countryside.

But Mao's economic policies proved disastrous. This, and his policy of all-pervasive repression, brought the country to the brink of civil war. After his death his chief opponents, led by CCP Vice-chairman Deng Xiaoping, took over the party and reversed the domestic policies imposed by Mao.

Although Deng and other top CCP leaders were subjected to repression during the Cultural Revolution, they themselves were responsible for arbitrary arrests and imprisonments, and a vast network of prison camps, during the 1950s. The Stalinist regime in China is incapable of carrying out a fair or honest examination of its own past.

Furthermore, the regime is unwilling to admit Mao's responsibility for the crimes committed during the Cultural Revolution, since opening up Mao's role to criticism would inevitably lead to questions about the entire history of the CCP.

Role of Lin Biao Group

Putting just the Gang of Four on trial would have made it extremely difficult for the regime to draw a line between Mao and his chief lieutenants. Therefore, Deng ordered Chen Boda and Lin Biao's five military subordinates—some of whom had been presumed dead—brought out of prison and placed on trial as well.

Lin Biao's support had been crucial for Mao during the Cultural Revolution. The Ninth Congress of the CCP in April 1969 adopted a new party constitution that de-



JIANG QING

"Comrade Lin Biao has consistently held high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and has most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Zedong's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Biao is Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrade-in-arms and successor."

But Lin's alliance with Mao fell apart around a year after the 1969 Congress. The charges against Lin and his "counterrevolutionary clique" in the current trial are the same as those made by the Tenth Party Congress held in August 1973. At that time Lin was labeled a "bourgeois careerist" and "conspirator" who "launched [a] coup in a wild attempt to assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao."

Lin himself was killed while trying to flee China in 1971, while Jiang Qing and her group continued to enjoy Mao's protection until his death in 1976. However, by accusing the Gang of Four of complicity in the alleged 1971 plot to assassinate Mao, the regime was able to portray them as an anti-Mao faction.

A few days before the opening of the trial, but after the charges against the defendants had already been published in the Chinese press, the *Liberation Army Daily* tried to establish the connection between Jiang and Lin by claiming that Jiang took a flattering photograph of Lin in the summer of 1971. Only three months later, Lin "went out of his way" to send her some watermelons.

"These facts show," the newspaper said, "how closely they colluded with each other."

Selective Repression

The show-trial in Peking will hardly satisfy the layer of Chinese youth who

went through the experience of the Cultural Revolution and began to draw general political conclusions about the character of the regime and the need for institutionalized forms through which the masses of working people could exercise control over the government and ensure their democratic rights.

Deng is counting on the widespread hatred of those responsible for the Cultural Revolution to brush aside any objections about the character of the trial. The Chinese press has made much of the fact that the defendants have received far better treatment than they meted out to their victims.

While junking Mao's system of rigid ideological control and extreme totalitarianism, and attempting to regain the confidence of the masses, the Deng leadership has carried out a campaign of selective repression. It aims to separate the masses from the elements raising demands for workers democracy and to crush the latter.

In keeping with this project, it has closed down Democracy Wall, carried out a series of frame-ups against activists in the movement for democratic rights, and moved to eliminate the section in the Chinese constitution guaranteeing the right of the people to put up wall posters.

Thus, the "era of democracy" promised by the *People's Daily* exists only insofar as the Chinese workers and peasants do not try to make use of their newly proclaimed rights.

Nor is this an abstract question for the Chinese masses. In October 1979 Wei Jingsheng, an activist in the antibureaucratic movement, was sentenced to fifteen years in prison on frame-up charges of "counterrevolutionary agitation" and "supplying a foreigner with Chinese military intelligence." Wei's real crime in the eyes of the bureaucracy was his opposition to the invasion of Vietnam.

Because of the Peking regime's proimperialist foreign policy, the capitalist media has taken a rather understanding tone toward the current show-trial. An editorial in the November 30 *New York Times* even declared "There is a symmetry about recent events in Poland and China. . . . Though they dare not admit it, the Chinese from on high and the Poles from below are destroying the central ethic of Communist doctrine—the idea that the keepers of party ideology shall reign supreme."

In reality, what the CCP leadership is attempting to do is to prevent precisely the kind of political revolution that is beginning to unfold in Poland. Along with imperialist technology, Deng has sought to import into China more sophisticated methods of controlling the masses.

However, the very fact that Deng has been forced to hold a public trial of his opponents within the bureaucracy is an indication of the immense pressures bearing down on his regime. □

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Editor: Mary-Alice Waters.
Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio
Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Managing Editor: Steve Clark.
Editorial Staff: Gerry Foley, David Frankel,
Ernest Harsch, Janice Lynn, Fred Murphy,
Will Reissner.

Business Manager: Sandi Sherman
Copy Editor: David Martin.

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Iranian Masses Press for Arms and Democratic Rights

By Fred Feldman

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's invasion of Iran is bogged down in the oil producing province of Khuzestan. Iranian forces have not yet been able to expel the invaders, but the Iraqi regime has failed to win control of Iran's oil fields and pipelines, much less bring about the fall of the Khomeini government.

Revolutionary Guards and local defense units, along with guerrilla forces that sprang up after the invasion, have blocked any significant new advances by Iraqi forces since the capture of most of the port city of Khorramshahr in October.

Hussein's prospects took a setback when an attempt to capture the Iranian city of Susangerd was repulsed after heavy fighting. The Iraqi drive against Abadan has also made little headway, despite the destruction wrought by Iraqi artillery.

Iran's air strikes against installations in Iraq have increased. And the Iranian Navy has launched attacks against Iraqi oil ports. These developments came as Hussein was claiming that Iraq would once again be able to make massive oil deliveries to the imperialist powers.

Within Iraq, the war is deepening opposition to Hussein's dictatorship. In the November 17 *New York Times*, Pranay B. Gupte described the mood of growing numbers of Iraqis as casualty figures rise. "Conversations at random with Iraqi families turn up puzzlement about why the war is being fought. . . .

"There have been no mass meetings or popular demonstrations in support of this war," Gupte noted. This contrasts sharply with Iran, where millions have repeatedly mobilized to express their determination to defend the revolution.

The Iraqi rulers have tried to meet this hostile mood with repression. "Hundreds of pro-Iranians have been arrested," reported Youssef M. Ibrahim in the November 30 *New York Times*, "and, according to diplomatic sources, many have been executed."

According to *New York Times* reporter Drew Middleton, fear of dissent within the army ranks has further slowed the Iraqi military drive. Commanders fear that more aggressive attempts to take Iranian cities "would increase the loss of life among Iraqi soldiers, on whose loyalty the regime rests. . . . A high percentage of the Iraqi rank and file are Shiites, the sect of Islam that dominates Iran.

"Under present battle conditions the loyalty of the Shiite soldiers is not in question," claimed Middleton, "although there is evidence that the command has

weeded out some from front-line units. But the Government would expect a serious situation to arise, a NATO intelligence officer said, if many Shiites were killed fighting their religious brothers from Iran.



ABOLHASSAN BANI-SADR

"The effect, the source said, would be bad both for the army and for public opinion represented by the families of the fallen soldiers."

Nor is it just the Shi'ite majority that the Iraqi regime is worried about, although the capitalist media tries to present the class polarization within Iraq and the Middle East as a whole in religious terms.

At the start of the war, there was hope in imperialist circles that quick Iraqi victories might lead to the early restoration in Tehran of a regime like the shah's. Now their main concern is that setbacks to Hussein may precipitate the extension of the Iranian revolution.

"A defeat for Iraq would certainly bring down President Hussein," warned the *London Economist* November 1. "And an Iranian victory could ignite Islamic fundamentalism throughout the Middle East."

While opposition to Hussein's war fuels the class struggle in Iraq, the class consciousness of working people in Iran has been sharpened by the need to mobilize to militarily defend their revolution.

According to socialists in Iran, the workers have become increasingly insistent that they be armed and that the economy be reorganized to meet the demands of war.

The bourgeois government of Khomeini, Bani-Sadr, and the Islamic Republican Party fears such moves as threats to the existence of the capitalist state and capitalist property relations in Iran.

Disputes over how to respond to the

Iraqi invasion and the mobilizations it has sparked are leading to deepening factionalism within the government. This factionalism is the target of growing criticism by Iran's working people.

As in the past, one response of the government to criticism of its actions has been attempts at repression. The offices of the Tudeh Party, a pro-Moscow Stalinist organization, were shut down and its paper was suppressed for a time. Members of the Mujahedeen (an Islamic group proclaiming socialist goals that played an active part in the anti-shah struggle) have been arrested and their paper has been banned.

In a gross frame-up, Mohammed Reza Saadati, a leader of the Mujahedeen, was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of spying for the Soviet Union. His attorneys claim that they were not invited to the trial, shown the alleged incriminating evidence, or even permitted to know the name of the presiding judge.

Such attempts at repression have always been highly unpopular among the Iranian workers, who fought hard against the shah for the rights they have won. Their opposition began to find massive expression when the government took action against some of its bourgeois critics. After a television broadcast where he criticized the government, former Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh was jailed November 7.

He was released November 10 at the order of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, after tens of thousands of names were collected on petitions for his release. Few working people agree with Ghotbzadeh—he represents a current that favors conciliating U.S. imperialism—but his arrest was seen as a threat against the rights of all.

An attempt by a group of self-proclaimed Islamic militants to occupy and shut down *Mizan*, a newspaper reflecting the views of former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, was also rebuffed.

The Tudeh Party's newspaper is now publishing again, the socialists say, and the Mujahedeen distribute their press in defiance of the government ban. The regime's police have difficulty stopping them because of the support the Mujahedeen get for their rights.

The Iranian section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) denounced all the attacks on civil liberties.

On November 19, according to Iranian socialists, up to two million people ga-

thered in Tehran's main square for a rally celebrating the Shi'ite Muslim faith's most important religious holiday.

They responded enthusiastically as Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr denounced violations of democratic rights ranging from the arrest of Ghotbzadeh to the repression of left groups and even incidents of torture. He contrasted these actions to the goals of the anti-shah revolution.

Bani-Sadr is attempting to build a following for his faction in the government by appearing as a supporter of democratic rights. But other positions he holds are unpopular among the workers and farmers. This is particularly true of his defense of the army command—including many holdovers from the shah's regime—who have held their forces back from the defense of Abadan, Khorramshahr, and other cities.

Demands are growing for the massive arming of working people.

Khomeini's call for the arming and military mobilization of the whole country has not been implemented. But the masses are arming as best they can.

Factories have formed their own armed units. Workers and farmers have dug up guns buried after the February 1979 insurrection. Armed demonstrations of workers and youth have become common events in Iranian cities.

The masses increasingly demand that a new military command structure and a new armed force be created by integrating the Revolutionary Guards, the armed groups, and the army units that want to fight. The obstructionism of the army high command and the lack of a unified command have significantly slowed down the defense of Khuzestan.

The HKE has found that its demand for universal military conscription of workers gets a good response. This demand is opposed by the government and the capitalist forces.

Anticapitalist sentiments, inspired by the hoarding and disruptions caused by profit-seeking manufacturers and merchants, continue to rise. Some communities have formed night patrols that catch merchants who are carrying out illegal business.

Socialists report that the success of rationing in assuring sections of the masses food and heating oil at low prices is convincing many that capitalism and profiteering is the prime cause of shortages and inflation.

Neighborhood and factory *shoras* (committees) are increasingly taking on functions of local government, the socialists say.

In the view of the Iranian socialists, the advances scored and problems faced by the Iranian revolution in its present fight for survival are posing more sharply the need to establish a workers and peasants government. □

Mideast Summit Targets Iran, PLO, Syria

Why Syrian Troops Were Sent to Jordan's Border

By Fred Feldman

Threats of military conflict along the Syrian-Jordanian border indicate the growing tensions between the Iraq regime and Middle Eastern monarchies on one side and Iran and its allies on the other.

Jordan's King Hussein is the most open supporter of the Iraqi regime's invasion. The Jordanian port of Aqaba has become the main conduit for arms from France and other imperialist powers to the Iraqi war machine.

King Hussein, like the Persian Gulf sultans, kings, and emirs, fears that his throne won't last long if the Iraqi forces fail in their drive against the Iranian revolution.

For the same reason, these regimes are angling for a settlement with the Israeli rulers that will make it possible to break the back of the Palestinian resistance movement.

And many of these regimes look with favor on U.S. moves to establish a stronger military presence in the region.

In order to advance these goals, Hussein held a conference of Arab heads of state, beginning November 25 in Amman, Jordan. The governments of Syria, Libya, Algeria, Southern Yemen, and Lebanon boycotted the meeting, along with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The rump meeting endorsed Iraq's territorial claims against Iran. Trial balloons went up about replacing the PLO as representative of the Palestinian people in any Mideast negotiations. "Since the United States won't talk with the P.L.O., who better an emissary to talk with Reagan than King Hussein," explained a "Western diplomat" to *New York Times* correspondent Pranay B. Gupte.

In the midst of the conference, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad reportedly began to mass troops on the Syrian border. Figures on the numbers have ranged above 30,000.

Tishrin, the Syrian government paper, accused the United States and Iraqi governments of conspiring with King Hussein to "destroy Syria and the Arab cause."

On November 30, the Saudi Arabian rulers sent Prince Abdullah, commander of the Saudi National Guard, to discuss the issue with Assad in Damascus.

The mobilization of Syrian forces won Hussein instant backing from Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin who warned that his forces would not "stand idly by if Syria invades Jordan."

A similar threat from Israel stopped a 1970 effort by Syria to militarily intervene in Jordan. At that time King Hussein

was massacring thousands of Palestinians in an effort to crush the Palestinian movement.

Assad runs a capitalist police state in Syria, but he was never able to crush the Syrian masses the way Hussein crushed the masses in Jordan in 1970-71. The result is a sharper conflict with the Israeli rulers that has placed him in a tense relationship both with imperialism and with the Persian Gulf monarchs.

King Hussein appears to have actively aided efforts by the Muslim Brotherhood, a right-wing organization, to topple Assad. Their activities combined with widespread economic and political discontent to produce virtual civil war in parts of Syria earlier this year. The brotherhood is heavily funded by the Saudi Arabian monarchy. And the tone of Western news coverage left little doubt of Washington's desire to see Assad out of office.

Assad recently brought the rebellion under control, through a combination of severe repression and promises of major social reforms. But Assad charges that Hussein is still providing his foes with bases inside Jordan.

Assad is convinced that another right-wing drive against his rule is inevitable and likely to succeed if the Iraqi rulers achieve their goal of toppling Khomeini in Iran. That is why he joined Libyan President Qaddafi in denouncing the Iraqi invasion.

Assad also knows that the deal with Israel that King Hussein and Saudi Arabia's King Khalid are angling for could only be obtained at the expense of Syria's demands for the return of the occupied Golan Heights, as well as at the expense of the Palestinians. It would also leave Syrian forces in Lebanon highly vulnerable to Israeli military thrusts.

As a counterweight to these threats, Assad signed a twenty-year friendship treaty with the Soviet government October 8.

The success of the Iranian resistance in preventing an Iraqi victory has apparently convinced Assad that he can meet some of these threats head-on. He hopes military pressure will force King Hussein and his Saudi Arabian allies to adopt a less hostile stance toward the Syrian government. □

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Salvadoran Junta Murders Six Revolutionary Leaders

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The U.S.-backed rulers of El Salvador have committed another vicious crime against the people of their country.

On November 27, six members of the executive committee of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador were kidnapped and assassinated.

Their bodies, riddled with bullets and showing signs of torture, dismemberment, and strangulation, were found at a lake near Ilopango International Airport, east of the capital San Salvador.

Among the dead was the FDR's chairman, former minister of agriculture Enrique Álvarez Córdova. Álvarez was a member of one of El Salvador's wealthiest land-owning families; he had broken with the ruling oligarchy to join the forces fighting the dictatorship.

Also murdered were Juan Chacón, general-secretary of the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR); Manuel Franco, a leader of the Democratic Nationalist Union (UDN); Humberto Mendoza of the People's Liberation Movement (MLP); Enrique Barrera Escobar of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR); and Doroteo de Jesús Gómez Arias of the Slum Dwellers Union (UPT), which is part of the BPR.

Rightists Raid News Conference

The six were captured shortly before noon on November 27 as they were about

to hold a news conference at the San José High School in San Salvador.

According to eyewitness reports, the school was surrounded by about 200 men in Army and National Police uniforms. About twenty men in plain clothes burst into the school and forced everyone to the floor. The FDR leaders were beaten, blindfolded, and carried off in pickup trucks. Some twenty-five other persons who were in the school at the time were also captured.

Soon thereafter a group called the "Maximiliano Hernández Anticommunist Brigade" called news media in San Salvador to claim credit for the kidnappings and to say that the FDR leaders had all been killed. (Maximiliano Hernández was the military dictator who massacred 30,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants after the defeat of an uprising in January 1932.)

The military/Christian Democratic junta quickly denied all knowledge and responsibility for the murders and kidnappings, but it is well-known that the junta allows Death Squads such as the Maximiliano Hernández Brigade to operate with total impunity. These gangs are made up of security personnel and extreme right wing activists and are commanded by top military officers.

Government Helicopters Take Part

Moreover, the Salvadoran military had



Manuel Franco, one of slain FDR leaders.

announced early on the day of the murders that its intelligence units had broken up a supposed "guerrilla plot" to assassinate members of the junta and the armed forces. The FDR charged that government helicopters hovered over the school during the attack.

The junta's disavowal of responsibility for the killings of the FDR leaders was further discredited by the first news dispatch on the events sent from the Salvadoran capital by the Associated Press.

"The authorities have announced the capture of the top leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front," the AP said. "A government source said that the specific charges against each one of the detainees would be made known later."

The bodies of the assassinated FDR leaders were first taken to the Cathedral of San Salvador in the center of the capital. Hundreds of activists from the organizations that make up the FDR gathered to pay homage to the fallen leaders.

But the terrorists had not finished their work. During the evening of November 28, a powerful dynamite blast was set off in front of the cathedral. It destroyed the massive wooden doors of the church, injured five persons inside, and damaged the casket of BPR leader Juan Chacón.

Credit for this new attack was also claimed by the Maximiliano Hernández Brigade, which went on to issue death threats against all Jesuit priests in El Salvador.

After the bombing of the cathedral the remains of the FDR leaders were moved to

International Protests Hit Salvadoran Murders

Demonstrations and protests around the world began immediately as news of the murder of the FDR leaders spread. Thousands of Nicaraguan students and workers marched on the Salvadoran embassy in Managua on November 28 (see article on page 1272).

In Mexico City members of the External Commission of the FDR headed a march of thousands, which terminated at the Salvadoran embassy in that city.

Trade union leaders from eight Latin American countries meeting in Costa Rica sent an energetic protest to the Salvadoran junta and called for stepped up international solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

Olof Palme, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, sent a letter to the ruling Salvadoran junta stating: "We denounce the outrageous murders committed against FDR leaders and condemn the

bloodbath under your regime. We pledge continuous solidarity with democratic forces in El Salvador, especially with the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR)."

In New York and San Francisco hundreds participated in emergency demonstrations in front of Salvadoran consulates. Among the slogans were "USA, CIA, Out of El Salvador" and "No draft, No War, No troops to El Salvador."

The Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a private research group representing U.S. trade-union, professional, civic, academic, and religious figures sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie calling on Washington to disavow its support for the Salvadoran junta. The letter stated that "we see nothing to confirm the belief that the ruling junta represents democratic ideals" and it charged that "the regime in El Salvador, along with Guatemala, is the area's worst human rights violator."

a private funeral home in a working class area of the capital. The activists who had been inside the cathedral were evacuated to a refugee center operated by the Archbishop's office, where some six hundred peasants, mostly women and children, were also being lodged. The peasants had fled army attacks in the countryside.

During the night of November 28, army and police units surrounded the refugee center.

FDR Announces New Leadership

On November 29, the Revolutionary Democratic Front held a news conference in San Salvador to announce that a new executive committee had already been established to replace the fallen leaders. The new leadership body includes two

members of the old one—Leoncio Pichinte of the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28), and Saúl Villalpe of the United People's Action Front (FAPU). They had not attended the November 27 news conference and thus had escaped the massacre.

"The movement of the Salvadoran people for their liberation has not been beheaded," one of the new FDR leaders told the press. "There is mourning but not demoralization."

The new FDR executive committee announced plans for a massive funeral for the dead leaders, to be held at the San Salvador Cathedral on Wednesday, December 3. "We call on all democratic governments and popular organizations throughout the world to participate in the services for our fallen compañeros," an FDR representative stated.

The FDR also called for three days of mourning throughout El Salvador to begin December 3. A similar mourning period for slain Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, who was murdered in March, turned into a general strike.

In its statement on the murder of its leaders, the FDR declared: "These assassinations demonstrate once more the criminal character of the Military, Christian Democratic junta, that wants to impose its 'peace' by way of massive extermination of the Salvadoran people. . . ."

"The FDR strongly and energetically condemns these acts and warns the enemies of the Salvadoran people that the struggle will continue with more impetus and energy. . . . The 'disappearance' of people will not impede the advance of the popular struggle." □

The Day After Assassination of FDR Leaders

Reagan Aides Promise Salvadoran Junta More Arms

By Suzanne Haig

Two days after the assassination of six revolutionary leaders in El Salvador, the *New York Times* ran a front page story about a meeting between Ronald Reagan's top Latin America advisers and leading Salvadoran businessmen on increased U.S. military aid, including combat equipment, for the junta.

Meeting with the Productive Alliance, described as "El Salvador's private-enterprise steering group" by the *Times*, were Jean Kirkpatrick and Roger Fontaine of the American Enterprise Institute; James Theberghe, former Ambassador to Nicaragua and a member of Reagan's State Department transition team, and Constantine Menges of the Hudson Institute.

Roger Fontaine is Reagan's principal Latin America adviser and former director of Latin American studies for Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

He is also the architect of a strategy that calls for a "U.S. backed coup against the Sandinist Government in Nicaragua through a cutoff of all U.S. aid and by 'molding the national guard in exile into an effective fighting force,'" according to the November 29 issue of the *Nation*, a U.S. liberal weekly.

The Salvadoran capitalists and Reagan advisers were in agreement on the need for a counterrevolutionary offensive against the masses of workers and peasants in El Salvador.

Manuel Enrique Hinds, of the Productive

Alliance, said Reagan's advisers "were very clear on the need for strengthening the security forces and on emergency financial aid to halt a collapse in the economy."

In turn, the position of the Productive Alliance was stated in a document quoted in the *Times*. Labeling the struggle against the military dictatorship a Communist offensive backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba, the document concluded that "the only solution to this problem is to destroy the Communists militarily and start an economic recovery based on modern agriculture and industrial development."

The document also urged the U.S. government to make it clear that "Marxist aggressions in Central America will not be tolerated."

Right-wing forces throughout Central America have been encouraged in their bloody work by the shift to the right of the U.S. ruling class, as expressed in Reagan's program.

A "well-placed Guatemalan" quoted in the November 30 *Times* bluntly explained: "No one can be sure what policies Reagan will finally adopt toward the region. So the idea is to present him with a fait accompli. It also means that Reagan need not be associated with the bloodbath."

While feigning concern for human rights in El Salvador, the U.S. rulers have secretly been backing the murderous actions of the Salvadoran junta from the beginning.

Now, Washington is using the killings of the Revolutionary Democratic Front leaders to throw up its hands in mock despair, claiming that the situation is so out of control that the U.S. has no more leverage.

As State Department spokesperson John Trattner put it, the murders reduce "the chances to bring about a dialogue between the leftist political front and the Government, which we were hopeful would begin as a way of pacifying the country."

In line with this new stance of openly accepting an inevitable confrontation, the Washington meeting between the Salvadoran businessmen and Reagan's advisers included a frank discussion of how the U.S. can help prepare El Salvador's military for its counterrevolutionary drive. The businessmen, "who are in close touch with the leaders of the armed forces," according to the *Times*, "say the 12,000-member army needs mobile equipment, training and better staff planning to undertake a sustained offensive against guerrillas operating out of rural strongholds."

If Reagan decides to step up aid to the Salvadoran military, "a public commitment of military aid and combat training for the security forces would be expected to follow quickly after the inauguration," according to the *Times*. This would also mean beefing up economic aid above the \$90 million given to El Salvador last year.

The Carter administration already has sent an advisory group of army officers to El Salvador. □

Thousands Besiege Salvador Embassy in Managua

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—Thousands of students marched from the campus of the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua (UNAN) to the Salvadoran embassy here during the afternoon of November 28 to protest the brutal slaying of five top leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

The UNAN students were joined along the way by large contingents of high school youth and students from other university campuses.

As the workday ended and night fell, more demonstrators arrived, representing trade unions and Sandinista Defense Committees from neighborhoods throughout the capital.

By six p.m. the streets surrounding the Salvadoran embassy in the wealthy Las Colinas neighborhood of southeastern Managua were overflowing with protesters chanting "As Nicaragua won, El Salvador Will Win!" and repeatedly calling out the names of Juan Chacón, Enrique Álvarez Córdova, Enrique Barrera, Humberto Mendoza, and Manuel Franco—the latest victims of the U.S.-backed junta that rules El Salvador. [The body of a sixth victim, Doroteo de Jesús Gómez Arias, has also been found.]

The demonstration had been called at noon the same day by the Nicaraguan Committee for Solidarity With the Peoples, which is made up of representatives of trade-unions and mass organizations.

Speakers from the solidarity committee and from the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS-19) addressed the crowd outside the embassy. Sanor Herrera, the JS-19's delegate to the Council of State, said that the demonstration of Nicaraguans represented the support of all the peoples of Latin America for the just struggle of the Salvadoran people:

"This is the moment to unite our fists. This is the moment to unite our arms. This is the moment to unite, to strike down the gorillas who try to bury our people in hunger and poverty by means of indiscriminate repression," Herrera said.

José Horacio Portillo of the Revolutionary Democratic Front said that the Salvadoran people would not halt their struggle, despite the harsh blow that had been dealt by the assassination of their leaders. "There are hundreds with the same capacities for leadership as those who have fallen," Portillo said.

The escalating repression in El Salvador comes at a time when threats to the Nicaraguan revolution are also growing.

The week before the murders of the FDR leaders, the revolutionary government here announced the discovery of a counterrevolutionary conspiracy involving top Nicaraguan businessmen and exiled officers of Somoza's National Guard, with contacts in the Salvadoran and Honduran regimes.

Still more ominous were the statements made by a top Honduran military officer to the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* in a November 26 dispatch from the Honduran capital Tegucigalpa. Correspondent Raimundo Riva Palacio reported that the Honduran regime has "warned Nicaraguan representatives in Tegucigalpa that if the Managua authorities do not modify their leftist policies, troops from CONDECA [Central American Defense Council] would be forced to intervene in Nicaragua during the first quarter of 1981."

Riva Palacio quoted the unidentified Honduran officer as saying that his government had already made known to the Nicaraguans "that we are not in agreement with their leftist Communist policies and that we are not going to tolerate them. We said that if these aren't changed we will invade them with CONDECA troops, for which we will surely have the consent of Ronald Reagan."

The domestic allies of this counterrevolutionary Triple Alliance that is taking shape along Nicaragua's northern border express themselves here through the capitalist daily *La Prensa*. On November 26 *La Prensa* announced the capture of the FDR leaders with a banner headline "Dragnet in El Salvador." A subhead expressed the scarcely concealed hopes of the paper's publishers: "Final Offensive Broken?"

The next day, *La Prensa* announced the death of the Salvadoran leaders with the headline "A Tooth for a Tooth," and ran an editorial oozing with hypocrisy that condemned violence in general and "the forces of hatred and destruction." The paper also prominently featured a *Wall Street Journal* editorial blaming the civil war in El Salvador on "international Marxism" and "Russian imperialism."

The FSLN daily *Barricada* replied sharply to *La Prensa* in its November 28 editorial on the El Salvador murders. "We do not condemn violence in the abstract as the hypocrites do," *Barricada* said. "We condemn imperialism, the Salvadoran ruling class, and its tools in power for this new aggression against the humble and exploited Salvadorans."

In the face of events such as those now occurring in El Salvador, *Barricada* continued, the friends and enemies of the people are dividing up, "and we see how in our country the Social Christians . . . the reactionary daily [*La Prensa*], the puppet parties of imperialism, and even the businessmen who want to make heroes out of the [Nicaraguan] counterrevolutionaries who went looking for support in El Salvador, are all joining the imperialist press along with the enemies of the Salvadoran people.

"They will never condemn this crime from the same standpoint that we do, because that would mean betraying their allies in Central America, who for the moment have been able to implement the same imperialist plan that the local reactionaries wanted for Nicaragua as well."

In face of the events in El Salvador and the threats to the revolution in Nicaragua, *Barricada* concluded, "it is now necessary to transform indignation into effective solidarity, to increase our efforts to consolidate this revolution and our voices in denouncing the threats of imperialist intervention and CONDECA aggression against the Salvadoran people.

"In that way," *Barricada* continued, "we will contribute to their victory." □



Guerrillas training in central El Salvador.

Factional Infighting Rends Salvadoran Regime

Junta Loses Ground Despite Imperialist Aid

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The assassination of the top leaders of El Salvador's popular organizations on November 27 came amid stepped up military attacks in the countryside against the guerrilla forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Counterinsurgency drives were launched in several departments in central El Salvador in late November. These were similar to the army's mid-October offensive that failed to dislodge FMLN forces from the department of Morazán in the northeastern part of the country.

At the same time, increased collaboration between the Salvadoran military and their counterparts in Honduras and Guatemala has been reported. According to a November 26 dispatch to the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* from the Honduran capital, the armies of the three countries have set plans for what they term "Operation Sandwich"—a joint military operation aimed at wiping out the guerrillas in El Salvador.

"Our army is totally committed to supporting the Salvadoran military," a top Honduran officer told *Excelsior* correspondent Raimundo Riva Palacio. "All the military and police posts in Honduras have photographs of the guerrilla commanders and have orders to kill them the moment they cross the border."

Guatemalan troops have been operating on Honduran territory for some time, the officer said.

The officer also told *Excelsior* that a contingent of U.S. Marines from the Panama Canal Zone was stationed "near the Salvadoran coast" and was "awaiting orders."

The FDR has been charging for some time that a U.S. Naval Task Force—including an aircraft carrier—is patrolling in the Pacific near El Salvador.

Despite the efforts of the U.S. imperialists and their Guatemalan and Honduran puppets to bolster the Salvadoran regime, its situation is growing more and more desperate. There are increasing reports of desertions and demoralization inside the army. Soldiers wounded in action against the FMLN guerrillas are no longer taken to the military hospital in San Salvador because the officers do not want the high casualty levels to become widely known.

Factional infighting among the military hierarchy has erupted in violence. Col. Adolfo Majano, a junta member who has a reputation as a "dove," narrowly escaped an assassination attempt on November 3. His colleague Col. Carlos Choto was not as lucky. Choto and his family all perished on

November 16 when his house was attacked by armed men and set afire. Military units assigned to guard the residences of top officers were nowhere to be found during the attack and firefighters did not arrive for more than two hours.

Col. Majano categorically blamed both attacks on his extreme right-wing enemies inside the military.

Ten days after the murder of Choto, the civilian supporters of the extreme rightist officers held a news conference in San Salvador and openly called for a new coup to remove not only Majano, but also the Christian Democratic representatives from the junta.

Donaciano Sorcia González

Mexican Peasant Leader Murdered in Veracruz

Donaciano Sorcia González, a Mexican peasant leader from the state of Veracruz, was murdered November 12 by landowners' agents because of his participation in the struggles of his community of Palmarillo.

Sorcía's death took place at dawn, after he got off a bus on his way to Palmarillo. He was traveling with Gregorio Paredes, a national leader of the Independent Revolutionary Peasant Coordinating Committee (CCRI) and of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT—the Mexican section of the Fourth International). Sorcía was also a member of both organizations.

After they had gotten off of the bus, a pickup truck that had been following them stopped a few yards behind them, then started up rapidly and tried to run them down. Paredes was able to jump free, but Sorcía was run over and killed.

The Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno* reported the murder November 13, along with the charge of CCRI General Secretary Margarito Montes Parra that Sorcía was murdered because of his political activity.

PRT National Secretary Sergio Rodríguez declared: "We believe this is a clear-cut case of political assassination carried out by landowners from the states of Sonora and Veracruz.

"One of the objectives," he stressed, "was the murder of our comrade Gregorio Paredes, since just a few days earlier he had participated along with the Independent Peasants Front (FCI), which is a

"With the coming to power of Reagan in the United States it is possible to propose a new alternative," said Ricardo Jiménez of the Broad National Front (FAN). The FAN is headed by Maj. Robert D'Aubuisson who is widely believed to be the chief of El Salvador's Death Squads.

The day after the assassinations of the FDR leaders, Col. Majano abruptly left the country for an undisclosed destination. Although his aides said it was only "a brief personal trip" and that he would soon return, speculation was rife that the colonel would resign.

The revolutionary forces have sought to deepen the split between the officers led by Majano and the hardline majority of the military hierarchy. Jacobo Salazar of the FMLN said in Havana on November 29 that "insofar as Col. Majano is willing to support our pluralist platforms, there will be a place for him as well."

Salazar called on "democratic officers in disagreement with the junta" to join the side of the revolutionary forces. □

member organization of the CCRI, in land seizures in the state of Sonora, in the Yaqui Valley."

Paredes had been arrested by the police for his role in the land seizures in Sonora. After being held incommunicado for several days he was released over the state border in Sinaloa and warned never to return to Sonora.

Paredes has also been a prominent leader of the Palmarillo peasants in Veracruz, organizing struggles for land in that area. He got the peasants of Palmarillo to join the CCRI and also recruited a number of peasant leaders to the PRT, among them the murdered compañero Donaciano Sorcía.

All this would suggest that the attack that resulted in Sorcía's death was aimed at Gregorio Paredes. It is an integral part of the attempts by the government and landowners to stop the advancing process of independent organization of the Mexican peasantry. And in particular it is an attempt to intimidate the most militant peasant organizers who are involved in the building of groups such as the Independent Revolutionary Peasants Coordinating Committee. □

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Social Democrats Back Struggle in Central America

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—The Fifteenth Postwar Congress of the Socialist International (Second International), held in Madrid November 15-17, adopted a special resolution calling for stepped up solidarity with Nicaragua.

The resolution, passed by unanimous vote, established the International Committee for the Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution, a body composed of Social Democratic leaders from 12 countries, headed by Felipe González of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE). The committee includes such prominent figures as Willy Brandt of West Germany, Prime Minister Bruno Kreisky of Austria, Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen of Denmark, Olof Palme of Sweden, Bettino Craxi of Italy, François Mitterrand and Michel Rocard of France, Michael Manley of Jamaica, and Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela.

The Social Democratic congress set forth four tasks to be carried out by the new committee: "To support the self-determination of the Nicaraguan people and their process of national reconstruction; to demand the non-interference of foreign countries in the affairs of Nicaragua; to provide information abroad about the current situation of the revolution; and to promote international solidarity with the Nicaraguan people."

Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International, explained in an interview with Sofía Montenegro of the FSLN daily *Barricada* that the establishment of the international committee "was the result of a resolution I prepared after a frank and serious conversation with Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce who was here at the conference."

The congress of the Socialist International also called on the U.S. government to immediately halt all military and political support to the ruling junta of El Salvador (see box). Concerning this, Willy Brandt told *Barricada*: "I strongly hope that no one will fall into the temptation to intervene militarily" in El Salvador. The Socialist International, Brandt said, "must use political means to convince or to make clear to the Americans that this is something that we cannot accept."

The congress also adopted a final resolution that stated the following with regard to Latin America:

"We believe that the victory and achievements of the Nicaraguan revolution reflect the hopes for social change in the region as a whole. We reiterate our support for the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

"Violations of human rights and political repression have nonetheless increased in the Southern Cone and in various Central American countries. We commit ourselves to support the progressive forces of those countries in their struggle for democracy and freedom. The Socialist International warns in the sharpest terms against any attempt by foreign powers to intervene in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean."

According to remarks made to reporters by Commander Bayardo Arce upon his return from Madrid November 17, the delegation of observers sent by the FSLN played an important role in pressing for such a firm stand by the Socialist International, *Barricada* reported November 18.

In a November 16 editorial *Barricada* pointed to the importance of the Social Democrats' decisions in Madrid: "As our leaders have said, the Sandinista Revolution is a conquest not only of Nicaraguans, but of all the peoples who struggle for national self-determination and social progress. As such it continues to evoke the joint efforts and solidarity of forces such as the Socialist International. . . .

Socialist International Blasts El Salvador Junta

The Fifteenth Postwar Congress of the Socialist International adopted a resolution on El Salvador that included the following paragraphs:

"The Socialist International calls on the government of the United States to terminate its political and military support to the current junta in El Salvador and to acknowledge that the junta has not managed to prevent continued bloodshed.

"We reject the thesis that the Salvadoran problem is one of a junta that is struggling against the extreme right or left. Rather it is a question of a despotic regime whose actions have brought about a state of civil war.

"We place our deepest hopes and our most active solidarity with the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, to which our member party the MNR [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] belongs."

—F.M.

"The formation of this anti-interventionist bloc constitutes a victory for the people and a defeat for the domestic reactionaries who long for imperialist aggression as the only means of returning to power." □



Nicaragua: international solidarity is needed to help economic reconstruction.

No Light at End of Tunnel for Salvadoran Junta

By Pierre Sylvain

[The following article appeared in the November 17 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*, published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On October 15, 1979, Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero, who had ruled El Salvador since February 1977, was overthrown by a military putsch. The spokesmen for the "young officers" who overthrew Romero, Colonels Majano and Gutiérrez, announced a program of radical reforms and joined with three members of the Christian Democratic Party to form a junta. That junta received the immediate support of all the bourgeois forces who had been opposed to the military regimes of Romero and his predecessor Molina.

The Salvadoran Communist Party fell in with the new regime and participated in the first government set up by the junta. A representative of the CP was given the post of Minister of Labor.

The revolutionary organizations, however, refused to support the new junta and described the military putsch as an attempt by U.S. imperialism to stem the tide of the rising mass movement. Very rapidly, the course followed by the junta confirmed that analysis.

Genocide Against Peasantry

Most of the reforms that the junta announced with great fanfare remained unimplemented, and an unprecedented wave of repression hit the mass movement. By January, the independent forces had withdrawn from the junta, leaving it composed of military officers and Christian Democratic politicians.

One year after the coup, the character of the military/Christian Democratic junta can be seen in a single figure. More than 8,000 people have been killed by the repressive forces. This is the bloodiest regime to rule El Salvador since the 1932 peasant insurrection was drowned in blood.

In fact, real genocide is being carried out in the rural areas where the revolutionary organizations have mass support among the peasants. The army, in joint operations with various police bodies and the ORDEN* fascist gangs, conducts sweeps through entire regions, indiscriminately massacring women and children who are unable to flee.

Revelations by the Honduran Catholic

Church brought to light the Rio Sumpul massacre, in which 600 peasants were killed along the border between El Salvador and Honduras. The massacre was carried out with the complicity of Honduran troops.

Tens of thousands of peasants have been forced to flee from the battle zones and the blind repression, and are crowded into refugee camps.

The junta has now shelved implementation of the plans for agrarian reform announced with great publicity early in the year. What remains, however, is the substance of the plan, which is the desire to destroy the mass peasant organizations that provide decisive support for the revolutionary groups.

But the repression is not restricted to the countryside. Hundreds of workers, students, and teachers have also been killed. Every morning brings a new toll of horribly tortured and mutilated bodies, which are left lying by the sides of roads or in the streets of the capital as an example to passers-by. And each day there is a repetition of the attempts to identify the remains of the victims.

There are also the "clandestine cemeteries," like the one found near the port of La Unión last January.

In addition to the eight thousand deaths recorded by the Human Rights Commission, there have undoubtedly been thousands of others murdered, whose bodies have never been found.

Human Rights Activists Murdered

Because of its courageous work, the Human Rights Commission has itself become the target of repression. There are daily telephoned death threats, several of its leaders have been murdered, and its offices have been repeatedly blown up, the last time on September 4. In October, two leaders of the Commission were murdered in rapid succession: María Magdalena Enríquez, the commission's information secretary, and Ramón Valladares.

Nor has the Catholic Church been spared. The assassination of Monsignor Oscar Romero, the archbishop of San Salvador, was only the most publicized instance of the repression that has hit hundreds of Church members who were either involved in the struggle against the dictatorship or simply accused of furnishing aid to the victims of the repression.

The junta has also moved to bring the press into line. The two small independent dailies, *El Independiente* and *La Cronica*, were both hit hard for opening their col-

umns to denunciations of the junta's crimes. In the last week of June the offices of *El Independiente* were bombed and then wrecked by the police. Ten days later two journalists from *La Cronica*, Jaime Suárez and César Najarro, were murdered in cold blood.

On June 20 the offices of the Independent Press Agency (API) were occupied by units of the National Guard and its director, Vida Cuadra, was arrested and held for several hours.

In mid-August a Mexican journalist from *Uno más Uno*, Ignacio Rodríguez Terrazas, was found dead in San Salvador. This "accident," as the junta called it, followed several death threats against him.

But the repression, massive and cruel as it is, has been unable to block the rise of the mass movement and the growing strength of the revolutionary organizations. The military/Christian Democratic junta's original six-month state-of-siege proclamation has been renewed month after month.

Although the junta has tried to sell itself as "reformist," and to convince international public opinion that the massive repression is the work of paramilitary gangs over which it has no control, it has been unsuccessful in that attempt.

The Christian Democratic Party, which since January has been the only force in the government besides the military officers, recently suffered new defections. A founder of the party, Dr. Roberto Lara Valado, resigned in early August. From Venezuela he denounced the Christian Democratic Party's direct complicity in the massacres being perpetrated by the repressive forces.

"El Salvador is Going Through a Civil War"

The junta has been forced to acknowledge the scope of the repressive operations it is carrying out, and the fact that it does not fully control the situation militarily.

A diplomatic offensive launched by the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the coalition of opposition groups, which sent representatives on international tours to expose the character of the junta, was so successful that in late June the junta launched its own tour to repolish its image, and to insure the active collaboration of the European Christian Democrats and the governments they lead.

During his trip to Spain, the Salvadoran minister of the interior justified his pressing appeals for help by acknowledging

*ORDEN, which means "order," is an acronym for the Democratic Nationalist Organization.

that "El Salvador is going through a civil war. . . . The present confrontations," he admitted, "have resulted in the loss of more men in the armed forces than the 1969 war with Honduras."

In fact, for more than six months the revolutionary organizations have been intensifying their military activity. The Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces (FPL), the biggest of the political-military organizations, announced that from January to May it had killed 914 members of the repressive forces, and another 324 in the period from May 19 to June 10.

According to systematic analysis by the revolutionary organizations of the military actions they have carried out and the toll in their confrontations with the army and police, five government troops have been killed for each loss the revolutionaries have sustained.

Since spring, attacks and ambushes against government forces have increased, and have resulted in the capture of large stocks of arms and munitions.

Because of El Salvador's small size, barely 200 kilometers by 100 kilometers; its topography, which although quite hilly is accessible everywhere to well equipped troops; and the fact that its only borders are with Guatemala and Honduras, it is not possible at this point for the revolutionaries to set up units involving several thousand combatants.

The strength of the political-military organizations flows from their great mobility and, above all, from the support they receive from the mass organizations, in the cities as well as the countryside. This is what allows them to break through the encircling operations launched by much larger and better equipped government forces, and even to hold them in check for days or weeks.

In late July and early August units of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) were able to repel an offensive in the departments of Cabañas and Morazán. The government offensive involved two thousand soldiers backed up by helicopters and armored cars. The ERP was able to blow up the main bridge linking Morazán with the garrison at San Miguel.

Larger and Larger Armed Confrontations

Because the most remote regions of El Salvador can be reached in a two hour helicopter flight from the capital, it is impossible to have "liberated zones" as long as the fighting has not reached the scope of a general insurrection. But the revolutionary organizations exercise de facto control over several departments. This means that the armed forces and the police do not enter those areas in small units, and can only travel in heavily protected convoys.

The army tries to break down these pockets of resistance by mounting large scale operations like the one in late Oc-

Salvadoran Opposition Coalitions

Since the beginning of 1980 the opposition groups in El Salvador have been undergoing a process of unification. There are now two main coalitions, which together provide the organizational framework for the political and military struggle against the ruling military/Christian Democratic junta.

Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR): Established on April 16, 1980, the FDR is a coalition of eighteen organizations. Among them are the five principal mass organizations: the *Revolutionary People's Bloc* (BPR), the *February 28 People's Leagues* (LP-28), the *United People's Action Front* (FAPU), the *Nationalist Democratic Union* (UDN), and the *People's Liberation Movement* (MLP). Each of these mass organizations is itself composed of trade unions, peasant and professional groups, and student organizations.

Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN): The FMLN represents the

effective fusion of the four main political-military organizations. In early October three of them came together. These were the *Farabundo Martí People's Liberation Forces* (FPL), the *Salvadoran Communist Party* (PCS), and the *People's Revolutionary Army* (ERP). They were joined in early November by the *Armed Forces of National Resistance* (FARN), sometimes referred to simply as the *National Resistance* (RN).

A fifth group, the *Central American Revolutionary Workers Party* (PRTC), while not yet a member of the FMLN, is cooperating with it.

Each of the mass organizations is linked with one of the political-military organizations. These links are: BPR and FPL; LP-28 and ERP; FAPU and FARN; UDN and PCS; and MLP and PRTC.

The leadership body of the FMLN is the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), which was also the name of a precursor of the FMLN.

tober, again in the department of Morazán.

Although the great majority of the fighters are in the FPL and the ERP, the forces of the National Resistance (RN) and those recently set up by the Communist Party are also taking part in operations against the government troops.

Establishment of Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front

The process of uniting the fighting forces has been going on for some months. On October 15 it reached a new stage with the establishment of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), named for the martyred leader of the 1932 insurrection. This body encompasses all four of the main political-military groups.

Already on January 10 unity had been reached between three of them—the FPL, the CP, and the RN. The ERP, which originally remained outside this process, finally joined this coordinating committee, which on May 22 took the name Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU).

"From now on," the DRU declared, "there will be a single leadership, a single military plan, a single command, a single national and international line."

The establishment of the DRU was an extension of the process that had already brought the four main mass organizations, each of which is affiliated with one of the political-military organizations, into the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM) on January 11, 1980.

The CRM brought together the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR), which is linked to the FPL; the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN), linked to the CP; the United People's Action Front (FAPU), linked to the RN; and the February 28 People's Leagues (LP-28), linked to the ERP.

Achievement of this unity testified to the strong desire of the component groups to overcome their previous differences, which had even involved physical battles between them, in order to respond to the pressing needs of a situation that all agreed was explosive.

National Resistance Breaks From DRU

A number of disagreements arose within the DRU, however, leading to the September 12 announcement that the RN had withdrawn. These disagreements flowed from differing assessments of the period and the tactics to follow.

The RN, which the other groups accused of adopting adventurist and even putschist positions, thought that it was possible to precipitate the fall of the military/Christian Democratic junta even before the political-military prerequisites for the insurrection had all reached fruition.

There were even accusations, which the RN denied, that it was flirting with the idea of taking part in a coup with Col. Majano in September.

The confrontations that had developed within the junta, pitting Col. Majano

against Col. Gutiérrez, Defense Minister García, and the most reactionary sectors of the army, were clearly simply another episode, another step, which Washington looked upon with favor, to try to resolve the problem of the junta's growing international discreditment. This is how the DRU immediately analyzed the conflicts within the military.

Imperialism is constantly looking for some possible alternative in order not to lose everything if there is a victorious insurrection, as happened in Nicaragua. Majano and the sectors of the army under his control would be a key element in setting up such an alternative, which Washington hopes could draw in some of the forces now in the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

The disagreements within the DRU over tactics had already been sharpened by the questions posed during the August 13-15 general strike. Even the character of the general strike was not obvious to all. Some wanted the general strike to be the kickoff for a general insurrection, while the DRU, in its balance sheet of the strike, gave special emphasis to the strike's character as a dress rehearsal: featuring the mobilization of the neighborhood populations in self-defense operations, the temporary occupation of localities, and guerrilla attacks against the repressive forces.

The DRU's view was that it was necessary to spend several more months improving military preparations, building militias on a mass level, accumulating heavy weapons, and continuing the international diplomatic offensive that the Revolutionary Democratic Front had begun in June.

This was no longer the time for general strikes like those in January and March, with street demonstrations mobilizing tens of thousands of people in the face of indiscriminate repression. The RN, however, did not share that assessment.

For a year and a half El Salvador has undergone a tumultuous revolutionary upsurge, strongly accelerated by the victory of the Sandinistas in nearby Nicaragua. The junta's policy, combining announced reforms and fierce repression, has been unable to stop this process. But this situation cannot continue for long.

The equilibrium in the relationship of forces is highly unstable. And the international situation, in which the results of the U.S. presidential elections are not a negligible factor for Central America, also leads to the conclusion that decisive confrontations will take place in the near future.

In such situations a revolutionary leadership is decisively tested. In such times tactical errors, whether the premature launching of confrontations or the inability to seize the occasion to engage in the decisive battles when it presents itself, are very costly. The Sandinista Front in Nicaragua was victorious in its decisive test, leading the masses to victory.

The FSLN's example of achieving unity



in the struggle is what inspired the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, which was established in response to the masses' burning need for a united central leadership. That is also why the National Resistance, after having quit the DRU, has now joined the FMLN. The National Resistance explained that "in order to inflict a decisive defeat on the class enemy, it is indispensable and urgent that the people and their organizations closely unite."

In a sense, the new united organization marks the end of the 1970 split in the Salvadoran CP, which gave rise to the FPL. Although at that time the split took a minority of the CP membership, today the FPL, under the leadership of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, the former CP general secretary, represents the overwhelming majority of the forces in the united organization. The CP is, in fact, the smallest of the four components, after the ERP and RN.

The united organization has the political support of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua and the Cuban leadership. It is linked to both by years of common struggle against imperialism. Last August 23, Commander Humberto Ortega told tens of thousands of people gathered in Managua to celebrate the literacy campaign that "we will remain in total solidarity with the Salvadoran people." Earlier Commander Tomás Borge had declared that any foreign aggression against El Salvador would be seen as an attack against Nicaragua itself.

The increased intervention by American imperialism in El Salvador took place before Reagan's election. U.S. imperialism is trying to create the conditions for military intervention, either directly or through other countries.

The Carter administration attempted to set up an intervention force made up of the Andean Pact countries—Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. But Ecuador was not eager to participate in such a move.

Costa Rica and Panama also prefer to

stay out of such an operation, and only Guatemala and Honduras show very direct interest. This is what prompted Honduras to sign a peace treaty with El Salvador in October, eleven years after the "football war." With the treaty signed, the military mutual assistance agreement between the two neighboring countries could be revived.

Moreover, arms deliveries to the junta have been increased. Washington's arms sales to the region have gone from \$3 million in 1979 to \$15 million in 1980, and are expected to rise to \$23 million in 1981. France has sold El Salvador Fouga-Magister planes and Alouette helicopters, which were used in late October in the massive operation in Morazán.

The presence of U.S. military advisers has also grown. Christian Democratic leader Héctor Dada acknowledged that thirty-six were already on the scene. The junta's main agrarian reform adviser is none other than R. Prosterman, a CIA agent responsible for forcing Vietnamese peasants into the infamous "strategic hamlets" during the 1960s.

The training of hundreds of Salvadoran officers in the U.S.-run military school in the Panama Canal Zone has been denounced by Panamanian officials.

Without doubt, in this area at least, Reagan will continue the program already in effect. U.S. imperialism remains torn between wanting to prevent a new revolutionary victory in Central America at all costs, a victory that would ignite the entire region, and the danger of getting involved in a military operation that might not rapidly achieve its aims, even at the cost of hundreds of thousands of deaths.

And in that case, moreover, Central America would explode in struggle against U.S. imperialism, reviving the heroic tradition of Augusto César Sandino and Farabundo Martí. Stopping the imperialist plans in the region is an urgent priority for the international solidarity movement.

November 5, 1980.

Jailed Polish Unionist Released

By Gerry Foley

The independent trade-union movement crossed another major threshold in its struggle against the Polish bureaucracy during the week of November 21-28.

The workers movement launched a broad attack against the apparatus of bureaucratic repression and dealt it a punishing blow.

As in most previous confrontations, the independent unions mounted their struggle from a defensive position.

On November 20, Polish secret police raided the headquarters of the independent union movement, Solidarity, in Warsaw. They were looking for a state document that had allegedly been passed to the union by an employee of the State Prosecutor's Office. The document laid out procedures for repressing the antibureaucratic opposition. The police found a copy in the Solidarity office.

Following the raid, the police arrested Jan Narozniak, on November 21, the head of the union printing operation. Also arrested was Piotr Sapiela, an employee of the State Prosecutor's Office. Both were accused of violating the law protecting state secrets.

On the afternoon of Monday, November 24, Solidarity began its counterattack. It called out one key department of the giant Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw on an indefinite strike, effectively halting production in the entire giant complex.

On the evening of the same day, the Warsaw district presidium of Solidarity met in the Ursus factory and drew up a list of demands on the government.

Besides the release of Narozniak and Sapiela, Solidarity called on the authorities to release the names of the persons who drew up the seized document; suspend the prosecution of persons accused of "antisocialist activities"; form a special parliamentary commission, including representatives of the independent unions, to look into abuses by the police and courts; to cut the appropriation for the security forces; and to open an investigation to determine who was responsible for the repression directed against striking workers in 1970 and 1976.

To back up its demands, the union declared that it would steadily extend the protest strikes in the Warsaw area, step by step, until Thursday, November 27, when it would begin a general strike throughout the Warsaw district.

The escalation of this conflict was paralleled by the outbreak of struggles among various groups of workers seeking solutions to specific problems. Overall, these

actions represented a widening of the workers struggle against the bureaucracy.

The railroad workers demanded that the government live up to its promises of wage increases and straighten out the tangle it had created by its maneuvers to try to limit the growth of Solidarity.

The government had signed contracts with two separate rail unions, one a Solidarity affiliate, the other a so-called independent union that had withdrawn from the official federation but without changing its leadership or method of functioning.

Both contracts provided for wage increases. But the Solidarity contract provided for proportionately larger raises for the lowest paid.

On another front, the victory of the workers in the Czestochowa district on November 17 in forcing the resignation of local party officials who favored trying to break Solidarity by repression was followed by the development of struggles against truculent bureaucrats elsewhere.

Conflicts arose in Bielsko-Biala and Olsztyn. In the second locality, the local party officials responded to charges of corruption raised by the union by preparing arrest warrants against Solidarity leaders.

The Solidarity leadership seems to have anticipated that as the masses of workers organized, they would more and more want to raise the question of the bureaucracy's abuses of power—in fact, that they would be forced to do that.

The union set up bureaus throughout the country to collect information on the crimes of the bureaucracy. Like the movement's other campaigns, this activity was designed so that it could be escalated step by step. Beginning to collect data was the first stage in bringing pressure to bear on the bureaucrats. Then the evidence could be released case by case and specific demands raised.

The bureaucratic rulers' retreats in the face of the mass workers movement have released a pent-up hatred against the robbers and repressors. This is illustrated, for example, by the description of a Solidarity rally of 15,000 people in Szczecin by correspondent Michael Dobbs in the November 25 *Washington Post*.

"Practically all the questions were political in tone. Some called for retribution against politicians responsible for the crisis ('Sentence them to death,' one elderly woman shouted). Others asked when the independent trade union federation . . . would set itself up as a political party to

rival the Communists."

The main union speaker, Lech Walesa, answered the first question by saying that there are not enough jails in Poland to hold the corrupt bureaucrats.

"We don't want to put these tycoons in jail, as then they'd just be getting fatter at our expense. Instead, they should hand over their stolen villas and bank accounts to us—and we'll distribute them among the people."

Walesa's response to questions about Solidarity becoming a political party was, "We cannot solve all problems at once; we must get ourselves organized and proceed step by step."

That is clearly what the union is doing, getting organized and proceeding step by step, and every step represents a more fundamental challenge to the system of bureaucratic rule.

On November 27, the eve of the promised Warsaw general strike, the government gave in again. It released the two men arrested in the case of the document taken from the State Prosecutor's Office. It agreed to begin talks with Solidarity on the question of the repressive apparatus.

Along with this, the CP is more and more sharply divided over how to deal with the workers movement. The Central Committee official in charge of information, Jozef Klasa, admitted in an interview with the *New York Times* and other major Western papers, that during the November 21-28 crisis the factional warfare in the party was so intense that it had forced the postponement of the upcoming Central Committee meeting. He complained: "Since August, the authorities have not had a single day for reflection. We are just being pulled from one side to another."

During the week of the latest crisis, eighteen of the forty-nine CP district first secretaries were removed. In the same period, resentment at the government's continued concessions to Solidarity surfaced among the bureaucrats in the unions that declared their "independence" from the now defunct official federation in order to try to maintain the old structures under a different name.

It was becoming clear that the haven of the old official union bureaucrats was in imminent danger of being wiped out by the continuing rise of Solidarity.

With the advancing breakdown of the Stalinist system in Poland, the Soviet and other East European bureaucrats are increasing their attempts to isolate the coun-

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try. Moreover, the Kremlin has upped the volume a notch on its threat to intervene.

The Polish press has been withdrawn from sale in the Soviet republics of Latvia and Lithuania, and the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius has been put off limits for Western reporters.

On November 30, *Pravda* reprinted an article from the Czechoslovak CP organ *Rudé Právo*, that compared the situation in Poland with the conditions in Czechoslovakia before the invasion by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries.

However, the Soviet commentary said that the Polish CP had drawn a line that

the "counterrevolutionary elements" would not be allowed to cross.

The *Pravda* article was obviously an attempt to shore up the Polish bureaucrats' determination to resist the pressures of the mass movement. It put them on notice that they would have to be replaced if they could not do the job. The article was published on the eve of the Polish CP Central Committee plenum.

However, the Polish bureaucracy is already being swamped by the growing mass mobilization. It is extremely difficult to halt such processes or even slow them once they have reached this point. □

Pol Pot Forces Relegated to the Sidelines

Successful Harvest Strengthens Kampuchea

The following article by Henry Kamm appeared in the November 23 *New York Times* under the title "Cambodia is Gaining a Hint of Stability." Kamm's assessment is significant since this anticommunist journalist has been supportive of Washington's efforts to create a viable alternative to the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea.

* * *

BANGKOK, Thailand, Nov. 22—After a long period of war and famine, a measure of stability appears to have returned to Cambodia for the first time in a decade, specialists report.

Relief officials say that since last year's catastrophic famine the costly international aid campaign has been largely successful in providing minimal rations to most Cambodians. The number of Cambodians is estimated at between 5.5 and 6.5 million; pre-1970 estimates, made before Cambodia was fully drawn into the Indochina war, placed the population at nearly 8 million.

A satisfactory rainy season between June and October has produced ample crops of subsidiary foods like corn, yams, edible roots and vegetables, helping to fill stomachs in place of rice, the national staple. The favorable rains are expected to produce a respectable rice crop for harvesting next month. The size of the crop has been diminished only by the scarcity of seed during the planting season.

The crop is not expected to cover all needs for next year, but the outlook has been good enough to persuade the principal relief organizations acting on behalf of Western nations to propose a marked tapering off, or perhaps even a suspension, of food deliveries until the critical period shortly before the next harvest. The main aid organizations are the United Nations Children's Fund and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Militarily, analysts say that 200,000 Vietnamese occupation troops control all of populated Cambodia—the towns and villages as well as the roads, railroads and waterways that link them. Rebel ambushes occur mainly in western Cambodia, where marauding squads of soldiers controlled by remnants of the Pol Pot regime occasionally venture out of their enclaves along the Thai border. The regime under Prime Minister Pol Pot was driven from Phnom Penh in January 1979.

To an even lesser extent, resistance is continuing by guerrillas of the Khmer People National Liberation Front, an anti-Communist force led by Son Sann, another former Prime Minister.

But analysts say that the essential activity of Mr. Pol Pot's forces is to stay in action on Cambodian soil to justify political pressure blocking diplomatic recognition of the Cambodian Government installed by the Vietnamese Army. The United Nations General Assembly voted 74 to 35 last month to continue formal recognition of the Pol Pot regime.

The campaign on behalf of the fallen government is led by China and, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, by the five members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. The members are Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. The United States and most other Western nations have also supported their position.

Rebels Control Small Enclaves

Despite this strong diplomatic backing, the Pol Pot forces control only enclaves in formerly uninhabited areas. The enclaves are populated solely by soldiers and their families. They control no roads and own no vehicles. Their leaders cross into Thailand to travel from one enclave to another. □

Only inconsequential amounts of food are grown in the enclaves, and the people live almost entirely on food provided by international relief organizations, who get about a third of their funds from the United States. Although the aid is supposed to be given only to noncombatants, the organizations that distribute it have almost no access to the enclaves and monitoring the flow of aid is nearly impossible.

Thai military authorities control the activities of aid organizations not only along the border but also as they deliver aid through Thailand to Vietnamese-controlled Cambodia. If the aid organizations declined to provide rations for what they estimate to be about 60,000 followers of Pol Pot, the feeding and medical assistance for other Cambodians would be jeopardized.

The Phnom Penh regime allows few international relief officials into the country and movement inside Cambodia is so restricted that monitoring of the distribution and use of the relief supplies is extremely difficult. It is not known how much of the food is delivered to civilians not employed by the Government.

Danger Continues for Refugees

Analysts and relief officials say they are concerned that the current political situation presents serious risks to about 200,000 Cambodians who have sought the scant safety of "holding centers" in Thailand and camps on the Cambodian side of the Thai border.

Their care and feeding is the responsibility of the international relief organizations, which are tightly controlled by the Thai Government. Any political change, such as abandonment of the Pol Pot regime or greater emphasis on relief programs for the Phnom Penh side rather than the Pol Pot side, could prompt the Thai Government to end its tolerance of the refugees on its territory or the feeding of Cambodians via Thailand.

With Vietnam on one side and China and Thailand on the other entrenched in hard and diametrically opposed positions, high officials of the most interested Western governments and their diplomats and intelligence analysts foresee slight chances of change in the stalemate.

A return of the former chief of state, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a compromise pushed earlier this year by the United States and other Western countries, failed when the Prince, evidently feeling that his chances were slim, bowed out and returned to exile in North Korea.

Although public opposition to recognition of the Vietnamese-supported regime remains firm, diplomats doubt that support of the Pol Pot forces can last indefinitely unless China takes independent measures, possibly military, to weaken the Vietnamese position. □

Three Women in Armagh Prison Join Hunger Strike

Irish Political Prisoners Win Massive Support

By Gerry Foley

The hunger strike of seven political prisoners in Northern Ireland's Long Kesh concentration camp that began October 27 has touched off a massive solidarity movement throughout Ireland. Tens of thousands of people have been drawn into protests against the treatment meted out to Irish freedom fighters by the British government.

On November 28 three representatives of women prisoners at the Armagh jail announced that they would join the hunger strike on December 1. The three, Mary Doyle, Mairead Farrell, and Mairead Nugent, declared, "We have reached this decision after several years of cruel and inhuman treatment. We are prepared to fast to the death if necessary."

In Dublin on November 22, more than twenty thousand persons marched in support of the prisoners and in protest against the treatment that forced them to begin to starve themselves to death rather than endure it any longer.

This demonstration was the largest protest against British repression in Northern Ireland held in Dublin since the mass upsurge that followed the slaughter of thirteen Irish civil-rights demonstrators by British paratroopers in Derry on January 30, 1972.

On November 16, ten thousand persons marched in support of the hunger strikers in Coalisland, a small town in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland.

A demonstration of such a size represents a tremendous outpouring for such a thinly populated rural area.

On the day before the Coalisland march there were major rallies in four Irish towns. Over a thousand people attended a rally in the small County Donegal town of Letterkenny. In Dundalk, a town of about 25,000 population just across the border in the formally independent part of the country, 1,500 people attended a rally for the prisoners.

In Tralee, a town in the far southwest of the country, over 2,000 people attended a rally addressed by Rose Dugdale, a former political prisoner, and socialist activist Ann O'Brien. In Waterford, in the far southeast, there was a rally of 500.

The demands of the hunger strikers are now supported by the following trade union organizations in Ireland, among many others:

The Irish Transport and General Workers Union, the largest union in the country; the Dublin Trades Council; the Belfast Trades Council; the Derry Trades Council; the Limerick Trades Council; the Galway

Trades Council; the Waterford Trades Council; and the Dundalk Trades Council.

This rising movement is putting powerful pressure on the capitalist media and politicians in Ireland. Their attitude has started to shift toward at least partial support for the prisoners' demands.

Support for the hunger strikers has also been growing rapidly internationally. In the United States, the demonstrations called by the traditional Irish organizations have begun to grow and attract numbers of young people for the first time in years.

Reflecting the growing pressure, the most influential U.S. paper, the *New York Times*, called on the British government November 27 to grant the prisoners' demand not to be forced to wear prison clothing.

In Belgium, the Socialist Party has endorsed the prisoners' demands. In Aus-

tralia, twenty members of Parliament, including prominent leaders of the Labor Party, support the hunger strikers.

Two of the main French trade-union federations, the CGT and Force Ouvrière, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the New Zealand Trades Council, and the Fiji Trades Council have all backed the hunger strikers as well.

Fighters for democratic rights in Eastern Europe have also spoken out in defense of the Irish prisoners. The demands of the prisoners are supported by the Charter 77 group in Czechoslovakia and by Rudolf Bahro, the prominent East German dissident Marxist, as well as by the exiled Russian scholar Zhores Medvedev.

Bahro said: "The methods used by the British government in Northern Ireland against its political opponents are qualitatively worse, as far as brutality and injustice are concerned, than those adopted by any other state in Europe against its own opposition."

It is vital that the pressure on the British be stepped up as rapidly as possible. The hunger strike has already gone on more than five weeks. The need for solidarity actions and protests could not be more urgent. □

Letter From Long Kesh

An Appeal for Solidarity From Irish Prisoners

[The following letter from Irish political prisoners appeared in the December 5 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

Comrades,

As you probably know, seven Irish Republicans held in the notorious H-blocks of Long Kesh began on October 27 the ultimate form of protest, a hunger strike to the death.

These seven men are politically aware and committed Irish Republicans, captured in the course of the struggle against British occupation of our country. They have only taken this drastic and potentially final step after long and careful consideration.

Their decision is the culmination of years of struggle and resistance by the political prisoners, which has taken them through a nightmare of brutality and torture at the hands of British Imperialism.

The Anti-Imperialist War for National Liberation and Socialism being waged by the IRA has its roots in centuries of struggle against British aggression. Twelve years ago the Republican working class rose up to challenge once more their oppression and exploitation at the hands

of the British ruling elite. The struggle has continued relentlessly ever since.

Political Prisoners

Political activists captured in the early '70s quickly forced the British government to recognise them as political prisoners and from then on Republican prisoners captured by the British were imprisoned in the Cages, where the political prisoners organised their own lives.

Time was used to politically educate themselves and deepen their commitment to the struggle. All attempts by the British at rehabilitation were rejected.

The recognition of the political prisoners by the government was also a clear admission that they, the British ruling class, were engaged in open war with the Irish people.

Unable to destroy the anti-imperialist movement and at the same time unwilling to relinquish their hold on the six Northern Counties of Ireland, the British from 1976 decided to adopt new policies. They would tell the world that normality now existed and that any trouble was being caused by a few gangsters and godfathers who were entirely self interested. Having in this way removed the spotlight of international attention they would then be in a

position to release their forces "official and unofficial" in an unprecedented reign of terror and oppression to wipe out resistance to their rule.

This policy was to have its base in the criminalisation of the political prisoners, who would be forced to wear degrading prison issue uniform and to submit to the authority of pro-British Fascist screws. The British would then point to these "submissive" and "conforming criminals" as evidence that politics were not involved in this situation.

The British government, however, characteristically miscalculated and instead of submissive and conforming prisoners the Brits found themselves with politically aware, committed and dedicated men and women who threw the insult of criminality back in the face of British Imperialism.

Since 1976, when the first political prisoner entered the H-Block and was refused political recognition, a determined and defiant resistance has been maintained by the women imprisoned in Armagh Gaol and the men in H-Block, the numbers on the protest now exceeding 560 (32 women and 530 men).

Of course the Brit tactic would only work if they could exhibit these prisoners accepting and conforming to the tag of criminal, so torture increased in an attempt to break the resistance of the prisoners.

Inhuman Conditions

The protesting Republicans were left naked in their cells with no furniture (except for a piece of foam rubber, a supposed mattress), no reading material, no radios, no newspapers, no cigarettes, no letters or parcels. They were denied any exercise unless they wore prison uniform, on rejecting this 24 hour isolation resulted.

They were told to wear the uniform to gain the "privilege" of using the toilet. The prisoners again refused, were denied the use of the toilets, and the no-wash protest began. (They have now lived in their cells unwashed for 18 months, their urine poured out through the doors and their excreta plastered on the walls.)

Systematic organised beatings increased alarmingly. Obscene body searches are now a daily occurrence, whereby a metal probe is pushed up a prisoner's anus supposedly to check for contraband but actually as a further punishment. The brutalities are endless.

The prisoners have lived with this inhuman treatment for an incredible period of four and a half years.

The British government has dismissed the mass support on the streets for the political prisoners and ignored all international pressure to resolve the situation.

Now the prisoners, unable to bear these conditions any longer, have started this agonising protest of slow death in an attempt to force the British administration to recognise what the whole world already does, that they are political prisoners and



Diane Jacobs/Militant

the war between the Irish people and the British imperialists continues unabated.

(The fact that only Republican prisoners are subject to the above mentioned tortures demonstrates that the British do treat them different from ordinary prisoners.)

The hypocrisy of the British administration is evident in the fact that 200 Republicans imprisoned before 1976 are still recognized as political prisoners and are held with full political status in the Cages of Long Kesh, less than 200 yards from the H-Blocks.

Five Demands

The five demands of our protesting sisters and brothers are very basic and simply ask that they be treated in a humane manner. The five demands are:

1. The right to wear their own clothes.
2. The right to abstain from prison work.
3. The right to associate freely and organise their own education and recreation, etc.
4. The right to receive one visit, one

parcel, and to send and receive one letter per week.

5. The restoration of all remission which has been taken from them as further punishment during the protest.

As I have already stated these conditions already exist here in the Cages of Long Kesh, and that the only difference between us and our brothers and sisters in the H-Blocks and Armagh is that we were captured before 1976 and they after.

Starvation diets for four-and-a-half years have left the prisoners in an emaciated condition. They cannot last long on hunger strike.

So I make this urgent appeal to you and your readers to act now, in whatever manner possible, to help save the lives of our seven comrades on hunger strike and to stop the torture of our 32 sisters in Armagh Gaol and our 530 brothers in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh.

A victory for the political prisoners is a defeat for imperialism.

*In solidarity,
The Republican POWs
The Cages
Long Kesh*

U.S. Blacks Form Independent Political Party

[The following article is scheduled for publication in the December 12, 1980, issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

The formation of the National Black Independent Political Party by 1,500 activists meeting in Philadelphia November 21-23 is a promising development in the struggle for Black rights.

It is a development of national significance, pointing the way forward for not only the Black community but for working people across the country.

The Philadelphia meeting was a genuine leadership conference. It was a summit of the new, young leadership that is emerging from among the masses of Black people.

The 1,500 who attended represented a broad cross section of the Black community. They included community activists, young people, women, students and workers.

They came to Philadelphia disgusted with the dead-end political strategies of Black elected officials and other misleaders. They came determined that they must become their own leaders if progress is to be made in the fight for Black rights.

They came determined to fight back against racist attacks, cop brutality, rising unemployment, inflation, intolerable conditions in housing and the public schools, and the threat of war.

Most came looking to found a new kind of political party—one that would challenge the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. They wanted a party that would represent the interests of Black people.

A large portion of the 1,500 in Philadelphia were young people. Many were getting involved in this kind of political action on a national level for the first time in their lives.

Radical Views

The views expressed in Philadelphia in support of women's rights, affirmative action, democratic rights, against U.S. imperialist military interventions, for economic justice, and for a political break with the twin parties of capitalism reflected the radical sentiments of millions of Blacks.

Outrage at racist terror in Atlanta, Buffalo, Miami and across the country was a prominent theme of the formal and informal discussion at the gathering.

The convention expressed the growing disillusionment within the Black community with the Democratic and Republican politicians—Black and white.

The most repeated phrase describing what the new party should be was the declaration that it *would not* be like the Democratic and Republican parties.

Both these parties represent the wealthy, convention participants overwhelmingly agreed.

As educator Barbara Sizemore said in her speech to the convention: "We do not have two parties in this country. We only have one party . . . the capitalist party of America. It has two branches. The Republican and Democratic."

The gathering gave a glimpse of the extent to which the capitalist system has exposed itself in the eyes of millions of Black people. Many pointed to capitalism as the root of the racist oppression and economic exploitation of Blacks.

A New Strategy

The founding of the National Independent Black Political Party distinguishes the Philadelphia convention and its accomplishments from the other Black political conventions sponsored by the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA) since 1972, when 8,000 Blacks met in Gary, Indiana.

The fundamental political error made at those conventions, beginning with Gary, was the pursuit of a strategy of working in or with the Democratic party and its politicians, instead of charting an independent course.

Eight years later, it has become clear that this strategy was a failure.

Recognition of this fact by millions of Black people pressed leaders of the National Black Political Assembly to join with others to implement the resolution presented on the floor of the NBPA's August convention in New Orleans, to call a convention to found an independent Black party.

This is how the Philadelphia convention was initiated.

The discussion still before the party is the adoption of a political program that can direct the party's work and become the focal point of winning new members.

But the political thinking of convention participants and their proposals for what such a program should be came through in many ways at the convention.

It was evident in the discussions in the women's, youth, and student caucuses that met at the convention.

The hundreds who attended these caucuses discussed the political problems facing Black women and youth. The youth caucus focused much of its attention on the problems of youth unemployment and the draft, for example, and adopted these as

two important issues that the caucus will take up in its ongoing work.

The political thinking of delegates was revealed in the convention discussion on the need for a woman's caucus and the political role of such a body in the Black party.

Delegates showed a clear understanding of the issues involved when they overwhelmingly rejected the proposal that a male caucus be organized, "if there is going to be a women's caucus."

Delegates also overwhelmingly approved the formation of a labor caucus, a proposal that was not originally set forth in the proposed party charter. "Black workers are going to play a central role in this party if it is going to have a future," the delegate from Maryland said when he made the proposal.

A rich political discussion went on in the corridors as well. Hostages in Iran, the shooting of Black leader Vernon Jordan last May, the Reagan administration, the U.S. role in the Caribbean, police brutality, and Black education were some of the topics of discussion in the hallways.

Most of all, the majority of those who came to Philadelphia were there to initiate some action in defense of Black rights.

As convention organizer Ron Daniels put it, "We refuse to say that elections and . . . public officials is politics. It is not politics. It is only one aspect of politics.

"Malcolm X taught us we must struggle by any means necessary.

"So if it's demonstrating, that's politics.

"Organizing welfare mothers . . . tenants unions . . . economic boycotts . . . that's politics.

"All those things put together equals Black politics by any means necessary."

Preconvention Discussion

The plans for a national congress in July or August, 1981, and the mandate for local chapters of the new party to hold local conventions to build the congress mean that the next several months will be a rich preconvention discussion period for the newly-formed National Black Independent Political Party.

It will open up a political discussion that was not completed in Philadelphia.

It will be an educational discussion that will help chart the course and determine the future of the new party.

The party has much to gain by involving as many Blacks as possible in this discussion. Recruiting to the party and its activities in the next period will mean recruiting to this discussion. Doing so will mean its conclusions will reflect the opinions and interests of the masses of Black people.

The National Black Independent Political Party and its founding members face important challenges in building the organization.

The task of beginning now to take action to oppose the racist attacks and economic injustice is posed for the local chapters. Such leadership in action can attract more serious Black activists to the ranks of the Black party.

Organizing an open and democratic discussion of the party's program and aims will also be a challenge. Such a

discussion, beginning on the local level, will mean political views can be thoroughly discussed and a programmatic policy agreed on at the party's national congress.

In launching this independent political party, Black activists have not only taken a step in leading the masses of Black people, but also other oppressed nationalities and the ranks of the labor movement. These forces will watch the party's development with interest and will be affected by its actions. □

'Foreign Counterintelligence' Operation

FBI Admits it Still Spies on U.S. Socialists

By Vivian Sahner

[The following article appeared in the December 5 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential candidate, asserted November 25 that his party is presently the target of an FBI "foreign counterintelligence" operation in which SWP members are subject to warrantless wire-tapping, burglaries, and electronic surveillance.

His statement was issued after the FBI admitted in court on November 20 that it has continued to maintain active files on the Socialist Workers Party right up to this day, despite previous claims to have halted spying against the party.

This major new disclosure came as the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance prepare to take the government to trial March 16 for its forty-year disruption program against them.

In response to written questions filed by the socialists in their \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment, the FBI conceded that it has a file captioned "IS-SWP (Foreign Influence)" ("IS" stands for "Internal Security"); that it started the file in 1947 and continues it as an active file.

When questioned at the pretrial hearing before Federal Judge Thomas Griesa on November 20, a government attorney confirmed that the file is part of an FBI "Foreign counterintelligence investigation" into the SWP's ties with groups abroad.

Name Check Files

Two other types of files the FBI admits to keeping are "name check" files on socialists and others who apply for government jobs, and files the FBI received from other sources, which they claim are used for record-keeping purposes only.

"The U.S. Attorney General's office has claimed for years that it ended its

investigation of the SWP and YSA in 1976," said socialist Pulley. "Now we see that the 'new' FBI is the same as the old one. They still spy and they continue to lie to the working people in this country about their activities."

At the hearing the government contended that the foreign influence file violated no laws. "This is a file . . . to compile in a single place information concerning the Fourth International, not the SWP," its lawyer said.

Judge Griesa asked the government if this investigation was being carried out by the FBI. The answer was "yes."

Then the judge asked if the investigation was carried out inside the United States. The government again answered yes.

Looking somewhat perplexed, Judge Griesa then commented, "There would be a question in my mind, incidentally, in view of the background of this action, as to whether an FCI [foreign counterintelligence] investigation of the Fourth International carried out in the United States could do anything else but be an investigation of people in the SWP and YSA."

The government asserted that it was different because "the target" was different.

The Fourth International is a world organization of revolutionary socialists from some fifty countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and North and South America. The SWP is barred by a reactionary federal law, the Voorhis Act, from membership.

Judge Griesa ordered the government to provide him with a description of the FBI's activities since Attorney General Edward Levi instructed the FBI to halt its investigation of the SWP in 1976.

FBI's Cover-up

Former FBI Director Clarence Kelley had been questioned in 1976 about the Attorney General's instructions by Leo-

nard Boudin, a lawyer for the SWP and YSA. Swearing to tell the whole truth, Kelley repeatedly claimed, "We are not conducting any type of investigation regarding the Socialist Workers Party."

"The FBI is not engaging in any subterfuges in order that we might continue with investigations that have been by the Attorney General's instructions ordered closed," he said.

Two days before that interview Kelley had ordered the FBI field offices to tell their informers to get out of the SWP and YSA. At the bottom of the memo it was noted that Kelley was scheduled to be questioned by the socialists.

When asked about this in the 1976 interview, Kelley told Boudin that any further information gathered by informers on the SWP and YSA would be refused by the FBI. "We are completely out of the area of investigating SWP, which would include the receipt of information about them," he said.

Now they've been caught lying again.

They are refusing the SWP's request to see the foreign influence file "on the grounds of the state secrets privilege."

International Solidarity

"The government is claiming the right to spy on us under the guise of combatting 'foreign influence,'" said Pulley in his statement. "Why? Because we think workers in the United States have a stake in extending solidarity to people's struggles around the world, from Iran to Central America and the Caribbean. Because we oppose the Democrats' and Republicans' attempts to revive the draft, and their drive toward a new war. Because we meet with other socialists from around the world and share ideas with them.

"But our activities are perfectly legal," Pulley added. "It's the government that is breaking the law.

"It's the government that's guilty of 'foreign influence' around the world—from training the shah's torturers to sending advisers to El Salvador.

"The American people have a right to hold political opinions and express them freely. By denying this right to us the government is trampling on the rights of all Americans." □

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Australian Government's Cover-up Attempt Fails

By Renfrey Clarke

[In an editorial in its November 19 issue, the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action* points out that "the issue of US military bases in Australia and of Australian imperialist ties with the Washington war machine is the single most important question in Australian foreign policy."

[On November 8 the Australian government moved to censor two major daily newspapers which attempted to print leaked foreign policy documents dealing with the Australian-New Zealand-U.S. military alliance (ANZUS), U.S. bases in Australia and at Diego Garcia, and the Australian government's relations with the Indonesian regime over the invasion of East Timor.

[The Fraser government's attempts to impose censorship, *Direct Action* noted, "have blown up in its face.

["This issue of censorship of alleged 'security' material has opened up a wide debate on the very issues the government wanted to suppress."

[Australian working people are facing the same kind of militarization drive that workers in other imperialist countries are experiencing. As the editorial in *Direct Action* said:

["It is clear that Australia is a vital part of the U.S.-imperialist nuclear arsenal aimed against the Soviet Union and other

workers states, the revolutionary peoples of the Third World, and finally, the working classes of Australia, the U.S., and other advanced capitalist countries.

["The importance of this role is shown by the fact that, during the 1973 October War in the Middle East, President Nixon put U.S. nuclear submarines on red alert through the North West Cape base—although the Australian Labor government was not informed at the time.

[The recent upgrading of these U.S. bases, the proposed stationing of U.S. nuclear-armed B-52 bombers in Australia, the planned use of Cockburn Sound as a nuclear submarine base, and the construction of the Omega communications facility at Gippsland, all emphasise the extreme dangers of being tied to the U.S. war machine."

[The accompanying articles appeared in the November 19 issue of *Direct Action*.]

* * *

The Fraser government's attempt to stop the publication of leaked defence and foreign policy documents has met with angry denunciations and open defiance.

Soon after 2.30 am on Saturday November 8, the presses of the *Sydney Morning Herald* were already turning out early editions of the paper, when a Common-

wealth injunction was served restraining the publishers from continuing to print one of the day's feature articles.

A similar injunction was served on the *Melbourne Age*.

The article at issue contained material from the book *Documents on Australian Defence and Foreign Policy, 1968-75*, published by Richard Walsh and George Munster, which was due to go on sale the following Monday.

But while enraging newspaper staff with its ham-fisted intervention to stop the publication of extracts from the book, the government allowed the book itself to go on sale for several days in Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra.

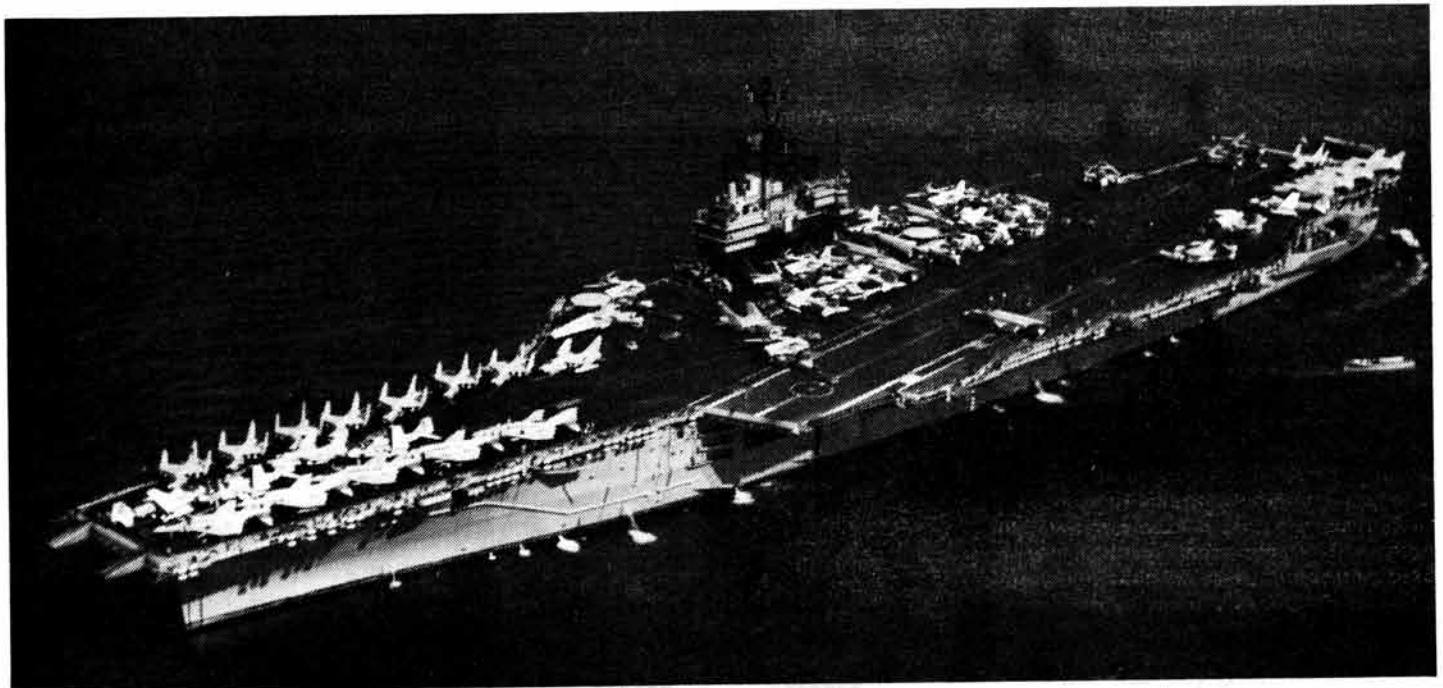
It was well into Tuesday, November 11, before Federal cops had finished visiting all the Sydney bookshops stocking the book, ordering managers to take it off their shelves. By then, hundreds of copies had been sold.

Meanwhile, a political storm has blown up around the government's attempts to censor the press. For the last six days, the ban has received front-page treatment from the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

And despite the ban, the contents of the once-secret documents have become common knowledge. On November 12 the *Guardian*, a local newspaper with a circulation of tens of thousands in inner Sydney, published in full the article which had been censored from the November 8 *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Defying a warning from the Crown Solicitor's Office, the Sydney radio station 2SER-FM on November 13 broadcast further extracts from the banned book.

In defending its decision to ban publica-



U.S. Navy aircraft carrier. Australia serves as a key link in Washington's worldwide military network.

tion of the material, the government has dwelt heavily on the possibility that the Indonesian regime could be "offended" if the Australian analysts' five-year-old opinions of the situation in Southeast Asia become public knowledge.

At one point Peter Henderson, the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, told a High Court hearing that the "over-riding sensitivity" of the material dealing with Australia and Indonesia was that it named "leading Indonesian political figures still very much on the scene."

By that time, however, the Indonesian Embassy has already bought five copies of the offending book from a Canberra bookshop, and sent them to Jakarta.

After hearings on the injunction against

the newspapers had been completed, Justice Mason on November 13 reserved his decision, which is expected to be brought down within two weeks.

So far, the episode has been a sorry one for the Fraser government. The material at issue has been readily available to interested members of the public.

And the attempt to censor the documents has made certain that a book that would have sold to a very limited readership is now the object of widespread interest.

Millions of Australians have also been given a taste of the government's contempt for the right of ordinary citizens to know the basis on which decisions affecting all the people are made. □

the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

"In public, the Whitlam Government at first deprecated Great Power rivalry in the Indian Ocean, but by mid-1975, it had come to agree with its own advisers and the Pentagon."

The same kind of cynicism and duplicity shows up in the picture the secret documents present of Australian relations with Southeast Asia.

"Public servants were advising the Foreign Affairs Minister that in dealing with the Indonesians, the truth was the last thing to be used," counsel for the *Age* newspaper told the High Court on November 12.

"Moral principles were to be discarded. "One was to dissemble and use pragmatism as opposed to principles."

The 1975 Foreign Affairs document, "The Regional Outlook in Southeast Asia," points to a movement against "western-style democracy" in the region, and widespread clampdowns against opponents of the local regimes.

No Surprises

The document acknowledges that the right-wing politicians running these countries were utterly crooked:

"Corruption, often institutionalised, has aggravated social tensions, as have the gaps, still growing, between rich and poor.

"Indonesia and the Philippines have firmly entrenched governments, but both face longterm dangers arising out of heightened expectations and the large gaps between rich and poor. Both governments have acknowledged the need to tackle these problems, but so far with little tangible result.

"There is, indeed, precious little evidence that Philippine or Indonesian leaders will be prepared to turn the spotlight on themselves in areas of weakness such as corruption and the ostentatious life-styles of the elites."

Fraser's censorship isn't enforced out of consideration for the sensibilities of the generals who slaughtered half a million Indonesian workers when they seized power in 1965. It's primarily intended to deceive the Australian public.

Since first coming to power, the Fraser government has tried to protect its Southeast Asian allies from public criticism of any kind.

The Indonesian regime has received generous economic and military aid from Australia, and Fraser has done his best to suppress news of Indonesia's genocide in East Timor.

The Fraser government has, of course, never had any qualms about dealing with murderous regimes like that of the Indonesian generals.

If those are the Fraser government's friends, Australians in their millions are likely to ask the logical question, then what is the Fraser government itself? □

Secret Military Deals Exposed

Australia's Role in the Imperialist System

By Renfrey Clarke

Members of the ruling class speak two languages. One, full of double-talk and lofty platitudes, they reserve for us. The other is rather more plain and to the point, and is used when they are talking among themselves.

(Every so often we common people get an insight into the latter when forgotten documents are published, memos fall into the wrong hands, and when people in high places make the mistake of bugging their own offices and keeping the tapes.)

The Frankness That Embarrasses

But it is always embarrassing to the ruling class when their frank exchanges and secret diplomacy come to public attention.

The frankness of foreign ministry officials has been one of the main reasons the Federal government has taken the risk of using heavy-handed censorship to stop foreign affairs documents being published.

But even more importantly, the documents expose the complicity of Australian governments in constructing the network of nuclear terror which imperialism uses to protect its interests in every corner of the world.

In its banned article "How the American Alliance Really Works," the *Sydney Morning Herald* uses secret Defence Department documents to trace through the disputes between Australia and the U.S. over the meaning of the ANZUS military pact.

These episodes, the *Herald's* article notes, "proved two things—the anxious fashion in which Australian governments sought to be reassured by the U.S. over ANZUS and the firm manner in which the

U.S. retained all options in its own hands."

These options, the *Herald* continued, included withholding information on important security matters including the nature and function of U.S. defence installations on Australian soil.

Early in 1973, the Whitlam government decided to renegotiate the agreement covering the U.S. naval communications base at North-West Cape.

A position paper was prepared, setting out four major objectives:

(1) Australians were to be in command at North-West Cape.

(2) Australia was to have access to all parts of the base.

(3) The U.S. government was to undertake never to use the facility to transmit a nuclear firing order.

(4) The U.S. was to consult automatically with Australia about global and regional crises. If the North-West Cape base was placed on an alert, Australia would get advance notice.

As the *Herald* notes, the Australian negotiators failed to gain *any* of these objectives.

Subsequent documents relate how the Whitlam government declined to press the issue.

While in office the Whitlam government had the chance to break with these reactionary policies. Instead, the Labor leadership showed conclusively that it gives its loyalty not to the workers who elect it, but to world capitalism.

During the 1960s, the *Herald* article relates, there was a series of moves by the Pentagon to enlarge the U.S. presence on

Why Labor Lost in the Australian Elections

By Geoff Streeton

SYDNEY—Despite a strong swing to the opposition Australian Labor Party (ALP), the right-wing coalition headed by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser was returned to office in the Australian federal elections held on October 18.

The Labor vote was up by some 6.1 percent on the party's figure in the last elections, held in 1977. After preferences were distributed under Australia's preferential voting system, the ALP received about 49.5 percent of the two-party vote. But because of an inbuilt electoral bias against Labor, the ruling Liberal and National Country parties will have a large majority of 23 in the 125-seat House of Representatives.

Results in the upper house, the Senate, have not yet been confirmed. But it appears that the government may lose control of the Senate when the new members take their seats after June 30 next year. The balance of power in the upper house is likely to rest with the Australian Democrats, a minor capitalist party expected to vote with Labor on some issues.

Although the voters dealt a savage rebuff to Fraser, many Labor supporters could not conceal their disappointment with the outcome of the elections. For much of the last two years, opinion polls have shown the ALP well ahead. As late as a week before the election, Labor was widely favored to win.

The strength of the ALP's popular backing during this period has reflected the rise of massive opposition among Australian workers to the "fight inflation first" austerity policies of the Fraser government. Since Fraser won office in 1975, unemployment has climbed sharply to 6.5 percent of the work force, and in recent years inflation rates have remained close to 10 percent. Under a phony wage indexation system administered by the judges of the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, real wages have been cut by as much as 10 percent.

But especially since 1977, important sections of the work force have been fighting back, taking determined industrial action to win back their lost wages and improve job conditions.

The election results show clearly where these struggles have been fiercest. The swing to Labor varied markedly from state to state, but it was at its highest in Western Australia, Victoria, and Queensland.

Western Australia, where the Labor vote leapt by 10.2 percent, was the scene last

year of a long, hard-fought strike by workers on the Pilbara iron ore fields. Since then, there have been frequent battles over antidemocratic provisions of the State Police Act, and attempts by the State government to force the union movement to allow drilling for oil to proceed on Aboriginal land at Noonkanbah station.

In Queensland, workers on the huge coal-mining developments have maintained a high level of militancy. Earlier this year they inflicted a humiliating defeat on the federal government itself, forcing Fraser to give up attempts to make them pay tax on their subsidized housing.

In Victoria, where the Labor vote rose by 8.8 percent, the petrochemical industry, the vehicle industry, and the metal industry have all been in ferment during 1980.

Where Labor did poorest was in states with Labor state governments (Tasmania and New South Wales) and where a Labor government existed until late last year (South Australia). In these states, right-wing union leaders have made special efforts to dampen industrial militancy, claiming that the Labor administrations are placed at risk whenever workers take industrial action.

In fact, the very reverse is the case. The federal elections showed that whenever large numbers of workers stand up to the bosses' attacks, they attract the sympathy and support of broad layers of their fellow workers. The upsurge of class consciousness which results can readily be translated into big gains for working-class parties.

For the ALP, the high level of militancy which had built up during 1980 represented a critically important opportunity.

But in the 1980 election campaign as in that of 1977, an early Labor lead was dissipated as the speeches and television commercials continued, to be followed by a defeat on polling day.

This failure seems still more remarkable when one considers that since mid-1978, opinion polls had predicted results which varied from a neck-and-neck finish to a solid Labor win. In two years, despite the increasing hatred of Fraser, the Labor Party won *no* additional support.

The accepted wisdom of the capitalist commentators and the ALP leaders is that there is "always a drift back" to the bosses' parties in the course of a campaign. That does in fact seem to be the usual trend. But this trend is not some sort of law of nature; there is a *political reason* for it.

The reason is that the ALP almost

always runs campaigns that can't help but lose votes.

The ALP leaders consciously and deliberately try to prevent the development of class consciousness. Their capitalist program obscures the class lines and drives away potential working-class support.

In the recent election, the ALP did not campaign on a single proposal that would arouse serious opposition from the Australian capitalists. And for that reason, there was not a single proposal that could generate real enthusiasm among workers.

With 400,000 unemployed on official figures and the real level of jobless probably double that, Labor leader Bill Hayden said an ALP government would try to create "up to" 100,000 jobs—mostly by giving subsidies to the bosses.

After five years of cuts in real wages through inadequate indexation adjustments, Hayden said a Labor government would *not* support full indexation.

Instead of opposing Fraser's warmongering, Hayden tried to outbid him on defense spending.

When the ALP leaders compete with the bosses' parties solely in terms of who is better at managing the capitalist economy, it's no surprise that many workers judge the parties in the same terms.

One sign of this was a poll published the day before the election. Asked "Does it really matter who wins this election or not?", 24 percent of Labor voters answered "No". In terms of the policies to which the parties were pledged, those 24 percent were right.

However, the major Australian political parties are *not* fundamentally the same; there is more to the ALP than its right-wing program. With a majority of trade union delegates in its decision-making bodies, the ALP is a party of the working class. In office, it can do much to alter the terrain of the class struggle in favor of the workers, while denying the capitalist class the authority of government which capitalism finds so valuable in mounting its attacks on working people.

Because of this potential the Labor Party has, workers have a vital stake in getting it elected.

The only way for Labor to win office regularly is to tell workers the truth about class society, for Labor leaders to commit themselves to carrying out policies in the interests of the working class, while mobilizing the workers against their class enemies.

But if that is the only way to win elections, the present ALP leaders would prefer losing every time. Their ultimate loyalty is not to the workers who vote for them, but to the system that rewards them for following the capitalists' rules.

Although the Labor leaders refused to campaign on a fighting working-class program, the real needs of working people were nevertheless made an issue in the

elections. In nine seats around the country the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Australian section of the Fourth International, conducted a year-long campaign. The demands raised by the SWP candidates included an immediate 35-hour week with no loss of pay to eliminate unemployment; genuine, monthly cost-of-living adjustments to defend living standards; the

abolition of all antiunion laws, and an end to Fraser's war drive.

The SWP candidates won a total vote in excess of 14,568—an average 2.53 percent of the votes in each seat.

Other left parties gained similar votes. In all, some 42,300 people in eighteen seats gave their votes to parties presenting themselves to the left of the Labor Party. □

Imperialists Score a Propaganda Point

UN Calls for Soviet Withdrawal From Afghanistan

By Fred Feldman

Washington chalked up a propaganda point November 20 when the United Nations General Assembly adopted a motion calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

The resolution, directed at the Soviet government which sent forces into Afghanistan last December, was adopted by a vote of 111 for, 22 against, and 12 abstentions. A similar resolution adopted in January got 104 votes in favor, 18 opposed, and 18 abstaining.

Washington and its NATO partners pressed hard for this resolution as part of their campaign to convince working people that the Soviet Union is a threat to world peace.

The resolution coincides with a U.S.-led drive for higher arms spending in the main imperialist countries, and with plans to place nuclear-tipped Cruise missiles aimed at Soviet and East European targets in Britain, Belgium, and other European countries.

The Soviet intervention has also been used by Washington as one of the pretexts for building up a fleet of warships off the coast of Iran, and for reimposing draft registration in the United States.

The UN General Assembly's denunciations of Moscow's actions in Afghanistan provides Washington with a smokescreen behind which it is preparing to escalate its direct military intervention in El Salvador, where U.S. advisers are already fighting.

There is nothing new about the United Nations covering for imperialism. While the General Assembly unhesitatingly condemned Soviet intervention in Hungary, it never denounced Washington's war against Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, the military occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965, the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, or the invasion of Lebanon in 1958. Not to mention the U.S. war against Korea in the early 1950s, which was carried out under the United Nations flag.

Nor has the United Nations had a word of criticism on the CIA role in bringing down governments in Iran in 1953, Guate-

mala in 1954, and Chile in 1973.

A big majority of the Asian, African, and Latin American members of the United Nations voted with Washington on Afghanistan. Most capitalist governments in semicolonial countries were under little popular pressure to defy Washington on this point.

As was to be expected, those regimes which are most dependent on imperialist support—from the Central African Republic and Zaïre in Africa, to Oman and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East, to Thailand and Pol Pot's "Democratic Kampuchea" in Southeast Asia—voted yes. But the Iranian, and Tanzanian delegates also voted yes.

Those that voted no or abstained, aside from the Soviet bloc countries, tended to be in sharper conflict with imperialism. Thus Syria, Angola, Mozambique, South Yemen, and Grenada were among the governments voting no. Nicaragua, Algeria, and Zimbabwe abstained.

Among the workers states, the Chinese

and Yugoslav governments voted for the imperialist-backed resolution. Romania's delegation announced it was not voting.

In the debate, Soviet bloc countries took their cue from Soviet delegate Oleg A. Troyanovsky, who argued that the resolution lacked any "element of political realism" and constituted interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He defended the sending of a "limited contingent of Soviet troops" to Afghanistan as defense of the Afghan revolution. A similar stance was taken by the Afghan government's delegate.

Vietnamese delegate Ha Van Lau echoed these arguments.

Three opponents of the Washington-inspired resolution who took a different tack were the representatives of the revolutionary governments of Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua.

Noting that Grenada had supported the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan, Grenadian delegate Caldwell Taylor noted that from the beginning the revolution had been the target of imperialist-backed subversion. According to a summary issued by the United Nations, he said that "minutes before he spoke . . . he had learned that five members of Grenada's people's militia had been murdered."

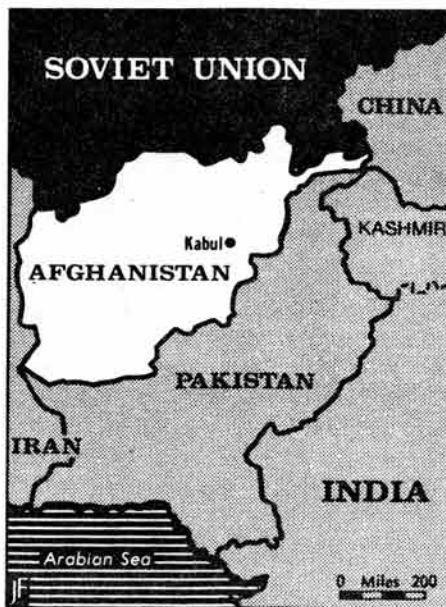
The summary concluded: "That incident, which was similar to the aggression being experienced by the people of Afghanistan, enabled Grenada to better understand and support the Afghanistan revolution. Grenada would vote against the resolution before the assembly."

The UN summary of the debate reports that Cuba's Raul Roa Kouri told the assembly that "the situation in South-West Asia was a source of concern because of the gross manipulation of events in Afghanistan by the United States and because States in the region were pitted against each other even though this was obviously not in their interest."

Kouri's remarks stressed Cuba's efforts to attain a peaceful settlement: "For this reason, Cuba had sent a special emissary to Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan and would continue to work for a negotiated political solution as only such a solution could bring peace and security to South-West Asia. . . ."

"However, the draft resolution . . . did not contribute to that process and therefore he would vote against it."

Victor H. Tinoco, who represented Nicaragua, motivated his abstention by declaring, according to the summary, "that the history of support for the forces seeking to overthrow the Afghan revolution was well known. But the counterrevolutionary phenomenon there had been dramatically magnified by the imperialists. The opposition to Soviet intervention concealed exceedingly reactionary interests. The draft resolution ignored the realities of the liberation struggle in Afghanistan; Nicaragua could not, therefore, support it." □



Turkish Generals Carry Out Savage Repression

By Fred Feldman

Some 60,000 people have been arrested in Turkey since the September 12 military coup there, according to Kemal Doytal, an exiled leader of the banned Revolutionary Workers Trade Union Confederation (DISK).

Doytal was the only one of the seven top leaders of DISK, Turkey's largest union federation, to escape arrest.

Doytal's description of repression in Turkey today appeared in an interview with the French Communist Party newspaper *l'Humanité*. It was extensively quoted in the November 20 issue of the Athens daily *Eleftherotypia*.

Reports such as Doytal's are beginning to filter out, despite claims in the capitalist media that Turkey's people are relieved and even happy about the September 12 military coup.

The Turkish generals have made a few gestures to help out the bourgeois image-makers. Like the late shah of Iran, they portray themselves as secular modernizers beset by religious and political fanatics. They proclaim devotion to democracy while settling in for an indefinite stay in power.

They have even promised to investigate a few of the many incidents of torture and murder of political prisoners that took place under previous administrators and during the coup.

And they have used tight censorship to try to keep the truth from leaking out.

Doytal provided other indications of the scope of the violations of human rights under the military dictatorship.

"The army and police murder people openly on the streets," he declared. "In the two months since September 12, 500 persons have been executed. In the Kurdish territories, never before has terrorism taken place to such an extent. Under the pretext of military operations, whole towns have been leveled to the ground and people from the ages of fourteen to thirty years old have been arrested. Many of these later 'disappear.'"

On November 19, a military court in Ankara accused 200 people of belonging to the illegal Kurdish Democratic Party, and of plotting secession and murder. Their real crime in the eyes of the junta is speaking up for the rights of the oppressed Kurdish minority. For that, they face the death penalty.

Warrants were also issued for sixty-four members of Tob Der (Turkish Teachers Association). The charges indicated the regime's determination to crush support for Kurdish demands for equal rights. The teachers were accused of "attempting to divide the Turkish nation into ethnic groups," introducing "languages other than Turkish" into the schools, and trying to establish the domination of one class over the others.

Turkey's eight million Kurds have become increasingly restive since the overthrow of the shah of Iran, which spurred a struggle for autonomy by Iran's Kurdish population.

The generals' fear of the Iranian revolution has also spurred them to crack down on dissidents who appeal to Islamic ideol-

ogy. Necmettin Erbakan, head of the Islamic National Salvation Party (MSP), was rearrested October 15. Two party leaders were arrested with him, and warrants were issued for nineteen others.

The MSP is a bourgeois party calling for enforcement of Islamic law.

In the November 19 *New York Times*, Marvine Howe reported the arrest of 45 people in Konya, a city of 700,000. About 500 others had been arrested there at the time of the coup.

Imam Abdullah Buyuk of Konya's Sultan Selim Mosque faces charges of favoring an Islamic state in Turkey. Before the coup, his political sermons were reported to have attracted up to 25,000 people.

The Islamic organizations had been used in some cases by sections of the working people as a channel for the expression of their opposition to the domination of Turkey by Western imperialism.

One of the events that sparked the coup was a rally of 80,000 for the liberation of Jerusalem that was organized in Konya by the MSP.

Howe noted in the November 14 *Times* that some of Konya's "fundamentalists concede that they aspire to an Islamic state. They contend that Turkey is a 'tool' of Western countries and should withdraw from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

Although Justice Party chieftain Suleyman Demirel, whose government was ousted by the generals, has endorsed military rule, Bulent Ecevit resigned as head of the Republican People's Party to protest the government's ban on political activities. Both Ecevit and Demirel were arrested at the time of the coup and then released.

Demirel's support was to be expected. The regime is pledged to escalate the cutbacks in the living standards of workers and farmers that he was carrying out to meet the demands of the International Monetary Fund.



Turkish strikers in 1978. Military regime has banned all unions.

Military authorities barred the Turkish media from publicizing Ecevit's protest.

Marvine Howe's estimate of Ecevit's "move to dissociate himself from the military regime" (an estimate attributed to "independent political observers") is that it was an "astute political move." Howe is well aware that the coup is unpopular, despite the claims to the contrary in the capitalist media.

The October 10 *Wall Street Journal* left no doubt about what forces in Turkish society have gained from the suppression of democratic rights.

"Like other Turkish industrialists, Sakip Sabanci has just gained an unusual but effective tool for ending labor disputes: martial law." Sabanci heads Turkey's biggest private sector concern.

"Prior to last month's military over-

throw of the Turkish government," continued correspondent Eric Morgenthauer, "left-wing textile workers were striking one of Mr. Sabanci's factories. At four other factories, they were showing up each day but refusing to work. After the coup, the new military rulers promptly outlawed extremist unions—including the one involved at Mr. Sabanci's plants—and ordered all strikers back to work." □

DOCUMENTS

Portugal: PSR Backs Carvalho in Presidential Election

[On November 11 the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR—the Portuguese section of the Fourth International) issued a communiqué declaring its support for former-General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho in the December 7 presidential election in Portugal.

[The incumbent president, General Ramalho Eanes, was elected in June 1976 with the support of the bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party (SP), and with the under-the-table support of the Communist Party (CP), which ran a token candidate.

[After the victory of the bourgeois Democratic Alliance coalition in the October 5, 1980, parliamentary elections, Eanes openly declared his support for the bourgeois parties' program. However, the right-wing majority of the SP leadership continues to back his candidacy.

[The candidate of the Democratic Alliance for president is General Soares Carneiro.

[The CP is again running a token candidate, Carlos Brito. It presents the choice in the election as one between the rightist Soares Carneiro and the "democrat" Eanes. Brito is expected to withdraw in favor of Eanes in the second round of voting.

[The POUS-PST, the Portuguese supporters of the sectarian Parity Committee for the Reconstruction (Reorganization) of the Fourth International, are supporting Aires Rodrigues, a former leader of the SP left wing.

[The following is the statement of the PSR. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

A meeting took place November 11 between Otelo and Heitor de Sousa and António Gomes who represented the Executive Committee of the PSR.

The discussion was conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding. It concluded with the signing of accords that provided a basis for strong unity in action around Otelo's campaign for the presidency.

In accordance with the decisions of the

Central Committee of the PSR, de Sousa and Gomes stated that in the present situation Otelo's campaign is the most effective and massive expression of the opposition of the working class to the bourgeois candidates, and that it represents a firm defense of the gains of April. [the April 25, 1974, revolution which overthrew the Salazarist dictatorship.]

Among the points of agreement and convergence that emerged during the meeting, the following stand out:

A. Criticism of the positions of the reformist parties that are capitulating to Eanes, and Otelo's firm decision *not to withdraw* in favor of Eanes either in the first or the second round.

B. The need for the campaign to include a strong defense of the gains of April (first of all, of the agrarian reform). The need to strive for the unity of all workers and their parties and the unity of the trade unions as indispensable weapons not only for defending the gains the people made following April but for defeating the Democratic Alliance through the mobilization and struggle of all the workers on a national scale.

C. The need to campaign for the independence of the working class from bour-

geois institutions. The need to defend the present constitution against [Premier] Sá Carneiro's attempts to revise it, and to fight to defend and extend the gains of the people that are inscribed in the constitution, even though we do not think that it is the sort of constitution the workers need.

D. The defense of democratic rights, including the rights of soldiers on the military bases. Reinstatement of all the military officers who participated in the April 25, 1974, action and were purged after [the attempted coup of] November 25, 1975. The application of the amnesty law to all antifascist political prisoners.

E. The need for Otelo in his campaign to call for the resignation of the Democratic Alliance government, the dissolution of the parliament, and the holding of free and democratic elections to elect representatives of the working people, so that a left government can be formed in which there will be no representatives of the right or the capitalists and which will not temporize with such forces.

E. The need to call on all workers to oppose Soares Carneiro and Eanes and actively support Otelo's campaign.

Signed: Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, Heitor de Sousa, António Gomes.

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Statement of Iranian HKS on the Iraqi Invasion

[The following statement was published in the October 2 issue of *Kargarane-Socialist*, the fortnightly publication of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Iraqi Baathist regime, which has been plotting against the Iranian revolution since the overthrow of the shah and staging various attacks, has now launched an extensive military assault on our country.

By this act [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein has shown that in order to uphold the rule of his hated regime he is ready to become the lackey of the most reactionary forces.

The Iraqi military assault on Iran can only serve the interests of American imperialism and the reactionary forces that want to restore the old regime in Iran.

Confronted with the struggle of the oppressed Kurdish people and the struggles of the Iraqi workers and peasants, the Baathist Party found the underpinnings of its rule on the brink of collapsing. So, it decided to cozy up to world reaction and to carry out operations against the Iranian revolution teledirected by the imperialists. Seeking the support of world reaction and seeking to distract the oppressed people and the toilers of Iraq, this regime hopes that it will be able to maintain its own reactionary rule.

Workers, toilers, and oppressed people of Iran!

By our unity in struggle, we brought down the most corrupt reactionary regime in the Middle East. Now we must unite to defend the revolution and our gains and mobilize against the military assault of the Iraqi regime. The only way to thwart the plots of the imperialists is to mobilize and unite the working people and the oppressed. The unity of our heroic fighters will deal a sharp blow to imperialist reaction and give a powerful assist to the oppressed people and the toilers of Iraq in their fight against Baathist reaction. We must unite and defend our revolution!

We demand that the government of the Islamic Republic give us arms! We demand that the army and the Revolutionary Guards give us military training! We demand this so that through our *shoras* (committees) we can mobilize to defend our revolution!

We want a real army of twenty million made up of armed workers', peasants', soldiers', and neighborhood *shoras*! We want this army mobilized to confront the imperialist assault.

All of those among us who place their confidence in the leadership of Imam

Khomeini must appeal to him: "You are our leader, Khomeini, arm us!"

The workers of Iran are the strongest force of our revolution. Organizing workers *shoras* and unifying them on a national scale will deal a body-blow to the counter-revolution. The beatings and jailings of *shora* activists must stop. This is necessary to enable the workers of Iran to play their vital role in leading the mobilization of the toilers and the oppressed.

The oppressed Kurdish people in both Iran and Iraq are one of the most important bastions of the oppressed people and the toilers in confronting the military assault of the Iraqi Baathist regime.

But Kurdistan is now being occupied by the army and the Revolutionary Guards. And the Kurdish people are being subjected to pressure by means of an economic blockade of their cities.

We call on the leaders of the Islamic Republic to end the war that they have imposed on the Kurdish people. The Kurdish people must be armed so that they can participate in the united mobilization against the imperialist military intrigues.

The Kurdish people are calling for the withdrawal of the military forces from Kurdistan and for them to be stationed at the frontier. Instead of occupying Kurdistan, the Iranian government should send its forces to meet the Iraqi military assault.

The areas where the oppressed Arab people live is one of the focuses of the Iraqi attack. Thus, the denial of the Arab people's right of self-determination endangers our unity in the face of the Iraqi Baathist regime's military intrigues. The suppression of the national rights of the Arab people must be ended so that all the oppressed people and toilers of Iran can be mobilized for a united military struggle.

Our soldiers who must be joined in unity with all the oppressed and toiling people are being denied the right to form their own independent *shoras*. We have seen a number of times how military officers have participated in plots against our revolu-

tion. The only way to block such plotting is for independent soldiers *shoras* to keep watch over the functioning of the army.

Our universities have always been a bastion of the revolution. For long years, Iranian students were the standardbearers of the fight against the old regime. But now the Iranian universities have been shut down for months. They must be reopened to help build a united mobilization against the counterrevolution.

We must have unrestricted rights of assembly and expression. This is the only way to assure that the unity of the oppressed and toiling people in the struggle will be maintained. In order to mobilize the broad masses once again in united and militant resistance to imperialism, the full truth about the military intrigues must be told to the people and they must have access to all views.

Leaders and representatives of the government:

The way to neutralize the imperialists' military intrigues against the revolution is to arm the people and mobilize the broad masses of the oppressed and toiling people of Iran. And the way to overthrow the Iraqi Baathist regime is to extend a helping hand to the oppressed and toiling people of Iraq.

All the obstacles that stand in the way of arming the people and mobilizing them in a united way against the counterrevolutionary plots must be removed. The attempts to repress the struggles of the oppressed and toiling people for their rights must be ended. Instead of chauvinist propaganda directed against all the people of Iraq, there must be recognition that the interests of the working people and the oppressed in Iraq are distinct from those of the Baathist regime. The oppressed and toiling people of Iraq must be aided in their struggle against the government of Saddam Hussein.

A united mobilization against the military intrigues of imperialism!

The leaders of the Islamic Republic must arm the working people! □



'Unity of our heroic fighters will deal a sharp blow to imperialism.'

Cuba's Economy: An Assessment of the Past Five Years

[The following interview with Gilberto Diaz, vice-president of Cuba's Central Planning Board (JUCEPLAN), was obtained by journalist Ana María Radaelli. We have taken the text from the November 9 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*, published in Havana.]

* * *

Question. According to the directives adopted by the 1st Congress of the [Cuban Communist] Party on economic and social development for the 1976-1980 five-year period, industrialization was on the top priority list. Can you tell us to what extent this goal was met?

Answer. I think I should first explain briefly why, in 1975, industrialization was considered one of the country's basic goals for economic development, and in doing so we should recall the structure of Cuba's economy before the triumph of the Revolution.

It is common knowledge that underdeveloped Cuba was basically a mono-exporting country. All economic activity revolved around our main product: cane sugar. There were over 160 sugar mills in operation, and the entire infrastructure—ports, roads, railroads—was geared to sugar production and exports. We had a few small industries, but, generally speaking, we imported almost all our consumer goods from the U.S. market. Therefore, one of the Revolution's first objectives was to change that deformed structure. As it turned out, we didn't succeed in introducing the desired changes as fast as we would have liked, because we couldn't allocate the biggest investments to industrialization over the past 20 years of Revolution. We did, indeed, set the process in motion—Che Guevara was one of its promoters—but as we went along we had to put the emphasis on developing our agriculture and cattle-raising, since, among other things, the U.S.-imposed economic blockade forced us to guarantee uninterrupted food supply to the population. This was how large investments were used to build dams, set up the fertilizer industry, manufacture agricultural machinery and tools. . . . This was how industrial development at that time came to be geared directly to agriculture and cattle-raising.

Following the 1st Congress, a different policy was applied to industrial development, although this doesn't mean we excluded developing the sugar industry or agriculture for, as the documents approved at the Congress state, this industry is the pivot, the basic industry on which the development of all other industries depends. What's more, developing our sugar

industry not only enables us to produce and export sugar but also allows us to industrialize its important by-products: bagasse, molasses, etc.

But going back to your question, that is, to what extent the goal of industrialization was met in this five-year period, I must say that we are not fully satisfied with the results, and, of course, the international



GILBERTO DIAZ

economic situation during the period is partly to blame. It is a well-known fact that in 1974 and 1975 the price of sugar on the world market reached a record 64 cents a pound. In other words, at the time the Congress issued its directives, sugar commanded a high price, although it should also be mentioned here that the probability of a price drop was taken into account when the directives were drawn up. But when it came, the price drop exceeded all expectations: over the past two years the price of sugar on the world market hit a low a six cents a pound!

In addition to this was the fact that the price of the greater part of our imports was spiraling upward. This, of course, forced us to give up some of our goals, but not all of them. We mustn't forget that the bulk of our trade is within the socialist countries with which we have stable and favorable agreements that make it possible for our economy to be generally on a stable footing. This wouldn't be possible if we depended on our relations with the capitalist world, which is subjected to the fluctuations of inflation. . . . One fact that speaks for itself is that around 80 percent of our imports come from the socialist camp, and, therefore, only 20 percent are affected by the world economic and financial crisis.

In spite of what I've said, I can tell you that the industrialization process is currently faring much better than at any other time. And the process isn't completed yet; many projects begun in this five-year period will be completed in the next.

Q. Can you give us some concrete examples of this growth in industrialization over the past five years?

A. I can give you several examples. Cement production is one of them. Just one of two plants we have built turns out 1,650,000 tons, over twice the cement the country produced before 1958, when output stood at around 700,000 tons. And we are currently exporting cement, which goes to show how big these plants are. Another example I can give you is the fertilizer industry: although with the new Nuevitas nitrogenous fertilizer plant and the re-vamping of the Cienfuegos plant in operation, all our needs are not yet being met, this has gone a long way in making us self-sufficient and must not be underestimated. There are many other examples: manufacturing TV sets, for instance. We expect to be manufacturing color TV sets during the next five-year period. Developing our electric power industry has enabled us to reach very, very high levels of power output. Installed capacity of the national grid over these five years has been a little over 1,000 megawatts, more than double the figure for 1958. We've also made great strides in the textile industry by opening the Desembarco del Granma plant, with an annual output capacity of 60 million square meters of cloth, apart from two other very big factories now under construction, which will enable us to cover our basic needs and even export some cloth and clothing.

We couldn't not mention the nickel industry where big investments were made in the present five-year period. What's involved here is large-scale construction that requires very advanced technology. We have also begun building a nuclear power plant, also of great magnitude. . . . I should mention that many of these projects are being built by Cuban professionals and that a good portion have been designed by Cubans also. This shows the degree of development we've reached, since, as a rule, underdeveloped countries that undertake projects of such magnitude, nearly always need overseas construction enterprises for their industrial investment plans.

I believe we can say that, despite the fact that not all the goals set were fulfilled, this has been a good five-year period, a very

important one. I also believe that perhaps the fact of having started many projects of such magnitude at the same time prevented us from finishing some of them on time.

I think that in the next five-year period we should concentrate on a given number of projects that won't spread our forces too thin.

Ours is a long list of achievements. I can add to it the industrial complex engaged in processing and exporting citrus fruit, which is an important line in our foreign trade. And I must also mention the machine industry. We are currently manufacturing complex machinery like cane harvesters. Over 50 percent of all canecutting is now mechanized, and this is very important to us, not only from an economic standpoint but from a social, human point of view as well. As far we can, we're trying to eliminate canecutting by hand because it's very hard work. . . . Who in Cuba doesn't know what it means to cut cane from sunrise to sunset? That's why we feel that mechanization is also a social need. The factory we built in collaboration with the USSR can turn out 600 cane harvesters a year, which is saying quite a lot. And while we're talking about sugarcane let us also refer back to the development of the sugar industry. We're now building new sugar mills with Cuban blueprints and a lot of Cuban-made equipment, and we're also building factories to exploit sugarcane by-products, for instance, to make fine quality paper and hardboard from bagasse, torula yeast from molasses, etc.

We also have a new factory turning out quality batteries and are manufacturing aluminum pipes and pipes of other kinds for irrigation, a line that we used to import entirely. There are also all the factories

geared to construction: different fixtures, bathroom fittings, etc. This means that during the next five-year period we'll be in a better position to tackle the pressing problem of housing. And lastly, though not last in importance, we have developed the food industry considerably, with flour mills, milk pasteurizing plants, bakeries, and rum, ice and candy factories. And, as I pointed out earlier, we've had to build all these installations in the midst of an unfavorable situation. We also had to effect important institutional changes: the five-year plan started with the new political-administrative division and the setting up of the organs of People's Power, which began to administer many economic activities, and there were many adjustments to be made, channels to set up. . . . However, having new economic management mechanisms in the present five-year period has been positive since we used our resources better and managed the economy much more efficiently.

Q. You haven't mentioned the blockade as one of the objective difficulties that the country has had to deal with 21 years after the triumph of the Revolution. Why?

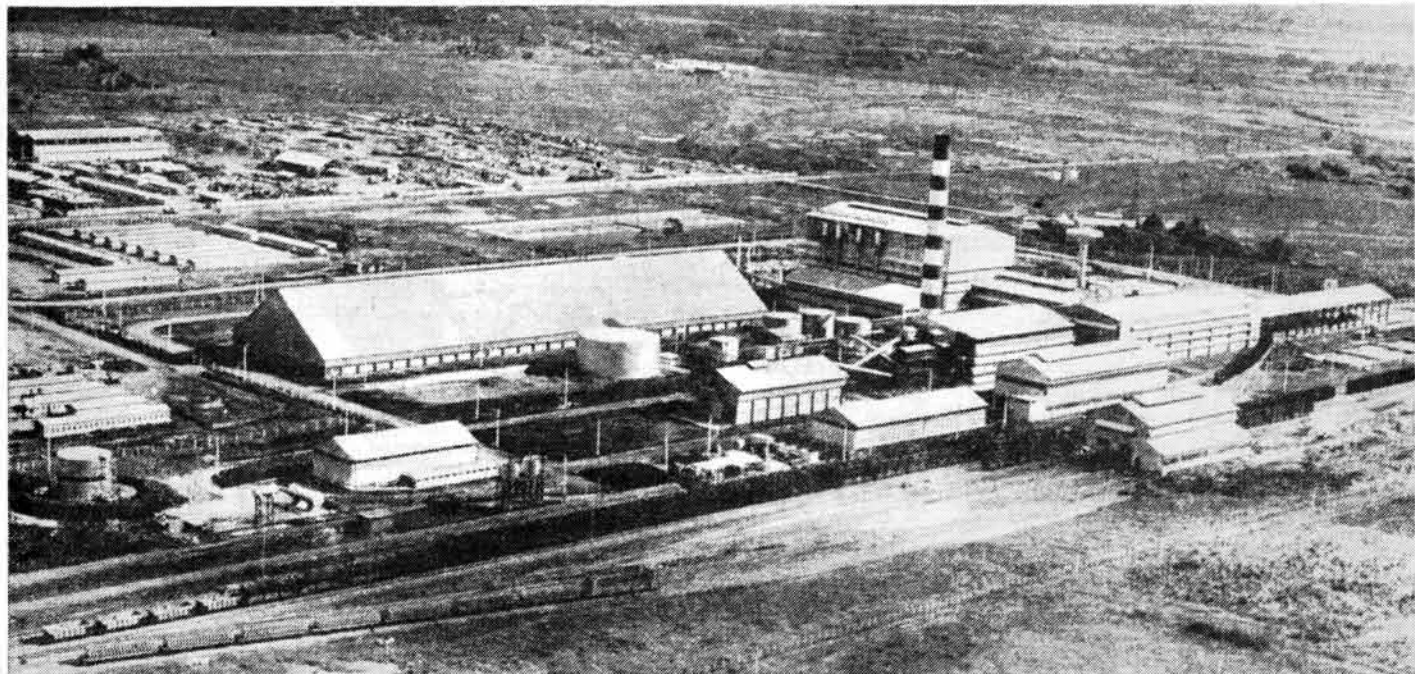
A. Generally speaking—and our leaders have stressed this point—we don't want to justify our internal difficulties by systematically blaming the blockade. Our leadership cadres mustn't use this as an argument to cover up any shortcomings we may have. Of course, we can't deny the fact that the blockade exists, that it continues, and that it's damaging to us. Of course it's damaging to us! Just think how many spare parts for machinery we inherited from capitalism we can't buy in the United States! Think how much money we have to spend on shipping to bring pro-

ducts from Europe, when we could bring them from so much closer! They hound us with such hostility when we begin negotiating with any capitalist country to purchase something that's going to benefit our country! And how complicated drawing up the contracts, paying freight charges and obtaining credits becomes! We've been putting up with all this, as you say, for 20 years. It's a fact, but, I repeat, it can't be used to cover up our shortcomings, and I think that's why I didn't mention it among the difficulties that conspired against the economic plans we had for the five year period that's coming to an end when it has in all truth been a major cause of our difficulties.

Q. Many people abroad think that, despite all that has been done to industrialize the country, Cuba is still, 21 years after the triumph of the Revolution, absolutely dependent on monocultivation. Could you say something about this?

A. If one analyzes the structure of production and stops to weigh sugar exports against all other exports, sugar clearly represents 80 percent of our foreign trade. Seen from this angle, we continue to be to a large extent dependent on sugar. But I don't think we can analyze the economic development of a country from this angle: there are developed countries that only obtain foreign exchange from two or three products. That is, a country cannot be analyzed from the viewpoint of foreign trade alone. Gross National Product has to be taken into account.

As we pointed out before, we began many years ago to diversify the nation's economy, to diversify exports, and that allows us to state that there have been



The 30 de Noviembre sugar mill, built during the 1970's. Newest prerevolutionary mill is a half-century old.

deepseated changes in the structure of our economy. We can now say that the contribution of sugar production to the internal economy has decreased, while sugar production has increased in absolute terms. We cannot formulate policy according to slogans: we must develop those industries that bring in most foreign exchange for our country. And there is no other branch of the Cuban economy that can compete with sugar. Not one. Which means that we cannot and should not give sugar up. I recall how at the beginning of the Revolution we wanted to eliminate sugarcane: we associated it with the dead season, with capitalist exploitation. . . . Fortunately we corrected our error in time. Sugarcane is what we can produce most, what brings in most income, what costs less to produce, is the industry in which we can recuperate investment outlay most rapidly. . . . So are we to give sugar up just so as not to be labeled a mono-exporting country? That would be a terrible mistake. Cuba's climate and natural conditions in general are such that we can produce sugar at competitive prices on the world market.

The volume of our sugar exports is so great that many times we have underestimated others that seem insignificant by comparison. We have to export all that can be exported and is profitable to export, all the other items we are developing on top of sugar. But sugar continues to be by far the most profitable branch of our economy.

Q. Even when prices drop?

A. Even when prices drop. Because the bulk of our exports go to the socialist countries, with which we have agreements guaranteeing stable prices. Sugarcane is our oil; it is the source of foreign exchange that enables us to develop many other industries.

Q. And will it continue to be in the future?

A. Quite possibly, although in the long run it will be proportionately less so. What is our great mineral wealth, for example? Nickel, but it's not replenishable. Sugarcane is. Our nickel reserves will one day be exhausted. And yet we will always have sun and this magnificent soil that gives us cane and hence a very important foodstuff that is in great demand on the world market. According to plans that have been outlined for development strategy up until the year 2000, one of the bases of Cuba's industrialization will be the sugar industry. And yet, as I explained before, each day we come closer to diversifying production and export. There's no contradiction here.

Q. In what way has the Cuban state buffered, as far as our working people are concerned, the effects of the economic and monetary crisis that is playing such havoc with the capitalist countries and affecting

all countries of the world in one way or another?

A. It is true that this crisis affects us, but it doesn't affect us as it affects other countries. First, because, as I already said,



Worker in Cuba's newest textile mill.

80 percent of our imports come from the socialist countries. We have trade agreements for the next five years, and that affords us great stability. But, as we also said before, part of our imports come from the capitalist world. And that's where the role of the state comes in, so the people do not suffer the devastating effects of inflation. Beans, for example, are sold at less than 20 centavos a pound. That's the same price as in 1962. But it is not the price we pay on the world market. Prices rise higher and higher, and each year we have to pay more. Now then, foreign trade enterprises have a budget for this: that is, the state subsidizes imports so that the consumer does not have to bear the price increase. It is our duty to guarantee everyone, and in particular families in the lower income brackets, basic products at stable prices.

Of course, the consumer is affected indirectly. How? Well, perhaps we have planned to import some other products and we no longer can at the higher prices; the price of television sets is still high and alcoholic beverages are expensive. . . . This is because that television set and that beverage goes to help cover the growing costs of the import of basic products: the television set in part pays for the beans. That is only one example, but I use it to try to show in what ways the people have not been affected by the economic crisis whereas they have in other underdeveloped countries. In the midst of the terrible inflation that is sweeping the world, Cuba has not only maintained but increased its standard of living. This puts us in a truly privileged position in comparison with that of underdeveloped countries like us.

We should also mention the oil problem. Where would we be if we had to buy oil at the world market price? Our whole sugar output would simply not be enough to buy the oil we need! It is thanks to our agreements with the USSR that we are guaranteed all the oil we need for the next five years. How many countries can say that? Here we see the magnitude of what it means to belong to the socialist community.

I think it's good to dwell on what we said before: that despite the international situation the standard of living of our people has gone up. It has not perhaps gone up as much as we would have liked it to, but it has, nonetheless, gone up. The average salary in Cuba is constantly on the increase, and let us not forget that a considerable part of our resources go to social consumption, which in fact increases real per capita income: education is completely free from primary to university level, including postgraduate studies; medical and hospital care is free; urban transportation fares continue at the set price of five centavos, whatever the distance. . . . All these are factors that contribute to increase the standard of living of a people whose infant mortality rate, for example, of 19.3 per 1,000 live births in 1979, is on a par with the most developed countries in the world. It should be borne in mind here that 98 percent of births are hospital births and, hence, this figure is all the more meaningful. It does not do, then, to be oversimplistic on analyzing living standards: to say a worker earns such and such and can buy such and such with his salary. Such a comparative mechanism can be highly erroneous. All those services that the people receive free of charge—such as education and public health—increase the real wages of workers.

And there is another factor that should be taken into consideration: there is a much more equitable income distribution in Cuba than in the capitalist countries. That is, there is a much smaller difference between the lowest and the highest income than there is under capitalism, where the gaps are tremendous and, hence, figures for average income and consumption are really misleading.

Q. The implementation of the economic management and planning system was also brought up in the documents of the 1st Congress. How well is it being implemented and what is its direct effect on the economic projects that the Cuban Revolution is carrying out?

A. Let me point out first that the economic management and planning system is defined as a group of principles, methods and procedures through which planning, management and control of economic activities are carried out. It was, in effect, after the 1st Congress that we began to talk about the management and

planning system, but this doesn't mean that we didn't have a planned economy before that. Let's say that we now have a much improved, more appropriate mechanism with which to tackle our country's economic development, on a scientific basis. Under socialism, an economic management and planning system becomes an absolute necessity, given that the state owns most of the means of production, centralizes economic activity and plays a far more important role than under capitalism. Moreover, I would say that the absence or incorrect application of the principles of economic management and planning under socialism can lead to real disaster for the reason I mentioned above: for the state's being so centralized.

Capitalism also has its own management system, but it presents a big inconvenience: each economic entity has, in turn, its own system, and getting all the entities to agree and function as a harmonious whole is out of the question under capitalism; hence the anarchy that prevails in the economy.

We have our own system, which is not based on making profits above all as under capitalism, although we are also interested in making profits, which under socialism consist of the surplus created during the production process and which are needed both for distribution and for carrying out the rest of the activities of society. Under capitalism, the profits earned by a corporation determine what it will invest in. For us, this is not so. What we do is make a thorough analysis of the economy nationwide and determine where, when and how we will make such and such investments. We decide we must develop a region or give a boost to a province . . . that is, we start out from an overall assessment of the needs of the whole country.

And to be able to develop the economy successfully we needed to draw up and apply these management and planning mechanisms. We started to apply the system in 1976, and we had to do this too in the midst of all the difficulties I mentioned earlier: the country's new political division, the setting up of the organs of People's Power that implied great decentralization of the state apparatus.

So, we had to start doing the groundwork to begin to apply the economic management and planning system. The system is based on the following principle: every enterprise has to meet its own expenses, fulfill its production plans and distribute the incentive funds, i.e., part of the profits made, among its workers. And, I repeat, this wasn't easy, for it was first necessary to transfer to the organs of People's Power all the enterprises under their jurisdiction, and this had to be done at all levels. The task of enforcing the system nationwide was so complex that this five-year period was regarded as the takeoff, so to speak, and it won't be for a few more years that

we'll have it fully working in all the enterprises of the country.

The results we have obtained so far in the enterprises that are applying it are very positive, which makes us think that we're on the right track. Humberto Pérez, head of JUCEPLAN, has often said that this five-year period was like the planting season and the fruits will be reaped in the next one. We've already reaped some fruits. The main thing, I repeat, is already done: laying the foundations so that the system can be gradually applied throughout the country. That's one resolution that has been complied with. To say it figuratively, we believe we've set the train on the track. It isn't running yet, but it will be soon. And I say this with optimism for we have seen how, in spite of the unfavorable economic situation, we've made progress in this five-year period, and this is undoubtedly because we have achieved greater efficiency in management.

Q. How do worker collectives participate in the management of enterprises and what is the role of the trade unions in economic management?

A. The economic management and planning system presupposes the active participation of worker collectives in the running of enterprises. In broad terms, this participation takes the following form: every year the Council of Ministers and the Party draw up a series of guidelines covering the development of a given branch of the economy based on the needs of the population and our export requirements. These initial proposals are sent to the various ministries and organs of People's Power: they are under the obligation to pass them on to the enterprises subordinate to them, and every enterprise meets with the union local to discuss the proposals. That is the first stage. When a specific proposal has been drawn up, the whole worker collective meets to discuss it. The discussions are really interesting, and genuinely important suggestions are made. These are noted down and then discussed first in the ministries and then at JUCEPLAN and the Council of Ministers so as to be finally approved by the National Assembly of People's Power. Then the workers are informed as to the results of all their deliberations, and if for some reason one or another is not taken up the enterprise is under the obligation to explain why. We should point out that meetings of the Council of Ministers are attended by the general secretary of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions, who has the right to give his views in the discussions and on decisions taken regarding national economic plans.

Now what happens with the implementation of the economic management and planning system? There is much greater worker participation. It has much greater weight, and for a very simple reason: it is

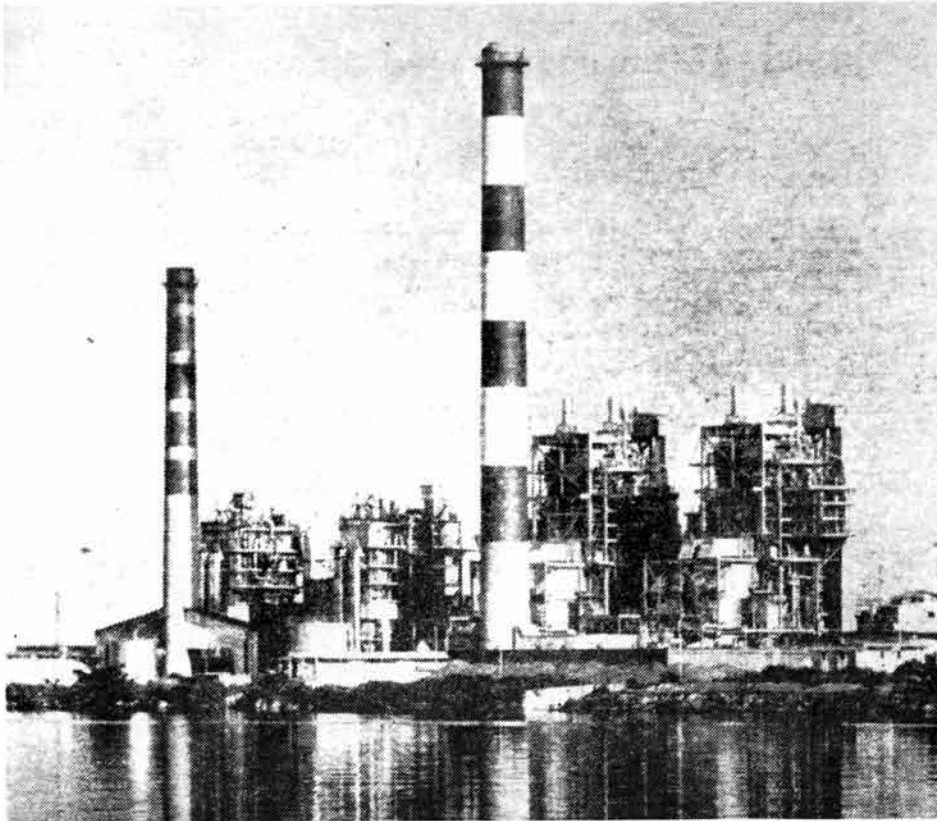
now in the interests of all that the enterprise function well, that production plans are fulfilled, that there be profits to be distributed among the collective. No longer is it a case of the individual interests of each person: now the entire worker collective is involved, so everyone has a vested interest in the functioning of the enterprise. . . . That is, with the implementation of the management system, we not only achieve greater economic efficiency but also help increase social awareness, and that seems to me to be very important. And there can be no accusing us of "returning to capitalism"; we reward the enterprises that have worked the hardest, those that have produced the most. All this is very sound and very healthy: in the enterprises where the management system has already been fully implemented, we have seen that the workers are much more demanding of the administration, that the unions are really the counterbalance to the administration and that there is a much more demanding attitude all around. It is really encouraging to see workers in these enterprises discussing production costs, yield per area, etc. They know a surprising lot about these economic questions, and this is only the start.

Q. To a certain extent you have already answered a question I was going to ask, which is, how is the socialist principle of distribution applied in Cuba?

A. It is a well-known fact that in this stage of socialism we are not able to distribute according to need; we must do so according to the work the individual contributes to society, although some things are already distributed according to need: this is the case of education and public health. Those services are not contingent on what the person earns, the salary he or she receives. Thus, on the one hand, we have individual distribution—in the form of salary—and on the other, as we have already seen, that which the worker gets from the incentive fund, that is, from the profits of the enterprise. There are also the bonuses: the lathe operator who turns out superior quality parts will make more. This is in line with the socialist principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. He who contributes more to society will receive more.

Q. But doesn't the continued existence of rationing clash with incentive mechanisms for retribution according to work done?

A. Of course. I would venture to say that continued rationing of certain products does not fit in with this policy of incentives. Because if I earn more because I have worked more, that must be reflected in material terms. We feel that for this principle of payment according to work to take on its full significance it is vital for us to move towards the elimination of ration-



Electrical generating has jumped 520 percent since revolution.

ing without affecting low income families. But, in order to eliminate these restrictions on certain products, we must logically increase production.

The origin of rationing is tied up with two factors which arose after the triumph of the Revolution: shortages of many products on the market caused by hoarding on the part of well-to-do bourgeois families, on the one hand, and the economic blockade, on the other. We then had to come up with an equitable method of distribution that would give everybody equal access to products, so that low income families, for example, could buy meat every week. Because we must bear in mind that under capitalism those families were subjected to fierce rationing: they couldn't buy the meat or shoes they needed. . . . When the population's income increased and the big differences between the higher and lower paid were eliminated, there was a big increase in demand for certain products which the people had not consumed up until then, which made them less available. That was why I said that rationing was the only way, the only way out to assure equitable distribution.

However, almost 20 years have passed and we think we are now in a position to solve the problem. We have taken some steps; we have just passed a wage reform law which stipulates overall increases in the earnings of the population. It means expenditures of about 2,000 million pesos over the next five years. Salaries of work-

ers, especially those earning less, will be significantly increased. This wage reform also greatly benefits workers in the sugar industry and in the canefields; there will also be extra pay for night work or hardship conditions, bonuses for seniority in certain sectors . . . this is it in general terms. But I want to stress that we are sure this wage reform will be reflected in production, because we are sure it will serve as an incentive to increase production and productivity. We must point out that these increases are not generally accompanied by an increase in the price of products offered to the population. The only thing we have increased is the price of the kilowatt, because we must encourage people to use electricity sparingly. The system prevailing in Cuba was a legacy of capitalism: he who used more paid less, and this is not in line with our need to save oil. So this is the right time to change the situation.

Nonetheless, we will have to study consumption patterns and probably make some price adjustments, without entailing any increase in the cost of living, so as to eliminate certain imbalances within groups of products and in relation to their cost. It is not the case in our country that a wage increase is accompanied by an even higher price increase.

We have a wage increase on the one hand and are aiming at increased production on the other. Over the past five years, rationing of many products has been eliminated, and we will continue to increase

production so that it will really be possible to apply the socialist principle of distribution.

Q. Can we say that there has been a big increase in consumer goods over the past five years?

A. No doubt about it. Of course, we still have a long way to go, but we have made a lot of progress. In clothing, for example. We still have some problems with the design of our clothes, but our people are adequately dressed and shod, although the quality of shoes being produced right now leaves much to be desired. This is however, something we hope to resolve in the coming years. It has also been a good five years for the distribution of durable goods: television sets, washing machines, refrigerators, etc. There have been increasingly large numbers of them made available to the people. As I said before, many industrial items and foodstuffs are no longer rationed, there is greater supply of farm produce, and food consumption is higher than that in any other Latin American country.

If you allow me to go back to the previous question, I think we didn't mention the fact that certain mechanisms are now in operation to increase food supplies to the population: the parallel market—offering products of which there are limited supplies at somewhat higher prices—and the free peasant market, on which small farmers can sell their surplus directly to the consumer, after fulfilling their state quota.

The parallel market gives us a slightly better idea of the tastes and preferences of the consumer. We should not forget that rationing forces us to produce everything for everybody and that often leads us to waste resources: the parallel market gives us an insight into demand patterns; moreover, with increased production, the time will come when we will be able to reach a standard price and eliminate rationing.

As regards the free peasant market, we might say that it helps increase the standard of living of the population to meet some demands. As you know, small farmers own a little over 20 percent of the land, and now they are able to sell their surplus directly to the consumer. We haven't set the prices; they will reach an equilibrium. Whatever, it should be remembered that the free peasant market is only a small part of our market; the volume of produce offered in comparison to that offered on the national circuit is very limited, but it solves some problems. We are convinced that it does not run counter to our socialist principles. This small private mercantile production does not run counter to the construction of socialism, because the state has control of the main means of distribution.

I hope that all this has helped explain the steps we are beginning to take to

implement the socialist principle of distribution; on the one hand, a real increase in salaries, provision for bonuses and incentives, and, on the other, increased supply.

Q. What are the incentive funds of an enterprise for?

A. One part is distributed directly to the worker in monetary form. Another is destined to sociocultural projects: with these funds, worker collectives decide whether they should build a theater or a gymnasium or a social club, or perhaps pay for vacations in a good hotel. . . . Worker collectives are free to decide on what that part of the funds should go to. We have only given one directive: that no more than 60 percent of those funds should be invested in housing construction. That is the only requirement that exists, and for one simple reason: we have planned the number of housing units we must build over the next five years and know the exact amount of resources we have available: cement, girders, bricks, etc. And it wouldn't do for a collective to set aside its funds for housing construction if then we couldn't supply all the materials. You see, it's counterproductive. . . . But, since this distribution mechanism is new, we'll see next year, for example, in what those funds have been invested, in what way the workers have invested their profits.

Q. Can you say something about our role as a socialist country in CMEA [the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance]?

A. Well, like all the other socialist countries, we, as we have seen, have our five-year and long-term planning mechanisms. From the economic point of view, this is a great advantage. We are now, for example, signing bilateral agreements for the next five-year-period, bearing in mind the specialized CMEA agreements for each and every one of the member countries. As I have said, this enables us to have stable supplies over a long period of time. I quoted the case of oil.

What this means is that belonging to the CMEA is highly advantageous to us and the advantages are generally reciprocal. In the five-year period that has just come to an end, our trade balance was very favorable. Trading was done on an equitable basis; a balance was struck between the price of the products we sell and the price of the products we buy. That is the stability I was talking about when I said that thanks to that we have been able to sail through the storm of inflation wracking the capitalist world. And as the CMEA develops more and more, so we will have to turn less and less to the international capitalist market. . . .

We have undertaken some major investment projects with CMEA member countries. Take, for example, the mining industry, the investments that have been made in the extraction and processing of nickel

South African Fighters Sentenced to Hang



Demonstrators outside the Palace of Justice in Pretoria, South Africa, protested death sentences meted out to three young members of the outlawed African National Congress on November 26. The three: Petrus Mashigo, twenty; Naphtali Manana, twenty-four; and Johnson Lubisi, twenty-nine, were charged with treason. Six other defendants received sentences of from ten to twenty years imprisonment.

The freedom fighters had been arrested in connection with an attack on a rural police station, in which one police officer was slightly wounded.

As the savage sentences were announced, the prisoners and their supporters began singing an African National Congress song, "Mandela is Our Leader." Nelson Mandela has already served sixteen years of a life sentence on Robben Island off Cape Town.

The defendants also chanted "Amandla" (power), to which the crowd responded "Africa!" After the sentences were read, the nine defendants and their supporters broke into "God Bless Africa," a nationalist hymn.

in the eastern part of the country. We have been able to revamp existing plant, and production levels have increased over these five years. Now, the new plants will be going into operation in this coming five-year period: two new plants, that will at least double the present volume of output and in turn mean more foreign exchange for developing the country.

There are also joint development projects for the sugar industry and for citrus fruit production, large-scale projects. There is also the cement factory we are building with the help of the GDR [German Democratic Republic], which uses highly sophisticated technology. . . . That's something else that's important to point out: the constantly increasing technological development of the CMEA member countries,

something which is evident even over a period of five years. And all CMEA member countries logically stand to benefit from rapid technological progress.

Let us say that specialized planning on the part of CMEA member countries is a guarantee for us all. Planning takes into account the interests of every country, which is a far cry from say, the European Economic Community, where it is the interests of the monopolies that rule. . . . Opinions and ideas are always thrashed out in the CMEA and agreement always reached. That is why, from all points of view, it is to our great advantage to be a member. It is our belief that those mechanisms will improve more and more, to the benefit of the socialist community as a whole. □