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Rebels in El Salvador Launch Final Offensive



Salvadoran freedom fighters undergoing training at rural camp in July.

NEWS ANALYSIS

El Salvador: An Instructive Killing by Rightist Thugs

By Will Reissner

When rightist gunmen murdered two Americans and a Salvadoran in San Salvador's Sheraton Hotel on January 3, they unwittingly focused attention on the role played by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in Salvadoran politics.

The murdered Americans—Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman—were both employed by the AIFLD. And the Salvadoran, José Rodolfo Viera, was a long-time associate and protégé of Hammer and the AIFLD.

The U.S. press described the victims as labor leaders involved in carrying out a land reform program for El Salvador's peasants, and called the AIFLD an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, the U.S. labor federation.

The real story, however, is considerably more sinister. Although none of the U.S. press reports bothered to mention it, for more than a decade it has been public knowledge that the AIFLD, founded in 1962, is an organ of the Central Intelligence Agency, operating under the cover of the AFL-CIO.

Strange Background for Labor Leaders

All three of those murdered were long-time CIA operatives, not the benign, idealistic reformers portrayed by the mass media.

Michael Hammer, for example, could hardly be described as a "labor leader." He had no background in the labor movement whatsoever. Immediately after his graduation from the Georgetown University Foreign Service School in Washington, D.C., Hammer went to work for the AIFLD, where he remained for seventeen years until his death.

His career in the AIFLD was spent at posts in El Salvador, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, and the United States.

Mark Pearlman, the other American murdered at the Sheraton, was an associate of the notorious Roy Prosterman, the U.S. academic who formulated the Salvadoran "Land to the Tiller" program, a rural counterinsurgency program with a nice public relations name.

Agrarian Reform, Prosterman-Style

Prosterman had previously headed up the "Land to the Tiller" program in South Vietnam, where it was part of the CIA's Operation Phoenix. Its aim was to destroy the rural base of the National Liberation Front in the Vietnamese countryside, and it resulted in the murder of more than 30,000 Vietnamese peasants. Prosterman

was also the author of the Philippine agrarian reform program.

Prosterman's agrarian reform programs have certain distinctive features. In each case they are intimately linked to military occupations of the countryside. In the Philippines and El Salvador they were also accompanied by the proclamation of a state of siege.

Prosterman himself made eight trips to El Salvador in 1980 to oversee the implementation of his plan, which he modestly described as "the most complete agrarian reform in the history of Latin America." To put that statement in perspective, we should bear in mind that in 1972 Prosterman described his program in Vietnam as "probably the most ambitious and progressive non-Communist land reform of the twentieth century."

In October 1979, in the face of a growing worker and peasant revolt against El Salvador's military dictatorship, the U.S. embassy in San Salvador organized a coup by young Salvadoran officers to try to derail the leftist forces. The new junta described itself as reformist and moderate, and pledged to carry out an agrarian reform, one of the key demands of the Salvadoran peasants.

Prosterman's reform program was announced in March 1980, along with a nationwide state of siege declared the same day. All estates over 1,250 acres would supposedly be expropriated and peasant cooperatives would be formed. Owners would be generously compensated in cash and government bonds, which could be invested in industry. Peasants would pay for their land over a period of years.

Using the state of siege, the junta sent its troops to occupy the largest haciendas throughout the country. Each was transformed into a military outpost for the government's battle against the leftist organizations, which have a strong peasant base.

The military was provided with lists of suspected peasant supporters of the left organizations.

The July-August 1980 issue of the New York *NACLA Report on the Americas* quoted a technician for the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation (ISTA) describing how the military actually carried out the land reform on one hacienda.

"The troops came and told the workers the land was theirs now. They could elect their own leaders and run it themselves.

The peasants couldn't believe their ears, but they held elections that very night. The next morning the troops came back and I watched as they shot every one of the elected leaders." This act was by no means an isolated incident.

Moreover, the agrarian reform did not touch the power of the coffee planters, the most important and wealthiest section of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie. One estimate is that only 2 percent of the coffee plantations were affected by the reform.

Land that is being divided is being sold to farmers who are known to be members of the AIFLD-sponsored Unión Comunal Salvadoreña or of ORDEN, the ultrarightist paramilitary organization. Other peasants are killed or run off the land by the military.

The majority of peasants—those who rented no land and had no permanent job on a hacienda—are totally excluded from any access to land from the "reform."

In the words of two executives from the humanitarian organization Oxfam America, writing a column in the January 6, 1981, *New York Times*, "Most peasants consider the reform a cruel hoax intended to buy time and divert international attention from the counterinsurgency campaigns terrorizing the population."

Certain elements of the Salvadoran ruling class, however, oppose even this kind of agrarian reform. These forces favor a repetition of the 1932 slaughter of more than 30,000 Salvadoran peasants as the only way to destroy the power of the revolutionary movement.

It was supporters of this position who murdered the three AIFLD operatives.

José Rodolfo Viera, the Salvadoran murdered in the Sheraton Hotel attack, was the head of the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation. He was also a leader of the Unión Comunal Salvadoreña, the pro-government peasant organization organized by the AIFLD.

In 1962 the AIFLD got a contract to train peasant leaders in El Salvador as part of the Alliance for Progress, a program cooked up by President John F. Kennedy to counter the growth of the Latin American left after the Cuban revolution. The UCS was established out of that training program.

Viera was groomed by Michael Hammer for many years, and was protected by Hammer when accused of large-scale graft of UCS funds. A U.S. auditor sent to El Salvador in 1977 to examine misuse of American funds noted that two UCS leaders, Tito Castro and Rodolfo Viera, had "pocketed substantial amounts of Foundation money." The auditor added, "Neither Tito Castro nor Rodolfo Viera should be financed in any way by U.S. tax payer funds until restitution has been made; AIFLD should terminate them as quickly as possible."

Instead of following this recommendation, the AIFLD maintained its extremely

close relationship with Viera, who until his death provided the Salvadoran regime with its only claim to support among peasant organizations.

AIFLD's Sordid History

Since its inception, the AIFLD has played a thoroughly reactionary role in Latin America. According to former CIA agent Philip Agee, the CIA established the AIFLD to "organize anti-communist labour unions in Latin America" in order "to deny workers labour unions dominated by the extreme left and to reverse communist and Castroite penetration."

Although ostensibly part of the AFL-CIO, the AIFLD is in fact run by the CIA's International Organizations Division, with day to day control exercised by career CIA operatives.

More than 90 percent of the AIFLD's budget comes from the U.S. State Department and Agency for International Development. Corporations with investments in Latin America put up most of the rest of its funds, while the AFL-CIO makes only token contributions.

Officials of U.S. corporations operating in Latin America also hold positions on AIFLD's board of directors, and AIFLD has frequently helped these corporations "solve" their labor problems in Latin America.

In Honduras, for example, United Brands used the AIFLD to undermine and ultimately destroy labor unions on its banana plantations. In the Dominican Republic, the AIFLD helped Gulf and Western break the existing union on one of its sugar plantations and supplant it with a company union. The new union, incidentally, was the only one in the Dominican Republic to support the 1965 U.S. invasion of that country.

Supports Military Coups

According to Penny Lernoux's study of Latin America, *Cry of the People*, "AIFLD money was . . . used to support the military coups in Guatemala, Brazil, and Chile, and the terrorism and racial violence directed against the leftist government of Cheddi Jagan in Guyana."

In his memoirs, long-time United Auto Workers leader Victor G. Reuther recounted the pride with which CIA agent William Doherty, Jr.—currently AIFLD's executive director—described AIFLD's part in the overthrow of the elected government of João Goulart in Brazil in 1964.

Doherty boasted that union leaders "trained in our institute—were involved in the revolution and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."

AIFLD's National Workers Confederation in Chile was the chief labor supporter of that country's bloody military regime.

And in El Salvador the AIFLD was the key agency involved in promulgating the rural counterinsurgency plan that has resulted in the military occupation of the

Salvadoran countryside and the murder of thousands of peasants. But today the Salvadoran regime is so discredited and isolated that AIFLD-stooge Viera himself was reportedly planning to resign from the government. In fact, Michael Hammer returned to El Salvador only one day

before he was murdered, reportedly to try to convince Viera not to resign.

It is to the shame of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy that it continues to allow the CIA, through the AIFLD, to carry out its antiunion, anti-peasant activities in the name of the U.S. labor movement. □

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Salvadoran Liberation Fighters Launch Insurrection

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA, January 12—Thirty-six hours after the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) issued its General Order No. 1 calling for insurrection against the military/Christian Democratic junta, towns and cities throughout El Salvador were already falling to the revolutionary forces.

Santa Ana, El Salvador's second largest city with a population of 100,000, came under FMLN control on January 11 after a lieutenant colonel and a captain rebelled and led 80 troops over to the side of the revolutionary forces. The rebels burned the military barracks and captured a tank and other armored vehicles.

Chalatenango, an important city in the north of the country, fell to the FMLN at midday on January 12. The revolutionaries also laid siege to the nearby military base at El Paraíso, where a force of five hundred Nicaraguan ex-National Guardsmen was stationed.

Troop rebellions similar to the one in Santa Ana were reported in the north-central town of Sensuntepeque and the southeastern city of San Miguel.

One of the most strategically important initial actions of the revolutionary offensive was a heavy attack on the main military airbase at Ilopango, east of the capital. Guerrillas armed with rockets, mortars, and bazookas destroyed or damaged all the aircraft located there, except for three helicopters. Thirty junior air force officers went over to the side of the revolution after having been captured by the FMLN forces.

Town after town in the northeastern province of Morazán was taken over by the FMLN, and revolutionary troops were advancing from northern Morazán on the key military base at San Francisco Gotera.

From the province of San Vicente, an FMLN stronghold in the central part of the country, a guerrilla column of 2,000 troops was reportedly advancing along the Pan American highway toward San Salvador.

Fighting was also reported in the southwestern town of Sonsonate, in the south-central cities of Zacatecoluca and Usulután, and in the southeastern port of La Unión.

In the capital itself, the insurrection began during the night of January 10-11, with uprisings in most of the poor and working-class neighborhoods and suburbs along the northern edge of the city. Barricades constructed from overturned buses, automobiles, and even railroad cars were set up at the main entrances to Cuscatan-

cingo, Mejicanos, Ciudad Delgado, Ayutupeque, and other neighborhoods.

The San Carlos military barracks and the headquarters of the National Guard in the capital were both reportedly under attack on January 11. Heavy fighting was under way in the towns of San Marcos and Santo Tomás, immediately south of San Salvador.

The general strike called as part of the insurrectionary offensive was already beginning to take hold on Sunday, January 11. In the capital, bus and taxi drivers stopped work and shopkeepers and street vendors halted commerce.

In calling for the general strike, the clandestine FMLN station Radio Liberación issued concrete instructions to various

Everyone to Arms!

[The following call for insurrection against the brutal Salvadoran junta was issued by the revolutionary forces January 10 under the title "General Order No. 1." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press.*]

* * *

The Unified Revolutionary Directorate of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)—which has assumed the general command of all the revolutionary armed forces of the five organizations that make up the FMLN—addresses all the heroic people of El Salvador:

Workers and peasants, revolutionary men and women, democrats and patriots:

The hour has arrived to begin the decisive military and insurrectional battles for the taking of power by the people and for the formation of a revolutionary democratic government.

Decades of suffering and more than fifty years of military dictatorship are about to be destroyed once and for all through the people's struggle.

At this historic moment, crucial to the destinies of the Salvadoran and Central American people, the Unified Revolutionary Directorate of the FMLN—the general command—calls on all the people:

On the workers, peasants, students, teachers, employees, democratic sectors, progressive soldiers and officers, religious sectors—everyone;

On the men and women fighters of the regular troops and guerrillas;

On the revolutionary militias and on the combative masses:

To immediately launch the military actions of the people's insurrection in order to gain the triumph of the revolution.

We call on the entire people to rise up as one single person, using all possible means of combat, on all fronts of the war and throughout the length and breadth of the national territory. We call on the entire people to fight valiantly under the orders of their immediate commanders until the definitive overthrow of the oppressive, genocidal regime of the privileged oligarchy and of imperialism.

Everyone to arms!

We call on all progressive and patriotic soldiers and officers to join the ranks of the people. This is the moment to identify with your fellow workers, to turn your arms against the bloody chiefs of the high command and general staff of the counterrevolutionary army. The hour of the revolution has arrived—the hour of liberation has arrived!

The final victory is in the hands of this brave and heroic people, who for so many years have spilled their blood for the right to be free, to enjoy democracy, for genuine independence, for social progress, sovereignty, and self-determination.

At this historic moment in which the entire people are rising up to conquer freedom, we can affirm with emotion that the people of El Salvador are not alone: All our Central American and Latin American brothers and sisters are with us. The masses of the entire world are with us.

Forward, heroic Salvadoran people.

To total combat until the final victory, to the decisive military battles, to popular insurrection. Prepare for the general strike until victory.

United to fight until final victory!

Revolution or death! We will win!

sectors of the population:

"If you have a bus, a taxi, a truck, or other means of transportation, halt your normal activity and come with your vehicle to take part in the general strike and insurrection. The compañeros who are organized in the struggle will give directions so that your help can be most effective."

A special appeal was issued to "priest and nun compañeros":

"At this historic moment in the struggle of the Salvadoran people, you should join in the tasks of the residents of your parishes.

"You should organize the functioning of your churches as places of refuge. . . . You should help collect and distribute food.

"Remember that as good Christians your place is alongside the people. And the way to stand at the side of the people is to participate in the activities of the insurrection."

Radio Liberación carried continual appeals to Salvadoran soldiers and officers to rebel and join the insurrection:

"Members of the army, officers, troops—the time has come for you to decide to struggle alongside the people. Think about the fact that many of you come from poor families and that your own relatives are fighting in the ranks of the revolutionary forces."

Lt. Col. Ricardo Bruno Navarrete of the National Guard announced over Radio Liberación on January 11 that he had joined the FMLN in Morazán province.

"Many will now say that I am an ungrateful communist traitor," Navarrete said, "but I can only respond that with the appointment of Napoleón Duarte as president of the junta, the final opportunity for civic struggle has been closed off. . . .

"The doors are open for all who want to join the new Salvadoran army. Progressive military compañeros—the moment has arrived to assume your historic responsibility."

The troop and officer rebellion in Santa Ana, Sensuntepeque, San Miguel, and Ilopango show that such appeals are having a strong impact. Further desertions and rebellions have been reported in other areas as well.

No sooner had the FMLN announced its insurrectionary offensive than disarray was evident in the ruling military/Christian Democratic government. Junta member José Antonio Morales Ehrlich fled the country on January 11, arriving in Costa Rica on what he said was a "brief personal visit"—but carrying fifteen suitcases!

The government's initial response to the offensive was to declare a 7:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. curfew throughout the country. All radio stations were ordered to join a national network. President Duarte broadcast an appeal saying that "the duty of all Salvadorans is to go to work, with eve-

ryone making a big effort to help the great offensive for peace."

The government network also repeatedly broadcast a cryptic message to members of the armed forces: "Santa Claus has Christmas greetings for everyone and wants to see you all."

On January 11, Duarte held a news conference in the capital and openly called on Ronald Reagan to intervene in El Salvador. "President Reagan must understand what is happening in this country," Duarte said. "Mr. Reagan is a product of democracy, and the first thing I would call on him or any other president of the United States to do is to support democracy."

According to a report telephoned from San Salvador to the reactionary bourgeois daily *La Prensa* here, an official Salvadoran army bulletin was repeatedly broadcast over radio and television "denying information coming from Nicaragua and Cuba to the effect that there was strong control by the urban guerrillas in some cities and towns of El Salvador. . . ."

Army spokesmen did acknowledge the loss of control in Santa Ana, however, charging "treason" by the rebel officers there.

Nicaraguans Pledge Solidarity With El Salvador

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA, January 12—The revolutionary offensive in El Salvador has sparked an outpouring of solidarity here in Nicaragua.

As the news of the offensive became known here there was widespread jubilation and a series of spontaneous celebrations.

The Managua daily *Barricada* put out a special afternoon edition and Radio Sandino suspended normal programming in order to provide continual coverage of news from El Salvador.

Solidarity with El Salvador was also one of the themes of a January 10 rally in Managua commemorating the third anniversary of the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro. Commander Luis Carrión of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) National Directorate warned of the dangers of imperialist intervention.

"We are absolutely confident that the people of El Salvador will win, even if there is an intervention. But we also know that the danger of intervention poses a grave threat, not only for the heroic people of El Salvador but also for our own people, who will see any military aggression against El Salvador as a military aggression against Nicaragua as well."

As soon as the insurrection began the Nicaraguan Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples (CNSP) announced a national campaign of fundraising and material aid for El Salvador. This was matched by

As the FMLN-led revolutionary forces continue dealing heavy blows to the Salvadoran armed forces, the danger of foreign military intervention against the insurrection mounted. On January 12 Guatemalan troops were reportedly being concentrated at the border post of Las Chinamas, sixty-seven kilometers east of Santa Ana.

According to FMLN representative Valentín Martínez in Mexico, the U.S. State Department and Pentagon have ordered U.S. embassies in Europe to prepare diplomatic efforts to justify a military intervention in El Salvador.

At a Mexico City news conference January 11, Guillermo Ungo, a leader of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) answered such threats. "The United States will encounter problems that will make it difficult to transform such simplistic notions into facts," Ungo said. "An armed intervention is easy to conceive but difficult to carry out. It will not be a stroll through the countryside. The scenario is not the same as that of Santo Domingo.

"There will be a regional response—the people of Central America will respond." □

similar announcements from the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMN), the Rural Workers Association (ATC), the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), and various local unions.

The AMN and the ATC said they would organize their members to give a Sunday as voluntary labor for El Salvador.

The mass organizations in the city of Matagalpa and in Carazo Province each pledged to raise 10,000 cordobas (US\$1,000). Workers at PROCON, a nationalized construction materials company, pledged 5,000 cordobas.

The CST announced a campaign to increase production and lower consumption in order to be able to send basic food stuffs to El Salvador if necessary. The labor federation was also collecting clothing and medicine.

Workers at Augusto César Sandino International Airport announced that they were ready to donate blood.

The CST, July 19 Sandinista Youth, ATC, CDSs, and other organizations announced plans for a January 15 protest march to the Salvadoran embassy here to demand "No intervention in El Salvador—El Salvador will win!"

The spirit of the people of Sandino was summed up by a compañero who told *El Nuevo Diario*, "If we are Sandinistas, we are anti-imperialists. And if we are anti-imperialists, we are internationalists." □

Chinese Rulers Face Political and Economic Crisis

By David Frankel

Top Chinese leaders gathered in Peking's Great Hall of the People January 1 at a New Year's reception given by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). But CCP Chairman Hua Guofeng, Mao Zedong's hand-picked successor, was not there to partake of the "atmosphere of joy and unity" described by the New China News Agency.

Hua, who has not been seen in public since November 27, is apparently the latest victim in the purge of Mao loyalists being carried out under the leadership of Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping. CCP sources have informed foreign journalists that Hua has been ordered to move out of the palatial party chairman's residence.

Hua's Doublecross

As minister of public security, Hua was in charge of the police from 1972 to 1977. He has been accused of personally supervising the crushing of the Tienanmen demonstration of April 5, 1976, when some 100,000 people took part in a protest in Peking's Tienanmen Square.

Although the Tienanmen protest was encouraged by Mao's opponents within the bureaucracy, who took advantage of the anniversary of Premier Zhou Enlai's death, its size and militancy reflected the anger of the masses. After years of unceasing repression and economic hardship, the hatred of the Chinese workers and peasants for the Maoist regime was threatening to break out of control.

The frightened Maoist faction responded to the Tienanmen incident by trying to tighten its grip on the state apparatus. It launched a new offensive against its opponents within the bureaucracy and purged Deng for the second time. However, Mao died in September 1976. Faced with the threat of mass rebellion, Hua turned on his former allies. He joined with the supporters of Deng and ordered the arrest of Mao's key lieutenants—the so-called Gang of Four.

But Hua and his supporters were too closely identified with the crimes of the Maoist regime. They were forced to bring back Deng and other CCP leaders who had been purged by Mao and who were seen by the masses as opponents of the hated Cultural Revolution. Deng consolidated his position step by step, forcing Hua's resignation as prime minister in September 1980, and now moving to oust him as CCP chairman.

Hua's downfall has coincided with the show trial of the Gang of Four, which opened in Peking November 20. By moving

against Hua and by settling accounts with Mao's lieutenants, Deng hopes to lay to rest the issue of the Cultural Revolution, to convince the Chinese workers and peasants that justice has been done, and to restore the shattered credibility of the CCP.

'I Was Chairman Mao's Dog'

A defiant Jiang Qing—Mao's last wife, and the star defendant in the show trial of the Gang of Four—tried to put the regime on the spot with her defense. "Arresting me and bringing me to trial is a defamation of Chairman Mao Zedong," she declared.

As Jiang put it, "I was Chairman Mao's dog. Whomever he told me to bite, I bit."

Responding to this appeal to what was once the highest authority in China, the prosecutor read a prepared statement December 29 that sought to limit criticism of Mao and of the CCP's history, while admitting some "mistakes." The statement said:

The people of all nationalities throughout the country are very clear that Chairman Mao was responsible, so far as his leadership was concerned, for their plight in the Cultural Revolution, and he was also responsible for failing to see through the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques.

However, the party, the army and the people of all our nationalities will never, for this reason, forget or obliterate Chairman Mao's great contributions to overthrowing the "three great mountains" [imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic-capitalism], founding the People's Republic of China and pioneering the socialist cause in China. Neither will they neglect to sum up the experience and lessons of the Cultural Revolution. Our party and state leaders have time and again reiterated that throughout his career, Chairman Mao's great achievements are primary, while his mistakes are secondary.

Criticism of Mao has begun to appear openly in China, and officials have announced plans to rename Mao's mausoleum the "Memorial of Revolutionary Heroes" and to place the remains of other leaders there as well as his.

The Shanghai newspaper *Wenhui Bao* admitted in its January 4 edition that Mao's works had been repeatedly edited to make it look as if he had foreseen the course of events and to eliminate references to purged leaders. The paper referred to this as a way of building up a "personality cult."

The following day, while promising that the CCP would soon issue an overall appraisal of Mao's historical role, the editor of the English-language weekly

Peking Review pledged, "One thing is certain, the Chinese people will never do to Mao Tse-tung what Khrushchev did to Stalin." This echoes a statement made by Deng in an interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci last August (*Intercontinental Press*, September 22, 1980, p. 973).

Two Factions, One Bureaucracy

While the CCP leaders would like to put the blame on Mao for everything that has gone wrong for the past twenty years, they are well aware that an unrestrained attack on "the Great Helmsman" could quickly turn into an attack on the bureaucracy as a whole.

The anxiety of the CCP leaders is understandable. The current rulers in Peking share a common history with the Mao faction, and what the Maoists and anti-Maoists within the CCP agree on and defend is in many ways more important than their differences.

Both the Maoists and the anti-Maoists within the CCP represent a class-collaborationist current.

Both factions are part of a privileged bureaucratic caste whose interests are antagonistic to those of the Chinese workers and peasants.

And both factions, as part of their class collaborationist strategy and their defense of bureaucratic privilege, support a thoroughly counterrevolutionary foreign policy. They seek cooperation with world imperialism, not the extension of the socialist revolution.

In China, as in many other countries, a massive revolutionary upsurge grew out of World War II. Far from leading the masses forward, the CCP sought to hold them back, to compromise with the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship and its imperialist backers.

Communist parties in countries such as France and Italy helped the capitalists to restabilize their rule after World War II. The CCP tried to do the same thing in China, but the mass movement, fed by decades of imperialist oppression, was too strong, and the Chiang Kai-shek regime and the native capitalist class were too weak and corrupt. The old regime was swept away despite the CCP's repeated attempts to reach a compromise.

Mao's Foreign Policy

During the period of the Chinese revolution and the Korean War, the CCP was forced to defend itself against direct imperialist attack, economic sanctions, and diplomatic isolation. Washington's mil-

itary threats against China continued throughout the 1950s and into the early years of the Vietnam War.

After the Sino-Soviet split that surfaced in 1960, Mao responded to the imperialist threats with superrevolutionary rhetoric. But the change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale as a result of Washington's inability to crush the Vietnamese revolution finally forced the imperialists to turn to Moscow and Peking for help in containing the world revolution.

Mao responded eagerly, and in February 1971, President Nixon met with Mao in Peking. Nixon also ushered in his policy of détente with Moscow that year.

Deng has continued and extended Mao's policy of collaboration with imperialism. It is noteworthy that none of the crimes that Mao's lieutenants are accused of deal with Mao's foreign policy.

There are certainly plenty of crimes to charge them with in this field. Under Mao's guidance, the Indonesian Communist Party supported the capitalist Sukarno government. Reliance on Sukarno and a perspective of reforming the capitalist state left the Indonesian CP easy prey when rightist army officers staged a military coup in 1965. Some one million Indonesian workers and peasants paid with their lives.

Another million workers and peasants were murdered in 1971, during the Pakistani regime's genocidal attempt to suppress the independence struggle in Bangladesh. The Bengali masses eventually won their independence, but not because of any help offered by Peking. Mao backed the Pakistani regime, putting his diplomatic relations with Islamabad ahead of the interests of the workers—those in Pakistan as well as those in Bangladesh.

However, Deng and his allies are in agreement with these policies. They hardly bother to even talk any longer about the worldwide struggle for socialism and the needs of the working class internationally. As Deng put it in a meeting with a Romanian delegation in November, "... the purpose of socialism is to make the country rich and strong."

Limousines, Special Shops, and Servants

Part of the hatred for the Maoist faction among the Chinese masses stems from the hypocrisy of the Maoists. They preached equality and austerity while living it up at the expense of the workers and peasants.

Deng and his faction have tried to take advantage of the pervasive resentment of bureaucratic privilege by portraying Jiang as an "empress" and publicizing her luxurious lifestyle while she was in power. But the hypocrisy of the current rulers is also well known in China.

Senior CCP officials are provided with hand-tooled Hongqi limousines, which are exempted from the legal requirement of having to stop for unexpected pedestrians or bicyclists.

They have access to special shops, such as the five-story "Peking City Food Supply Place," at which they can stock up on luxuries that are unobtainable by the common people.

In a January 2 article, *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield described the house of one Chinese general:

On the western side of the Forbidden City, behind a gray brick wall, is a large old Chinese-style, tile-roofed courtyard home with a garden and access to a small lake. . . .

The average allotment of housing space in Peking is three square yards per person, about the size of a dining-room table. But the general, his wife and their two children have three spacious bedrooms; a living room with a piano, color television set and parquet floor; a study; and a huge kitchen equipped with an American refrigerator.

The general's home also comes with a cook, an orderly, a driver for his military sedan, and two bodyguards.

Bureaucratic privilege is upheld even after death. At the Babaoshan Cemetery outside of Peking, the vaults are numbered and the ashes of the deceased are stored according to rank. The ashes of ordinary Chinese are kept for only five years, but those of high officials remain in place indefinitely.

'The Party's Prestige is Not High'

Real differences between the Mao faction and its opponents within the bureaucracy focused on domestic policy and the economy.

CCP Secretary-General Hu Yaobang, who is expected to replace Hua as party chairman, told the leader of the Greek Communist Party (Interior) December 14:

"It is the unanimous view of our party that the decade between 1966 and 1976 of the so-called Great Cultural Revolution was a period of catastrophe.

"Nothing was correct or positive during these 10 years. The whole thing was negative. Tremendous damage was done to our economy, culture, education, political thinking and party organization."

Moreover, the struggle within the bureaucracy began to create openings for the masses to intervene independently. Discontent among the workers was expressed in strikes, which were repressed by the regime. Mao, who had originally mobilized the Red Guards as a factional weapon against his opponents within the party, also responded with massive repression when the youth he had used threatened to evolve in an independent political direction.

Although the CCP has managed to forestall the open revolt that threatened to break out toward the end of Mao's rule, it continues to face a deep crisis of political confidence.

An article that appeared in the December 17 issue of *Red Flag*, the CCP theoretical journal, bluntly admitted that "the party's prestige is not high now. That

is a fact. . . . Without improvement, we cannot persist in leadership."

Mao's successors sought to buy time by promising rapid improvement in the economic situation of the masses. In his report to the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, held in February and March 1978, Hua vowed to make China "a modern, powerful socialist country by the end of the century."

Deng also promises to "make the country rich and strong."

How was this to be accomplished? Mao's heirs banked everything on obtaining massive loans and investment from the imperialist powers. In return, they offered the imperialists complete political subservience, including help through operations such as the invasion of Vietnam in January 1979.

Even if the world capitalist economy had continued its expansion, the hopes of the Peking regime would never have been realized. In the context of the ongoing world economic crisis, the calculations of the bureaucracy were even more utopian.

Promises of rapid development and prosperity are now threatening to backfire. The political crisis of the CCP is being intensified by severe economic problems.

Bungling in the Economy

In 1978, armed with Hua's mandate to modernize the country, Chinese trade delegations went on a multibillion dollar buying spree. Massive amounts of modern machinery were imported, and contracts were signed with imperialist companies for the construction of entire factories.

About \$2 billion worth of equipment bought during the 1978 buying spree remains in storage because the country is not yet able to use it.

According to *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Frank Ching, Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang gave a report on the state of the Chinese economy at the end of 1980 in which he said that China's budget deficit and its international debts would require sharp cutbacks in spending over the coming years. Ching's article in the December 29 *Journal* continued:

Mr. Zhao also said that oil production, on which China's hopes had been pinned, was likely to decline for the next few years, and China's energy shortage was already so acute that factories currently operate at only 70% of capacity.

He indicated, too, that this year's industrial growth was disappointing, and that construction next year will drop 40%. . . .

Mr. Zhao said China will have to close or suspend many factories to reduce the government's financial burden and make better use of available energy sources.

Japanese trade officials met with Chinese ministers in Peking in December. Lily Ju-li Dow reported in the December 13 *Washington Post*:

The Chinese decided to postpone the second stage of work on a \$5 billion steel mill near Shanghai, a project long considered crucial to

Japanese-Chinese economic cooperation. Construction of a \$180 million chemical plant in eastern Peking was halted after the Chinese had spent \$13 million building the plant's foundation. Negotiations were postponed on a \$22 million joint venture with Sanyo Electric to make refrigerator compressors.

Referring to an editorial in the Peking *People's Daily*, Dow reported: "Decisions made with inexperience and 'partial blindness' have left a trail of capital construction projects that are inefficient, lacking raw materials and technology, and creating energy shortages, the editorial said."

Moreover, inflation in 1980 may have been as high as 7 to 10 percent. In a speech to party leaders in December, Hu Yaobang reported that there was a demonstration against price increases in Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province. (*New York Times*, December 24.)

An editorial in the January 1 issue of the *People's Daily* warned that "improvement of the people's livelihood must be kept within the capability of the nation."

'Struggle to the End!'

As the Stalinist rulers in Poland are currently finding out, the combination of political disillusionment and hostility to the regime among the workers and peasants, and economic privation, is an explosive mixture.

An indication of just how nervous the Peking regime is was an article in the December 11 *Peking Daily* that took up nearly half the front page. The article admitted that many Chinese have "raised questions" about the case of Wei Jingsheng, and it defended Wei's imprisonment.

Wei was framed up in 1979 on charges of "counterrevolutionary agitation" and allegedly giving military information to a foreigner because of his opposition to the Chinese invasion of Vietnam. He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

According to Toronto *Globe and Mail* correspondent Bryan Johnson, a student candidate at Peking University who was running for a seat on the People's Congress declared his support for Wei at a campus meeting in November. He was elected to the congress with 70 percent of the vote.

Wei was associated with one of the many unofficial journals that have sprung up throughout China over the past few years, and which are engaged in an ongoing struggle for democratic rights.

On September 15, representatives from twenty-one of these journals issued a statement following a conference in Guangzhou that declared: "From now on, we shall, in this single organization, jointly make our contribution to the realization of democracy and legal system in China and to the peace and stability of the world. Here, the China National Unofficial Publications Association officially proclaims its formation!"

These courageous fighters have carried on their work despite continuous attacks by the regime. For example, Zheng Yulin, an activist who had been asked to represent five publications in East China, was arrested while travelling to the conference in Guangzhou.

In an October 1980 appeal for Zheng's release, representatives of the publications that had asked Zheng to represent them declared: "After the Gang of Four was crushed, there have been repeated cases in China of violation of the people's democratic rights, suppression of the democratic movement, and arrest and witch-hunt of democratic fighters who dare to stand up to speak the truth and voice the grievances of the people."

While appealing to government officials

to "intervene daringly in whatever matter in real life that is contrary to Marxist principles and to the interests of the broad masses," the statement warned "remnants of feudal autocratic forces who hate, resist and sabotage the present movement of ideological liberation" and "politicians who are quick to change sides" to beware.

It ended with the slogans: "No compromise at all!" and "Struggle to the end!"

Like the imperialist exploiters whom it looks to as allies, the bureaucratic regime in Peking is doomed. Its gravediggers will be the Chinese workers and peasants, whose future is embodied in fighters such as Wei Jingsheng, Zheng Yulin, and their comrades in the National Unofficial Publications Association. □

Chinese Publications Discuss Trotskyist Ideas

One result of the ferment among the Chinese masses and the rehabilitation of many of those unjustly victimized by the regime has been renewed interest in the case of the Chinese Trotskyists. These revolutionary fighters were slandered as traitors and agents of Japanese imperialism by the Mao regime. Trotskyist leaders such as Zheng Chaolin were jailed for decades solely because of their political ideas.

Zheng, a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party, became coeditor of its chief publication, *Guide Weekly*, in 1924. A participant in the revolution of 1925-27, he spent nearly half his life in jail, first under the Kuomintang, then under the Chinese Stalinist regime.

Arrested along with several hundred other activists in December 1952, Zheng was to remain in prison until June 1979—nearly twenty-seven years. Although news of Zheng's release reached Hong Kong, the fate of his comrades remains unknown.

However, an editorial in the October 1980 issue of the Hong Kong magazine *October Review* reported on recent developments regarding the status of Trotskyism in China. It noted that in 1979, on the sixtieth anniversary of the anti-imperialist May 4 Movement of 1919, official publications admitted the major role played by Chen Duxiu and his part in the founding of the CCP. Chen was also the founder of the Trotskyist movement in China.

"Of greater importance," the *October Review* editorial said, "is the reevaluation

of the real history and errors of the 1925-27 Chinese revolution. For example, the Digest Column of *Xin Hua Yue Bao* (New China Monthly) 1979 No. 13 carried an article . . . [proving] the errors committed by the Comintern and especially by Stalin."

The *New China Monthly* article argued that "if one only mentions the errors of Chen Duxiu and does not mention the errors of Comrade Stalin and of the Comintern, one cannot correctly analyse historical responsibilities and cannot correctly sum up historical lessons."

Similar articles taking up Chen Duxiu's role in the history of the CCP appeared in publications at Peking University and Shanghai Teachers' College, according to the *October Review*.

Furthermore, it reported, the New China News Agency has quoted from "Our Political Opinion," one of the first documents of the Chinese Trotskyists, and the March 17, 1980, issue of the *Peking People's Daily* quoted Zheng Chaolin.

Moreover, the August issue of *Zheng Ming*, a pro-Deng monthly in Hong Kong, carried an article repudiating the charge that the Trotskyists acted as agents of Japanese imperialism during the 1930s.

Of course, none of this means that the bureaucrats in Peking are having a change of heart and reconsidering their previous record. As *October Review* noted, what it reflects is "the strong pressure of the Chinese people for reversals of verdicts."

Washington Steps Up War Threats Against Iran

By Janice Lynn

In recent weeks U.S. government officials have stepped up their propaganda campaign against Iran.

Accompanying this campaign have been veiled and not-so-veiled threats of another U.S. military raid against Iran.

Such military intervention, according to *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton, "would require an 'all arms' show of force far stronger than the limited forces used in April."

Writing in the *January 4 Times*, Middleton reveals that Washington military planners are openly discussing the possibility of such a move. Although they talk about it as an "American rescue mission," every one of the military planners admitted to Middleton that it would be impossible to avoid casualties, both among "the rescued and the rescuers."

And *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Geoffrey Godsell, in an article the following day, suggested that "... use of US force would also bring about a change of regime in Tehran more conducive to stability in the Gulf area. . . ."

This has always been the aim of the U.S.

rulers—to reverse the Iranian revolution and install a "more reliable" regime, like that of the former shah.

But while Washington officials stepped up their threats, a *Newsweek* poll conducted December 29 and 30 revealed that only 18 percent of those polled favored a war against Iran. And a poll of political leaders around the country, reported in the December 29 *Monitor*, concluded that rank-and-file voters "are still rejecting any military solution."

The Carter administration, and the incoming Reagan government, are using the hostage issue to try and whip up the kind of sentiment that would free their hands to intervene militarily in Iran.

And although they have managed to sow some confusion in American working people's minds about the just demands of the Iranian people, they have still not been able to reverse the deep antiwar sentiment that exists.

The U.S. government has tried to make it appear as if it is making a serious effort to resolve the hostage issue. But the truth of the matter is that Washington has refused to accept a single offer made by the Iranians.

On December 19 the Iranians proposed that about \$24 billion, which is rightfully theirs, be deposited in an escrow account in Algeria as a guarantee that it would be returned to them upon the release of the hostages.

What was the U.S. government's response? "Ransom," they said, conveniently ignoring the fact that the \$24 billion in question belonged to the Iranian people—\$14 billion in assets frozen by Washington and \$10 billion in wealth stolen by the former shah.

Then on December 26, the Iranians proposed an initial payment of \$9 billion, with the balance of the monetary claims being arbitrated.

In response to this offer, president-elect Ronald Reagan, in an outrageous and provocative statement, declared December 28, "I don't think you pay ransom for people that have been kidnaped by barbarians."

And Reagan's top aide, Edwin Meese, in a televised interview the same day, refused to rule out military action.

The liberal *New York Times* ran an editorial December 30 endorsing Reagan's racist "barbarians" quote, stating, "... the president-elect is expressing the simple truth."

But the speaker of Iran's parliament, Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani, ex-

plained who the real "barbarians" were.

"You can find few people in history as barbarous as U.S. leaders," he declared. "If tyranny, swindling, military occupation and exploiting others is called civilization, then we are not used to such a thing."

"Its crimes in Africa and Latin America, the crimes that took place in Iran during the regime of the deposed shah, all are examples of this savagery," he said.

The Iranian leader stressed that it was because of the U.S. government's past record that it was necessary to demand some guarantees that the money stolen from Iran would be returned.

"For thirty years, the United States plundered the wealth of every country," Rafsanjani said, "and if the Iranians were to demand compensation for all the wrongs since the 1953 coup, the coffers of the U.S. Treasury would be empty."

Rafsanjani also pointed to the evidence found at the U.S. embassy proving it was used as a center for espionage and plotting against the Iranian revolution.

Rafsanjani declared that it was indeed Washington "which is looking for an excuse not to solve the hostage problem."

This has become more and more clear as the U.S. rulers continue to reject each new offer from Iran. The U.S. rulers find the hostage issue useful in their drive toward militarization and war. □

Free Nemat Jazayeri!

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

Jazayeri was arrested on September 8, 1980, but no charges have been brought against him.

His coworkers and other supporters are urging that the following telegram be sent to Iranian Prosecutor General Ali Ghodosi, Office of the Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran:

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

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

I call on you to secure his immediate release.

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

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Polish Workers Fight for Five-Day Workweek

By Gerry Foley

Despite continued Soviet threats and more and more outspoken demands by conservative forces within the workers' opposition to avoid further confrontations with the bureaucracy, the Polish masses are extending their struggle against the bureaucratic rulers.

In the last few weeks, the antibureaucratic struggle has escalated in two important respects. The workers' organization, Solidarity, has declared that it will unilaterally abolish Saturday work, and that if the bureaucrats take reprisals it will call new strikes.

A forty-hour workweek was one of the provisions agreed to in the Gdansk accords that ended the August strikes. However, the government claims that the economic crisis makes it impossible to shorten the workweek now.

Poland is obviously in an economic crisis. Is the way to deal with this imposing long hours and high production norms on the workers from above? That is the solution proposed by the bureaucracy.

The basic alternative is for the toiling masses themselves to take responsibility for discussing the economic priorities of society and making the decisions necessary to implement these priorities. This involves a fundamental alteration in how the economy and the society are organized.

'A Thorn in the Government's Side'

The Solidarity leaders are quite conscious of the implications of the shorter workweek. In a symposium published in the Warsaw daily *Zycie Warszawy*, one of them pointed out that if factory workers do not have to work on Saturdays, they will want the stores and other public places to be open. That means that the workers who operate these facilities will have to work.

The Solidarity leader noted that in capitalist countries, the forces of the market compel retail clerks to be on the job on Saturdays, but in a collective economy the different sections of the working class must work out such conflicts democratically.

The decision by the Solidarity national leadership to call on the workers to refuse to work Saturdays also represents the first time the independent unions have acted to carry out changes on their own. Obviously, such action by an organization that represents the majority of the Polish workers and that constitutes the most authoritative leadership in the country represents for them a new serious challenge to the bureaucracy.

In fact, the tone of the confrontation

between Solidarity and the bureaucracy seems to be sharpening. After the last discussions between Solidarity leaders and Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski before the decision to end Saturday work, Lech Walesa told the press:

"We have to realize that Solidarity is a thorn in the government's side. We should not have any illusions. The government simply does not want us around."

Meanwhile, a powerful new layer of the population has moved into direct confron-

tation with the regime—the farmers. This development also shows how limited is the ability of the Catholic hierarchy to hold the movement back.

The Catholic bishops made a statement on December 12 appealing for social peace and in effect condemning the militants who built the nuclei of the independent mass organizations as troublemakers. Nonetheless, this statement calling for a halt to the struggle was flouted even among the rural population, where the

Iranian Factory Workers in Isfahan Declare Solidarity With Struggle in Poland

[The following resolution in solidarity with the struggle of the Polish workers and their independent union, Solidarity, was sent to the union in Gdansk, Poland. It was adopted December 3, 1980, by the Elected Islamic Council of Employees at the Polyacryl Corporation, a textile factory in Isfahan, Iran.]

* * *

Militant brothers and sisters,

1. Everyday we hear some news about your struggle to form a legal and recognized workers union in Poland. So far you have gained the right to strike and the right to form independent unions. We congratulate you for these victories. The new demands that you have raised, which include freeing of your militant fellow workers who have been arrested recently, show that you still have a long and hard fight before you achieve workers democracy that you are fighting for. The attacks by the Polish government show that this will not be an easy fight, but you have a lot to gain from it.

2. Through our Islamic revolution which was led by Imam Khomeini, we have learned the fact that the only way to continue our revolution is to rely on the support of the oppressed masses. Our Islamic revolution is an ongoing revolution which has only begun. In order to guarantee its continuity we have built our Islamic workers' councils and Imam's committees. We are also building the Army of 20 Million under the leadership of Imam Khomeini.

3. During the past two years the oppressed masses of Iran have made tremendous gains. Many factories have

been nationalized and are run by Islamic councils. The lands which belonged to the Pahlavi Dynasty and many big landlords have been distributed amongst the poor peasants. We have gained the right to form our own Islamic workers' councils. By taking part in the Jihad for Reconstruction and the Jihad for Literacy we are helping our poor peasants to better their living conditions and to educate them. Above all we think that our Islamic revolution is an internationalist revolution and we constantly try to export it to the whole world. We support the just struggle of Palestinians, South Africans, the Blacks and Indians of the United States and all the struggles of the oppressed masses of the whole world. We will not let the imperialist powers rule us any longer. That is why the imperialist power, especially U.S. imperialism, is constantly attacking our revolution. That is why the reactionary regime of Iraq, which is being directly supported by U.S. imperialism, has attacked our country.

4. We think that your struggle for workers democracy is a just and revolutionary struggle. The claim of the Western news agencies that you are under the influence of Western capitalists is a slanderous accusation. We understand that, because these are the same news agencies which say that our Islamic Revolution is "reactionary." We support your fight and lend our solidarity.

Long live the solidarity of the oppressed masses of the world!

Hands off the militant Polish workers!

influence of the hierarchy is the strongest.

Farmers Demonstrate in Warsaw

The farmers' struggle to win the right to form their own independent associations is shaping up as a second major round in the battle for the right to organize independently of the bureaucracy.

On December 30, thousands of farmers mobilized in Warsaw in front of the Supreme Court to demand that it reverse a lower court ruling that they had no right to form a trade union of their own because they were not wage workers. The farmers argue that they are in effect working for the state because the government sets the prices for their produce.

The Supreme Court postponed a decision on the farmers' appeal. The farmers' organization, *Solidarnosc Wiejska* (Rural Solidarity), proclaimed this as a victory, saying that it represented "recognition of the enormous social weight of our union."

At the time of its appeal, the farmers union claimed that it had already signed up 600,000 members out of about three and a half million farmers in Poland.

The day before the Warsaw protest, on December 29, farm union activists occupied a government building in *Ustrzyki Dolne*, a town in rural southwest Poland, to protest against the bureaucracy obstructing union organization.

On January 6, workers and farmers staged a one-hour general strike in the three southern towns of *Ustrzyki Dolne*, *Lubaczow*, and *Przemysl*. The workers struck both to protest government harassment of their union organizers and to show solidarity with the farmers, in particular with the farm union activists occupying the building in *Ustrzyki Dolne*.

The joint worker-farmer strikes represented a major step forward in building an active alliance between workers and farmers.

During the August-September 1980 strikes that opened the way for the massive growth of *Solidarity*, there was little actual joint action between workers and farmers.

However, the workers' victory quickly gave impetus to the organization of the farmers. On September 7, in the village of *Lisow* near *Radom*, an interim committee of independent farmers unions was set up. On October 9, *Solidarnosc Wiejska* held its first public rally in *Krakow*.

Common Interests of Workers and Peasants

The problems of the agricultural economy and the farmers have been a major element in the crisis of bureaucratic rule since 1956, when the bureaucracy was forced to retreat from forced collectivization.

In their 1964 "Open Letter to the Communist Party," the most advanced document that came out of the first phase of the antibureaucratic struggle from 1956 to 1964, *Jacek Kuron* and *Karol Modzelewski*

devoted considerable attention to the farmers. They said, among other things:

The interests of the workers demand rational development of agricultural production (the basis of consumption) by the development of the mass of small and middle individual holdings and the corresponding increase of their investment and consumption possibilities. It is precisely this that makes the working class the spokesman of the interests of the majority of the peasants and at the same time establishes the basis of a real alliance between them.

To realize the common interests of the workers and the immense majority of the peasants, two things were necessary. The state had to pay high enough prices to enable the farmers to raise their cultural and material level. And it had to plow the taxes taken from the farmers back into the development of agriculture.

The Open Letter continued:

... The peasantry must organize itself in accordance with its economic bases, and provide itself with political representation. It must create its own producers' organizations. This is key to opening up opportunities for the 60 per cent of the peasantry which is vegetating on small holdings. . . .

The Open Letter put the need for such peasant organizations in the context of an overall revolution to establish workers' democracy:

"The enslavement of the working class is the principal source of the enslavement of other classes and social layers; in liberating itself, the working class liberates all of society."

The document mentioned a number of democratic tasks the working class had to

accomplish in order to liberate itself from the yoke of the bureaucracy, including the following:

It must institute the plurality of parties, thereby giving political freedom to all society;

It must eliminate preventative censorship, introduce total freedom of the press, of scientific and cultural creation. . . .

It must subject the administrative apparatus to constant control by and permanent responsibility to its democratic organizations. . . .

It must guarantee the peasantry control over its production and economic, social and political autonomy, thereby freeing the peasants from their lot of being eternally powerless subjects of every government, to become active citizens, organized and participating in the decisions which determine the conditions of their life and work.

In fact, in recent weeks the questions of agriculture and the problems of the farmers have been played up in the pages of the slowly thawing bureaucratic press. Articles have appeared stressing the need for guaranteeing the rights of the farmers. Farmers' representatives have also expressed their bitterness at the government agencies' disregard of their wishes and interests.

It has become very clear that the graver and graver shortages that face the Polish masses cannot be solved without a considerable improvement in the productivity of agriculture and that that cannot be achieved without involving the farmers directly in making the decisions.

At the same time, the demand for a shorter workweek is raising the problem of reorganizing the economy on the basis of workers' democracy. □

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British Politics and the Labour Party's Shift to the Left

[The following is an interview conducted in mid-November 1980 with Steve Potter, national secretary of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Question. What, in general, is the situation facing workers and other oppressed layers in Britain going into the 1980s?

Answer. The British economy is the weakest of all the Western European countries. This weakness was first revealed in a graphic way in the 1974-76 recession, when unemployment doubled in two years. Since 1976 employment has more or less stayed at that same low level and has not picked up again.

The fundamental problem facing British workers is that the ruling class is using this unemployment to break the organized strength of the working class. The last Tory government, under Edward Heath, attempted through antilabor legislation to break up the organizational strength of the working class. The experience of the Heath government made the Tories think again, and they now require not only a political offensive—which aims to divide the working class along race, sex, and national lines—but also an offensive that deals with this problem of the organized strength of the working class.

The level of unemployment right now is just over two million. Recent projections by the Cambridge Economic Policy Group put the level of unemployment by the end of this Tory government at anywhere between 2.75 million and 3.5 million. There is no sign as yet in the British economy that this recession is starting to bottom out. But the bottoming out of the recession, in itself, won't necessarily make a big impact on unemployment because the aim of the employers is for production to pick up without a significant increase in the number of people being employed. Throughout this whole last period, the fundamental Tory project to rationalize British industry, to shut down the less productive sectors, and to increase the rate of exploitation has been proceeding apace.

Q. How has this offensive by the Tories been reflected in the unions? How do you size up the outcome of the steel strike and some of the other battles that Socialist Challenge¹ has been covering?

1. Subscriptions to *Socialist Challenge*, the weekly newspaper of the IMG, can be obtained by writing to *Socialist Challenge*, 328 Upper Street, London N1, England.

A. One thing to be noted about the unions at the present time is that the level of union organization is not being affected by unemployment, so far. In fact, during the period from 1974 to 1976, while unemployment doubled, membership of those trade unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress [TUC] increased substantially. That tendency for the trade-union membership to increase has continued right up until the last reports on membership at the September TUC congress.

Now, that's historically unprecedented in Britain. In the 1930s there was a very substantial weakening of the unions numerically. This had a profound impact on the ability of the unions to fight back. But, as yet, there has been no diminution in the numbers of the trade union movement due to unemployment; which is a very startling fact.

The response of the trade unions to this offensive has been another remarkable thing, in that the unions which have fought back over the past period fought under right-wing leadership. In particular, the thirteen-week steelworkers' strike was an example of how the working class is responding to these attacks by the capitalist class and the government in spite of its leadership.

The Thatcher government was hoping to avoid some of the problems that brought down the Heath government in 1974. The aim was to first take on and smash weaker sections of the working class as an example to the rest of the workers, and to avoid a confrontation with the stronger sections of the working class, in particular the mine workers and the water workers. So the government made substantial concessions to these workers last year. But this strategy came badly unstuck in the vigorous strike the steelworkers conducted. The steelworkers' strike ended with the steelworkers getting a 16 percent pay increase, over the 2 percent they were originally offered, which is substantial progress in anybody's terms. The steel strike was therefore a defeat for the Tory government. However, it wasn't a victory for the workers either.

The underlying issue in the steel strike was that of plant closures and redundancies [layoffs]. That was the fundamental question. The steel bosses said to the union that if it got any more than 2 percent, then this would be expressed in job losses.

Following the steel strike, the employers continued their offensive against the steel-

workers. There were closures of important plants and slimmed-down operation in Warrington and in South Wales. All of these went without a struggle.

During the summer it appeared as though the working class was faltering in its response to the austerity offensive. The impact of unemployment was starting to make itself felt, particularly in the hesitancy of even the most left-wing of the union leaders to commit themselves to any position against the austerity offensive.

However, there has been an upturn in struggle since that time, in particular around the question of unemployment. There are two particular examples.

One is the dockers, who were threatened with 107 redundancies in the Liverpool docks, overturning an agreement made in 1972 after the dock strike of that year. Almost immediately, there was a threat of a national dock strike and the employers retreated, which meant that the government had retreated.

Soon after, the employers tried to do it again in Grimsby on the east coast of Britain. Once again there was a threat of a national dock strike, and the employers once again retreated. This was significant in two respects. The dockers were, like the miners, always considered the vanguard of the working class, but this position has deteriorated due to vast cutbacks in workers on the docks. Nevertheless, the fact that the dockers made this stand on unemployment—which there had been no successful struggle against over the last period of rapidly accelerating unemployment—had a big impact on the whole of the rest of the working class.

The second example is the Gardner's occupation in Manchester. Gardner's is an engineering factory of 2,000 employees—a very large factory. This was the largest occupation against redundancies since the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders work-in of 1971-72.² Once again this is something that acts both as an example and an inspiration for the rest of the class, because for six years there have been no occupations or serious resistance to unemployment.

These two struggles in particular can act as a way of stemming the tide of unemployment and be an example for the rest of

2. The occupation at the Gardner's diesel engine plant ended in a victory after seven weeks when management was forced to drop plans for the immediate layoff of 590 workers.

The 1971-72 Upper Clyde Shipbuilders work-in lasted many months and involved 20,000 workers in the Clydeside industrial area around Glasgow, a long-time center of Scottish working-class militancy.

A one-year subscription in Britain or by surface mail abroad costs £12.50; air mail subscriptions cost £18.

the working class. Those have been the two outstanding examples of the renewal of the struggle against the Tory government on unemployment, the most difficult terrain given the political weakness of the leadership of the working class.

Q. The response to this offensive, the renewal of combativity, is obviously having its effect inside the Labour Party. How do you assess the development of the left wing around Tony Benn?

A. The results of the October 1980 conference of the Labour Party represent a decisive shift in British politics as a whole—more particularly in working-class politics. It represents a shift of the Labour Party to the left, not just the development of the left wing inside the party.

This reflects the fact that the crisis of British capitalism is so deep that the working class has to look for major *political* answers to that crisis. The traditional response of the trade unions and trade union leadership is inadequate to deal with that crisis.

An example is the recent acceptance by British Leyland workers of a 6.8 percent pay increase. This followed mass meetings where they had voted by 2 to 1 to take strike action to reject that pay offer. The reason why the leadership retreated, after these mass meetings had expressed a clear majority for action, was that Michael Edwards, the chairman of British Leyland, had threatened to close the whole operation within two days of the strike starting. In that situation, it is not a convincing answer to Edwards' threat to just say "we're going to strike irrespective of that." One has to have larger *political* answers to the present problems, and the working class is basically looking to the Labour Party to provide those answers.

That is not a new development. The form that it is taking is new, but this isn't a new process in British politics. In particular, some of the events that we've seen in the last few months were heralded by the October 1973 conference of the Labour Party, which marked a significant shift to the left and adopted a manifesto that was far to the left of anything adopted since the beginnings of the 1950s.

That shift to the left inside the Labour Party was interrupted in 1973-74. The Labour government that was elected in February 1974 came to office and made considerable concessions to the working class in its first year. But then the right wing inside the party went on the offensive and rolled back the gains of that October conference. In the June 1975 referendum that was held on British membership in the Common Market, the party was split down the middle. The left wing's response to this was extremely feeble. Benn, who led the opposition inside the Labour Party to Common Market membership, was soundly defeated inside the party at



150,000 people demonstrated November 29 against policies of Tory government and massive rise in unemployment.

the hands of the right wing. He was removed from his post as minister for industry and demoted inside the government. From that point on, the left inside the party more or less meekly endured the rest of the life of the government without conducting any meaningful protest against that government, which inflicted a 12 percent drop in the real living standards of the working class. During this period unemployment doubled.

In certain respects, the situation now is a resumption of that process, which was interrupted under the last Labour government. What is reflected by this change in the Labour Party is the fact that the left wing of the party under the leadership of Benn represents for the working class a political alternative that hasn't existed since 1973. Under the last Labour government, workers did not make a serious struggle largely because they saw no alternative to the Callaghan government. The left wing had no profile, no promise, and wasn't giving a lead. Therefore, it seemed that there was nothing to replace the Callaghan leadership with if you defeated it.

This is the significance of the emergence of Benn, because it is not only an alterna-

tive to the right wing inside the Labour Party, but an alternative to Thatcher and her program of monetarism. Therefore, the emergence of Benn accelerates the process of the struggle against the Tories. It is both the product of this struggle and helps consolidate it, since it gives the workers something to fight for.

Q. In an interview with Socialist Challenge³ Benn spoke of "building the general coalition of the left, with the women's movement, the black groups, the ecological groups, the peace movement and so on." He has also called for all socialists and socialist groups to join the Labour Party. What does this invitation reflect?

A. Benn's invitation to other groups to join the party reflects the fact that in his opinion the Labour Party has to profoundly change its character. That is, on the left of the party and within the left wing headed by Benn, there has been a discussion about building a mass party. That seems to be a bit of a contradiction, because the Labour Party appears to be,

3. The interview appeared in the September 25, 1980, issue of *Socialist Challenge*. Major excerpts were reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, October 27, 1980, p. 1094.

and is, a mass party of the working class. Its current stated membership is 600,000 in its branches, its constituencies, but this is a gross exaggeration of its real size. Its real size in terms of active membership is probably nearer to 100,000.

Benn is very concerned and preoccupied with this problem of the small size of the Labour Party. He has applauded campaigns such as the one conducted in defense of abortion rights in Britain, and said that this is the sort of campaign that the Labour Party needs to be conducting—single issue, mass action campaigns. His invitation to activists to come into the party and change it into that sort of campaigning party, a party which is dedicated to action, is related to his notion of the struggle outside Parliament, which he says is very important. He has had a number of discussions with leading figures in the women's movement in particular about joining and helping to transform the party.

It's obvious that all activists and all socialists should take up this invitation by Benn to join the Labour Party and help transform it.

One of the products of the growth of the left wing within the party has been the dying away of witch-hunting inside the party. The right wing, of course, still accuses Benn of harboring all sorts of Trotskyists under his wings and so on, but they have no real ability to do anything about that. They talk about it a lot, and the bourgeois newspapers talk about it, but they haven't got the ability to carry out any sort of purge of left-wing activists inside the party.

Q. What are the basic elements of Benn's program?

A. Benn's program is generally known as the "alternative economic strategy," and is accepted by the majority of the organized working class. The majority of industrial unions have endorsed the program, and the Trades Union Congress itself passed a version of this strategy at its September conference. What this alternative economic strategy consists of varies according to which left Social Democrat is putting it forward. It has many different variants.

But perhaps the best thing to sum it up is the program that Benn indicated for a future Labour government, what a future Labour government would do in its first three weeks. That consisted of: withdrawal from the European Economic Community; substantial nationalizations and renationalizations and the conclusion of planning agreements with sectors of industry to safeguard employment; and finally, at the level of the state, the abolition of the House of Lords, which under those circumstances could veto actions of the House of Commons.

This program has actually been accepted

into the manifesto of the Labour Party. It was accepted into the 1974 election manifesto of the party. Benn's campaign since the Tory victory in May 1979, his inquest into the causes of that defeat, has been to pose the question of why that program, that manifesto of 1974, wasn't implemented by the Labour government. He's put forward a number of explanations of why it wasn't implemented. The main reason that he has put forward is the lack of accountability of the Labour leaders to the party. That was the significance of the measure that was passed by the October Labour Party conference to reselect members of Parliament on a regular basis inside the constituencies. If the MPs didn't reflect the opinions and wishes of their local parties they could be replaced.

The second reason pointed to by Benn was the accountability of the leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party, which is a separate party with its own rules. That was the significance of extending the franchise on the election of the leader, who is currently elected by the Labour members in Parliament.

There was another measure that was put forward at the Labour Party conference—that the leadership of the party, the National Executive Committee, should draft the manifesto and not the leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party, which is called the shadow cabinet. That provision was defeated at the Labour Party conference. Benn made a speech about this at the conference which was probably the most aggressive speech that he has ever made in his political career.

The speech was aimed at the trade-union officialdom. The content of his speech was as follows: You unions support this program, the alternative economic strategy. More importantly, your rank-and-file membership support it. Yet you do nothing as a leadership to make sure that this program is implemented.

The purpose of Benn's speech was to make them vote for this proposal that the Parliamentary Labour Party leadership should not draft the program. But its effect was to sow immense confusion in the ranks of the trade-union bureaucracy assembled there.

For example, after Benn finished his speech, there was this scuffle in the ranks of the engineering workers union delegates at the conference, as left-wing delegates confronted right-wing delegates and said, "Yes! That's right." It has been the trade-union block vote in past conferences that has helped the party officials prevent both radical policies and inner party reforms from being passed. The impact of this speech by Benn, and the pressure inside the unions that underlies all this, created a situation where certain major unions voted for these proposals. The bureaucracy feared the reaction of their membership if they didn't, because they know the ranks agree with Benn.

The rank and file inside the unions support Benn's program, and they look to the left wing of the party to carry it out. However, as yet, these workers are not actually involved in the party. The Labour Party constituencies are generally composed of white-collar trade unionists, teachers, government workers, civil servants, and so on. They are largely there because their unions do not exert much influence inside the Labour Party and are not affiliated to the Labour Party. Also, these workers are being profoundly affected at the present time by cuts in government expenditures, which threaten them with unemployment. So they are going to the party to fight against these cuts, as well as fighting them through their unions.

But there isn't yet a large-scale entry of industrial workers into the Labour Party. In fact, there's not a very substantial growth in the membership of the Labour Party. Figures are very difficult to come by. But whereas one would have expected a period of big growth after the Tory election victory, the size of the party increased by only about 10,000 people at that time. I think this is going to change fairly quickly for two reasons.

First, the industrial militants are looking to the Labour Party for political answers.

At the same time, the militants inside the Labour Party, the left wing, are beginning to look to the industrial unions. Many recognize that the industrial workers will decide the struggle against the Tory government because of what the industrial unions can do. Secondly, they recognize that the block vote at Labour Party conferences, which is dominated by these industrial unions, will decide the outcome of the inner party struggle.

The reaction of some people inside the left wing of the Labour Party is to say that the weight of the block vote inside the party should be reduced. But this is an attempt to use organizational means to overcome a political problem—the role of the trade-union bureaucracy.

Consequently, people are starting to look beyond these organizational solutions, and to look towards how the rank and file in the unions can bring the block vote under their control. This is de facto what started to happen with the last conference. So, the left wing within the Labour Party will have to orient to the industrial unions, and towards the left wing in the industrial unions, for a resolution of their problems.

That's why it's necessary to build a left wing inside the Labour Party that is based on an orientation towards the industrial unions. That's what's going to decide the struggle against the Tories, which, in turn, is going to decide whether there is going to be a future Labour government.

Q. How do you evaluate the recent elec-

tion of Michael Foot to head up the Parliamentary Labour Party?

A. Immediately after the Labour Party conference the ruling class and the trade-union bureaucracy were extremely dismayed. Much thinking was done about how to roll back the victories that had been made by the rank and file at the conference.

Callaghan's resignation as party leader, and the election that was held by the Parliamentary Labour Party, was the first step in the offensive to roll back those gains. They didn't have to hold this parliamentary Labour Party election. They could have appointed a caretaker leader to replace Callaghan until such time as the election was held under the new ground rules that had been decided at the Labour Party conference. And there was a vote in the parliamentary party as to whether these elections should be of a binding character. And 66 Labour MPs, out of a total of about 260, voted against holding these Parliamentary Labour Party elections, a very high number.

Therefore, it wasn't a question of what position you took on Foot's candidacy, as such, but what stance you took toward these elections, which were a slap in the face to the decisions of the Labour Party conference. We said that these elections were a fraud, rigged to defy conference positions. The elections were widely recognized as such. For example, Benn refused to stand in these elections on the basis that it transgressed the positions of the conference. We agreed very much with Benn's position on that.

Holding these elections were so important to the right wing for two reasons. Firstly, it legitimized the role of the Parliamentary Labour Party as a viable place where ideas are discussed and decisions are made. Secondly, it means that anybody who is elected under these elections has more of a chance of thrashing Benn in any future election. By the time elections under the new rules are held, whoever was elected would have been in office for some time and would have a greater reputation, authority, and so on. So it was important for the right wing that these elections went ahead.

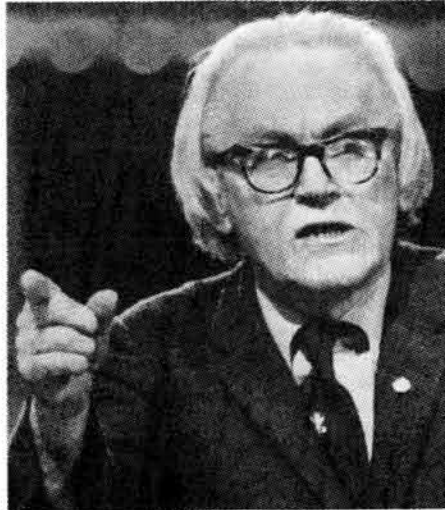
What happened was that the Labour left, which originally had supported Benn on this question of not standing, crumbled when it became clear that the elections were going to go ahead. They got into what you could describe as a bit of lesser-evilism inside the party, and immediately swung behind Foot.

We didn't agree with that.

The elections went ahead and Foot won a surprisingly large majority. It was only by ten votes inside the Parliamentary Labour Party, but that actually was a large majority.

Now, just because we said that these elections shouldn't go ahead, this didn't

mean there was no difference between Foot and [Denis] Healey. There is substantial difference. Healey was backed by the whole ruling class. Every single major newspaper editorialized in favor of Healey. The international ruling class expressed opinions on the election, too, supporting Healey. This is in line with Healey's history. He called the International Monetary Fund into the Labour government in 1976, resulting in huge cuts in social services.



MICHAEL FOOT

Foot has had a radical history for a prominent Labour Party politician. He was associated with the left in the party until the 1970s when he essentially became Callaghan's second in command and shifted to the center of the party. Like Callaghan, he is very much tied to the trade-union bureaucracy. Callaghan always based himself on the trade-union bureaucracy, and, in particular, took the trade-union bureaucracy's side against Harold Wilson in 1968 when the first industrial relations legislation was introduced. Foot stands in that tradition.

The fact that the Parliamentary Labour Party felt constrained to choose Foot, on the basis that he could best turn around the situation inside the Labour Party before the next general election, showed the degree of pressure they were under. It reflects that shift to the left.

Foot is a clever politician. Immediately after his election victory he said that he thought there were two big questions facing the labor movement. First was the question of siting Cruise missiles in Britain. Second was unemployment. He declared himself a unilateralist on the question of the missiles. He is not a unilateralist, but he is in favor of dumping the Cruise missiles. He said that we have to build a massive movement against the siting of these missiles, and that he would send them back to the Americans if he got into office.

Secondly, Foot said that unemployment had to be fought with a mass movement

and that he supported the demonstration called by the Labour Party for November 29 in Liverpool.⁴

He is going to try to put himself at the head of these movements, at the head of the left wing of the Labour Party, in order to better derail them.

Q. The mass movement against the stationing of American nuclear-armed Cruise missiles in Britain is clearly an important new development. What is the dynamic of this movement?

A. The movement against Cruise missiles in Britain, organized through the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament [CND], is related to the whole remilitarization drive of the major imperialist powers. The response to that is particularly sharp amongst the youth in the advanced capitalist countries. It is the counterpart of the antidraft campaign in the United States, the demonstrations in Athens against Greece into NATO, and the demonstrations against the army in West Germany.

The anti-Cruise-missiles campaign has tremendous significance for the Labour Party. The last time the Labour Party adopted a position of unilateral disarmament was in 1959. This recent Labour Party conference was overwhelmingly in favor of unilateral disarmament—so much so that they didn't even bother to take a card vote on the question, just a show of hands and the thing went through. This was despite the opposition of the right wing, which is lined up in defense of NATO.

One particularly significant feature of the movement is that it is starting to be firmly linked to the question of the economic recession. This is shown by the way youth have mobilized around this campaign. The slogan of "Jobs, not bombs" has linked together in people's minds the relationship between the war drive, the economic recession, and the way in which both of these things affect the working class.

At present, the trade unions themselves have not mobilized behind this campaign. For example, on the October 26 demonstration of 80,000 people in London, there were many trade unionists, but there were very few union branches. There were, however, very large numbers of Labour Party branches, and young people. Within this movement, the IMG has been arguing for a

4. The November 29 Liverpool demonstration against unemployment drew 150,000 protesters. Michael Foot was the main speaker. He told the crowd: "We're going to carry this campaign from one end of the country to the other . . . to destroy this Thatcher government and build a real socialism."

See *Intercontinental Press*, December 29, 1980, p. 1382, for an account of the demonstration and developments in the campaign against unemployment.

greater orientation towards the unions and Labour Party.

Within the movement there are various trends. There are the radical pacifists, largely inside the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. These radical pacifists have a unilateralist position. Inside the CND there are also more conservative trends whose main object is putting pressure on for the signing of SALT II, for general negotiations on an international level. The Communist Party supports this current inside the CND.

There is also a current that is generally associated with Edward Thompson, the well-known English historian. Thompson is the leading figure inside the movement. He sponsors an organization called Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament. Its main slogan is "For a nuclear-free Europe, from Poland to Portugal." This slogan is rooted in Thompson's notion of the arms race, which he says has a dynamic of its own towards extermination—what he calls "exterminism."

In and of itself, this is not incorrect. The arms race, of course, does have a deadly dynamic. However, the analysis behind Thompson's conception is that the East and West are jointly responsible for the threat of nuclear war. This opens up the door to the right wing inside the movement and leads to the notion of multilateral as opposed to unilateral disarmament. Everybody, including the Tory government, says they are in favor of multilateral disarmament.

However, whatever the different currents of opinion inside the movement at present, nobody has sought to impose their particular point of view on the campaign so far. So the campaign remains one for the removal of Cruise missiles from Britain and against the replacement of the Polaris submarine with the Trident system.

So, in practice, the impact of the movement is a unilateralist one. That is, Britain should unconditionally get rid of all these missiles. And that's the basis on which the massive October 26 demonstration was called.

Q. What are the central focuses of the IMG's current activity? How are you relating to the new developments in the unions and the Labour Party?

A. We are currently focusing on two questions of great concern to the British workers—how to avoid war on the one hand, and how to resist the austerity attacks of the government on the other. We have summarized our approach in the slogan, "Jobs, not bombs!"

It is around these two fronts at present that the biggest struggles are going on—the big mobilizations against the Cruise missiles, the Gardner's occupation, and so on.

The biggest obstacle to the working class making progress on the two fronts of

employment and militarization is the existence of the Tory government. Both the strength of the working class and the determination of the Tory government to make working people pay the cost of the capitalist crisis mean that there will be an inevitable collision. Therefore, the question is posed of the need for the greatest possible unity of the working class against the attempts of the Tory government to divide workers along the lines of unemployed against employed, along race lines, along sex lines, or even along the lines of the Labour Party versus the trade unions.

Our principal slogan is for the unity of the working class in action to kick out the Tories—joint trade-union and Labour Party action to kick out the Tories.

This is not just a slogan of the IMG.

The November 29 demonstration against unemployment was called by the Labour Party around a question that is normally the terrain of the trade unions, and it has been supported by the TUC. In November 1979 the Labour Party called a mass demonstration against cuts in social expenditure which was supported by the trade unions.

At the same time, the TUC called a demonstration against the anti-abortion-rights Corrie Bill, which the Labour Party didn't take a position on. That demonstration was a big success for the working class in helping defeat that attack.

So, there is an increasing interchangeability between the role of the unions and the role of the Labour Party, which we think is an expression of the growing politization inside the working class and the necessity for unity in action against the Tory government.

The context under which these things happen is the crisis of leadership inside the working class, which is essentially what lies at the root of the struggle inside the Labour Party. One of the IMG's major tasks in the next period is to defend and extend the gains that were made at the October Labour Party conference, to resist all efforts by the ruling class and by the right wing inside the labor movement to roll back those gains. We identify ourselves thoroughly with the victories that were gained at the October conference and with the left wing that fought for those under the leadership of Benn. We are in favor of Benn fighting for the leadership of the Labour Party on the basis of those victories.

There is also a necessity to put forth an adequate program for this fight. In particular, there is a necessity to fight for the sort of policies that can defeat the major thrust of the capitalist offensive.

Two particular demands stand out on the question of unemployment. The first is the fight for action on the thirty-five-hour week without loss of pay. It is not a question of convincing people of this particular demand. It has been adopted by the trade-union movement for many decades.

The problem is now to *fight* for that in order to overcome the effects of mass unemployment.

The second is the slogan of a program of public works, to employ the jobless and meet social needs, rather than a program of arms expenditure. And that is increasingly a demand that is gaining in popularity inside the labor movement. It is a demand that helps explain the necessity for a planned economy as opposed to the anarchy of capitalism.

Finally, there is the necessity to fight for a program that unites all the oppressed in struggle. The main features of such a program are ones that first of all defend democratic rights—increasingly under attack by the Tory government—and that protect women, Blacks, and youth against being hit the hardest by the effects of unemployment—that is, the question of affirmative action for Blacks, for women, and for youth.

Finally, we explain the need for a program that poses the necessity of the utmost solidarity with all those struggles internationally that are in the front line of the struggle against the imperialist war drive in Central America, in Iran, in South Africa—and against the British occupation of Northern Ireland and its repressive policies epitomized by the H-Blocks and Armagh prison.

Those are the principal planks of the policy the IMG is putting forward today. □

Guatemalan Feminist 'Disappears'

Alaide Foppa, a well-known art critic and feminist author, disappeared on December 19, 1980, in Guatemala City. Although Foppa had lived in exile in Mexico City since 1955, she had returned to Guatemala to visit her aged mother.

The Guatemalan Democratic Front Against Repression has accused Guatemala's army intelligence service of complicity in the disappearance.

Foppa, the mother of four, is a university professor and coeditor of *Fem*, one of the few feminist magazines in Latin America. For eight years she has hosted a radio program in Mexico called *Women's Forum*.

Her recently deceased husband, Alfonso Solórzano, was a member of the Guatemalan Labor Party (Communist Party) and had served as director of social security under the Arbenz government in the 1950s.

On December 22, some 500 persons in Mexico City demonstrated in front of the Guatemalan embassy, demanding the immediate presentation of Alaide Foppa. In the United States, a number of artists and feminists sent a letter to the *New York Times* calling for Foppa's safe release. □

DOCUMENTS

Speech by Fidel Castro

'Cuba Will Never Negotiate With Principles!'

[The following speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro was given to a mass rally in Havana, which was held on December 20, 1980, to close the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party. This speech is only a small part of the material that has appeared in connection with the Second Congress. Future issues of *Intercontinental Press* will contain additional coverage of this congress. Castro's speech to the December 20 rally is reprinted from the December 28 issue of the English-language *Granma* weekly, published in Havana.]

* * *

Distinguished Guests;
Dear Compatriots:

Today I will be briefer than on other occasions. (SHOUTS OF "NO!") The main ideas have been expressed in the course of the Congress and I don't want to be repetitious. It has already become a tradition for our Congress, the Congress of our Communist Party, to come to a close here in Revolution Square amidst our communist people. (APPLAUSE)

This is the third time this year that we meet in the Square. I believe that, as far as mass mobilization in our capital is concerned, 1980 has been the most extraordinary year ever.

It's impossible to forget the glorious days of the March of the Fighting People. It's impossible to forget how much the people of our capital and of Havana province have done for the Revolution this year: April 19, May Day, May 17, September 27 and today.

I remember thinking on each of these occasions that it couldn't possibly be repeated. It seemed impossible for that multitude that gathered along Fifth Avenue on April 19 to ever gather again, but it wasn't too long afterward that we saw a similar crowd gathered here in this Square. And then I was sure that a rally such as the one on May Day would never be repeated. And yet, we again had the opportunity to see that same multitude gathered on May 17, and again on September 27, and again today in Revolution Square. (APPLAUSE)

The people of the two Havana provinces must be given recognition and thanks for their great, extraordinary support for the Revolution and the Party. (APPLAUSE)

Today you have demonstrated in practice what we said at the

We can assert that the world's revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces were present at our Congress . . .

Congress about our Party's solid, profound and indestructible ties with the masses. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS) Thus the great truth that the Party is the Party of our people and that the Party exists through the people and for the people is hereby confirmed. (APPLAUSE)

Our basic problems were analyzed in depth by the Congress. However, I would say, as we said this afternoon, that the basic characteristic of our Congress was its internationalist character. (APPLAUSE)

We can assert that the world's revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces were present at our Congress. We could assert that the world's healthiest, most honest forces gathered here at

our Congress. (APPLAUSE) In fact, there were times when it was hard to tell whether it was a Cuban Congress or a Congress of the world's revolutionary forces. (APPLAUSE)

The guests who spoke at our Congress outnumbered the Cuban delegates who spoke. (APPLAUSE) And, of course, not all the guests spoke since that would have been impossible, but those who did conveyed to our people and Party the message from the main forces that are changing the world today. (APPLAUSE) Those who spoke illustrated the changes that are taking place, particularly in our hemisphere, because there we heard the message, the warm, fraternal and solidary voice of Nicaragua through Comrade Humberto Ortega, who is known, admired and esteemed by our people (APPLAUSE) as one of the principal masterminds and strategists of the Nicaraguan people's victorious struggle. (APPLAUSE) There we heard Cayetano Carpio, that hero who has devoted his whole life to the cause of liberating his people, the people of El Salvador, (APPLAUSE) and who brought us the message of all the united revolutionary organizations in El Salvador. (APPLAUSE) We heard the words of our brilliant, staunch and upstanding friend and brother, [Grenada Prime Minister Maurice] Bishop. (APPLAUSE) We heard the message of the Chilean revolutionaries through that veteran fighter who is so highly esteemed in our country, Luis Corvalán, (APPLAUSE) the secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, who suffered fascist repression in his own flesh and who expressed his people's will to struggle with words that recall his country's national anthem, namely, "on the side of reason must also be strength." (APPLAUSE) We heard with profound emotion and we might even say that we shed tears together with [Uruguayan Communist Party leader] Rodney Arismendi, (APPLAUSE) that friend of our country who is so highly esteemed and admired, that extraordinary man who for many years, shoulder to shoulder with his people, championed solidarity with our Revolution.

We heard messages from our Angolan brothers and sisters, from our Mozambican brothers and sisters, from our Ethiopian brothers and sisters, from our Guinean brothers and sisters, our African brothers and sisters. (APPLAUSE) We heard messages from our Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Lao brothers and sisters, from our Afghan brothers and sisters, from our Arab brothers and sisters; (APPLAUSE) messages from our brothers and sisters the French and Portuguese Communists, (APPLAUSE) who embody the most consistent positions and ideas of the workers' and revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. (APPLAUSE) We heard the message from our dear brothers and sisters from the socialist camp (APPLAUSE) and, most especially, from our dear and inseparable Soviet Union. (OVATION) And we had the pleasure to hear, in the words of that tireless fighter, of that hero of the cause of communism Henry Winston, (APPLAUSE) the message from the most pure and the most honest of the U.S. people. (APPLAUSE)

Those who gathered here represent the healthiest, purest, most consistent of the fighters for the cause of liberation, democracy, social justice and peace. (APPLAUSE) This is why we felt so stimulated at the Congress and also because it reveals the extent of the prestige of our country and our Revolution and of the trust that the world's revolutionary and progressive forces have placed in it. It also reveals the tenacious and heroic efforts our country has been making to contribute to the world revolutionary move-

ment and international solidarity. (APPLAUSE) Our country has gained a great deal of prestige in these years. However, we do not struggle to win prestige. (APPLAUSE) Our Revolution's prestige derives from our loyalty to principles. (APPLAUSE) And more important than the prestige is the confidence that all the world's revolutionaries must have that Cuba can always be counted on, (APPLAUSE) that the Revolution's loyalty to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism is not only the line followed by this generation but will also be the line followed by the generation of the Pioneers, whose representative spoke here this afternoon, (APPLAUSE) and the line followed by the future revolutionary generations. (APPLAUSE)

Our Congress did not only discuss international matters. It also dealt with national affairs. The Congress was the crowning point

The leadership of our Party was given a strong dose of worker cadres, a strong dose of women and a strong dose of internationalist fighters . . .

of a period of work that lasted many months during which our problems were analyzed down to the last detail from a critical and self-critical standpoint, all the way up from the Party nuclei to the Party Congress. (APPLAUSE) The fundamental problems were analyzed, a review of our work in the last five years was made and on balance the results were undeniably positive. What our people have done in such a brief period of time in every sphere is really incredible: (APPLAUSE) the progress made in building socialism and developing our economy; the number of plants we've built amidst the international economic crisis; the extraordinary progress made in education, public health, culture, social development, institutionalization of the country; in the establishment of People's Power; in the development of socialist democracy; and, above all, the progress made within our mass organizations, the Young Communist League and the Party. (APPLAUSE)

We must take into account that the number of workers in our Party has almost tripled, which means that our Party has become more proletarian and, therefore, more Marxist-Leninist and more revolutionary. (APPLAUSE)

Our Party worked in drawing up the future plans and our Congress approved the economic guidelines and the 1981-85 five-year plan. (APPLAUSE) The plan was carefully and prudently drawn up on very realistic bases. Therefore, we hope we will not only meet it but even surpass it. (APPLAUSE)

Our Party analyzed and approved some basic ideas regarding the country's future development up to the year 2000. We can now allow ourselves to think not only in terms of one year or five years but also in terms of 20 years, (APPLAUSE) basing ourselves on real factors and the elements of security provided by our close economic relations and our coordination plans for development with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries. (APPLAUSE)

Thus, as far as our country's economic development is concerned, we can look toward the future with more confidence and assurance than ever before. (APPLAUSE)

However, the most important, the most revolutionary thing about this Congress was the composition of our Central Committee. (APPLAUSE) The leadership of our Party was given a strong dose of worker cadres, (APPLAUSE) a strong dose of women (APPLAUSE) and a strong dose of internationalist fighters. (APPLAUSE)

Therefore, our masses are represented on the Central Committee not only indirectly through the Party but also through Party members heading the mass organizations, chiefly our worker organization and our women's organization. Also included are representatives of our peasant organization and of our largest organization, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. (APPLAUSE)

Therefore, a direct link between the Party and the masses has

been established at this Congress. Furthermore, the principle was established that no matter where a Party member, whether man or woman, happens to be, in Cuba or outside Cuba, working in production or the services, holding down an administrative job or doing scientific work, or engaged in any other kind of activity, the Party will not forget him or her. (APPLAUSE) This means that the extraordinary honor, the very great responsibility of belonging to the top leadership of our Party can be earned by cutting cane, (APPLAUSE) working in a mine, working in a laboratory, managing a factory or a farm, being a trade union leader, leading a province or a mass organization on a nationwide or provincial level.

We believe that our Central Committee has been greatly enhanced by the presence of new members closely linked to the masses. (APPLAUSE)

Our Party has developed a great deal and now has some 450,000 members and candidates. It is no longer a conglomeration of organizations, and nobody remembers what organization they came from. Our Party is now composed of a single solid trunk. Our Party is now something new, a Party that has developed throughout these past 22 years. It's no longer a question of the history of the war or before the war or the struggle in the underground. It is in fact also a question of the history written by new generations, of the heroic history of our people in these 22 years of struggle. (APPLAUSE) This is already reflected in the leadership of our Party, although that leadership includes men who fought in the Sierra, who took part in the struggle against bandits, in the October Crisis and who fought in Angola and in Ethiopia. (APPLAUSE) The fact that through our Revolutionary Armed Forces more than 100,000 fighters have fulfilled internationalist missions is really extraordinary. (APPLAUSE)

This is why our Central Committee can now present a legion of heroes: heroes of the revolutionary struggle in our country, heroes of internationalism, Heroes of Labor, heroes of material and intellectual work, heroes of Party work, a group of men and women who have amassed extraordinary merits. And the principles that were observed in electing the Central Committee were also observed in electing the Political Bureau. (APPLAUSE) And thus, Comrade Vilma Espín, (APPLAUSE) Comrade Roberto Veiga, (APPLAUSE) Comrade José Ramírez Cruz (APPLAUSE) and Comrade Armando Acosta (APPLAUSE) were elected alternate members of the Political Bureau. Therefore, the women, the workers, the peasants and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution are directly represented in the Political Bureau of our Party. (APPLAUSE) In our opinion, this is an extraordinary step forward that will raise the efficiency and quality of the work of the leadership of the Party and the entire country.

Now then, we believe that one of the basic tasks fulfilled by the Congress was that of preparing the Party and our people for the difficult international situation we're going through, preparing the Party and our people for any eventual confrontation with

One of the basic tasks of the Congress was preparing the Party and our people for any eventual confrontation with imperialism . . .

imperialism. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, FOR SURE, HIT THE YANKEES HARD!")

Needless to say, we have made it clear to Mr. Reagan that we're not afraid of his threats. (APPLAUSE) If there's something we dislike very much, it's being threatened by anyone. We don't like anyone to try to intimidate us. We just don't like it. Besides, our people forgot what fear means a long time ago. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, MAKE THEM RESPECT US WELL!") Our people lost the taste of fear a long time ago.

We're aware of the fact that the international situation is a difficult and complex one. We're aware that there's a real danger of war. We're also aware of the need to struggle and to mobilize world public opinion in order to put a stop to the arms race, to put

an end to international tension, to eradicate the danger of war. We can contribute to this objective within the limits of our modest forces. We know full well what kind of a world we're living in.

As we said in the Main Report, never before has humanity lived through such times as these, with the existence of enormous nuclear arsenals, with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons pointing in all directions. We know that there's a great danger that a worldwide conflict may break out some day, and we believe that humanity, particularly our people, must be aware of these dangers and mobilize in order to struggle against them, each person fighting with all his strength. The fact remains that a certain attitude must be taken in view of these realities.

We are threatened by a number of dangers. Of course, should a world conflict break out, it would affect every nation without exception. However, since our country is located in this part of the world, close to the United States, apart from the danger that any world conflict would represent for us, we're constantly being threatened by imperialist attacks, and in view of these realities it is necessary to adopt a certain attitude.

On occasion, the imperialists speak condescendingly about their being willing to lift the blockade, willing to spare our lives, if we stopped being internationalists, if we withdrew our fighters from Angola and Ethiopia, (SHOUTS OF "NO!" AND "CUBA SI, YANKEES NO!") AND APPLAUSE) if we severed our close ties with the Soviet Union. (SHOUTS OF "NO!") Needless to say, for us it is neither a pleasure nor a whim to have thousands of our fighters in other lands. However, the day that we call back a single man—a single one—it will be because he's no longer needed or because of an agreement between the governments of those countries and us, (APPLAUSE) but never as a concession to imperialism! And our ties with the Soviet Union will never be broken. Never! Those ties will exist as long as the Soviet Union and Cuba exist, (APPLAUSE) because we're a revolutionary people, because we're a consistent people, because we're a staunch, loyal and grateful people, because we loathe opportunism! (APPLAUSE) And if we were to choose between treason and death we

We're ready to resist for 100 years—that is, if imperialism lasts that long . . .

would prefer death a thousand times over! (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Principles are not negotiable. There are people in the world who negotiate with principles, but Cuba will never negotiate with principles! (APPLAUSE) And we're sure that neither this nor future generations will ever negotiate with their principles! (APPLAUSE)

What right does the United States have to tell us who our friends should be?

So they threaten us with maintaining the economic blockade? Let them maintain it for 100 years if they want to. (APPLAUSE) We're ready to resist for 100 years—that is, if imperialism lasts that long. (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS) They threaten us with naval blockades? Let them impose that kind of blockade and they'll see how much the Cuban people can endure! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "FIDEL, FOR SURE, HIT THE YANKEES HARD!")

If we had to disperse all over the country and till the land in order to survive, and do it with oxen and plows, hoes and picks, we'd do it that way, (APPLAUSE) but we'd go on resisting. If they think that we're going to surrender because we run out of electricity or buses or fuel or whatever, (APPLAUSE) they'll see that they'll never bring us to our knees, that we can resist for one, ten or as many years as necessary, even if we have to live like the Indians that Christopher Columbus found here when he landed 500 years ago. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

One thing, though, we wouldn't be using spears or arrows. We'd have a rifle, a grenade or a mine in our hands. (APPLAUSE) Maybe a tank, a cannon or a bazooka, or an anti-aircraft gun,



Granma
December 20 mass rally in Havana. From left: Humberto Ortega of Nicaragua; Maurice Bishop of Grenada; Konstantin Chernenko of the Soviet Union; and Cuban president Fidel Castro.

anything we could lay our hands on! (APPLAUSE) The imperialists better not have any hopes. We might as well tell them to stop having hopes—and to stop threatening us!

If they were to decide to attack us, then they better get ready to see men, women, old people and even children—even the little Pioneer who spoke here today—in action. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) If they dare invade our country, more Yankees will die here than in World War II, (APPLAUSE) because we will not stop fighting under any circumstances: in the front lines, in the rear, in the underground. We will not stop fighting as long as a single drop of blood remains in our veins. (APPLAUSE)

This is what we should be willing to do and it is what we're willing to do! Of course, we'll see what happens; we'll see what happens, because we're neither short of fighters nor are we unarmed. If they want to spare themselves a lot of effort and decide to drop 20 atom bombs on us, let them go ahead and do it. We've already gone through the experience of being threatened with atom bombs, and I don't remember a single citizen of this country—not a single one!—losing any sleep over it. (APPLAUSE) Without histrionics of any kind, we would prefer a thousand times over to die than to surrender! (APPLAUSE) We will not make a single concession to imperialism. We will not renounce a single one of our principles!

The peoples of the world are not so weak today, and I believe that the day when all the peoples of Latin America are as willing to defend their country as Cuba is to defend itself, as willing as Nicaragua is, (APPLAUSE) as willing as Grenada is, (APPLAUSE) imperialist domination in this hemisphere will disappear. And we could have added the willingness of the Salvadoran revolutionaries (APPLAUSE) and the Guatemalan revolutionaries. (APPLAUSE) The imperialists are threatening to intervene in Central America, as if this will intimidate the Central American revolutionaries. The revolutionaries in El Salvador and Guatemala have been fighting out in the open and in the underground for 20 years, and they would find it much easier to fight against the invaders than against the henchmen who serve the Yankees and who still have a uniform, a flag and a national anthem of their own. (APPLAUSE)

Humberto spoke of Sandino here. Those were different times, the balance of forces then was not what it is today and neither did the mighty international revolutionary movement nor the solidarity that exist today exist then. It is true that Sandino defeated the

Yankee invaders with a handful of poorly armed men, and the invaders had to get out, leaving Somoza and the National Guard there—until the end came for Somoza and the National Guard in the same way that it will eventually come for all the Somozas and their henchmen in this hemisphere. (APPLAUSE)

Therefore, there are two basic conclusions we can draw from this Congress. One, the work, the efforts to boost production and the services. I said there are two conclusions and we must live up to them. The first thing we have to do is to tackle all our difficulties head-on and devote ourselves to work, to the services. (APPLAUSE) We must redouble our efforts, work more efficiently and be more demanding in agriculture, at school, in the hospitals, everywhere. In short, I would say we must work more and better than ever before. (APPLAUSE)

Second, we must prepare ourselves to defend the country. In other words, these are the two basic tasks: production and defense. (APPLAUSE) We must organize the Territorial Troops Militia (APPLAUSE) and prepare the Party and the people to fight under any circumstances. (APPLAUSE) We must support the motion made by the militiaman who spoke on behalf of the Regiment of the Territorial Troops from Pinar del Río (APPLAUSE) in regard to raising funds to purchase arms (APPLAUSE) and devoting our free time and even part of our vacation time to the training program, in order not to affect the economy. (APPLAUSE)

One thing must not clash with the other. Work in production and the services must go hand in hand with combat training. We must prepare ourselves, there's no doubt about that. We must rely principally on our training rather than on the enemy's sanity. We must rely on our own forces and not on the enemy's common sense. This is why now more than ever before, we must become a people of workers and soldiers. (APPLAUSE)

We're in the midst of the sugar harvest and it's going well. The accumulated potential output average is 88 percent, a figure that was never reached in December last year, not even on a single day. The workers in the sugar mills and the canefields are working with exceptional enthusiasm, and I believe that they

personify the spirit of struggle and work that prevails throughout the country.

When we resume our activities, when all the delegates to the Congress return home, they should be guided by the idea and the commitment of giving full support to production, the services, the sugar harvest and the tasks of defense. We're not going to start wondering whether the Yankees will spare our lives or not. What we should concern ourselves with is preparing ourselves for the struggle and letting them know—as we said in the Congress—that they're going to find “a hard nut to crack and a deadly thorn in their side.” (APPLAUSE) These are the two basic ideas we should take with us from the Congress.

Comrade delegates to the Congress and compatriots, we must say that we have plenty of reasons for feeling satisfied, in fact, for being proud of the results of this Congress, of being proud of what our Party is today, of the quality of the Party, of the quality of the men and women who represented it at the Congress. We're proud of this proof of the ties between the Party and the masses, of the people's support for the Revolution, of their support for the Party, support that you have demonstrated here today before the representatives of over 140 revolutionary, progressive and democratic organizations from all over the world. (APPLAUSE)

I believe that I'm conveying the feelings of every member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau accurately by saying that we have always had great confidence in our people and that today that confidence is greater than ever! (APPLAUSE) That we, who have always been optimistic, feel more optimistic than ever! (APPLAUSE) That we, who have always felt committed to the Revolution, today feel more committed than ever! (APPLAUSE)

Long live our glorious Communist Party! (SHOUTS OF “LONG LIVE!”)

Long live proletarian internationalism! (SHOUTS OF “LONG LIVE!”)

Long live the people! (SHOUTS OF “LONG LIVE!”)

Patria o muerte!

Venceremos!

(OVATION)

French Government Steps Up Repression in Antilles

The French government has unleashed a new wave of repression against young, Black anticolonialist fighters and trade union militants on the Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

These French-ruled islands in the Antilles are considered to be “overseas departments” of France. The latest government repression has been in response to the upswing in anticolonialist and proindependence struggles over the last year.

In Martinique, three proindependence and socialist activists were recently convicted on charges stemming from a July 1979 protest in which some 150 demonstrators had entered the French government-owned television studios in Fort-de-France. They were demanding that the station give coverage to the arrest of six Black youth and the subsequent death of one of them while in police custody.

Radio and television broadcasts in the Antilles usually come straight from France and have little relation to what is happening in the Antilles.

The three activists convicted were René Ravoteur and Gilbert Pago, leaders of the Socialist Revolution Group (GRS), the Antilles section of the Fourth International,

and Gérard Beaujour, of Combat Ouvrier, affiliated with the Lutte Ouvrière group in France.

They were given a two month suspended prison sentence, but are appealing the conviction.

In the nearby island of Guadeloupe, militant anticolonial and antiracist struggles have also taken place. The official unemployment rate in Guadeloupe is around 40 percent—with an even higher rate among Black youth. Wages and benefits such as social security are significantly lower than in France.

Racist graffiti has recently begun appearing on walls in the capital city of Pointe-à-Pitre, with such slogans as “Blacks back to Africa—Guadeloupe for the French.”

The French government has increased its troop strength in the Antilles to 16,000, with a corresponding step up of harassment of Black youth. Young Guadeloupans are frequently stopped for questioning and are the victims of illegal searches and intensified surveillance.

Over the past ten months, an organization called the Armed Liberation Group (GLA) has claimed credit for some fifteen

bombings in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and France, warning the French colonialists to “pack their bags” and leave Guadeloupe.

French settlers have seized upon these bombings as a pretext for calling upon the French government to increase its repressive forces in the Antilles.

Heavily armed police have been stationed at traffic checkpoints, under the pretext of searching for the GLA.

Broad-based committees of trade unions and anticolonialist organizations have been formed in Martinique and Guadeloupe and have been organizing activities to counter the repression. Demonstrations in Martinique and Guadeloupe were held to protest the recent visit by French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

On January 1, the GLA claimed responsibility for an explosion at the Justice Building in the Martinican capital. Nine proindependence activists were rounded up by the police.

Among those arrested was GRS leader Gilbert Pago. Protest demonstrations were quickly organized. The proindependence activists were released, and no charges have been filed. □

U.S. Socialists Expose Lockheed-FBI Spying on Labor

By Harry Ring

[The following article appeared in the January 16 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly, the *Militant*.]

* * *

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have initiated a nationwide campaign to win back the jobs of nine of their members fired last month by Lockheed aircraft in Marietta, Georgia.

Lockheed insists that the nine—Garrett Brown, Milton Chee, Jude Coren, Chris Hoepfner, Andree Kahlmorgan, Jeff Martin, Jean Savage, Sally Thorsen, and Greg Zensen—were terminated because of “falsifications” on their job applications.

But sworn testimony by Lockheed security cop Robert Lang, and internal company documents obtained by the SWP and YSA, show conclusively that the socialists were singled out from among the plant’s 10,000 workers for their political ideas and activities.

This evidence also shows that the FBI aided Lockheed in fingering the workers to be fired.

Misstatements in their job applications were simply the pretext.

Lang’s testimony revealed that Lockheed maintains a network of informers inside the plant whose activities include spying on union meetings. Lang followed workers he suspected of being socialists to their homes, to restaurants, stores, and laundries, and to political events. He reported at length on their participation in an anti-Klan demonstration.

All nine workers are members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709. The union has filed grievances demanding their reinstatement.

The campaign against the political firings was launched at the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held in December in Indianapolis. Ten socialist workers from Lockheed participated in the convention, including some of those fired and others still working in the plant.

Andree Kahlmorgan and Chris Hoepfner, two of those victimized, are on national speaking tours seeking support. They plan to speak before meetings of unionists and others concerned with political rights for working people.

In Atlanta, several prominent figures spoke out immediately. Protests to Lockheed were voiced by Leaman Hood, regional director of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; Laughlin McDonald, regional director of the American Civil Liberties

Union; and Atlanta City Council member James Bond.

The fact that the nine were fired for their political affiliations is significant new evidence in the SWP and YSA’s lawsuit against government spying and disruption. The case is slated to come to trial in New York City March 16.

Especially revealing is Lang’s admission that he went to the FBI for information on some of those fired. This contradicts sworn court testimony by the FBI that it terminated its decades-long “investigation” of the SWP and YSA in 1976 and was no longer compiling dossiers on them.

Questions on the FBI-Lockheed connection will be further pressed by attorneys for the SWP and YSA as the case comes to trial.

Lang’s Deposition

After the firings, the Lockheed-Georgia Company was subpoenaed to give pretrial depositions (sworn testimony) in connection with the suit and to turn over relevant documents.

Lockheed assigned Lang to represent it in the deposition proceedings. His testimony flatly contradicted the company’s public insistence that the firings were based exclusively on misinformation in job applications.

To believe Lockheed, the firings had nothing to do with the fact that some of the workers had been involved in a protest

against speedup.

Or that they had passed out a Socialist Workers campaign leaflet at a union meeting advocating formation of a labor party.

And, they solemnly insisted, the firings certainly had nothing to do with membership in the SWP or YSA.

Lang, however, testified that his investigation began shortly after a union meeting that approved a new contract. This was the meeting at which an SWP leaflet was distributed voicing solidarity with the union and supporting a labor party.

Lang’s testimony and written reports detailed how he and George Slichon, another company cop, had followed suspected members of the SWP all over Atlanta. They carefully noted that several had left work in a car driven by a “Negro male.”

They even tried to listen in on a parking lot conversation with an electronic device that Lang described as a “big ear.” The “big ear” is supposed to permit eavesdropping from a distance, but in this case, he advised, it was not successful.

‘Subversive’ Profile

How did Lang determine who was a suspected SWP “subversive”?

Since SWP and YSA members do not make a practice of concealing their political views, he had a certain number of names to begin with.

In addition, Lang explained, he deve-

Urge Protests for Fired Lockheed Workers

Lockheed is a name that is hated throughout the world as a symbol of imperialist oppression and corruption.

Lockheed C-130 transport planes have been used in imperialist military interventions from Iran to Zaïre.

Lockheed has also been in the forefront of a different type of imperialist intervention. In 1977 Lockheed admitted that between 1970 and 1975 it had paid out at least \$38 million in bribes to government officials around the world.

Among those found to be in Lockheed’s pay were Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, the Turkish minister of defense, and the Christian Social Union in Germany. In Japan, the scandal brought down the government of Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, and in Italy the government of President Giovanni Leone.

In the United States, however, Lockheed is posing as a guardian of morality. It claims that nine socialist workers were singled out from among the 10,000 hourly employees at its Marietta, Georgia, plant and fired solely because they had given incorrect information on their job applications.

The nine Lockheed workers have appealed for protests against their dismissal. These should be sent to President Robert Ormsby, Lockheed-Georgia Company, South Cobb Drive, Marietta, Georgia 30060. Copies should be sent to: President, International Association of Machinists, Local Lodge 709, 1032 Clay Street, Marietta, Georgia 30060. An additional copy should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

veloped a "profile" and began checking employee records to see who might fit it.

What was the "profile"?

First, anyone who had a college degree but was working as an hourly employee was "very suspicious."

Second, suspicion was even greater if the degree was from a college or university in California, since these were known as "a center for dissident and subversive activities during the Vietnam era."

Third, any employee who provided as an emergency contact a person with a "foreign-sounding" name was fair game for Lang's witch-hunt.

Not surprisingly, Lang's list of "suspects" included a number of workers who had nothing whatsoever to do with the SWP or YSA, as well as those whose only crime was talking with a socialist on the job.

After compiling his hit-list, Lang contacted acquaintances in various FBI offices.

Prior to his employment with Lockheed, Lang had worked for ten years as a clerk in the FBI office in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. After a decade as a clerk he deduced he was not likely to become a full-fledged "special agent" and decided to move up the ladder by becoming a security cop at Lockheed.

FBI Connection

Lang testified that John Donahue, an agent in the New York FBI office, agreed to check out "four or five" names. He said Donahue also suggested he contact the Atlanta FBI office for further information.

When he called Donahue back, Lang testified, the FBI agent told him that the New York office had "voluminous information" on two of the names he had furnished—Jean Savage and Jeff Martin.

Savage is a long-time SWP member who had lived in New York for several years.

Martin joined the YSA only six months ago, has never lived in New York, and had not engaged in any extensive political activity before. How does the FBI's "voluminous information" on him square with the bureau's claim to have stopped investigating the SWP and YSA more than four years ago?

When FBI agent Donahue was questioned under oath by an SWP attorney, he denied giving any information to Lang.

That means one or the other has committed perjury.

Donahue asserted it was FBI policy not to provide such information to individuals. He did admit under oath that he had referred Lang to the Atlanta FBI office. He could not explain why he had done so.

Enter the ATF

The files turned over by Lang include further evidence of the government's ongoing frame-up campaign against the SWP.

In a November 17 confidential report to

Socialist Pipefitters Force U.S. Navy to Retreat

On November 25, five pipefitters in New York's Brooklyn Navy Yard were fired for their "engagement in political activities." But within forty-eight hours they had won back their jobs, with payment for the time they were fired.

The firing of the pipefitters, some of whom are members of the Socialist Workers Party, revealed a months-long disruption effort by Coastal Dry Dock and Repair Corporation (their employer), Naval Intelligence, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation aimed at intimidating workers and sailors who oppose the U.S. government's stepped-up military moves.

This disruption attempt included the mailing of provocative materials, distribution of a phony "labor" newspaper featuring virulently anticommunist material, and other activities designed to provoke physical violence in the shipyard and get the socialists thrown out.

The fired workers decided to fight back. They formed a defense committee and distributed copies of their termina-

tion notices with a protest statement at the gates of the shipyard.

"How can the U.S. Navy claim that the ships we work on are being readied to protect democratic rights abroad when the Navy itself suppresses democratic rights of workers on Navy ships?" the statement asked.

The workers also met with lawyers handling the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance law suit against government harassment, which is to go to trial in New York on March 16.

An SWP lawyer took sworn testimony from a naval commander who was behind the move to fire the pipefitters. Under oath, the commander admitted that Naval Intelligence and the FBI had been involved in identifying the socialist pipefitters.

According to Robert Dees, one of the fired workers, "The support we got from the other workers and sailors in the Brooklyn Navy Yard made a tremendous difference in the fight to win back our jobs." Dees added, "Whether or not they shared our views, most felt the company had no right to fire us."

his superiors entitled "Addendum: SWP Case," Lockheed cop George Slichio outlined a discussion he had with Captain Brad Pope of the Cobb County Police Department Intelligence Division. Cobb County, adjacent to Atlanta, is the site of the Lockheed plant.

Slichio reported that while Cobb County police had little information on the SWP, Captain Pope regarded the party as "a very real threat."

"It was learned from Captain Pope," Slichio states, "that the local office of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) has instituted monthly meetings for the Intelligence Division of all metro law enforcement agencies. The purpose of these meetings is to exchange information regarding terrorist groups and their activities. According to Pope, the SWP was discussed in some length during the first meeting on 11/12/80. The SWP is considered a terrorist organization prone to violence."

The ATF, a division of the federal treasury department, has played a major role in frame-ups and provocations against Black, Latino, and radical groups. An ATF informer was one of two known government agents in the Klan-Nazi gang that gunned down five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro in 1979.

For a federal agency to be branding the SWP as a "terrorist organization prone to violence" is an especially sinister frame-

up. The FBI, ATF, and other cop agencies have been spying on the SWP for decades, wiretapping and burglarizing offices, opening mail, and planting informers and provocateurs.

Yet the government has never uncovered a single illegal act by the SWP or YSA!

This was attested to by both the House and Senate subcommittees that investigated FBI operations in 1977. As the House committee reported, "FBI's failure to uncover illegal activity by this political party is not from lack of effort. SWP has been subjected to 34 years of intensive investigation."

The Real Lawbreakers

It is the FBI, ATF, and companies such as Lockheed that have been proven time after time to be the lawbreakers, by harassing and victimizing anyone whose political views they don't approve of.

Lockheed's case against the nine fired workers has everything to do with politics and nothing to do with job applications. (Lang further confirmed this by admitting that he is still examining the files of any employee who he suspects may be a member of the SWP.)

At a widely covered Atlanta news conference last month, those fired readily acknowledged that they—like countless other workers—had omitted facts and included

misstatements in their applications in order to obtain jobs.

All of them passed proficiency tests in order to be hired and had satisfactory work records.

Indeed, the only one of the nine to receive a work performance reprimand was Kahlmorgan. And that just happened to be shortly after her picture appeared on the

front page of the *Atlanta Journal* participating in an anti-KKK rally.

"The campaign against us actually had a much broader target," Kahlmorgan told the *Militant*. "It was aimed at intimidating any Lockheed worker who demonstrates against the Klan, or who protests speedup on the job, or who does anything else the company doesn't like."

Chris Hoepfner agreed. "It's a short step from slandering us as 'disloyal' to pinning that label on anyone who fights back against the corporate drive to slash wages and working conditions," he said.

"We think a victory in our fight for reinstatement at Lockheed will strengthen all workers' ability to defend their rights and living standards." □

Interview With Ismail Besikci

Turkish Intellectual Jailed for His Writings on Kurds

[The following interview appeared in the December 15 issue of the French-language *Inprecor*, published fortnightly in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Ismail Besikci was born in Corum, Turkey, in 1939. He graduated from the university with a degree in political sciences and became a teaching assistant at Erzurum University. Following the publication of his first book, *Structures of Eastern Anatolia: Socio-Economic and Ethnic Foundations*, he was removed from his teaching post.

Besikci later published many studies of Kurdish society¹ and of the racist Kemalist ideology.² Since 1979 he has been imprisoned in the Toptasi jail in Istanbul.

Ismail Besikci is suffering from cancer, but is receiving no medical treatment for it while in prison. Given the conditions of his detention, this means that he has been sentenced to death.

The following interview with Besikci took place on the eve of the September 12, 1980, military coup in Turkey. The interviewers were Turkish members of the Fourth International.

* * *

1. There are about 10 million Kurds in Turkey, some 30 percent of the total population of the Turkish state.

2. In 1919, Mustafa Kemal, who had been a general in the Sultan's armies, took the leadership of the movement against the occupation of western Anatolia by Greek troops, which led to the Independence War (1919-23).

The construction of the modern Turkish bourgeois state was carried out under the dictatorship of the People's Republican Party (PRP), the single party created by Kemal. The PRP mixed populism with extreme national chauvinism. Slogans such as "One Turk is worth the whole universe," and "I'm so lucky to be able to say I'm Turkish," which were put forward by Mustafa Kemal "Ataturk" (father of the Turks), still hang in the schools and barracks.

In works that are still used in Turkish schools, the Kemalist pseudo-historians claim that the Turks had founded all the great civilizations of the East (Egyptian, Hittite, Phoenician, etc.).

Question. How long have you been in prison?

Answer. I spent more than three years in prison under the regime established by the March 12, 1971, coup.³ I was sentenced to thirteen years and seven days in detention for articles I had written, and that sentence was confirmed by the military tribunal. Specifically I got eight years and four months for communist propaganda and four years and eight months for pro-separatist, that is, pro-Kurdish, propaganda.

I was released in the 1974 amnesty.⁴ Then again in 1978 I was sentenced to one year and six months for infraction of Article 5618 (the law protecting the "revered memory" of Ataturk) following the appearance of my book *The Turkish Thesis of History: Theory of the Sun and of Language*.

When this sentence was confirmed by the Supreme Court, I was taken into custody on September 6, 1979, and jailed. That is the sentence I am currently serving.

Q. Were you prosecuted for anything else?

A. In addition to this sentence, I was prosecuted for nearly everything I wrote. I was prosecuted for the books *Forced Habitat of the Kurds* and *Statutes of the People's Republican Party* (in the Ataturk period), and following that for "insulting the state, the courts, and the judges" as a result of the appeals I filed with the courts. Of course, all my books were seized.

Q. What are the real reasons for your sentences?

3. On March 12, 1971, the government of Suleyman Demirel was overthrown by the army because it had been unable to break the mobilizations of the working class and youth. A civilian government was immediately set up, which carried out massive repression against the workers movement, the Kurdish movement, and left intellectuals. This repression continued until the October 1973 election, which brought in the government of Bulent Ecevit.

4. The coalition government led by Ecevit and supported by the (Islamic) National Salvation Party adopted a general amnesty in July 1974.

A. In fact, the real reason I was arrested was because of my interest in Kurdistan and in the political and socioeconomic developments in Kurdish society.

The official ideology in Turkey refuses to recognize the existence of the Kurdish nation: "There is no one who can be considered a Kurd. They are mountain Turks." The official ideology also maintains that there is no Kurdish language, only a dialect of Turkish. The Turkish state tries to get every one and all the institutions to accept this viewpoint.

The aim of my work is to show the real function of the official ideology. This is why it has gotten such a reaction. They threaten jail terms, and they carry out the threat.

Q. What are your conditions in jail? Can you work?

A. I am in the Toptasi prison in Istanbul. Living conditions in the prison are extremely bad. Turkey's political and economic crisis is reflected even more drastically in prison.

In winter the conditions are very harsh: no wood, no coal, no other fuels.⁵ The electricity black-outs last longer and longer. If the electricity hasn't been blacked out, it often breaks down.

They tell us that the trucks cannot bring wood because there is no gasoline. From time to time wood does arrive. The stoves then work for a day or two, and then are off again for twenty more days.

Most of the wood is taken by the prison guards. It is very rare that the prisoners benefit from it.

The waiting lines, all the shortages, the hunger that exists in Turkey are all reflected and even magnified in the prisons.

The prison is very dirty. There is filth everywhere. The garbage pails are always overflowing. The floors of the collective cells, which house up to 150 prisoners, are covered by a sludge composed of the remains of vegetables, oil, food, pieces of

5. In winter temperatures in central Anatolia and Kurdistan sometimes fall well below minus 20 degrees Centigrade.

paper, orange and lemon peels, cigarette butts, dishwater, vomit.

The tables we eat on are covered with traces of the same remains. Dirty glasses, wooden spoons, plates, and dishes are left lying about. The walls are covered with soot.

The cats and rats live in peace in the midst of this. They follow a course of peaceful coexistence, each finding its subsistence among the rubbish. To cover over all this ugliness, newspapers are spread on the tables in place of tableclothes. In prison the papers are never thrown away after being read.

The garbage is taken from the prison by a primitive method. An old rope is attached around the garbage cans, which are dragged along the stairs, making an infernal noise and shaking everything. This work is done by rotation. Naturally the garbage cans get banged up. Then one day their bottom falls out . . .

Q. They say that the normal complement of prisoners in your jail is 240.

A. Today there are 550 of us.⁶ There are three dormitories and some cells, with 150 to 220 people in each dormitory. The noise is terrible. People sleep three to a bed. Although there is a hamam⁷ in the prison, it does not work because of a lack of wood or shortages of water. It has not functioned since the end of 1979.

The possibilities to wash one's underwear are very limited. But from time to time we get bottles of gas, which are a very rare commodity in Turkey. We can use the bottled gas to make tea and to cook. But often we have to choose between cooking our food or heating water to wash ourselves and our clothes. You cannot use the electricity because it is continually broken down.

Due to the lack of hygiene we are continually afflicted by epidemics of lice. We put insecticides on our beds, but this causes allergies and makes us sick.

The doors to the toilets do not close. There is no water. Those who are new to the prison try to enter without knocking, which sometimes leads to brawls. The experienced prisoners knock on the door, but gently enough so it does not open.

For 550 prisoners there are four toilets, one of which has been out of service for a long time. That one has no door and is used as a depository for garbage. It is so dirty that even the rats have deserted that toilet.

The washbasins are totally squalid. You cannot put your hands in them. The pipes of the second floor toilet bowls leak, and water pours from them onto the ground floor. The other pipes have cracks in them through which water drips.

6. These figures are from before the September coup.

7. A Turkish bath.



Ismail Besikci in Istanbul's Toptasi prison.

In winter the cooking is done in the dormitories. The odors of grease, dirty linen, sweat, and garbage from 200 people are intermixed. There is no ventilation because the windows have been sealed over to protect against the cold.

In summer the cooking is done in a special room, which is one of the dirtiest spots in the prison. The floor is never dry and there is always slime and garbage. It is scarcely better than the toilets. There is a grill over the windows and, on the other side of the room there are bars, like in the collective cells. The sun cannot even get through the filth that is accumulated on the grills. When you run your finger over this layer of dirt, that lets in a little sun. The cats and mice are always around us.

In prison drugs are sold and used in great quantities, without any problem. The administration does not bother about sick people. More than fifty prisoners have tuberculosis. There is no prevention and no health care, although we have informed the administration about the situation.

The state spends 16 lira (US\$0.20) per prisoner per day for food—half for bread and the rest for meat, which in theory provides 15 grams per person. In fact, the

central kitchen can only take care of 25 prisoners, less than 5 percent of the prison population. It is the law of the jungle. Only the strongest ever see meat. But at the end of his sentence, each prisoner must pay back the 16 lira per day. In fact, it is very hard to survive without outside help.

There are no clearly defined schedules for sleeping and getting up. The dormitories stay as active as the bazaar all night long, and people continue to eat, talk, and listen to the radio and tape recorders. There is not a single moment of silence. That is why there is virtually no chance to work and to write.

We can read books and newspapers if there is enough light. Usually we use candles.

Despite everything, you cannot say that the administration and the guards in this prison carry out direct repression against the prisoners because the revolutionaries have established at least a minimum relationship of forces.⁸ □

8. Conditions vary from prison to prison in Turkey, depending on the condition of the buildings, and especially on the degree to which the prisoners are organized

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