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*An Attack on
Irish Liberation Struggle*
**Assassins Strike at
Bernadette Devlin
McAliskey**



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**Plans to Squeeze Workers,
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U.S. Stalls to Last Minute

**HOSTAGE
RELEASE
NO VICTORY
FOR
WASHINGTON**

NEWS ANALYSIS

Assassins Strike at Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

By Gerry Foley

Three assassins broke into Bernadette Devlin McAliskey's home early in the morning of January 16. Devlin McAliskey, one of the foremost leaders of the Irish liberation struggle, was seriously wounded, as was her husband Michael. Their children, aged nine, five, and two, were not shot.

As of the next day, Bernadette was in critical condition, having been shot seven times with a handgun. Michael was in serious condition.

The attackers were taken into custody by a British army unit only minutes after the shooting. The McAliskies live in a closely knit rural community, where nationalist sentiment runs deep. This made the possibility of escape more difficult.

The attack on the McAliskies was the latest of a series of assassination attempts against leaders of the mass campaign in defense of Irish political prisoners. Four victims of these attacks have died, including Miriam Daly, like Bernadette the mother of young children.

Leaders of the H-Block campaign in Ireland charge that both British army assassination teams and Protestant murder gangs have been involved in the assassinations. Historically, the British repressive forces and Protestant gangs have been closely interlocked. While claiming to serve as a "neutral" buffer in Northern Ireland, the London government actually relies on terrorism by elements of the privileged Protestant community to intimidate opponents of continued British rule.

Since the British army controls Northern Ireland, it has the responsibility for protecting Bernadette Devlin McAliskey's life. After the assassinations of four H-Block campaign leaders, the authorities cannot claim to have been unaware of the threat to her life. The area in which the McAliskies live is heavily patrolled by the military.

Bernadette knew that her life was at risk. She had been well aware of that since the murder of Miriam Daly in June, and she knew that the risk was growing apace with the new rise of the mass movement against British repression. As the leader who had most clearly understood how to rebuild the mass movement and how to lead it forward, she was becoming a danger to the murderous jailers who hold the Irish people in subjection.

Bernadette joked about the threat to her life in a calm, ironic, matter-of-fact way. Her political clearheadedness left her no doubt about the risk she was taking as she

emerged once again in the leadership of a movement that brought tens of thousands of people into the streets—a movement that threatened for the second time in ten years to ignite a mass revolutionary explosion.

The ingrained revolutionary experience and tradition, the great collective experience in struggle of the Irish people, made her clearly aware of the dangers incurred by those who take on the role of revolutionary leadership.

The cool, clear-eyed courage of Bernadette was founded on the confidence that comes from standing on the shoulders of fifty generations of fighters and being surrounded by the devotion and self-sacrifice of the ordinary people of their community of all generations.

The respect, the support, and the affection of her neighbors and relatives has protected Bernadette for this long and will now form a ring of steel around her and her young family.

Her husband, Michael, was an Official republican leader in the area at the time of the 1969 explosion in Ireland. While he stood back from politics after the subsequent political degeneration of the Official movement, he remained fundamentally a soldier of the republic, carved out of the toughest stuff of unbreakable mid-Ulster republicanism.

There can be no more terrible experience for a devoted young father than to be shot down with his wife by savage gunmen in front of their children. But Michael and Bernadette, their family, and their community have raised these children well—as they themselves had been raised, along with their parents before them and their forebears for unnumbered generations.

There is a great strength in the Irish tradition that makes itself felt as the people of Ireland prepare for new battles. Patrick Pearse, the president of the provisional republic proclaimed by the insurgents in Dublin in 1916, expressed it in a speech he gave in 1914 in New York City when the thunder of the coming revolution could already be heard.

We who speak here tonight are the voice of one of the ancient indestructible things of the world. We are the voice of an idea which is older than any empire and will outlast every empire. We and ours, the inheritors of that idea, have been at age-long war with one of the most powerful empires that have ever been built up upon the earth, and that empire will pass before we pass. . . .

I have called that old faith an indestructible thing. I have said that it is more powerful than

empires. If you would understand its might you must consider how it has made all the generations of Ireland heroic. Having its root in all gentleness, in a man's love for the place where his mother bore him . . . for the voices of children that sounded in a house now silent, for the faces that glowed around a fireside now cold, for the story told by lips that will not speak again, having its root, I say, in all gentleness, it is yet a terrible thing, urging the generations to perilous bloody attempts, nerving men to give up life for the death-in-life of dungeons, teaching little boys to die with laughing lips, giving courage to young girls to bare their backs to the lashes of a soldiery.

Bernadette and Michael are typical in most ways of the people in their community and of the masses of the Irish people, and they represent them. The various strains of the Irish tradition cross in them, the past and future of the Irish revolution, as well as the international experience of the struggle for socialism in our time.

It is appropriate that their young son is named for James Fintan Lalor, the small farmer's son who developed the most complete and uncompromising program for the peasant struggles in the early nineteenth century and thereby laid the basis on which the Irish workers' leaders James Larkin and James Connolly later established Irish revolutionary Marxism.

This rich heroic tradition is so intertwined with the simple ways of life of a country of scattered cottages, villages, small towns and cities, and close-knit neighborhoods, that the continual resurgence of the Irish revolutionary struggle seems like a sudden transfiguration of the commonplace and familiar that takes the Irish people themselves by surprise.

Although her whole background prepared her in an incomparable way to be a revolutionist, Bernadette was not aware of that until she found herself in the leadership of a mass struggle. She had no intention of becoming a revolutionist. She only knew that her people were oppressed and that she was too proud to accept subjection.

If anyone in her community would protest against that oppression, Bernadette would be with them. When the police and the Orange gangs tried to beat the demonstrations she participated in off the streets, she knew that she had to stand up to that, because if she did not, it would mean that she and her people would always be enslaved.

Because she came from a working-class family, she was not afraid to get out in front and take the leadership and to follow the logic of the struggle to its ultimate conclusions. It was these things that led her into battle, to prison, and at last to face the guns of assassins as she was dressing her little girls for school.

Bernadette's course over the last ten years represents the advance of the Irish people to assume the heroic destiny that history has imposed on them.

The culmination of the Irish struggle, as Bernadette came clearly to understand

through her own experience, is a socialist revolution that will overthrow the whole system of oppression and exploitation that has been created by the robbers and tyrants that the Irish people and their forebears have fought from time immemorial, and which in our time has reached its ultimate form in capitalism and imperialism. She saw the Irish revolution as part of a world struggle, and she devoted special attention to forging links with revolutionists of other countries.

In the mass struggle against the British government's attempt to break the spirit of the Irish political prisoners—of which she was a central leader—the outlines of the coming Irish socialist revolution began clearly to emerge.

A decade ago, the most oppressed section of the Irish people began to mobilize to fight for a few simple democratic rights. Through this struggle, they learned anew that the imperialist domination of Ireland condemns them to the status of slaves and that they will not accept that. The struggle grew into a revolutionary explosion. The leadership at the time did not expect that or understand how to lead it.

But once this most oppressed section of the Irish people had risen up, it could not be beaten down again. It fought on in every way it knew how, both wisely and unwisely, but indomitably.

From the wives and mothers of the political prisoners, the mass struggle began to be remobilized over the past few years.

Bernadette clearly understood the potential of these women and how to rebuild the mass struggle. She fought a hard and consistent fight for the strategy of mass mobilization, and she was finally able to win over the militant young leadership of the anti-imperialist movement to this perspective.

It is largely out of her fight and political vision that the H-Block campaign developed.

As the mobilizations grew for the dignity of the Irish people, represented by their heroic fighters, the decisive contingents of the Irish people—the industrial workers organized in strong trade unions that have the power to overthrow the capitalist system and build a new society—began to move. There were more and more strikes and walkouts of key sectors of trade unionists.

These mobilizations increasingly crystallized the deepgoing changes that have been taking place in Ireland over the last decade, both as a result of the revival and continuation of the struggle against the worst form of imperialist oppression, and of the crisis of the world capitalist economy. The mass movement against imperialist repression provided a rallying ground and example for the workers and youth who are increasingly denied hope by the deepening of the economic crisis.

In the mass H-Block demonstrations,

these powerful deepgoing forces began coming together. No passing defeat can halt this process. The assassins and those who direct them are wrong to think that they can stop the development of a revolutionary leadership of the Irish struggle by striking at one of its most capable and conscious leaders. Bernadette has already done her work too well.

Bernadette remains among the most clear-sighted leaders of the Irish people and the symbol of their struggle for the world.

There must be a campaign of protests directed against the British government that will make it clear to them that if they kill her or let her be killed, they will have to pay a political price so high as to deter

even a ruthless and frightened imperialist ruling class. This is also a necessary way to defend the lives of other leaders in the struggle, since the assassinations over the past year show clearly that there is a systematic effort to murder all the central figures in the H-Block campaign.

Telegrams should be sent immediately to British Prime Minister Thatcher at No. 10 Downing St., London, with copies to the H-Block Committee at 30 Mountjoy Sq., Dublin 1. Protests should also be directed to the incoming U.S. President Reagan, who has invited Ian Paisley, the representative of the Protestant murder gangs who tried to assassinate Bernadette, to his inaugural. □

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Hostage Release No Victory for Washington

By Janice Lynn

Right up to the very last minute, Washington continued its efforts to torpedo a settlement for release of the fifty-two American hostages in Tehran.

Early on the morning of January 19, Behzad Nabavi, Iran's Minister of State for Executive Affairs had announced, "The U.S. Government has finally accepted all the terms set by the Government of Iran for release of the American hostages."

U.S. president Carter, over national television, also announced that agreement had been reached.

But later that day Iran radio declared that U.S. banks were resorting to "underhanded maneuvers" in an attempt to undercut the terms of the hostage settlement. Nabavi said that at the very last minute the Algerian intermediaries had been handed an appendix to the agreed upon accord containing additional demands by U.S. banks.

U.S. media reports claimed that the last-minute snag had arisen because the Iranians had "forgotten" to sign banking agreements that would set up an escrow account for the transfer of Iranian assets. But what was involved in the last-minute snag was not any Iranian oversight.

From the very beginning of the crisis, the U.S. government sought to use the hostage issue to whip up hatred against the Iranian people and the Iranian revolution, and as a pretext for military intervention in Iran.

Washington repeatedly rejected plans offered by Iran for resolution of the crisis. U.S. officials said they couldn't give in to "blackmail"—as if the Iranians were criminals for shutting down a center for espionage that was plotting against the Iranian revolution.

Washington also said it wouldn't give Iran "ransom," conveniently ignoring the fact that the billions of assets in question belonged to the Iranian people.

Bankers from Chase Manhattan and eleven other U.S. banks were summoned to Washington. They had to look after the interests of their "shareholders," the bankers complained—that is, the interests of the big corporations which had made superprofits in collusion with the former shah and his family. And the bankers even had an attack of legal conscience, saying that they couldn't violate U.S. corporate law.

But it eventually became clear to the entire world that the Iranians were determined to resolve the hostage problem.

"The hostages are like fruit from which all the juice has been squeezed out," Na-

bavi told the Iranian parliament January 14. "Let us let them all go."

"Politically we have got a fantastic victory," Nabavi continued. "A superpower has been pushed to the conclusion that it promised not to interfere in Iranian affairs anymore . . . we have made such a great power confess and put it to paper."

It was precisely because of this that Washington tried to stall an accord one last time. But under the circumstances, it appears as if Carter will finally have to go through with the deal.

The history of the hostage issue and its resolution are a clear indication of the shift in the relationship of forces against imperialism and in favor of the toiling masses throughout the world.

Inside Iran, the fourteen-month-long confrontation with U.S. imperialism marked a significant deepening of the revolution. Iran's workers and peasants, in their millions, participated in some of the most sustained and massive mobilizations in history. They dealt big blows to U.S. domination and exploitation of their country.

Immediately following the November 1979 occupation of the U.S. embassy, the government of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan was forced to resign. The Iranian masses were fed up with its attempts to reestablish ties with the imperialists and with its opposition to their demands for radical economic and social change.

The proimperialist and pro-shah forces within Iran became increasingly isolated as the Iranian workers and peasants began demanding bolder and bolder measures to free their country from foreign exploitation and capitalist profiteering. In the process, the independent organizations of the workers and peasants were strengthened.

The mass anti-imperialist actions in Iran were also an inspiration to other oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world, and also weakened the ability of U.S. imperialism to intervene in other countries.

The imperialists have never given up their goal of regaining firm control of Iran. But the mobilized readiness of Iranian masses to defend their revolution dealt a powerful blow to Washington's plans to reverse the Iranian revolution and install a regime that would protect imperialist interests—a regime like that of the shah's.

The fact that Washington was unable to use the hostage issue to crush the Iranian revolution is an indication of the weakened

position of the imperialists and a victory for workers and peasants throughout the world who are struggling for their liberation.

The U.S. rulers made several attempts to bring down the Iranian government, but all failed:

- Washington imposed economic sanctions, but its allies refused to snap into line thus scuttling their effectiveness;

- The U.S. government tried to get the United Nations to take action, but this effort was also unsuccessful;

- Washington launched a commando raid into Iran which ended in a fiasco;

- Washington supported counterrevolutionary exiles who were organizing a coup but these plans were foiled;

- And the Iraqi regime's invasion of Iran, encouraged by Washington, bogged down from the very first days.

It was in this context that the agreement between Tehran and Washington finally took place.

The U.S. big business media has been claiming that resolution of the hostage issue will be a big victory by Washington over Iran. But the truth is just the opposite.

Washington was not able to achieve its objectives—it was not able to push back the continuing mass struggles in Iran.

Resolution of the hostage issue means that Washington no longer has its prime pretext for military intervention in Iran or for imposing economic sanctions to try and strangle the Iranian revolution. And it will put Iran in a better position to win further international support and solidarity in order to defend the gains of the Iranian revolution and defeat the Iraqi regime's counterrevolutionary invasion.

As for the hostages, they are to be "decompressed" in Wiesbaden, Germany, in what is called "Operation Renewal." The State Department does not want to take any chances on a replay of the release of the Black and women hostages in November 1979, when some of those released expressed sympathy for the Iranian revolution.

The real sentiments of the U.S. ruling class on the outcome of the hostage crisis were revealed in a January 19 *New York Times* column by former Nixon speech writer William Safire.

"This is not a 'happy' ending," Safire wrote, bemoaning the fact that a "military operation" had not been launched. ". . . let us not celebrate our disgrace," he declared. "We should welcome the hostages with solemnity, not hoopla." □

Salvadoran Liberation Forces Report on Their Offensive

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA—In a broadcast over Radio Liberación, the clandestine transmitter of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), Commander Fermán Cienfuegos offered on January 15 an evaluation of the first six days of the FMLN's "general offensive" against the military/Christian Democratic dictatorship of El Salvador.

Cienfuegos, a member of the FMLN's General Command, explained that the first phase of the offensive had involved a series of attacks on military installations followed by sustained efforts to keep the regime's troops bottled up inside their barracks in the cities.

According to a summary of Cienfuegos's broadcast, published in the FSLN daily *Barricada* here January 16, the FMLN had succeeded in laying siege to military posts in six provincial capitals—Chalatenango, Suchitoto, Zacatecoluca, Sensuntepeque, La Unión, and San Francisco Gotera. In El Salvador's second largest city, Santa Ana, the revolutionary forces were in control of "the majority of the neighborhoods, and the enemy has been forced to remain in its barracks," Cienfuegos said.

A second key aspect of the FMLN's gains in the first week of the offensive, Cienfuegos said, had been its ability to gain control of sections of the main highways leading from San Salvador to the besieged provincial capital. While the regime was preparing to launch a counteroffensive using cavalry and artillery units from San Salvador and San Miguel, the FMLN commander said, this would be difficult since "control of the highways by the revolutionary forces prevents them from moving freely by land."

Cienfuegos also said that the FMLN had established firm control over many towns and villages and extensive areas of the countryside in the provinces of Santa Ana, Chalatenango, San Vicente, and Morazán. As for the situation in the capital, San Salvador, the FMLN commander said, the revolutionary forces were regrouping in order to strengthen the general strike and organize the insurrection.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) had called for the general strike to begin throughout the country on January 13. Reports reaching Managua during the first week of the revolutionary offensive indicated that despite heavy militarization of the chief industrial zones of the capital, the strike was about 70 percent effective there. More than forty of El Salvador's largest factories were paralyzed. Bank workers also joined the strike, as did public

employees in the education, justice, and labor ministries, and the Social Security Institute.

Much of the capital's transportation was already shut down beginning January 11 when the bus owners association announced its support to the FDR. A number of bus lines owned by top military officers were operating however.

In the three largest cities outside San Salvador—Santa Ana, San Miguel and La Unión—industrial activity was reported to have been totally halted beginning January 13. Agricultural workers also went on strike in massive numbers with many joining the FMLN Revolutionary Armed Forces.

The regime stepped up repression against the labor movement in reprisal for the general strike. Radio Liberación reported January 16 that more than thirty trade union leaders had been arrested in preceding days, including nearly all the officers of the Bank Workers Union.

The Salvadoran Air Force was reported to be indiscriminately bombing the civilian populations of towns held by the FMLN. On January 16, the Legal Aid Office of the San Salvador Catholic Archdiocese said government forces had raided seven church-operated refugee centers in San Salvador, capturing seminary students and peasants who had fled militarized zones in the countryside.

Accurate information on the situation in El Salvador has been especially difficult to obtain owing to repression against journalists by the regime. All radio stations in the country have been forced to join a single government-controlled network. Journalists were ordered on January 13 not to travel outside the capital without official permission.

The only Salvadoran news service that had refused to submit to censorship, the Independent Press Agency (AIP), was raided by the junta's troops on January 15. Ten journalists were seized and the agency's files were destroyed.

Right-wing paramilitary groups, such as the White Warriors Union (UGB), were reportedly circulating lists of journalists they had condemned to death and making threatening telephone calls to hotels where foreign reporters were housed.

The drive to intimidate the press and tighten censorship was necessary for the success of the junta's efforts to present the image that El Salvador is "calm," that government forces are in "total control," and that the general strike is "a failure."

This is aimed not only at keeping Salvadorans in the dark about what is happening elsewhere in the country, but especially at preventing a true picture of the scope of the insurrectionary war and the repression from reaching public opinion abroad.

But despite repeated claims of "victory" against the rebels, Defense Minister José García acknowledged that "the situation in the country is serious" in a January 14 interview with the New Nicaragua News Agency (ANN). García claimed that journalists were free to go anywhere—"except to Zacatecoluca, Gotera, Suchitoto, Terquín, San Miguel, Santa Ana, Cojuteteque, San Vicente, Chalatenango, and certain towns near the capital!"

"So it can be said that there is fighting throughout the country?" the ANN correspondent asked.

"Well, yes," García replied. "I've never denied that. That is the reality."

According to the ANN dispatch García also said that because of the 7 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew imposed by the junta, "the economic damages are enormous since the country is virtually paralyzed from four in the afternoon on."

Citing a "military threat" to the junta, the U.S. State Department announced January 14 that Washington's \$5 million military aid program to El Salvador was being resumed. Preparations for more extensive U.S. intervention were also under way. According to news reports from Panama, twelve big C-141 transport planes loaded with U.S. troops arrived at Howard Air Force Base in the Canal Zone on January 11 and helicopter flights in and out of the base intensified.

A Salvadoran military delegation reportedly met with top officers of the Pentagon's Southern Command in Panama on January 10.

FDR representatives in Costa Rica charged January 13 that Guatemalan and Honduran forces had moved into Salvadoran territory and were attacking rebel positions. However, in his January 15 broadcast, Commander Fermán Cienfuegos said the FMLN had confirmed that Honduran forces were not involved in the conflict and that the Guatemalan army's role thus far had been limited to providing logistical support to the junta's forces in the western part of El Salvador. Guatemalan officials acknowledged January 13 that their troops had been deployed toward the Salvadoran border from military bases in Jutiapa and Zacapa. □

Carter Resumes Military Aid to Salvadoran Junta

By Janice Lynn

Despite growing opposition to U.S. government support for the bloody junta in El Salvador, the Carter administration announced January 14 that it was resuming military aid to the dictatorship there.

New military aid had been suspended December 5 in response to public outrage at the rape and murder of three American nuns and a lay worker.

More than \$5 million in military aid will be sent. U.S. military advisers have already been dispatched to boost government efforts at countering the offensive launched by Salvadoran liberation fighters. And \$20 million in "economic" aid is already being funneled to the regime responsible for the slaughter of more than 10,000 people in the last year.

On January 11, just three days before the resumption of U.S. military aid, some 2,500 demonstrators marched in Washington to protest U.S. support for the junta.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Religious Task Force for El Salvador and the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

The demonstrators came from various church and religious groups, from unions such as the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, and from the Hispanic Labor Committee. A substantial number of

demonstrators were Latinos.

There were a broad range of speakers from the labor movement, church groups, women's organizations, the National Association of Social Workers, the National Guatemala Network, and the National Network in Support of Vieques (the Puerto Rican island).

Mario Velasquez read a message from the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, the broad, popular coalition that is struggling against the brutal dictatorship there. The FDR message described the final offensive that had just begun.

"This demonstration means a lot to the people of El Salvador," Velasquez said. "The FDR considers that this is an encouragement to continue in its long struggle for our liberation."

A representative of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), Mike Lewis pointed out, "If Ronald Reagan tries to make El Salvador the Vietnam of the 1980s we'll be here again with you and thousands of other people to keep that from happening."

Lewis received an enthusiastic applause when he explained that the West Coast dock workers were boycotting all military shipments to El Salvador.

'Reformers' Killed in El Salvador 'Were Under Cover' Says U.S. Official

Solicitor General Wade H. McCree Jr. confirmed January 14 that "the two Americans who were recently killed in El Salvador were under cover"—in other words, CIA agents.

The two, Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman, both worked for the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). The AIFLD is a CIA-run outfit that operates under the cover of the AFL-CIO, the U.S. labor federation.

Fierce repression in rural areas of El Salvador has been carried out under the cloak of a phony land reform sponsored by AIFLD. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 19, p. 2.)

McCree's admission came out while he was arguing in favor of revoking the passport of ex-CIA official Phillip Agee. Agee has traveled widely exposing CIA methods and personnel.

McCree said there would be more killings like the ones in El Salvador if American citizens were free to travel throughout the world exposing the identities of undercover CIA agents.

After being questioned about his statement by reporters, McCree insisted that he had been merely making a "hypothetical" argument and had not intended to imply that Hammer and Pearlman were CIA agents. But the cat was already out of the bag.

The CIA officially refused to comment on McCree's statement or to deny the two were in fact in its pay.

By special dispensation, Michael Hammer was given a "hero's burial" in Arlington National Cemetery January 9.

As the *New York Times* pointed out, "Social reformers are not often so honored."



Lou Howart/Militant
Washington, D.C., January 11.

The ILWU began the boycott December 22. ILWU president James Herman explained that the union had taken this step "to express our profound revulsion at the reign of terror which has been imposed upon the people of El Salvador by their government."

The first shipment stopped by the boycott was of batteries and vehicle parts.

Support for the boycott quickly came from William Winpisinger, president of the one-million strong International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM). A December 23 telegram from Winpisinger to the ILWU was read at the rally.

"Congratulations on tying up ships bound for El Salvador," the IAM president wrote. "We applaud your efforts and fully support the boycott of any shipments to El Salvador under the current repressive regime."

The ILWU's boycott came one month after its executive board had passed a statement of policy on El Salvador protesting any further U.S. military, political, or economic assistance to the Salvadoran junta.

The recent protests follow months of demonstrations, picket lines, teach-ins and memorial services for victims of the El Salvador junta.

Officials of the Catholic Church and other religious figures have been speaking out sharply at these actions against the danger of a new Vietnam in Central America.

Additional opposition to U.S. aid has come from the United Nations. A December 15 vote in the General Assembly approved a resolution calling on "Governments to refrain from the supply of arms and other military assistance to El Salvador in the current circumstances."

The UN resolution was passed by a vote of seventy to twelve, with fifty-five countries abstaining. The resolution also deplored the "murders, disappearances, and other violations of human rights" in El Salvador. □

Mass March in Managua Backs Salvadoran Rebels

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans marched through the streets of Managua during the afternoon and evening of January 15, shouting their support for the revolution in El Salvador and opposition to imperialist intervention.

Demonstrators began to gather well before the scheduled starting time of 4 p.m. arriving in buses, trucks, and on foot from every part of the city. There were long lines of high school students, many still in their blue and white uniforms and carrying their books.

Contingents were present from various mass organizations, such as the women's association and the trade unions. But by far the most visible and vocal were the July 19 Sandinista Youth. These young demonstrators set the tempo and the spirit of the protest. Chants rang out continually, and the demonstrators periodically broke into a run during the ten-kilometer-long march.

The chants showed determination to defend the Nicaraguan revolution as well as to support the struggle in El Salvador.

"We are Sandinistas, moving forward, moving forward. And anyone who doesn't like it—can lump it!"

"United yesterday to win our victory, we are united today to defend it!"

"Yankee invader, get out of El Salvador!"

And the most popular chant of all—"Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win!"—to which some people added, "And Guatemala will be next!"

The march stopped in front of the Salvadoran embassy for a brief rally. The action was so large that thousands could not fit into the streets in front of the embassy.

The neighborhood where the embassy is located is called Las Colinas (The Hills). The march wound past big mansions with extensive grounds, nearly all with their gates tightly closed.

As the march dropped from the hills into a poor neighborhood, however, the atmosphere changed. Children and adults lined the streets, and some joined the demonstration or chanted along with the marchers.

"Invasion" Story Denounced

The massive demonstration was an effective answer to Washington's slanders about an alleged invasion of El Salvador by 100 Nicaraguan guerrillas. The day before, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White had accused the Nicaraguan government of landing 100 guerrillas on

the Salvadoran coast. Wire service reports received here in Managua referred to an official State Department declaration of concern, a threat to cut off U.S. aid, and a protest note supposedly delivered to the Nicaraguan government by U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Lawrence Pezzullo.

But a verbatim transcript of a reporter's conversation with Pezzullo, published in the January 16 issue of the FSLN daily *Barricada*, showed the ambassador squirming to avoid any association with the concocted invasion story.

Pezzullo claimed to know nothing about any official State Department declaration or any move to cut off aid. He first denied and then refused to say whether he had transmitted a State Department message on the matter to the Nicaraguan government. Pezzullo said he had no information about any Nicaraguan guerrillas landing in El Salvador.

Even the Salvadoran junta later admitted it had no proof that the alleged invaders—sixty-seven of whom it claimed to have killed on the spot—were Nicaraguan or Cuban.

The Nicaraguan government, on January 15 officially protested to Washington about the false accusations.

The protest note said in part:

"We are deeply concerned when we hear representatives of the government of the United States make such allegations, just when a decision has been made to renew military aid to the El Salvador government, where an internal war is now going on.

"The government of Nicaragua thinks that any statements or actions that tend toward spreading this conflict into other parts of Central America are totally mistaken."

Capitalist elements within Nicaragua seized upon the new threats from Washington to try to frighten people out of supporting the Salvadoran revolution. The Social Christian Party (PSC), in a statement published January 15, called the struggle against the Salvadoran junta an "unjust war," and accused the FSLN of endangering all Nicaraguans by "provoking the rightists in Latin America and the United States who, just like the Communist groups, want to make a new Vietnam out of Central America."

Barricada, on January 16, answered editorially those both inside and outside the country who do not like the Nicaraguan government's expressions of solidarity with the revolution in El Salvador:

"No other country in Central America is

being attacked this way—just Nicaragua. They are attacking our country, our revolution, because it is here that there has been a genuine transformation that has mortally wounded the old, corrupt regime, making changes that strike at the very roots of the old system of exploitation. Because our revolution is an example that shows other people that when a cause is just and has the support of the people, victory is certain." □

Salvadoran Diplomats Abandon Junta

MANAGUA—The depth of the international discredit and internal crisis of the military/Christian Democratic government of El Salvador was sharply revealed here January 16, when the junta's own ambassador to Nicaragua resigned in protest.

"When I was called upon to occupy the post of Salvadoran ambassador to Nicaragua," Roberto Castellón Figueroa said in a statement read to reporters at the Salvadoran embassy here, "we were talking about a program of reforms and nationalizations which I then believed to have been sincerely initiated as something indispensable and necessary to bring the country out of its terrible poverty."

"As time went on," Castellón continued, "I discovered that the minds of those who governed the country are not only guided by the greed and arrogance of the powerful, but also by an insatiable thirst for blood. Torture and crime have been part of the government's program."

Castellón said that he had come to understand that "there has never been an ultraleft fighting against an ultraright." Instead, he declared, what is under way in El Salvador is "a war by the entire people against a group of military murderers, fascists, and a handful of ambitious Christian Democrats who remain with them."

Castellón called on all other Salvadoran diplomats to resign as he was doing. "I am not a rat abandoning ship," he said, "but I cannot continue sailing on a ship commanded by rats."

Two of the embassy secretaries resigned along with Castellón. A few hours later it was learned that the Salvadoran consul in Toronto, Canada, had also presented his resignation.

—Fred Murphy

Salvadoran Struggle Deepens Polarization in Nicaragua

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA, January 12—Most Nicaraguans identify strongly with the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador, and many are following the news of the current military offensive on an almost hour by hour basis.

There are exceptions, however. The Nicaraguan capitalists, whose press organ is the daily newspaper *La Prensa*, take the side of the Salvadoran junta.

Over the last few months, *La Prensa* has become more and more openly the voice of reaction on both domestic and international questions. The life or death struggle going on in El Salvador makes this even more clear.

La Prensa calls Napoleón Duarte, the head of the brutal military/Christian Democratic junta "the solution for El Salvador."

One day after the launching of the current military offensive, *La Prensa* quoted Salvadoran junta member José Antonio Morales Ehrlich—who had already fled to Costa Rica—as saying the situation in El Salvador was "completely under control."

On the second day of the offensive, *La Prensa* reprinted as a news story a Salvadoran army summary of the military situation.

The newspaper has referred to the two Salvadoran officers who led their troops over to the side of the revolution as "traitors to the fatherland," and insist that except for these two "traitors," the army is more united than ever. *La Prensa* even puts the name of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in quotations marks, as if to suggest that the organization under whose banner the Salvadoran people are fighting may not really exist.

'Face the People' Discussion

The counterrevolutionary role of *La Prensa* was a major topic at a "face the people" discussion here January 9. (Every week the Junta of National Reconstruction meets face to face with a different group; this week it was the Nicaraguan press corps.)

Several journalists asked what could be done about the lies appearing in *La Prensa* and on its main radio counterpart, Radio Corporación.

Junta member Moisés Hassán explained that at this point it is less damaging to the revolution to allow *La Prensa* to continue publishing its lies and slanders—which are widely recognized as such—than to feed the counterrevolutionary propaganda



FSLN rally commemorating Pedro Joaquín Chamorro.

Fred Murphy/IP

campaign abroad by shutting the paper down. He noted that the situation could change if *La Prensa* goes even further with its campaign to sabotage the economy and undermine national security.

Sergio Ramírez, another Junta member, compared *La Prensa* and its methods to those of the newspaper *El Mercurio* in Allende's Chile. "There is one very important difference, however," Ramírez said. "*El Mercurio* contributed to the fall of the Unidad Popular regime. It was an effective tool of the reactionary offensive that brought down the Unidad Popular government. That is not going to happen here in Nicaragua. This government is not going to fall."

Daniel Ortega warned that the people who are raising a great hue and cry about "freedom of the press" are mostly interested in only one kind—freedom for a tiny minority of exploiters to buy themselves a wide hearing.

Rally and Counter Rally

Two rallies held in Managua on January 10 revealed the increasingly clear division between the capitalists, whose interests *La Prensa* represents, and the masses, who are carrying forward the revolutionary process. Both rallies commemorated the third anniversary of the assassination of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, who was editor of *La Prensa* at a time when the newspaper was known for its courageous opposition to the Somoza dictatorship. Any similarity between the two demonstrations ends there.

Eight to ten thousand people assembled

in Pedro Joaquín Chamorro plaza for the morning rally, including spirited delegations from the army, the militias, and the mass organizations. Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión blasted the capitalist elements who are trying to misuse the memory of Chamorro, "who want to make Pedro Joaquín Chamorro into a hero of the counterrevolution."

"And in this, as in everything else, they have failed," Carrión went on. "Because Pedro Joaquín was a man of the people; and the gentlemen from COSEP [Superior Council of Private Enterprise], the gentlemen of the MDN [Nicaraguan Democratic Movement], and the PCD [Democratic Conservative Party], and all the other fine gentlemen who are meeting for their 'Day for Democracy' cannot take that away from him.

"They are trying to steal heroes from the people, because they don't have any heroes of their own. Because unjust causes don't produce heroes, only villains."

"National Unity" was the theme of the demonstration. Carrión explained that it was the unity of the toiling masses, women, and youth, that had made every step forward possible, not the capitalist version of "unity."

"Now there are certain sectors, certain parties, certain reactionary little parties who say that they left the Council of State because the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] turned its back on the program of national reconstruction. They complain that they don't believe in the unity proposed by the FSLN anymore, and

say that's why they left, that's why they bolted.

"But we should be very clear about one thing—that these people were *never* part of our unity. Not because we, the people, the Sandinistas, kept them out. Rather because they never agreed with carrying out the Sandinista People's Revolution."

Carrión explained how the same capitalist elements who are now attacking the revolutionary government had tried over and over to work out some deal with the imperialists and even with Somoza himself, to preserve Somozaism without Somoza.

The two rallies, only hours apart, showed how sharply the class line is being drawn in Nicaragua. There was no overlap in speakers, participants, chants, or substance. Even the Chamorro family itself is divided. Three of Pedro Joaquín's children were honored guests at the morning rally: Cristiana Chamorro; Carlos Fernando Chamorro, editor of the FSLN daily *Barricada*, who was one of the speakers; and Claudia Lucía Chamorro de Bárcenas, who presided over a preliminary event. Their biological brother, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Barrios is currently an editor of *La Prensa* and was a featured speaker at the antigovernment rally.

'If Nicaragua Won, El Salvador Will Win'

The most enthusiastic chant at the morning rally was "If Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win." In the afternoon the chant was "If Jamaica won, Nicaragua will win." The popular "Sandino Yesterday, Sandino today, Sandino forever," became "Christ yesterday, Christ today, Christ forever."

The tone of the antigovernment rally was shrill. One speaker even tried to insinuate that the FSLN was covering up for the assassins of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro. A demonstrator got so carried away that he shouted out: "Democracy does not exist in Nicaragua. What exists is slavery!"

About 1,500 persons attended the afternoon rally, which the Nicaraguan capitalists had hoped would be a major show of strength. It was the first opportunity COSEP and the bourgeois parties had had to mobilize their supporters since the cancellation of a planned November 8 rally. *La Prensa* publicized the January 10 action for weeks ahead of time.

The mood of the right-wing rally was far from confident, however. Although El Salvador was not mentioned—in sharp contrast to the morning rally—the revolutionary advances in that country seemed to cast a shadow over the gathering.

And if the Nicaraguan capitalists are looking over their shoulder at El Salvador, they also have their eyes on another place. As we were walking away from the rally, we saw a young man coming in. On his T-shirt was a message—in English—"Florida is where it's happening!" □

Independence Fighters Urge Solidarity With El Salvador

U.S. Airbase Attacked in Puerto Rico

By Nelson González

In what has been described as the most devastating attack ever made against a military installation on the island of Puerto Rico, nine U.S. military jets were destroyed and two more were badly damaged when time bombs exploded in them January 12 at Muñoz Air National Guard Base in Puerto Rico, which is adjacent to the International Airport near San Juan.

The bombing knocked out more than half the planes of the tactical Combat Wing of the Puerto Rican Air National Guard. Damage was estimated at 45 million dollars. "This puts us out of action," Col. José A. Parodi of the Puerto Rico Air National Guard said.

The Macheteros, also known as the Ejército Popular Boricua (Boricua People's Army), a group calling for independence of the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico, issued a statement taking credit for the attack.

The Macheteros are the armed wing of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTP). They did not field candidates in the recent elections in Puerto Rico because, although they view participation in the elections as a tactical question, they consider that it is impossible to have free and democratic elections as long as Puerto Rico remains a colony of the U.S.

As a result they maintain that the only road for the struggle for independence and socialism is that of armed struggle.

According to the report in the January 14 New York *El Diario/La Prensa*, a statement issued by the group said that the attack was "in response to the necessity of our people to continue struggling against the North American colonial yoke."

In the recent campaign for governor in Puerto Rico, the conservative New Progressive Party (PNP) and its candidate, Carlos Romero Bárcelo, placed major emphasis on support for Puerto Rico being annexed as the fifty-first U.S. state. Bárcelo hoped to win by a big enough margin to enable him to move forward with this plan. Bárcelo confidently predicted an overwhelming victory.

However, despite the pro-statehood hysteria created by Bárcelo's party, and intimidation of the voters, the elections resulted in a stunning defeat for the PNP, which lost control of the Senate, and which held on to office by less than 0.2 percent of the vote totals.

The Macheteros statement explained that the bombings were "to say 'enough' to the fanatics of statehood and to the anti-Puerto Rican government of Romero Bárcelo."

In addition the statement explained, "The attack expresses our solidarity with our brothers and sisters of El Salvador and their revolutionary organizations integrated in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, which is struggling to the death against a repressive and murderous regime, and against the efforts being made to use the military forces of our country against the Salvadoran People."

In November, Roberto Cuéllar, a representative of the Legal Aid Fund of the Archbishop's office in El Salvador, exposed a plan for military intervention in El Salvador, involving Puerto Rico.

Cuéllar reported that Washington planned to train thousands of troops from Costa Rica, Colombia, and Venezuela on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. The troops were to be used against the Salvadoran people in an attack code named "Operation Centaur."

Meanwhile, Puerto Rican youth face compulsory registration for the draft. The colonial oppressor seeks to utilize them as cannon fodder against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean who are rising up against U.S.-backed dictatorships.

On January 14 the Carter administration announced the renewal of U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran junta and the dispatch of more military "advisors" to El Salvador.

However there are big obstacles to Washington's plans, both in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Committees in solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador have been carrying out picket lines, rallies, and demonstrations in support of the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

The Puerto Rican Committee of Solidarity with the Salvadoran People (CPSPS) has held several actions involving large numbers of Puerto Ricans on the island. In the U.S. many of the activists involved in solidarity work are young Puerto Ricans. Puerto Rican youth face massive unemployment both in Puerto Rico and in the United States. They know that their fight for social justice and freedom is at home, not in El Salvador. □

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Reagan's Foreign Policy—Based on Foundation Left by Carter

By Will Reissner

In the wake of the recent presidential campaign, with its flights of rhetoric and its charges and countercharges levelled by Carter and Reagan, it would be easy to lose sight of the fact that U.S. foreign policy has traditionally been a bipartisan affair, that "politics stops at the water's edge" as the old saying goes.

Amid Reagan's warnings that Carter was selling out U.S. interests around the world and Carter's dire predictions that Reagan was trigger happy, some thought that perhaps this time there were basic differences between the candidates on how imperialist interests should be defended and maintained around the world.

But the recent testimony of Ronald Reagan's principal cabinet nominees with responsibility for foreign policy—Alexander Haig for secretary of state, Caspar Weinberger for secretary of defense, and for United Nations ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick—indicates that this is not the case. While there will be some changes in tone, the basic thrust of U.S. foreign policy under Reagan will build upon the foundations laid down by Carter.

'Vietnam Syndrome'

When Carter took office, imperialist foreign policy options were severely restricted by the deepgoing opposition of American working people to any military intervention abroad, what has been called the "Vietnam syndrome." Carter's main aim in office was to undercut that sentiment and to convince working people that they are threatened by developments in foreign lands and must be ready to intervene militarily.

To this end, Carter launched a multifaceted propaganda campaign. On the one hand, foreign policy goals were couched in the more palatable terms of support for "human rights." On the other hand, Carter tried to convince working people that we are threatened by an expansionist Soviet juggernaut that has to be checked.

The main targets of possible U.S. military intervention in defense of imperialist interests are revolutionary struggles in the Middle East, Central America, and the Caribbean.

But in order to sell such intervention to American workers, Carter and the mass media have portrayed revolutionary struggles throughout the world as evidence of Soviet, or Cuban, manipulation or "expansionism."

Washington seized upon the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan to further that propaganda campaign. But it also used

events over which the Soviet Union had little or no influence.

The Iranian revolution was used to depict the Middle East as easy pickings for a Soviet takeover, which would threaten "our oil." Revolutionary struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador were depicted as the result of Cuban subversion, with the Cubans acting as proxies for the Soviet Union.

To respond to the Soviet threat, Carter argued, the U.S. had to drastically increase its military capability. Although he was elected on a pledge to substantially cut U.S. military spending, once in office Carter followed the exact opposite course. Pentagon spending increased by 3 percent a year after inflation with a rise to 4.5 percent projected for 1980 to 1984. Heavy pressure has been applied on U.S. allies around the world to make similar arms spending increases.

A Rapid Deployment Force, for intervention in the Middle East and Central America, was set up. Practice invasions of both areas were carried out.

Naval bases were secured in the Indian Ocean. Draft registration was instituted. Plans were drawn up for the MX missile system. Agreement was reached that new nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union—572 of them—will be placed in Europe.

Reagan's Policy

The transition from one administration to another provides an opportunity to assess how much progress the U.S. ruling class thinks it has made in turning around the "Vietnam syndrome."

During his election campaign, Reagan and his supporters attacked Carter's foreign policy for being overly weak, too concerned with human rights, ready to sell out "friends" abroad just because they might be dictators, and too ready to give away U.S. "vital interests" like the Panama Canal. Such campaign themes, while distorting the real thrust of Carter's policies, served the purpose of continuing and reinforcing the propaganda campaign about America being under siege and needing to respond more toughly.

But it is interesting to note that once elected, Reagan's choices for key foreign policy positions were figures with long service in the bipartisan administration of imperialist interests around the world.

Take the example of Alexander Haig, Reagan's nominee for secretary of state. Haig has served in high positions in four Democratic and Republican administra-

tions. He was suggested for the post of secretary of state by Henry Kissinger and Chase Manhattan Bank Chairman David Rockefeller, and was endorsed by Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski.

For decades the Rockefeller family, which controls Exxon as well as the Chase Manhattan Bank, has played a major role in choosing the secretary of state under Democratic as well as Republican administrations.

To take just the most recent examples, the secretary of state under Kennedy and Johnson was Dean Rusk, who had been president of the Rockefeller Foundation. Rusk continued to draw "severance pay" from the foundation while in office.

Under Nixon and Ford, the secretary of state was Henry Kissinger, a longtime protégé of Nelson Rockefeller, and the recipient of a \$50,000 gift from him. Kissinger directed a special studies project for the Rockefellers from 1956 to 1958.

Carter's first secretary of state was Cyrus Vance, who became chairman of the board of trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1975. And now under Reagan we have Alexander Haig.

Haig became a member of the board of directors of Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank last February and has been a longtime protégé of former Rockefeller employee Henry Kissinger.

Although a career military officer, Haig's rapid ascent through the promotion ranks took place not in the field, but in political jobs in Washington.

'The More Things Change . . .'

In 1962, Haig, then a major, was hand-picked by Joseph Califano to serve in the Kennedy administration as deputy special assistant to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. Califano is a lawyer for the ruling class who serves as an adviser to Democratic presidents.

When Califano became President Johnson's top domestic advisor, Haig gained direct access to the White House.

In 1969 the Democrats lost control of the White House. Although Califano left office in the change of guards, he put in a good word for Haig with Henry Kissinger who was coming in as Nixon's national security advisor. Kissinger hired Haig, by then a colonel, as his top assistant. (Incidentally, Califano was Haig's legal counsel during the recent confirmation hearings.)

Haig did loyal service in the Nixon White House, where he participated in CIA plots to overthrow Chilean president Al-

lende, helped plan the bombing of Cambodia and the Christmas 1972 carpet-bombing of Hanoi, and took charge of wiretapping other top officials at Nixon's behest. During that time Haig rose in four years from colonel all the way to four-star general, bypassing more than 240 senior general officers.

Supports Panama Canal Treaty

In his recent confirmation hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Haig made it quite clear that he supports and intends to continue the basic thrust of recent U.S. foreign policy. When asked, for example, if he feels bound by the Republican election platform, Haig answered that he did not, because "I didn't participate in any way in the structuring or drafting of that platform."

In contrast to some of Reagan's campaign rhetoric, Haig stated that he supports the Panama Canal treaty, which is anathema to the right wing of the Republican Party. He also approves of the British-negotiated Zimbabwe settlement, the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel, and arms limitation treaties. In fact, Haig noted that he had played a role in negotiating the SALT I treaty with the Soviet Union.

Haig also disassociated himself from Reagan's campaign statements on support for Taiwan, noting that under Nixon he had played a major role in negotiating the resumption of relations with China.

"It's in our interests," Haig testified, "to continue the normalization process [with China] begun during the Nixon years, furthered during the Ford years, and furthered further during the Carter Administration."

Haig also exposed Washington's real position on the fighting between China and Vietnam. While the State Department at the time claimed it was neutral, Haig described China as a "stabilizing interest in the area," citing with approval "their punitive action against Hanoi, when Hanoi continued its activities in Cambodia."

Haig advocated continuation of the policy of playing Moscow and Peking off against each other. He asserted that Washington should maintain a "balancing act" between China and the Soviet Union.

'The Good Old Days'

Reagan foreign policy advisor Jeane Kirkpatrick is to be the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, the highest post occupied by a woman in the Reagan administration. Kirkpatrick gained prominence as a vocal critic of Carter's foreign policy in Latin America.

An article by Kirkpatrick in the January 1981 issue of *Commentary* magazine focuses on "Soviet/Cuban expansion" in Latin America, which she claims Washington is not confronting. The "roots" of the problem, she writes, lie "in the Vietnam experience, less as it was fought in South-

east Asia than as it was interpreted in Washington and New York."

In her opinion, "by the time Richard Nixon had left office, a large portion of the political elite in America, including a majority of the Congress, had drawn away not only from Vietnam but from what was more and more frequently called the cold war—the revisionists' preferred term for U.S. determination to resist the expansion of Soviet power."

As an example of this retreat, Kirkpatrick points to State Department opposition last year to the coup that prevented Hernan Siles Zuazo from taking office as president of Bolivia. Kirkpatrick moans that "even five years ago, the U.S. would have welcomed a coup that blocked a government with a significant Communist/Castroite component. Ten years ago the U.S. would have sponsored it, fifteen years ago we would have organized it."

But when it comes to making concrete proposals for today, Kirkpatrick is forced to recognize that it is still not possible to return to the "good old days," to the days before the Vietnam war. For example, her proposals on El Salvador are really no different from those of the Carter administration. She is forced to take into account the very same "lessons of Vietnam" that she rails against in the abstract. As she explained to *New York Times* reporter Bernard D. Nossiter, January 12, "I would not under any circumstances recommend support for U.S. military intervention in Central America."

Pentagon Budget

In the area of military spending, Haig and Weinberger also implicitly endorse the general line of the Carter administration's programs. Both favor continued increases in the war budget, although Weinberger took some distance from Reagan's campaign promises of a 6 percent increase after inflation.

Weinberger and Haig also back Carter's campaign to get U.S. allies to sharply boost their spending and take more responsibility for defending imperialist interests around the world.

In his testimony, Weinberger repeatedly asserted, without providing any evidence, that a "gap" had opened up in the nuclear balance between the Soviet Union and the United States. This has been a favorite theme of the Carter administration as well.

According to Weinberger, the U.S. must increase its arms spending and develop new weapons systems to close that "gap" before new arms limitation talks could begin.

Talk about a nonexistent gap is the traditional method used to try to sell an escalation of the arms race to American working people. It is an attempt to scare people into support for higher arms spending under the guise of "catching up with the Russians."

In 1956, American working people were

told there was a serious "bomber gap." In 1960, President Kennedy campaigned for election on the basis of a "missile gap." In 1967, the specter was raised of an "antiballistic missile gap."

But, as Michael Parenti of the Institute for Policy Studies has noted, "in each instance, it was subsequently discovered that no such gap existed and that U.S. capabilities were superior to the Soviet Union's."

Using Nuclear Weapons

In their Senate confirmation hearings, Haig and Weinberger, and Weinberger's hand-picked deputy Frank Carlucci, all raised the possibility that the U.S. military might use nuclear weapons in warfare.

While the Pentagon has never ruled out use of nuclear weapons, and while the U.S. is the only country that has ever used them, the primary purpose of this emphasis on keeping "nuclear options" open is again to scare American working people into support for increased arms spending.

In this aim the new Reagan cabinet has the support of the Carter administration. In his nationally televised farewell speech to the American people on January 14, a speech that purported to be a warning of the "perils of the arms buildup" and the horrors of nuclear war, Carter used the specter of nuclear holocaust to urge an increase in the Pentagon's arsenal.

"National weakness—real or perceived—can tempt aggression and thus cause war," Carter warned. "That's why the United States can never neglect its military strength."

The Reagan cabinet, like its Democratic predecessor, is hell-bent on convincing American working people that they must tighten their belts, accept a lower standard of living and declining social services, and boost their spending for arms.

But Reagan faces some formidable obstacles in his path. The "Vietnam syndrome" is still alive, despite the constant propaganda campaigns aimed at undercutting it. The opposition to draft registration is an example of that, as is the opposition to the use of U.S. troops in Central America and the Middle East.

Reagan's cabinet members have had to take this anti-interventionist sentiment into account in formulating their policies. Their main concern is to undercut and turn that sentiment around.

But Reagan will not have any easy time getting working people to accept a program of austerity for civilians and fat city for the military. The experience of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who has been trying to carry out a similar program, demonstrates that as the outlines of this policy become clear, and the effects are felt, there will be mounting resistance to this ruling class offensive. □

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What 'Reaganomics' Means for the U.S. Working Class

By William Gottlieb

[The following article appeared in the January 23 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

Can working people look forward to some relief from skyrocketing prices, high interest rates, and unemployment under the incoming administration of Ronald Reagan?

In the last two years of the Democratic administration conditions sharply worsened for working people. Real income for workers has been falling since 1978, the longest sustained drop since World War II, with no turnaround in sight.

Interest rates skyrocketed to unprecedented levels during 1980 and unemployment zoomed as the economy tumbled into recession.

It was largely due to these terrible economic conditions that President Carter was defeated in his recent bid for reelection.

How does Ronald Reagan propose to meet this crisis?

While the incoming administration has yet to make specific suggestions, the cornerstone of the Reagan program is the Kemp-Roth plan for an across-the-board cut in the federal income tax of 10 percent per year over the next three years.

This means that everybody, regardless of their tax bracket, will pay 10 percent less federal income tax than the year before. So the lion's share of the tax cuts go to those with the highest income.

Under Kemp-Roth the rate of taxation will fall from 70 percent to about 51 percent for people with the highest incomes. Those with the lowest will experience a modest fall from 14 percent to about 10 percent.

When rising Social Security taxes, which hit low-income workers the hardest, are taken into account, the shift in the tax burden off the rich is even more striking.

Reagan is also considering a cut in the corporate income tax rate from 46 percent to 40 percent.

The incoming administration is also committed to getting rid of federal regulations that interfere with business profits.

An example of this "deregulation" is the plan to get rid of the remaining controls on oil and natural gas prices. This will have a massive inflationary impact. The November 26 *Wall Street Journal* quotes a Reagan adviser as saying, "If we're going to have inflationary jolts, we should take them early."

This is a bipartisan effort. Far from

offering opposition to this drive to shift the tax burden from the rich to the working people, the Democrats are offering suggestions to help the process along.

For example, the Democratic-controlled Senate Finance Committee passed a measure that would increase from 60 to 70 percent the exclusion of capital gains from taxable income.

Capital gains refers to income gained from stock market and other forms of speculation. People who work for a living pay taxes on their entire income. But people who make their living speculating in stocks only pay taxes on 40 percent of their income. And if the Senate Democrats have their way, this would drop to only 30 percent. Adding all these regressive tax proposals of the Democrats and Republicans together, taxable income on capital gains would fall to 15 percent compared to 25 percent during the boom days of the 1950s and early 1960s. The maximum federal income tax rate would be only 51 percent compared to 91 percent in that earlier time of capitalist prosperity.

Military Spending

How are these massive tax cuts for the rich going to be paid for? One thing that both the Reagan camp and the Democratic "opposition" agree on is that it will not be by reductions in military spending.

"The Carter administration plans to propose a defense budget of \$196.4 billion for fiscal 1982, \$25 billion more than for fiscal 1981," the *Wall Street Journal* reported January 5.

The Reagan administration is expected to ask for even larger increases for fiscal 1982. In addition it reportedly plans to ask for much larger appropriations for fiscal 1981 with some talk of a \$20 billion increase on top of the record \$171.4 billion war budget asked for by Carter.

Another budget line the Democrats and Republicans certainly don't plan to cut is the holy of holies, the payments on the national debt. "Interestingly, Democrats and Republicans who have studied spending have come up with remarkably similar candidates for cuts," the *New York Times* commented.

What these cuts are is indicated by James M. Perry and Albert R. Hunt in the January 9 *Wall Street Journal*.

They include cuts in Social Security benefits. Perry and Hunt write, "The Reagan planners believe it makes more sense, politically and fiscally, to attack pieces of the system than to try to curb annual cost-of-living increases for all Social Security

recipients. 'First, it's easier to take on four to five million people than 33 million,' says one strategist."

The Food Stamp program is also a key target. According to Perry and Hunt, "Recipients would have to submit their average income over the past 90 days to qualify rather than estimate their income over the next 30, as now. One effect would be to eliminate many short-term strikers from eligibility. . . . In all, they hope to cut the number of food-stamp recipients to 15 million from 23 million."

Unemployment Insurance

Nor is unemployment insurance being neglected, in spite of the fact that unemployment remains high from the 1980 recession and renewed recession in 1981 is considered likely. Perry and Hunt write, "Elimination of the national 'trigger' for an additional 13 weeks of unemployment compensation" is being planned.

The working farmer is not overlooked, either. The January 9 *Wall Street Journal* reported that "Mr. Stockman [Reagan's top budget adviser] said that he holds 'a rather dim opinion' of agricultural price-support programs. 'I hope we could move away from what obviously are out-of-date support levels,' he said."

Other cutbacks that are being considered are a slowing down of public works programs, job training, urban development grants, and support for the arts.

So this is the Reagan (as well as the Democratic) program: tax cuts for the rich, spending increases for the military, and cutbacks for the workers and farmers.

Resistance Feared

The rulers fear that massive resistance may develop to their program. As a result they are trying to push it through quickly, in the "first hundred days" and thereby confront the working people with an accomplished fact. This explains why some of Reagan's advisers have suggested that he declare an "economic emergency".

As former Nixon Secretary of the Treasury William Simon said, "Good economic policy is a politician's nightmare."

But is it good economic policy?

The Democrats and the Republicans are saying that by raising the profits of the rich at the expense of the working people, investment will pick up and capitalist prosperity will be restored, with everybody benefiting in the long run. This is popularly known as the "trickle down theory."

This is false to the core. The current economic crisis is not caused by an insuffi-

cient exploitation of the working class but by a lack of markets to absorb the immense productive potential of the U.S. and world economies.

Making the great mass of the people poorer is not going to increase the market.

The sacrifices demanded of us now won't lead to prosperity but only to more demands for even heavier sacrifices.

What's needed is to rally the strength of working people in a fight to defend our interests against every aspect of this as-

sault. Such battles will culminate in a battle to transfer political power from the ruling rich to the working-class majority—so that the irrationality and destructiveness of capitalism can be ended once and for all. □

FBI and CIA Claim Right to Spy on Everybody

U.S. Government Shifts Defense in Socialist Lawsuit

By Andy Rose

[The following article appeared in the January 23 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

A dramatic shift in Washington's public stance toward civil liberties and political rights has been exposed in trial preparations for the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) lawsuit against the federal government.

The government is now putting forward the most sweeping claims it has ever made of a legal "right" to spy on, harass, blacklist, and deport those whose political views it disapproves of.

It can undertake such secret-police actions, the government emphasizes, even against individuals and organizations whose political activities are completely legal and supposedly protected by the Bill of Rights.

Federal attorneys representing the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies and officials submitted court documents December 31 outlining the defense the United States government will present when the socialist lawsuit comes to trial March 16.

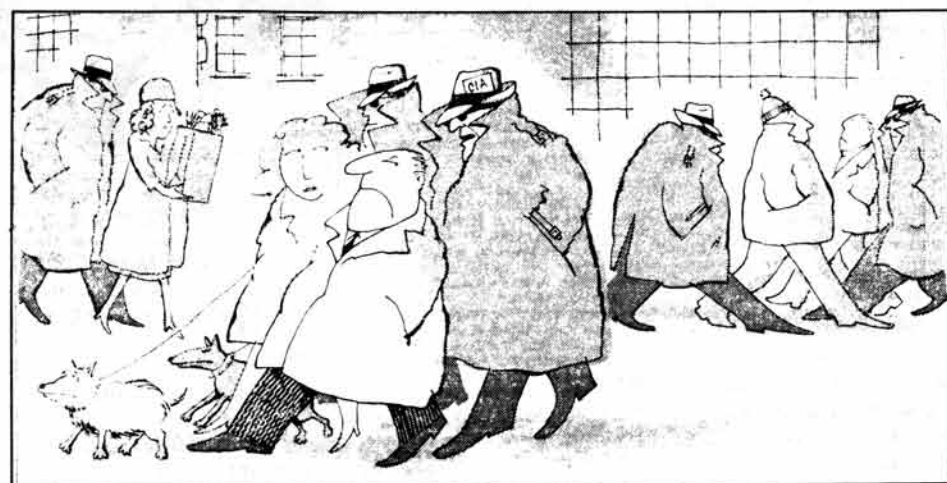
"The issue in this case is not whether the SWP, the YSA, or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime beyond a reasonable doubt," they assert.

"The issue is whether the Government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change in the structure and leadership of the Government of the United States, even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law" (emphasis added).

Furthermore, the document continues, "... the Government may legally investigate individuals or organizations regardless of their nature" (emphasis added).

'Grounds for Deportation'

A major issue in the SWP and YSA case against the government concerns its repeated efforts to deport activists because of their political views. On this the government court document asserts outright that "advocacy of views such as those held by the SWP [is] grounds for exclusion, depor-



'What's the matter—you want to stay free, don't you?'

tation, and denial of naturalization."

What are "views such as those held by the SWP" that make someone a target for deportation?

Opposition to the draft? Support for bilingual education?

What about tens of thousands of Latin American refugees who share the SWP's opposition to U.S. aid to dictatorial regimes and who look favorably on the Cuban, Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Salvadoran revolutions? Are they fair game for "exclusion, deportation, and denial of naturalization"? Apparently so.

"This is the biggest turn in our case since the fall of 1976, when the government pretended to drop its 'investigation' of the SWP and YSA," said Larry Seigle, the SWP Political Committee member who coordinates the lawsuit.

"We have successfully blown away the smokescreen of phony reforms of the FBI, CIA, INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service], and the rest of the secret police," Seigle said.

"Our party is exposing all the cover-ups. The cover-up that it was just Nixon. That it was just J. Edgar Hoover. That the FBI has changed. That now they only investigate crimes, not political ideas.

"Now," Seigle said, "the government openly asserts its right to spy on anyone—

a position that will provoke outrage among millions of Americans when they learn of it.

"This means that when we put the U.S. government on trial March 16, it will be the most direct challenge ever to the very foundations of their secret police apparatus."

Justifying Dirty Tricks

The government legal document spells out what sort of "investigations" it has in mind. These include the FBI feeding information to employers to get workers fired from their jobs.

"If the only 'interference' [with employment] consists of transmitting true information to an employer, the Government will contend that this activity is not actionable. . . ." the document says.

"Not actionable" is a legal term meaning there's nothing the socialists can do about it.

The government paper specifically defends as legal the FBI's use of anonymous poison-pen letters to get SWP-member Morris Starsky fired from a teaching position at Arizona State University in 1970.

As for blacklisting, the government says it "will not deny that the names of some SWP and YSA members were placed on various lists. This activity is not tortious,

however, and plaintiffs [the SWP and YSA] will be unable to prove any actionable harm resulting from such activity."

"Not tortious" is like "not actionable." It means you can't stop them.

The document goes on to defend the government's use of the following spy techniques against the SWP and YSA:

- informers—"not actionable";
- mail covers, that is, recording who sends mail to the SWP and YSA—"not tortious";
- trash covers, that is, going through the socialists' garbage—"not tortious";
- CIA domestic spying—"not actionable";
- wiretaps—"approved by the Attorney General at a time when such surveillance was believed to be lawful" (and by implication OK now or in the future, whenever the government deems it lawful).

Lockheed and Navy Yard Cases

Larry Seigle summed it up:

"The government is asserting," he said, "that the FBI and CIA can sneak around gathering information on you solely because of your political views.

"It can put you on secret lists if it doesn't like what you think.

"It can provide to your employer what it says is 'true information' about you. Since it's all done in secret, of course, you have no way of knowing what they say or of objecting to it.

"Then if the boss fires you, too bad. The FBI says it bears no responsibility."

That, Seigle pointed out, is exactly the pattern of recent political firings of socialist workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in New York and at Lockheed aircraft in Georgia.

At the Navy Yard, five pipefitters were fired by Coastal Dry Dock and Repair Corporation last November at the instigation of the Navy. Documents showed that Naval Intelligence was also in contact with the FBI.

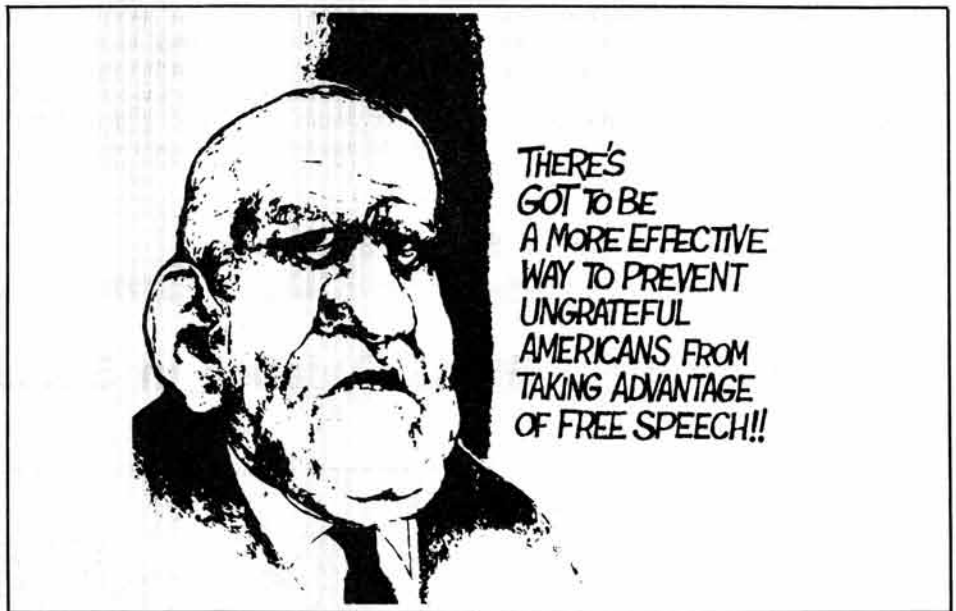
The reason for the firings was openly stated to be the workers' "engagement in political activity."

The socialists protested. Then the company realized it could get nailed in court for the illegal firings, and it rehired the workers the next day.

At Lockheed, nine socialists, members of the International Association of Machinists, were fired in December. The company claimed the reason was "falsifications" on their job applications.

But summoned to testify on the SWP and YSA suit, a Lockheed security cop admitted the workers were singled out for their political ideas and activities. In fact, company files on the fired workers were headed "SWP Case," with lists of "Identified SWP Members" and "Possible Suspects."

The Lockheed official also admitted go-



THERE'S
GOT TO BE
A MORE EFFECTIVE
WAY TO PREVENT
UNGRATEFUL
AMERICANS FROM
TAKING ADVANTAGE
OF FREE SPEECH!!

ing to the FBI for information on his "suspects."

The SWP and YSA are currently on a national campaign to win back the jobs of the nine unionists fired by Lockheed.

'Terrorist' Slander

Among the information obtained from Lockheed was a secret memo about police "seminars" held by the federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) division in Atlanta, including discussions on the SWP. The ATF reportedly views the SWP as "a terrorist organization prone to violence."

Four decades of government "investigation" of the SWP has failed to produce a shred of evidence to back up this wild accusation. But this is evidently the sort of "true information" federal agencies are passing to employers for purposes of political witch-hunting.

While the government is asserting a right to spy on the SWP and YSA for purely legal political activity, it is also working on another line of defense. Its plan for the trial states it will "introduce evidence . . . to demonstrate that the organizations' nature, goals, and activities are not what plaintiffs [SWP and YSA] say they are."

That is, the government says the SWP and YSA are involved in something other than legal political activity. Such as?

Well, the government doesn't exactly say. Instead it *insinuates* there may be some conspiracy afoot.

For example, federal attorneys have taken several depositions (sworn pretrial testimony) from Susan Wald, one of the socialist workers fired and then rehired at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Government questioning has centered on why she applied for a job there. U.S. attorneys even demanded a list of everyone she had discussed her job plans

with. (Wald declined to do so. The SWP long ago established in this suit that it does not have to provide the government with names of SWP or YSA members not already publicly known.)

'Sinister Motive'

The Navy Yard case was discussed in a pretrial hearing December 31 before federal district Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding in the SWP and YSA suit.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward Williams declared: "We would like to have discovery of who Miss Wald talked to, why she took her employment, what the motives were. We have evidence which shows that she distributed literature on board a Navy ship in possible violation of Federal statutes."

Later on Williams said: "I'm inquiring of Miss Wald: Who did you discuss this with? What type of plan to have all of you people go at the same time to Coastal Dry Dock? In other words, what I'm saying is that there's a more sinister motive."

What the government evidently views as "sinister" is that SWP and YSA members hold jobs in industry, discuss politics with other workers, and participate in their unions.

In 1975 the party decided to concentrate its activity in this arena, since industrial workers are the central targets of the capitalist takeback drive and are in the strongest position to lead all working people in defending living standards and democratic freedoms.

The government doesn't like this at all, as the following exchange during the December 31 hearing shows. Edward Williams is an assistant U.S. attorney. Edward Copeland is an attorney for the SWP and YSA.

Williams: "The discussion bulletins produced to us have disclosed that there is such a plan, and indeed a resolution was

adopted at a national convention to have people go into sensitive industries in order so that they be in a position to do whatever."

Judge Griesa: "What do you mean 'do whatever'?"

Williams: "This is what a proposal which was formally rejected—"

Judge Griesa: "Is that what the resolution said?"

Williams: "No, your Honor. I don't have the context before me. I don't have the text before me."

Copeland: "I believe the resolution was basic industry."

Judge Griesa: "To do what?"

Copeland: "Excuse me?"

Judge Griesa: "For what purpose?"

Copeland: "To work. I mean, this is a political party, your Honor, a political party which has people and which is active in the union effort and active in union campaigns."

'Is It Illegal?'

Judge Griesa: "Is it illegal to go into an industry and talk about politics?"

Williams: "I'm sorry, your Honor?"

Judge Griesa: "Is there anything wrong in getting a job in, say, the Ford Motor Company and talking to your fellow workers about politics, indeed to talking about whether you think there ought to be Socialism?"

Williams: "Your Honor, there is a Navy regulation and a statutory regulation against doing such political discussions on board a Navy ship."

Judge Griesa: "Is that right?"

Williams: "Yes, your Honor."

Copeland: "Your Honor—"

Judge Griesa: "You mean you can't go on a Navy ship and discuss politics?"

Williams: "That's right, your Honor. . . . There is such a statute."

Judge Griesa: "What's the name of the statute? Is it in the Code?"

Williams: "18 U.S.C. 2387."

Copeland: "Now, that is part of the Smith Act, your Honor."

Williams: "It's part of the mustier version of your books, I'm sure, your Honor. . . ."

Judge Griesa: "2387?"

Williams: "Yes, your Honor."

'Doesn't Say Any Such Thing'

Judge Griesa: "It doesn't say any such thing."

"It says, 'Whoever, with intent to interfere with, impair, or influence the loyalty, morale, or discipline of the military or naval forces of the United States, advises, counsels, urges, or in any manner causes or attempts to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval force of the United States, or distributes or attempts to distribute any written or printed matter which advises, counsels, or urges

insubordination—"

Williams: "Underline that in your mind, your Honor, because that's the relevant sentence."

Judge Griesa: "What sentence?"

Williams: "Distribute literature."

Judge Griesa: "Which urges insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty—"

Williams: "Yes, your Honor."

Judge Griesa: "—'by any member of the military or naval force of the United States.'"

"You said to me 30 seconds ago that it was illegal to talk about politics on a naval vessel."

"Now, that is not what 2387 says, by any means."

'Illegal Activities?'

When pinned down, the government's dark hints of a conspiracy are revealed to be the claim that it's illegal to talk about socialist ideas in "sensitive" industries.

The same conspiracy charge can be—and is—leveled against any workers who stand up for safety, higher pay, or union rights in military-related plants. And the notion of "sensitive" industries can be—and is—broadened to include anything vital to the capitalist economy.

The government's legal arguments keep turning back to the Smith Act, a discredited piece of thought-control legislation making it a crime to "advocate, abet, advise, or teach" any ideas that federal authorities interpret as calling for overthrow of the government "by force or violence."

It was used to convict eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Teamsters union in 1941. Leaders of the Communist Party were also convicted under the Smith Act in the 1940s and early '50s. Since then, however, Supreme Court decisions have weakened the government's ability to use this reactionary law.

The Smith Act figured prominently in the December 31 hearing when Williams told Judge Griesa there "absolutely" is evidence of illegal activity in the government's files on past and present SWP leaders. The SWP had requested the complete files on Jack Barnes, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Joseph Hansen, Andrew Pulley, and Carl Skoglund.

"There is loads of illegal activities," Williams repeated a moment later.

What activities? the judge asked.

Williams cited the 1941 Smith Act convictions.

'You Are so Ambiguous . . .'

Judge Griesa: "But we are now basically dealing with later periods."

Williams: "The focus of the trial, your Honor, will be: Was the investigation justified? That's going to be one of the issues at trial."

Judge Griesa: "You said loads of illegal activity. In the case of Mr. Cannon, was

there anything after his Smith Act conviction?"

Williams: "I don't know, your Honor. Your Honor, what I am trying to avoid is having a situation where impossible burdens are being put on the government to produce six huge files. I just want your Honor to realize that. We are trying to explore all alternatives. I mean, I think your Honor is aware of the problems that—"

Judge Griesa: "You see, you are so ambiguous standing there. . . ."

The judge subsequently directed the government to prepare a statement clearly answering the question: "Do you claim that these files show any illegal activity or threatened illegal activity that's relevant to the investigative needs of the FBI? . . . If the answer is in the affirmative as to any of these files, what illegal activity or threatened illegal activity do you claim they show?"

What's at Stake

"No matter how they twist and turn," SWP leader Seigle told the *Militant*, "the government can't get away from the real issue—is it legal to advocate and put into practice the ideas of the SWP?"

"That's what will be fought out when we put the government on trial March 16. We'll fight it out not just before twelve members of a jury, but before as many of the American people as we can reach."

"The ideas of Marxism are at the heart of this case," Seigle emphasized.

"In the trial we will explain those ideas and why they represent the historic interests of the working class, the only progressive class in modern society, why we have a right to organize, to disseminate our ideas, and to participate in politics. And we will explain why the rights of all Americans are at stake."

"As the battle lines are drawn and the issues clearly posed, we're confident the vast majority of people will side with us and not with the born-again witch-hunters." □

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Polish Workers Back Struggle of Farmers

By Ernest Harsch

With the Polish bureaucracy trying to dig in its heels against further concessions, workers and farmers in various parts of the country have been compelled to carry out protest strikes and other actions to press their demands.

In the process, active solidarity between the workers' and farmers' movements has been strengthened considerably.

On January 16, hundreds of thousands of workers in several cities and regions stayed away from their jobs in response to strike calls by local branches of the independent trade-union federation, Solidarity.

In Warsaw, bus and streetcar workers held a four-hour strike to back the union's demand for a five-day workweek and to protest a decision by the government to dock the salaries of workers who stayed home the previous Saturday, January 10. In the Upper Silesian city of Legnica, a copper-mining center, about 130,000 industrial workers in the region also struck for a five-day workweek.

In southern Poland—where the new farmers' union, Rural Solidarity, has its greatest support—public transport workers in Krakow and about 15,000 workers at an airplane assembly plant in Mielec struck for two hours around various local issues and in support of the struggle of the farmers.

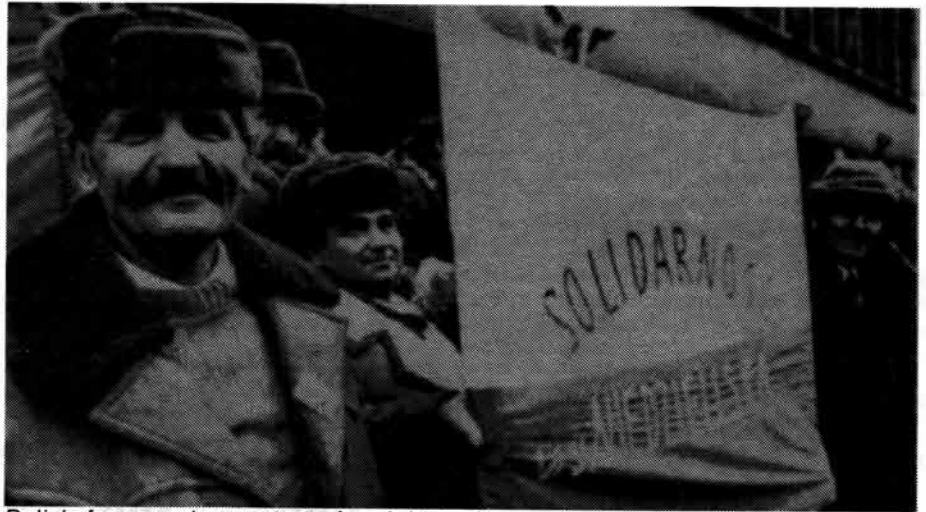
Two days earlier, on January 14, some 60,000 workers in about thirty major enterprises in the southeastern city of Rzeszow walked off their jobs around similar issues.

And on January 13, a one-hour strike was held around the southeastern towns of Ustrzyki Dolne and Przemysl, affecting more than 100 agriculture-related enterprises. According to a Solidarity spokesperson, workers in other factories wore armbands and flew flags in a display of support. The action was called to protest the use of police the night before to break up an occupation of a government building in Ustrzyki Dolne by supporters of Rural Solidarity.

Government Blames Shortages on Workers

In response to the demands of the Polish workers for a five-day workweek, the government has launched a propaganda campaign trying to blame the workers for the lengthening food lines, a decline in coal production, and a deteriorating standard of living.

Poland certainly faces severe economic problems, but it is not the workers who are to blame. Rather, they have been the victims of economic mismanagement by the privileged bureaucrats who run the



Polish farmers demonstrate for right to form union.

country. Ever since the first major workers' strikes in July 1980, labor activists have raised demands for the participation of workers in making decisions, in order to help find solutions to the economic crisis.

This concern for Poland's economic well-being has been evident throughout Solidarity's campaign for a five-day workweek.

The shorter workweek was one of the provisions agreed to in the Gdansk accords that ended the strikes of July-August 1980. But in early January, when it was scheduled to be introduced, the government unilaterally declared that workers would be allowed to take off only every other Saturday.

Solidarity reacted sharply to this violation of the Gdansk accords. A statement issued by the union's Legnica branch declared, "We cannot allow ourselves to sustain further material and moral losses owing to the government's failure to adhere to the agreements. It is our duty to defend persecuted working people, members of Solidarity."

Solidarity has made it clear, however, that its goal is not an arbitrary cut in the workweek regardless of the cost to the economy. It has repeatedly stressed its willingness to negotiate with the government. "If Solidarity gets information showing the entire seriousness of the economic situation," a union spokesperson explained, "Solidarity may change its decision."

One worker at the Rosa Luxemburg light bulb factory in Warsaw commented, "Maybe it is necessary to work some Saturdays. But our position is that this should be decided at the local factory level.

We are the ones who know best what the factory needs."

Who Will Make Decisions?

The real issue in the conflict over implementation of the five-day workweek, then, is *who* makes the economic decisions in the country, the workers or the bureaucrats?

Reacting to the government's arbitrary actions, Solidarity called on its supporters to take off work on Saturday, January 10. In the Baltic ports, in Warsaw, and in numerous other cities, several million workers did so.

The government attempted to take a hard line against the workers, and authorized factory managers to dock a day's pay of those who took part in the action.

In a similar manner, the government has refused to recognize Rural Solidarity, which now claims the membership of about 600,000 of Poland's three-and-a-half million private farmers. The farmers argue that they have a right to form their own union, since they are in effect working for the state, which sets the prices for their produce.

In face of the government's stubborn stance, workers and farmers in several southeastern towns staged sit-ins to back the demands of Rural Solidarity for official recognition.

'Counterrevolutionary Designs'?

On January 11, Communist Party chief Stanislaw Kania launched a sharp attack on the farmers' union, accusing it of "sowing anarchy" in the countryside and of

being led by people who had "counterrevolutionary designs."

The same day, police moved in to remove protesters who were sitting in at the town hall in Nowy Sacz. On January 12 they did the same thing in Ustrzyki Dolne. Some of the occupiers who were evicted from the building in Ustrzyki Dolne then joined a similar occupation under way in Rzeszow.

The use of police to try to break up strikes or protests has been extremely rare since the beginning of the labor upsurge last year. By calling the police out now, Kania has displayed his concern over the widening opposition to bureaucratic rule, and especially to the growing ties between

the workers' and the farmers' movements.

Another development that has been worrying the bureaucracy is the growing sympathy for the demands of the workers and farmers among the ranks of the Communist Party itself.

At the Rosa Luxemburg light bulb factory, for instance, the approximately 1,000 party members employed there voted in favor of taking off work on January 10.

The Communist Party paper *Trybuna Ludu* quoted one party member as saying, "People are fed up with declarations. They want action to show that the party is striving for reform of the country's social and political life." □

Newspaper Workers Fight for Their Rights

Black Union Leader Banned in South Africa

By Ernest Harsch

Just a few days after the end of a successful strike by Black newspaper workers, the South African government cracked down on the leadership of their union.

On December 29, Zwelakhe Sisulu, the president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA) and one of the country's most prominent Black journalists, was banned, a form of house arrest. Also banned was Marimuthu Subramoney, the secretary of the MWASA branch in Natal Province.

Under the banning orders, which last for three years, the two may not participate in any trade union activities, practice their professions, or even enter a newspaper office, educational institution, or industrial complex. They cannot leave their homes on weekends, holidays, or between 7:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. on weekdays. They may not receive visitors in their homes, attend any political or social gatherings, or be legally quoted in South Africa.

Zwelakhe Sisulu, who is thirty-years old, has been particularly outspoken—both through his writings and at political gatherings—in his opposition to South Africa's racist system of apartheid. He is the son of Walter Sisulu, a top leader of the outlawed African National Congress who has been serving a life sentence on the notorious Robben Island prison for the past seven years.

Besides striking out at the MWASA leadership, the apartheid regime has also moved to penalize the management of the Argus newspaper group for agreeing to recognize the Black union.

On December 24, it announced the suspension of four Argus-owned newspapers, the *Post*, *Saturday Post*, *Sunday Post*, and

Sowetan. All four are based in the Johannesburg area and are aimed primarily at Black readers. As a pretext for shutting down the papers, the regime said that they had forfeited their registration by failing to publish during the strike. The company has stated that it will attempt to reregister the *Post*, *Sunday Post*, and *Sowetan*.

The government's reaction to the newspaper workers' strike is another indication of its growing concern over the militancy of Black workers in South Africa, who have carried out scores of strikes over the past year. Despite new labor laws designed to control Black unions, the regime has been unable to check the growth of the Black trade union movement.

MWASA, although one of the newest Black unions, has its roots in two earlier organizations, the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ), which was outlawed during a major crackdown on Black political activity in October 1977, and the Writers Association of South Africa (WASA), formed shortly after the UBJ was banned. Both earlier unions were limited to just journalists, but WASA laid the groundwork for the construction of a new union that would encompass all Black workers in the newspaper industry.

WASA, which was also led by Zwelakhe Sisulu, identified itself with the Black Consciousness movement, one of the main Black political currents in the country, and stressed the leading role of the Black working class in the struggle for liberation.

WASA also argued that Black journalists had a responsibility to the Black community as a whole to try to accurately portray their struggles and to expose the injustices of apartheid. □

This stance brought the Black journalists into constant conflict with the government, which jailed or banned the most outspoken of them. It also ran into stiff opposition from the white newspaper owners, who refused to recognize the union.

In October 1980, WASA disbanded and helped launch MWASA. The new union immediately set out on a drive to organize all Black newspaper workers in the country.

MWASA soon faced its first test of strength. In early November, Black workers at the *Cape Herald*, one of the major newspapers in Cape Town, went on strike for higher pay. MWASA issued a call for a countrywide solidarity strike, and most Black workers in the newspaper industry heeded the call.

Although the *Cape Herald* workers reached an agreement with their management after three weeks, the strikers in Johannesburg stayed out around other issues, including back pay for the days they were out and the right of Black journalists to help shape the news coverage of the papers on which they work.

The Argus company retaliated against the strikers by dismissing all seventy of them at the *Post* newspapers, including Sisulu, who was the *Sunday Post* news editor.

But the newspaper workers held firm. They won support from workers in other cities. The Black journalists at the *Cape Herald*, for instance, held a two-day strike in early December to protest the dismissals in Johannesburg. They also won the solidarity of some white journalists, who refused to scab on the strikers.

Finally, on December 23, the Argus management agreed to make some concessions, including formal recognition of MWASA as the representative of Black newspaper workers. Those who had been dismissed were taken back.

The government's response to this settlement reflects a fear that it could inspire other Black unions, many of whom are also fighting for recognition.

The crackdown was condemned by Nthato Motlana—the head of the influential Soweto Committee of Ten—and by many other prominent Black figures. The largely white South African Society of Journalists called for international protests against the bannings of Sisulu and Subramoney. Even some of the progovernment Afrikaans-language newspapers expressed disquiet over the bannings.

In an article in the December 30 Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail*, a member of MWASA expressed confidence that Sisulu would be able to continue playing an influential role in the freedom struggle. He was convinced, he said, that Sisulu's "penetrating voice will one day still be heard in the corridors of power in this country." □

Why Reign of Terror Has Failed to Halt Mass Movement

[The following article appeared in the November 1 issue of *Frente*, the monthly publication of the Guatemalan Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR). The FDCR, which is leading the struggle against the military dictatorship of Gen. Romeo Lucas García, is comprised of more than 100 trade unions and peasant organizations, as well as neighborhood, professional, and religious groups and political parties. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

For fifteen years Guatemala has been the kingdom of death. It was the first country in Latin America—the laboratory—where the tactic of terror as a means of counterinsurgency was introduced around 1966. At that time the military chiefs, the U.S. advisors, and President Méndez Montenegro thought that the use of the tactic would last only a few months. They believed that would serve to eradicate the guerrilla movement forever.

But as in the tale of the Arabian Nights, the demon of violence, invoked by the country's ruling class, refused to return to its bottle. Since that time class rule in Guatemala has been sustained solely by means of terror. Little by little, the legitimacy of the bourgeois democratic system disappeared. Who in Guatemala believes today in elections or in traditional parties?

The ruling class, condemned to oppress and not to govern, a class that can only maintain itself by means of endless slaughter, by a continually wider and more grotesque butchery, has been changed into a species of collective vampire.

The Guatemalan rich—the military chiefs, the leaders of the government parties, the petty bourgeoisie who have realized their dream of moving into the bourgeoisie, the traditional industrialists, businessmen, and landowners—accumulate and reproduce as a class on the mountain of their victims' bodies.

How many have died in Guatemala in the past fifteen years so that the country can be ever more integrated into transnational capitalism, so that a minority—around 1,400 families out of nearly 7 million inhabitants—can be ever richer? Conservative statistics tell us about 30,000 human beings, although it is difficult to know exactly how many.

The internal mechanism of the policy of terror is now finally known. At first, this was not so. At first, when the slaughter began and the victims fell right and left, nobody knew how to interpret what was happening; it was like a medieval plague. Little by little the diabolical logic of ter-

ror—of terror as a counterinsurgency tactic, of terror as an instrument of social control—was disentangled.

The principle of this tactic—which comes from the Nazis, was perfected by the French in Algeria, and was introduced by the North Americans in Latin America—is simple. Fear is a basic instinct. Elevated to high levels, it is often stronger than other motivations such as patriotism or ideology in determining a person's political behavior. Consequently, in confronting an insurrection—as the revolutionary process is called in military language—if the population is sufficiently terrorized, the extreme fear will inhibit it from joining the rebels, who can then be isolated and destroyed.

In order to provoke extreme fear it is necessary to threaten injury, an injury that will produce the desired effect. Generally, the threat is of death and torture. Then there is a tacit message: "If you join with the rebels, if you are against the government and the military, if you participate in unions and student movements, if you write against the rich, you will be kidnapped, tortured, and killed, sometimes along with your friends."

As for ideological arguments, the government and the ruling class do not admit that they are the authors of these repressive acts. So as not to enter into contradiction with their laws—their constitution, their penal code—they pretend that those who kidnap and kill are "paramilitary groups." And they invent strange names—"the White Hand," "the Death Squad," the "Secret Anticommunist Army"—in order to cover up the activity of special units of the police and army.

All this is carried out along with an intense psychological war: slogans on the walls, intensive utilization of the means of communication, lists of those condemned to death, threats by telephone and in writing, and—the supremely terrifying effect—the abandonment of dozens of corpses with signs of terrible tortures.

At times, when the circumstances require it, they carry out even greater acts of intimidation, such as the Panzós massacre, the burning of the occupants of the Spanish embassy, the kidnapping of twenty-seven trade unionists, etc.*

Such terrible actions have two aims: the destruction of the victim—leaders and militants of political parties, religious figures, trade unionists, peasants, students,

*The Panzós massacre occurred on May 29, 1978, when army troops and armed landowners machine-gunned more than 100 Kekchí Indians—men, women, and children—in the main square of Panzós, a town about 125 miles northeast of

professionals, journalists, democratic personages—and along with that, the intimidation of the whole population of the country, which witnesses the slaughter.

Has the tactic of terror been successful? In the short term, yes. It has succeeded at times—in 1966-67 and 1971-72—in temporarily disorienting the people's movement, in inflicting severe reverses on the revolutionary movement, and in taking the lives of valiant leaders and militants. In the long run, no. Terrorism has never resolved social problems. The police cannot act as a substitute for the state. Violence against the people results in negative dividends for the ruling classes.

When in Guatemala's history, from the days of the Indian rebellions, have the native peoples—Quiché, Cakchiquel, Kekchí, Mam, etc.—been incorporated in the revolutionary process, as they are today?

When has the Indian peasant been united with the Spanish-speaking urban worker in order to confront together the social and racial oppression of hundreds of years?

Nowadays the various forms of struggle are reaching unprecedented dimensions and have in addition a *national* character.

What then is the defect in the tactic of terror?

The answer must be found in the false conception that underlies the concept of terror. People do not go into action for individual reasons, the masses are not moved by a handful of shadowy agitators. Consequently, although individual fear may be very strong, class consciousness cannot be terrorized. Although many leaders are assassinated, the masses generate their own leaders.

In fact, what explains the upsurge of Guatemala's democratic and revolutionary people's struggle is the dialectic of the class struggle. That is, the objective growth of the working class in Guatemala

Guatemala City. The Kekchí had committed the crime of demanding their right to land.

The burning of the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City was carried out by police with flamethrowers on January 31, 1980. The embassy had been occupied by a group of peasants from El Quiché Province, who were demanding an end to repression and an accounting of peasant leaders who had "disappeared." More than thirty people, including some Spanish diplomats, were burned alive.

The kidnapping of the leaders of the National Workers Federation (CNT) occurred on June 21, 1980. They had gathered at the CNT headquarters in Guatemala City to discuss the murder of two trade union leaders. The streets in the area were cordoned off just before the attack, and the victims have not been heard of since.

as a result of the capitalist development and the depauperization of the oppressed sectors. On the subjective side, there is the development of class consciousness.

Although it appears paradoxical in the midst of the worst slaughter that has been known in our national history, those of us who have suffered the terror, those of us who have seen many friends and companie-

ros die under its claws, are happy because scientific analysis enables us to already foresee the end of the terror.

As in the countries occupied by the Nazis at the end of the Second World War, as in Algeria, as in Vietnam, as in Nicaragua, terrorism will be conquered once again by the endless courage of the class that is the moving force in history. □

Caught in a Dilemma

British Government Waffles on Irish Prisoners

By Gerry Foley

On December 18, political prisoners in Northern Ireland ended a fifty-three-day hunger strike after the British government issued a document substantially meeting their demands against brutal mistreatment. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 29, p. 1362.) Although forced to retreat by the growth of a powerful mass movement in support of the prisoners, the British began to probe for any weakening of the prisoners' resolve and of the mass movement almost immediately after the end of the hunger strike.

The document that led to the end of the hunger strike was issued by Britain's Secretary for Northern Ireland Humphrey Atkins. By putting the concessions it offered in the context of general prison reform, the Atkins document left the actual implementation of these changes to the discretion of the prison administration and thus gave the British the maximum maneuvering room.

The maneuvers began soon enough.

The men in Long Kesh Prison's H-Blocks have been forced to live naked in empty cells because they refuse to wear convict uniforms. The Atkins document says that the prisoners can wear their own clothes except during work, which itself is supposed to be suitable to the prisoners' needs and can take the form of study, as the protesters demanded.

But when an initial group of twenty men tried to test Atkins's promises, they were told that they would have to show their willingness to conform to the prison regulations, that is, accept criminal status, before any of the concessions would be granted.

This was just a new way of demanding that the prisoners surrender. They refused and began to consider organizing a new hunger strike.

The leaders of the H-Block campaign were able to persuade the prisoners not to resume the hunger strike immediately, before the groundwork could be laid for rebuilding the mass movement. The National H-Block Committee office in Dublin was reopened early in January and work

began to reactivate the two hundred and fifty local action committees.

The H-Block committee projected a month of indoor meetings to prepare the movement to go back onto the streets. As the H-Block prisoners said in their statement on the end of the hunger strike, "We know that the masses who took to the streets are our real guarantors."

After the preparations were begun to resume the hunger strike and the mass demonstrations, the British made new concessions. The prison authorities agreed to move sixty prisoners to clean cells, half of them furnished; and the prisoners agreed that they would try to keep them clean if the prison warders allowed this.

H-Block prisoner Bobby Sands announced the prisoners' decision January 11, indicating that it was made after negotiations with the prison administration. He said that he was told that the British government would make a "positive move" within the coming week to resolve the conflict.

Speaking on behalf of the prisoners, Sands said that they viewed the officials' new promises with "acute cynicism," given the maneuvers undertaken by the British government after the hunger strike ended.

Negotiations and a tug of war are continuing between the prison officials and the prisoners. Undoubtedly the least the British hope to gain is time.

The campaign around the mistreatment of the prisoners threatens to expose the whole system of massive repression and intimidation of the nationalist population of Northern Ireland before world public opinion. Most of the political prisoners were jailed by drumhead courts on the basis of confessions extorted by torture.

The fact is that the British government was dealt a decisive defeat by the determination of the prisoners and the power of the mass movement. This reality is beginning to show through even in the capitalist press.

For example, in the January 11 *New York Times*, correspondent William Borders wrote from London:

"The Government insists that it made no concessions to the hunger strikers and that the protest ended because they realized that the Government was prepared to let them die rather than to yield."

This formulation recalls reports in the Irish dailies during the hunger strike that the "police are sticking to their estimates" after it became obvious to the public that the H-Block demonstrations were many times larger than the officials' claims.

In fact, Borders said further on in the article:

"The [British] Government, which is distressed at the worldwide publicity given the 'lads on the blanket,' as republicans call the prisoners, has strained for a way of yielding to their demand without appearing to give in to terrorism."

Indeed, the British government has been obliged to make further concessions, such as finally releasing Pauline McLaughlan, who was on the verge of death in Armagh jail because she could not tolerate prison food.

If the British go back on their promises to the prisoners now, it will be their third public breach of faith in the last seven months. At the time the H-Block case came before the European Commission on Human Rights in June, they engaged in false negotiations with church leaders. At the start of the hunger strike, they claimed falsely that they were granting the prisoners' main demand—the right not to wear prison clothes. Another act of brazen duplicity would infuriate Irish public opinion and leave the British with even less political credibility than they have now.

Whatever course the British take, the road has been cleared for growing mass mobilizations against imperialist repression and other concrete effects of imperialist domination. The mass movement that began in 1969 and went into eclipse in the mid-1970s is reemerging at a higher level and another historic opportunity is opening up to lead it forward to victory. □

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Canadian Constitutional Plan Arouses Broad Opposition

[The following is based on articles by Steve Penner and Michel Dugré that appeared in the January 12 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Socialist Voice*.]

* * *

The seventeen million dollar advertising campaign by the Trudeau government to win backing for its constitutional proposals has been a massive flop. A Gallup poll published December 10 shows a majority in *all regions of the country* opposed to unilateral patriation of the constitution.* The overall proportion is more than two to one against.

Faced with mounting opposition, the Liberals were forced to extend the duration of the parliamentary commission hearing briefs on the constitutional proposals from December 9 to February 6.

However, Prime Minister Trudeau has made it quite clear that no fundamental changes will be accepted. He continues to insist that the government will act unilaterally however strong the opposition in the country.

Trudeau maintains that such action is urgently required in order to fulfill the promise he made during last May's Quebec referendum campaign of major constitutional reform if a majority of Québécois voted for the No. [That is, no to the Quebec government's call for a mandate to renegotiate Quebec's status in regard to the rest of Canada.]

This argument is as honest as his claim to oppose wage controls in the 1974 elections. The fact is that opposition to Trudeau's unilateral action is strongest in Quebec.

The Québécois understand full well that the constitutional proposals are an attack on their national rights, not an attempt to defend them. Even though the British North America Act was enacted in 1867 without the agreement of the Québécois, no prime minister since then has dared to amend it without the agreement of the Quebec government.

Opposition to Trudeau's proposal is even stronger since a central aspect of the so-called reform is the attempt to roll back the gains made by Québécois in defending the French language.

*The Canadian Constitution is still based on the British North America Act of 1867, and amendments to the constitution are passed by the British Parliament at Canadian request. Trudeau proposes to "patriate" the constitution, bringing it fully under Canadian control. But he has been unable to get agreement from the provincial governments on the content of a new constitution, and is moving ahead unilaterally to implement his plans.



Part of crowd at Montreal rally held December 7 to protest Trudeau's proposal on new constitution.

The federal government's move to include language provisions in its proposed Charter of Rights would deny Quebec's right to legislate on linguistic matters. The charter would nullify laws that Quebec has already adopted to protect the French language, such as Law 101.

More than 14,000 people voiced their opposition to Prime Minister Trudeau's constitutional proposals at a broad united front rally organized by Solidarity-Quebec December 7 in Montreal.

The size and breadth of the gathering dealt another blow to the federal government's plans for unilateral action. Rally speakers included Quebec Premier René Lévesque; Michel LeMoignan, head of the provincial Union nationale party; Roch La Salle, the only Quebec Conservative deputy in Ottawa, and Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ). The only major political parties not officially represented at the rally were the Quebec Liberal Party, though former Liberal cabinet minister Denis Hardy gave his support in a personal capacity, and the New Democratic Party (NDP).

The prophets of doom who announced the demise of the Quebec national liberation movement following the May 20 referendum defeat were shown to be mistaken. In the words of rally chairperson Yvon Deschamps, the rally proved the referendum defeat to have been "only a pause in a period of upswing" of the national movement.

The size and breadth of the rally itself

proved the national movement is alive and well in Quebec. Also significant is the support received by Solidarity-Quebec's petition against unilateral patriation of the constitution. As of early December, 340,000 Québécois had signed—the most massive support for any petition on the national question in Quebec history.

During his speech, Premier Lévesque announced that, according to a poll conducted by the Parti Québécois, 69 percent of the Québécois oppose unilateral patriation, with only 14 percent supporting it. These findings have since been confirmed by Gallup and other polls.

Trudeau claims that the Charter of Rights will make Canada one of the most democratic countries in the world. The 2,000 Native people who traveled to Ottawa in late November—including over 500 on the Constitution Express train caravan—weren't any more convinced than were the Québécois.

The Natives are demanding inclusion in the proposed charter of an amendment guaranteeing previously-signed treaty rights, aboriginal rights, the Native peoples' right to self-determination and self-government, and no future amendments affecting Native peoples without their consent.

Nothing in the federal government's charter would guarantee Native people's rights or end harassment of Canada's indigenous people.

Nor does Trudeau's proposed charter do anything to protect and extend the rights

of all working people: the right to a job; the right to unions free of Royal Canadian Mounted Police infiltration; an end to strikebreaking by the government, the courts, and the cops; women's right to equal pay and equal work and free abortion on demand.

As Svend Robinson, NDP member of Parliament, has insisted, the charter of rights "is a sham." He points out that it would maintain "the War Measures Act

and [would permit a repetition of] the atrocities which were committed against Canadians of Japanese origin before and after World War Two."

Unfortunately, the rest of the NDP caucus has taken a quite different position than that of Robinson. The federal NDP has been one of the few pillars of support for Trudeau. As was the case during the Quebec referendum, NDP Leader Ed Broadbent has become one of the foremost supporters of Trudeau's brand of federal-

ism—despite the overwhelming opposition of the Québécois and the Native people.

Activists in the unions and the NDP should fight to reverse the position of the party leadership on the constitution. We should demand that it help build support for the struggles of the Québécois and the Natives for their rights, and for the fight of all working people against the federal government's attacks on our jobs, our living standards, and our democratic rights. □

What Is the Separatist Movement in Western Canada?

[The following article appeared in the January 12 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Socialist Voice*.]

* * *

VANCOUVER—A new issue has been thrust into the debate over the constitution—western alienation from the federal government.

Large rallies pushing the theme of western separatism have taken place in Alberta. Here in British Columbia, the idea has significant backing, especially now that a good number of capitalists whose fortunes are tied to the prosperity of the oil boom give public support to the concept.

In the other two western provinces, it remains to be seen if the western separatist movement can get off the ground. Initial organizing efforts have fizzled out.

What are the interests behind this movement and how has it come about?

The driving force behind "western separatism" are the local capitalists and potential entrepreneurs. They see enormous profits being generated in the resource industry, in land speculation and urban construction. They aren't happy about sharing part of the spoils with Ottawa nor with accepting more federal regulations in the petroleum industry which are intended to benefit the Canadian capitalist class as a whole.

Two developments in 1980 have greatly disturbed these interests. One was the defeat of the Clark government, seen as more responsive to their needs. The other was the federal budget delivered in October, which announced the Liberal government's intention to carve out a bigger slice of the resource taxation pie, to retain oil and gas prices below world levels in order to give Canadian manufacturers a competitive advantage on the world market, and to set limits on the export of oil and gas.

These measures have some of the giants of the petroleum industry fuming.

They want maximum control over all three policy areas: taxation, prices, and exports. The Alberta government has been the leading edge of the industry's counterattack. But now that Alberta Premier Lougheed's strategy appears increasingly unable to win concessions from Ottawa, more and more industry spokesmen are raising the banner of western separatism as the ultimate pressure tactic.

The financial stakes in all this are enormous. Canadian exports of natural gas to the United States alone rose from \$300 million in 1971 to \$4 billion in 1980. Figures for oil are equally dramatic—\$800 million to \$3 billion. The petroleum industry wants every penny of superprofit it can get from sales in Canada and abroad.

Western separatists are seeking to exploit traditional grievances with the federal government in order to build a political base. Western discontent has deep roots in the political life of workers and small farmers, going back to the turn of the century when white settlers and worker-immigrants were superexploited by the banks and railways and the manufacturers, all of which were centered in eastern Canada.

But the western separatists offer nothing for the workers and farmers of the west. Their ranks are made up of the worst collection of labor-hating right-wingers around. They are deady opposed to the rights of native people, Canada's original settlers, and their blind prejudice against the Québécois is extreme.

Does this mean that workers and farmers have an interest in supporting the federal government's side in the fight? Not at all.

Despite the howls of outrage, in some cases crocodile tears, of big oil officials at the federal government's energy policy, the budget actually guarantees massive profits for the petroleum industry. The New Year's Day rise in the price of gasoline by 1.9 cents a litre is dramatic proof of this. The effect will be to lower the standard of living of workers and farmers even further.

For these reasons neither the federal Liberal government nor the western separatists have been successful in drawing masses of workers into taking sides in the fight. The real dividing line is between working people on one hand and the petroleum industry and the capitalist governments that fight to ensure their profits on the other.

Last fall, speaking at a Labor Day rally in Hamilton, NDP [New Democratic Party] leader Ed Broadbent suggested the kind of policy that workers should be fighting for in the battle against big oil. He pointed to Venezuela and Mexico where the oil industries have been nationalized, and ridiculed the Liberal government's avowed goal of reaching energy self-sufficiency by 1990 through raising Canadian ownership of oil to 50 percent. He said Canada should take over the oil industry "lock, stock, and barrel."

The idea of public ownership of the oil industry is a good one. It would allow industry resources to be used to produce energy cheaply and efficiently to satisfy the needs of working people.

Despite the Hamilton statement, neither Broadbent nor the federal NDP caucus is campaigning for nationalization of big oil. It's up to the unions and the ranks of the NDP to take up this fight. That's a struggle in which workers and farmers have every interest in taking sides.

—Frank Parker

Christmas Eve Attack on Immigrant Workers in France

[On Christmas Eve fifty persons from Vitry-sur-Seine, on the outskirts of Paris, bulldozed and ransacked a dormitory where 300 immigrant workers from Mali had just been housed. They cut the electric cables, telephone lines, and gas ducts, and tore down most of the doors.

[They were protesting the growing number of immigrant workers who had moved to Vitry in recent years.

[This reprehensible action was taken with the approval of the Communist Party mayor of Vitry, Paul Mercieca. The mayor charged that the African immigrants had been secretly transferred from the neighboring community of Saint-Maur to his municipality because they were unwanted in Saint-Maur.

[Claiming that the working class community of Vitry already had too many immigrant workers, Mercieca issued an emergency decree forbidding their settlement in Vitry.

[Several accounts of the incident at Vitry asserted that the rampage had been led by the Communist Party mayor. Mercieca has denied these charges.

[There are an estimated four million immigrant workers and their families in France. They come from the African countries of Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Benin, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, as well as from Portugal, Spain, and Turkey.

[With the economic crisis and the rise in unemployment in France, these immigrant workers have become scapegoats for the French government's policies of repression and austerity. Racist attacks have been on an increase and are encouraged by the government's policies.

[The following article on the events in Vitry and the role of the Communist Party appeared in the January 3-9 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the French Revolutionary Communist League (LCR). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The crocodiles of the right-wing press, who have never before let themselves get upset over racist attacks, jumped at the opportunity to shed some tears over the Communist Party's "anti-immigration policies." We have nothing in common with these capitalist journalists.

We know that it is the Giscard government that bears primary responsibility for the intolerable situation of immigrant workers in this country. It is the government that imposes subhuman living and working conditions on immigrant workers. And it is the government that refuses to

grant these workers the same rights as French workers.

The government accepts and rejects immigrant workers according to the needs of the capitalist economy. The immigrant workers are used as pawns in their political and economic game.

If the employers need laborers to work for less money they go looking for them in the most distant countries, closing their eyes to the worst sort of slave trade. But in times of economic crisis, the borders are closed, mass deportations occur, and immigrant workers are made into scapegoats for the crisis.

On a national scale, right-wing mayors and departmental administrators carry out this same cynical policy. In municipalities controlled by officials from the rightist parties—the Gaullist Assembly for the Republic (RPR) or the Giscardist Union for French Democracy (UDF)—the immigrant population is "pushed out." These officials claim that the immigrants "lower the standards" and they systematically steer the immigrants towards working-class districts.

Given the government's policy, the Communist Party's position serves to divide the working class and promote the spread of racism.

By calling for "fair distribution of immigrants among all the various communities" the CP is caught in a terrible bind. This logic leads CP elected officials—catering to the prejudices of their electorate—to fight against any new immigrant workers coming into their communities. Some even prefer to leave housing vacant rather than make it available to immigrant families. The mayor of Vitry just carried this policy to its logical conclusion.

'Threshold of Tolerance'

In order to try and justify this scandalous policy, CP officials explain that when their numbers rise "above a certain threshold," immigrants inevitably encourage racism.

But it is not immigrant workers who create racists, any more than it is Jews who create anti-Semitism! It is the decay of class society that spawns these monsters. The CP would do better to leave this conception of a "threshold of tolerance" to the bourgeois sociologists who invented it. These bourgeois sociologists have transformed what is really only the product of a social order that they do not want to call into question, into a law of nature.

The CP's call for the population to fight back because there are "too many immigrants" in their community, does not

strike a blow against the Giscardist mayor of Saint-Maur. On the contrary. The CP's position, whether it likes it or not, can only encourage racism of all kinds and distract the attention of French workers from their real enemy. It can only disarm the working class with respect to the fascists who campaign around the theme "Foreigners Go Home."

And moreover, why couldn't the same logic be applied to workplaces as well as municipalities? Will the CP say tomorrow that the "threshold of tolerance" has been reached at the Renault Plant in Billancourt or among the subway cleaners?

Communist Party leaders also use another argument. They say that the presence of immigrants in huge numbers creates "an intolerable drain on local budgets."

Of course it would be fruitless to deny the problems that could arise—in education, social welfare, and housing. But everyone who is hit by unemployment or hard times "creates a drain" no matter what the color of their skin! And as long as there are workers districts they must confront this contradiction.

There is only one answer to this problem that corresponds to the interests of the working class as a whole. And that is to mobilize both French and immigrant workers in united action against the government to demand the financial resources that will insure decent housing and work for all. This may be more difficult—but it is the only path to take.

To think otherwise is to agree to a policy based on accepting poverty and divisions among the working class. And it means telling French working people that the reason they pay such high local taxes is because there are too many immigrants. And why not also blame the taxes on too many people being out of work or too many people earning the bare minimum wage, since they too "create drains?"

CP's Chauvinist Policy

The CP's municipal policy is simply a striking manifestation of its chauvinist orientation, which had already been seen during the elections for the European Parliament. Now we see it rebound in full force today: "Let Us Manufacture in France"; "No to a German Europe"; "Halt All Immigration." These are such nationalist slogans which completely disregard international working class solidarity.

The Communist Party spends much time these days attacking the Socialist Party. But the CP's present positions are the same as those the General Confederation

of Labor (CGT) defended when it was led by the reformist Léon Jouhaux during the 1929 crisis. At that time, Communist members in the CGTU were fighting for eliminating all restrictions on population movements and spoke out against police control of immigration.

The newspaper *Le Matin* was correct when it pointed out how in the Vitry events the positions of the CP and SP were "fundamentally similar" and that "the Socialist mayors totally share the Communist's demands." And Bergeron was not wrong to point out that today the CP defends positions that it had objected to yesterday.

At least this is one area where CP leader Georges Marchais and SP leader François Mitterrand are in agreement.

Of course, the SP and the French Demo-

cratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) harshly condemned the CP's violent action—but the SP did not criticize the reasons behind it. Both the CP and the SP are in agreement on the demand to stop all immigration. They are both for sending the 300 immigrants from Mali back to Saint-Maur. And they both have the same position on refusing to grant complete equality of political rights to immigrants, especially the right to vote.

These policies, and more generally the lack of response by the big workers organizations to the attacks on immigrant workers by Lionel Stoléro [the national official in charge of immigrant affairs] and Christian Bonnet [Interior Minister, in charge of the police], have left the door open for the right wing and the racists.

In light of the racism and xenophobia

that have been on the rise because of the economic crisis, we must stress that true communism is first of all internationalism: "Proletariats have no country."

It is necessary to come out clearly in support of unrestricted travel for all workers and complete equality in all social and political rights.

We must demand that everyone have the right to a job. The solution to unemployment is to greatly reduce the workweek with no cut in pay, not to send the immigrants back to their countries or women back to the kitchens.

A united front of all French and immigrant workers organizations and all anti-racist organizations must be formed to fight against the real perpetrators of anti-immigrant attacks and racism.

And that is the Giscard government. □

'Nationality Proposals' Aim to Keep Blacks Out

British Government Steps Up Attacks on Immigrants

By Gary Erlisker

LONDON—Since the coming to power of the Tory government of Margaret Thatcher in May 1979, there has been a stepping up of the offensive against Black people in Britain. This is part of the worldwide drive of the capitalist class against oppressed national minorities and immigrant workers.

The election of the Tories was accompanied by racist demagoguery about Britain being "swamped" by an "alien culture." Putting its racism into practice, Thatcher's government has doubled the level of the deportations. Right now, it is attempting to deport hundreds of Filipino domestic workers.

These workers, who have performed some of the most menial and low-paid jobs in Britain, are being charged with not declaring they had children, when they entered the country. The fact that they were not required to do so at the time, nor the hardship that their deportations would bring, carries little weight with the racist authorities.

Raids on factories and other workplaces are being stepped up. On any one day, up to 200 people are being held in detention centers. Police harassment is increasing.

In turn, the attacks on Black people by the state create an atmosphere in which any Black person becomes fair game for assault and even murder by racist thugs.

Now the Tories are planning a new stage in the racist campaign. Their Nationality Proposals, which will be coming up for discussion in Parliament early this year, seek to deprive millions of Black people of the right to enter, work, and stay in Britain.

- The proposals divide people into those whose ancestors were born here, mainly white people, and those whose were not, mainly Black people. The latter would have no automatic right of entry into Britain.

- People in countries presently ruled by Britain would not be able to enter the UK as of right.

- Many Black people who opted for British passports could now become stateless.

- Previously stateless people to whom British citizenship was given by the 1948 and 1964 Acts could have that citizenship taken away.

- Residence of five years no longer entitles people to citizenship. It is now a question of Home Office discretion. Black people who speak out and organize against racism, or who are active in unions and social struggles may well be victimized.

- Black people not born in Britain would be unable to adopt children from abroad. Parents would also have to prove they are legally settled here before their children born here are accepted as British.

Black women will not gain citizenship by being married to citizens.

It is likely that the civic rights of Black people will be restricted as a result of the proposals.

Overall, the proposals are aimed at ensuring that Black people presently outside Britain stay there. Immigration raids and deportations will increase, and all Black people will be subject to increasing harassment and intimidation.

As long as racist immigration laws can deprive Black people of the right to enter

Britain, the government and employers will be able to treat Blacks here as second-class human beings.

At the same time, there has been a growing fightback against the racist offensive.

The cases of Anwar Ditta, a British citizen whom the Home Office is trying to prevent from bringing her children here from Pakistan, and Nasira Begum, a Black woman fighting deportation, have won growing support. In November, 500 people demonstrated in support of Ditta in the town of Rochdale where she lives.

The Filipino domestics' case is being taken up in several unions. Five hundred Filipinos and their supporters marched and rallied in London on November 23 for an amnesty and no deportations.

Blacks in St. Pauls, Bristol, rebelled against police harassment in March 1980 and drove the cops out of their community.

In November 1979, in the biggest action against racist attacks by the government, nearly 20,000 people took to the streets in London to oppose attempts to tighten immigration controls.

The march, overwhelmingly Black, was called by the newlyformed Campaign Against Racist Laws (CARL), a coalition including Black workers' organizations, several left political groups, and members of the Labour Party. Sixty Labour members of Parliament backed the march, as did several unions.

While Black people have shown their determination to fight back and groups like CARL have grown, there has been a lack of involvement in this crucial area of the class struggle by much of the labor movement.

The last Labour government for instance, not only failed to carry out party policy and repeal the racist 1971 Immigration Act, it launched its own attacks on Black people. The Nationality Green Paper was a glaring example and has provided a basis for the Tory proposals.

The unions, too, have not campaigned in

defense of their Black members and the Black community.

This situation needs to be changed. The support which has been forthcoming from the labor movement so far needs to be increased and built on. The antiracist struggle needs to be taken to the very heart of the labor movement, for instance into the industrial unions.

For if the unions and the Labour Party

ranks aren't mobilized the offensive will not be turned back. In turn, if the labor movement cannot mobilize to defend the most disadvantaged sections of working people, it will not be able to defend any working people from the Tories' attacks on our democratic and human rights, wages, and living conditions.

The national CARL conference on January 10 will be mapping out plans for a

campaign of mass action against the Nationality Proposals. Activists in CARL have already begun to discuss ways in which they can step up the involvement of the whole labor movement in the struggle.

A fighting alliance of the labor movement and Black community, mobilized on the streets, could deal a real defeat to the Tories and weaken their ability to attack any of our rights. □

DOCUMENTS

Speech by Humberto Ortega

'We Are Part of the World Struggle Against Exploitation'

[The following speech was given by Humberto Ortega, commander in chief of the Sandinista People's Army of Nicaragua, at the rally held in Havana, Cuba, December 20 to close the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party. The text is taken from the January 4 issue of the Cuban English-language weekly *Granma*.]

* * *

On one occasion during the arduous struggle Sandino carried out against the Yankee marines, in a very difficult stage when some weaklings abandoned our heroic struggle against Yankee intervention, Sandino said, "Given the nature of our struggle, the vacillating and the timid are abandoning us. Only the workers and peasants will go on to the end." The Cuban people have shown in their revolutionary practice that the workers and peasants are the ones involved in the Revolution and the vacillating and the cowards are in Miami. (APPLAUSE)

Our vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and our national leadership are fully aware and absolutely convinced that in our country it will also be the workers and peasants, the honest and patriotic Nicaraguans, the ones who aren't cowards, who will go on to the end, holding high the red and black flag carried by Sandino and by the Cuban people alongside Fidel in the Sierra Maestra in order to win power for the people. (APPLAUSE)

The enemies of the people; those who are against progress; the warmongers and adventurers who are against peace; those who want to shatter the magnificent and formidable national and international unity of the workers, peoples and democratic governments in the struggle against imperialism and world reaction, want to intimidate us with their war cries in order to try to contain the inexorable drive of the



Granma

HUMBERTO ORTEGA

peoples struggling for national and social liberation. They spend money obtained from the brutal exploitation of our peoples, the blood shed by Indians, mestizos, blacks, workers and peasants in Our America, the sweat of our peoples; they spend that money on designing new things to promote the arms race.

Our enemies may design many new weapons but they'll never be able to design a weapon that turns our brave peoples into cowards. (APPLAUSE) Because the peoples' key weapon in the permanent and tenacious struggle against reaction is the resolute determination to shed even their last drop of blood to defend the interests of the revolutionaries, which are the interests of the peoples themselves; blue- and white-

collar workers, peasants, humiliated Indians and the poor of all of our Latin America, the Latin America of Bolívar, Martí and Sandino. (APPLAUSE)

We are no longer alone as Sandino was during his battle against the Yankee marines, when, in spite of the difficult international situation then, he was able to inflict a big military defeat on them, driving the invaders from our soil. (APPLAUSE)

Fighting shoulder to shoulder with Sandino in those difficult times was a great Central American revolutionary named Farabundo Martí. (APPLAUSE) This great revolutionary was massacred along with 30,000 other Salvadorans in 1932, in the first national people's insurrection of the brave Salvadorans, who today are still shedding their blood to win the freedom for which Farabundo Martí fought alongside Sandino. (APPLAUSE) Those were hard times for our peoples in difficult years, but there were always men, our peoples always had men ready to lead their rebellions and fight the oppressor, the invader.

Years passed and the struggle, a historical response to exploitation and oppression, kept on developing in Latin America and the rest of the world.

In Cuba dignity and courage made themselves felt in the attack on the Moncada Garrison in 1953, and three years later in Nicaragua dignity and courage were embodied in Rigoberto López Pérez who, at the cost of his life, executed the first Somoza, Anastasio Somoza García. (APPLAUSE)

The struggle continued in the Sierra Maestra, and in Nicaragua a veteran Sandinista who had fought alongside Sandino and was already a graybeard reinitiated the armed struggle in 1958; and when Cuba was victorious, in Nicaragua Carlos Fonseca was wounded in the mountains while forging the Sandinista Na-

tional Liberation Front and the victory of July 19, 1979. (APPLAUSE)

When the Sandinistas finally took power, many thousands of Nicaraguans had already given up their valuable lives. There had been tens of thousands of victims in the struggle which our people had been involved in since the past century against the imperialist master to the north. The suffering and bloodshed our people endured to win power, our people who are building the future, the revolutionary future, will never be forgotten. Our people will never forget their heroes and martyrs, because the memory of them is the main weapon which strengthens our combative morale, our determination to struggle; it is the main means with which we can mobilize men, mobilize peoples in the struggle against the weapons that the warmongers perfect day after day in an effort to contain the historical advance of humanity.

Thus, when we see this demonstration of support for a genuine Revolution, we are confident that in Cuba and in Nicaragua, the main tool is still the dignity, revolutionary morale and determination to build the new society, just as we are determined to give our lives in defense of this Revolution which has cost so much, not only to the Cuban people, but also the peoples of Latin America, because this Revolution is part of Latin America. (APPLAUSE)

I was saying we are not alone. Millions of people in Our America and the rest of the world are no longer willing to continue being enslaved by exploitation and oppression. The most important thing is that the peoples of our Latin America have understood that the era of the big stick policy which the United States once used against Nicaragua, for example, can no longer be so easily applied against our peoples, because, in the first place Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua are no longer alone vis-à-vis the other revolutionary movements of the world, especially the progressive and revolutionary governments and those of the socialist camp, which support the cause of the peoples and which we are absolutely sure will not sit with arms folded in the face of threats made by the imperialists and warmongers. (APPLAUSE)

Our revolutionary processes contribute to the universal struggle of the peoples against exploitation, which is why we say we are not alone. We are part of the world struggle against exploitation.

In conclusion, I want to tell you that, on behalf of our people, the Sandinista people, in the revolutionary dictionary which we use daily in our Revolution, there are many words, but those words which refer to yielding, surrendering, vacillating and cowardice are not there; they no longer exist in the red and black dictionary of our Sandinista people.

Patria libre! (SHOUTS OF "O MORIR!") (APPLAUSE) □

Speech by Maurice Bishop

'Cuba, Example for People of the World'

[The following speech was given by Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at the rally held in Havana, Cuba, December 20 to close the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party. The text is taken from the January 4 issue of the Cuban English-language weekly *Granma*.]

* * *

Beloved Revolutionary Comrades of Cuba!

I was so lost in your unity, your strength and your courage that I did not even hear when the comrade chairman said it was my turn to speak. Comrades, every time I return to your country I become even more inspired, even more rejuvenated, even more encouraged and even more hopeful for the future of our region. When I was here on International Workers' Day, just a few months ago, I did not believe that it would be possible to see an even larger and stronger and more united crowd today. (APPLAUSE) But yet I have come here today, and the feeling and spirit of the Cuban people is even deeper than it was the last time.

You have a tremendous responsibility. You have given the world Sierra Maestra, you have given the world Moncada, you have given the world Maceo and Mella and Martí and Che. (APPLAUSE)

But, most of all, you have given the world the example of a small country and a small people in number being able to defeat United States imperialism at Girón. (APPLAUSE) But most of all, comrades, you, the brave revolutionary people of Cuba, have given the world the living legend, the outstanding leader, Comrade Fidel Castro. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Comrades, we in free revolutionary Grenada are confident that whatever plans the imperialists might have you, the people of Cuba, will be ready and prepared to meet whatever challenge you have to meet. (APPLAUSE)

All of the major foundations of any revolution exist in Cuba. Over the past 21 years you have wiped out illiteracy, you have removed drug taking as a problem, you have built a strong system in education and health care, and you have expanded and diversified your economy. You have therefore met one of the main challenges of any revolution. You, led by your vanguard Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, have been able to bring economic benefits to your people. You have also met a second major pillar because you have been able to be mobilized and organized at a moment's notice. You are the best example in this hemisphere of a people organ-



Granma

MAURICE BISHOP

ized to participate democratically in your own affairs. But perhaps most important of all, because of the dangerous times in which we live, you have also built a solid foundation for the Revolution and that is you have demonstrated your willingness, your ability and your capacity to defend your Revolution with arms in hand. (APPLAUSE)

With these three pillars and under the guidance and leadership of your Party and Comrade Fidel, we are confident that no force on earth will ever be able to quench the unquenchable spirit of the mighty Cuban people and their glorious Revolution.

Comrades:

Long live the revolutionary people of Cuba! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live the Communist Party of Cuba! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live the glorious memory of Maceo, of Máximo Gómez, of Martí, of Camilo and Che! (APPLAUSE)

Long live the struggling and fighting people of Our America! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live the indomitable Fidel! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Grenada and Cuba, unidas venceremos! (APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS OF "GRE-NADA AND CUBA, TOGETHER THEY WILL WIN!") □

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USA: Young Socialist Alliance Holds Convention

By Janice Lynn



Salm Kolis/Militant

Convention included rally in solidarity with El Salvador.

More than 650 delegates and observers attended the twentieth national convention of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) December 27-30 in Indianapolis, Indiana. The YSA is an independent youth organization that stands on the same political program as the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The composition of the convention reflected the scope of the YSA's activities and the kind of people joining and leading the YSA.

Some 52 percent of YSA members are industrial workers, 14 percent are looking for jobs in industry, and 24 percent are students. Twenty-two percent are Black, Latino, or of other oppressed nationalities.

The four main reports at the convention dealt with the movement in solidarity with the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean; the meaning of the Reagan election and the working class fightback; recent developments in the struggle for Black rights; and the national campaign to publicize the YSA and SWP lawsuit against government spying and harassment and to get out the ideas of the YSA.

One of the high points of the convention was a spirited international solidarity rally. It was a rally of fighting youth from around the world who came together to celebrate the victories of the people of the Caribbean

and Central America—represented by Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

But most important they had come together to express their determination to defend the ongoing struggles in the region—especially the Salvadoran revolution—from U.S. intervention.

"Salvador vencerá!" (El Salvador will win!) was one of the most popular chants of the evening, best expressing the determination and revolutionary confidence of the youthful crowd.

The keynote speakers were Ken Lewis, twenty-one, a central leader of the New Jewel Movement National Youth Organization, which is mobilizing youth in Grenada in defense of the revolution there; Freddy Velásquez, twenty-two, a young Sandinista who took part in the 1979 insurrection that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua; and Jorge Ruíz, also twenty-two, who before coming to the U.S. was a militant in the struggle against the dictatorship in El Salvador. Both Ruíz and Velásquez are leaders of the solidarity movement in the United States.

The rally also heard from María Terrero of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT) in the Dominican Republic; Tomás Galindo of the Revolutionary Communist Youth

(JCR) in Mexico; Brenda Lee of the Youth Commission of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada; Corine Illouz of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) in France; Erik Solheim from Socialist Youth in Norway; and a visiting professor from Guatemala. It was chaired by Rohima Miah, a twenty-two-year-old Black shipyard worker from Newport News, Virginia.

The YSA unanimously approved stepping up its activities in solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean.

In the main political report, YSA National Organizational Secretary Kathryn Crowder pointed to the response evoked by the Reagan election. She discussed the launching of the National Black Independent Party, the actions protesting draft registration and demanding an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and the many other conferences and demonstrations—for women's rights, against Ku Klux Klan/Nazi violence, and against nuclear power—already planned both during and after Reagan's inauguration.

Another highlight of the convention was a special panel on the newly formed National Black Independent Political Party. Mel Mason, a socialist city councilman from California, was the keynote speaker. Mason outlined the importance of the Black party for all working people.

The YSA pledged its full support for the new Black party, and voted to help build it.

"We're proud to be part of the Black party movement," YSA leader Glova Scott, a Black steelworker from Baltimore told the rally, "... meeting and working side by side with some of the new militant leaders coming forward in the Black community and in our class."

The final night of the convention was devoted to a rally against government spying. In March the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies will be put on trial for illegal attacks on socialists and other political activists.

A special \$75,000 fund was launched at the rally in order to get out the facts about the SWP and YSA lawsuit and to spread the socialist ideas the government fears.

A nationwide campaign was also initiated to win back the jobs of nine SWP and YSA members fired by the Lockheed aircraft company for their political ideas and activities.

A national tour of two of the fired Lockheed workers—both members of the YSA—was announced at the convention, along with a big subscription and sales campaign to build the socialist press.

The YSA convention marked a renewed growth for the YSA, both in its size and activities. There are currently forty-eight YSA chapters throughout the country. □

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'Youth Against Giscard' Campaign Planned

Revolutionary Communist Youth Meet in France

By Janice Lynn

The Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (Revolutionary Communist Youth) of France held its second national congress December 13-14 in the town of Orsay. More than 300 youth attended the congress.

The JCR was launched less than two years ago by student youth in the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR, the French section of the Fourth International) and young people who had been attracted to the revolutionary-socialist youth paper *Baricades*.

According to the LCR newspaper *Rouge*, the congress was preceded by several weeks of written and oral discussion.

A high point of the congress was an international youth rally that featured speakers from various revolutionary youth movements around the world.

The rally opened with greetings from the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) that recalled the JCR's active work in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. The JCR had been in the forefront of the campaign in France to raise funds for the Nicaraguan literacy campaign.

Other speakers included a Black shipyard worker from the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, and a representative from the newly formed Trotskyist youth group in Sweden. Greetings were also read from the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) of Spain.

The rally unanimously approved a motion

in support of the hunger strike by political prisoners in Northern Ireland and protested the scandalous conditions imposed upon these prisoners by the British government.

Rouge reports that the discussion at the congress revolved around two main topics. First was the JCR's work to win more young people to the "Youth Against Giscard" campaign.

The JCR is actively collecting signatures of young workers and students on petitions calling for defeating French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and his policies of austerity and repression in the upcoming presidential elections.

The JCR is also campaigning for workers unity against the capitalist parties. JCR members are calling on all working class

candidates to agree in advance that in the second round of elections they will step down in favor of whichever candidate receives the highest vote in the first round.

As part of the "Youth Against Giscard" campaign the JCR discussed helping to initiate press conferences and "Rock Against Giscard" concerts, as well as other activities.

The second main topic of discussion at the congress revolved around the question of how to win more working-class youth to the JCR—both young workers and youth from France's technical schools.

Since September, *Rouge* reported, the JCR had recruited 150 new members. Many of these new members have come from the technical high schools, where they are learning industrial skills. There was discussion about integrating these new members into the JCR and about the need to transform the JCR into an organization of young workers.

According to *Rouge*, the second congress of the JCR represented the development of the JCR into a truly independent organization that could attract the best revolutionary youth of France. □



Rouge

John Poulos Dies—A Founder of U.S. SWP

John Poulos, a founding member of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, died in New York December 21 of a heart attack. He was sixty-nine years old, and imbued to the end with the spirit of rebellion against capitalism that brought him to the radical movement in his youth.

John was born and raised in Lynn, Massachusetts, the son of immigrants from Greece, and he retained a deep interest in Greek politics and culture all his life. In the early years of the Great Depression he considered joining the Communist Party but came across the writings of the Trotskyists and joined the Communist League of America around 1932.

A trade union leader, John was also a delegate to the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago in 1938. When World War II began, he joined a faction in the SWP that believed the Soviet Union was no longer a workers state. As a representative of this faction he

was elected an alternate member of the SWP National Committee at a convention in April 1940. A few weeks later when the members of this faction left the SWP to form the Workers Party, John left with them.

He was a member of the Workers Party Political Committee and was on the editorial board of *Labor Action*, the WP's weekly newspaper. He left the Workers Party toward the end of the 1940s, almost a decade before its members dissolved it to join the Socialist Party.

When the new radicalization occurred in the 1960s, John responded with enthusiasm to the civil rights struggle, and the opposition to U.S. imperialism's role in Vietnam. He did not join any political party, but he collaborated actively with the left-wing participants in these movements, and later renewed his relations with the Socialist Workers Party. While he still had political differences with the organization,

particularly on issues relating to the class nature of the Soviet Union, he considered himself a friend of the party and collaborated with it.

John retired in 1976, but only in order to concentrate on several projects that were close to his heart. He began investigating the early Trotskyist movement in Greece, collecting documents of its various tendencies and tracking down oldtimers with whom the movement had lost contact. He made two satisfying trips to Greece and one to Turkey to follow through on this work. In addition, he was assisting several young European scholars who were doing original research on the Greek resistance to Hitler and the ensuing civil war.

He also collaborated with Pathfinder Press in the United States and the Institut Léon Trotsky in Paris, helping them to collect biographical and historical data for their editions of Trotsky's writings. □

Israel: Social Tensions Rise as Economic Crisis Deepens

[Israel Shahak is the chairperson of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. A survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto and the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, he emigrated to Palestine with his family at the end of World War II, when he was twelve years old. He is currently a professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.]

[The following interview with Shahak was obtained by David Frankel in November.]

* * *

Question: Over the past few months there has been increasing speculation that the current Israeli government will soon fall because of the disastrous inflation in Israel and dissatisfaction over Prime Minister Menachem Begin's provocative stance in the negotiations with Egypt. What are your impressions of this?

Answer. Within Israel, it is really only the first aspect that counts—meaning the economic situation, which is much worse than in the United States.

But to take up the second point first, I don't think that people in Israel are concerned about Begin's stance toward Egypt, because Sadat is no longer popular in Israel. Sadat's blowing hot and cold—you know, sometimes against Israel, sometimes for Israel, sometimes comparing Begin to Hitler and then apologizing and saying that he's a best friend—this has created a situation where, while Israelis of course want peace with Egypt, Sadat is very unpopular. In fact, the popular nickname for him is "the snake."

Now, about the economy. It is not just that when I left Israel the current rate of inflation was 170 percent, with everybody expecting it to go up. It is not only that all the economic indices are disastrous.

All the Milton Friedman-type policies have failed on matters such as exports. Exports are declining catastrophically again after rising a year ago, and imports are rising. I think that a very important part of the Israeli establishment understands that the policies of Milton Friedman need fascism.

Q. By fascism do you mean smashing the workers movement?

A. They do not speak about smashing the workers movement, only subordinating it completely to the army or the state. Prohibiting strikes, prohibiting demonstrations, prohibiting freedom of opinion in newspapers, freedom of press, and so on.

This is openly proposed and discussed in Israel.

Q. Who talks about these types of measures?

A. There are, I think, three different groups, which have to be clearly differentiated. They are all openly agreed, however, on the need to abolish democracy. The first is the group of settlers organized in Gush Emunim [the Bloc of the Faithful]. This is a group of right-wing religious fanatics, together with some army officers who support them—the most important being Gen. Rafael Eytan, the chief of the general staff.

They are for a theocracy. They now openly oppose formal democracy. They say that they will not agree to any decision by the Knesset to remove any settlement, which is a new thing in Israel. They say that they will oppose it by force of arms. And they have the weapons.

Since February and March of this year, all the Gush Emunim settlers were taken out of ordinary Israeli army units—where they were isolated; they don't have very much following—and were transferred to special units in the settlements themselves. Each settlement now has its own autonomous military unit whose commanders are settlers. This means they have their own weapons—and not just small arms.

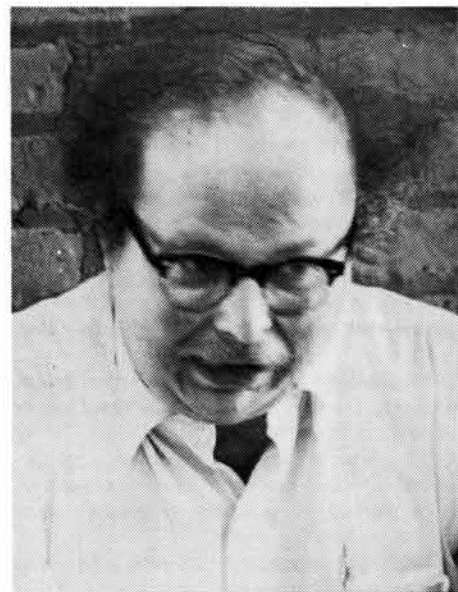
Q. Artillery?

A. No artillery, but light tanks, armored personnel carriers, machine guns, military trucks, and so on. They now go armed all the time, and not only to oppress the Palestinians. They also appear in Israeli demonstrations with their guns.

Now, there is a second group that is composed of high air force officers, both in active service and retirement. Their chief is Gen. Beni Peled, who is the former commander of the Israeli air force. He has founded a movement and published a brochure advocating dissolution of the Knesset and formation of a government of experts, who will of course reflect the ideas of Beni Peled. These ideas include prohibition of strikes, adoption of what he calls a siege economy, austerity, and so on.

So, this is the second group. The important point is that it advocates formal abolition of the Knesset, of elections, and of freedom of association, the press, and of strikes.

There is a third group that advocates the same things, this one from inside the Labor Party. Its leader is Yosef Tabenkin, who also wrote a small book calling for



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SHAHAK

squeezing the workers, abolition of strikes, abolition of freedom, a security economy, and so on.

He says Israel has two alternatives—one is a preventive war and grabbing the oil, and the second is abolition of democracy and squeezing the workers.

Tabenkin represents a big group of activists inside the kibbutzim movement. For very deep reasons—economic, social, and so on—the kibbutz movement by and large is to the right of the Labor Party, but not all are as crazy as Tabenkin. Still, it is an indication of the situation that Tabenkin finds his followers in the kibbutz movement.

Q. It makes sense that the economic crisis and the dead end that Israel is in would drive a section of the middle class, the bureaucrats in the state apparatus, and the ruling circles to the right. But are you talking about a mass movement?

A. Neither the left nor the right can mobilize masses. Speaking of the Israeli Jewish community, you have maybe 10 to 12 percent who oppose Begin from the right.

Q. What about the workers movement? Hasn't there been a good deal of strike activity and protest over the government's economic policies?

A. There have been strikes, it is very true. In fact, one of the possible eventualities is strikes and hunger riots developing

into something very, very serious. But you must also be aware that the Histadrut¹ is opposing any significant strikes and any significant workers' actions very strongly.

All the time you have very militant local strikes. But they do not extend beyond one locality or one union because of the Histadrut's opposition. But there is certainly very deep discontent, and it may well be that something spontaneous will ignite a popular rebellion in spite of the Histadrut.

Q. Have you any feel for the type of discussions that are going on in the factories, among the workers? My impression from talking to Israeli socialists is that they are able to talk politics on the job and get a good response.

A. Freedom of opinion within Israel is very great now. People are disaffected. There is enormous toleration—you can say anything and everything. You can go to a workers demonstration and say you are for Yassir Arafat.

Q. Isn't that a big change?

A. Yes, of course. But you cannot confuse tolerance for anybody's opinion with support.

You can get enormous support if you are against the government. Anything against Begin will go over well. You can also be against the settlers. The settlers are very unpopular on economic grounds. People feel that the money that should be spent on milk for our children, or on housing or education, goes for the settlers. They are also despised because of their religious character, due to the association of the religious parties and the religious establishment with an enormous network of corruption.

You will get a good response as long as you stick to economics. But, if you go from there to some basic problems—to the question of the Palestinians, of Zionism . . . While it is very true, and it is something new, that people will hear you with the greatest tolerance, they will not follow you.

But the tolerance is real, and it is one of the things that is worrying the establishment very much.

Q. What do you attribute it to? Five or ten years ago . . .

A. Even three years ago, even two years ago. Well, very simply, it is now apparent to everybody that things are bad. The

1. The Histadrut calls itself a labor federation, but it was set up in 1922 as a Zionist organization that excluded Arab workers from membership and whose central function was to advance the Zionist colonization of Palestine. Although the Histadrut continues to operate a trade union department and to present itself as a trade union, it is also the largest employer in Israel. It owns two of the four largest armaments companies in the country, the largest industrial conglomerate, the main insurance company, the largest construction concern, and a chain of banks.



Israeli workers demonstrate against runaway inflation.

remedies proposed for this bad situation are even more fantastic, or painful, than the situation itself.

Of course, you cannot go to the workers and propose military dictatorship, or the prohibition of workers strikes. And Gen. Beni Peled is not such a fool as to do that. He works among the upper class.

And you also cannot propose to the workers what the settlers are saying—that if we set up a theocracy, then God will support us, the messiah will come, and everything will be all right. Even the religious people among the workers are beginning to laugh at this point.

So, the situation is bad, but nobody proposes any remedies that seem reasonable, even to a person brainwashed by the Zionist media. So they ask what is your proposal.

The situation in Israel is really desperate, and people will listen to anything. Many people, especially young people, are taking the way out of emigrating to the United States.

South Africa also is now advertising for Israeli manpower.

Q. South Africa? It seems like leaping from the frying pan into the fire.

A. Well, people in Israel, because of the intellectual isolation, do not understand this.

Let me tell you what happened to me. I teach chemistry to agricultural students. A year ago two of my students came to me at the end of the year and they asked me to correct a translation of my syllabus from Hebrew to English. I agreed, and I asked them what they wanted the translation for.

They said that they were the committee for helping the emigrating students from the third-year class of agriculture. They represented 44 people out of perhaps 180. And they told me that they knew, because of my opinions, that I would not give them a hard time and would help them.

So, at the end, I asked one of the members of the committee where he was going to emigrate. And he says to me in exactly the same tone that you use to ask for tea or coffee, "There are two alternatives, Pisa, in Italy, and Pretoria, in South Africa."

He was not a bad man. He was just an ordinary Israeli. They are simply brainwashed.

Q. Is there much in the Israeli press about the revolutionary upsurge in Central America?

A. Very little. Very, very little.

Q. But Israeli industry is selling a lot of arms to these right-wing regimes.

A. Yes, but since there is agreement on this policy between Labor and Likud, the press does not say anything about it. I would say that ordinary Israelis simply don't know about this.

Q. What about the Iranian revolution?

*A. Well, of course there has been a spate of articles about how the shah was our friend and we mourn his death, and so on. Especially in *Al-Hamishmar*, the paper of the Mapam party.² They are, I think, the biggest monarchists in the world. And they carried a most flattering account of the coronation of the Iranian crown prince in Cairo, with his picture, and how many benefits he would bring to Iran.*

One interesting thing about Iran is that while most Israelis see [Ayatollah Ruhollah] Khomeini as a devil incarnate, even more than in America, there is one group that has been immune to this brainwash-

2. Mapam is one of the components of the Labor Party. Historically, it was the most left-wing of the major Zionist parties. Its paper, *Al-Hamishmar*, features the slogan: "To Zionism, Socialism, and friendship between nations."

ing—the poorer among the Iranian Jews themselves.

Until the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war, the great majority of Iranian Jews who left after the beginning of the revolution returned to Iran. There was a big scandal in September [1980] when a group of a few hundred Iranian Jews returned to Iran from Israel, and made a big point of returning there before September 20—that was the date of the Day of Atonement this year, and they wanted to spend it at home—Isfahan, or Tehran, not Tel Aviv.

I can say from my own experience that the poorer Iranian Jews who I meet in Jerusalem on many occasions dispute the general Israeli opinion about Khomeini and say that he was for the poor and the shah was for the rich.

“You can say anything you want about Khomeini—we know from our cousin in Tehran that this is so,” and so on.

Q. How many Iranian Jews went to Israel?

A. You mean after the revolution? About 10-12,000, of whom only about 2,000 are left. Many more went on to France or the United States. The poorer ones went to Israel because they were promised grants and help. The rich ones went to Los Angeles.

But the ones who I am talking about now are Iranian Jews who went to Israel in the early '50s and who are completely integrated into Israeli life, and who still, through their relatives, heard about Khomeini.

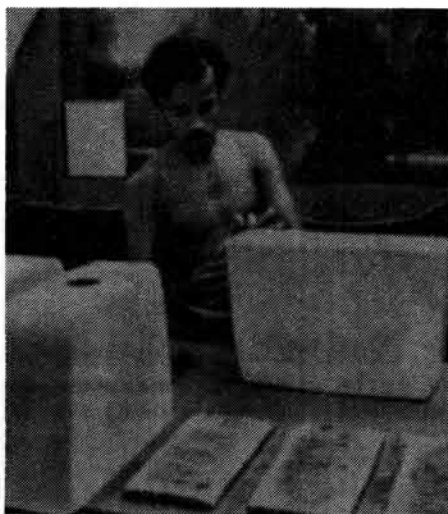
Q. But people are not conscious about the Black freedom struggle in southern Africa?

A. Of course not. For a long time . . .

Q. They don't know what's going on? They must know about Zimbabwe.

A. The Israeli press is filled with the most disgusting flattery to apartheid. The South African government is always inviting Israeli reporters to South Africa, they go and are entertained very well, and they return and write articles about how good the Blacks have it in Soweto. And the Israeli radio and television do the same thing. You can brainwash an isolated people for some time.

By the way, one of the keys to opening the link with South Africa has been the kibbutz movement, especially the “left wing” Hashomer Hatzair movement [the youth group of Mapam]. They were the first to import South African diamonds into Israel, and today they sell all types of things to South Africa, from sophisticated electronic parts to compacted animal fodder, as is the case with kibbutz Ma'Abrot. Rich South African farmers are brought over to make pilgrimages to the holy sepulcher, to admire the “socialist”



Worker in plastics factory at Kibbutz Ma'agan Michael.

kibbutz, and to make more commercial deals.

In fact, the kibbutz movement, by all objective criteria, is now to the right of Israeli society as a whole. I don't mean just Tabenkin, with his crazy ideas. I mean that in every respect the average level of the kibbutz movement is worse than that of society as a whole. Especially on matters of freedom of opinion.

Q. Why do you think that this is happening?

A. Economic privilege and militarism.

On the economic level, you must remember that the kibbutzim are enormously rich. They have the very highest standard of living, apart from the few capitalists. By now, you have a new generation that was reared, like the British aristocracy, on horseback-riding, horse races, and olympic swimming pools.

They are conscious exploiters of labor—including Jewish labor. Let me give you two examples from recent articles in the Israeli press.

A very famous and rich kibbutz, Ein Harod in the Jezreel Valley, had for many years an industry producing steel instruments and other things. At a time of rising unemployment, it sacked all its workers. The right-wing paper *Ma'ariv* went and interviewed the workers. Many of them had worked there for twenty-five or thirty years and found themselves out of a job at the age of fifty.

But they had another complaint too. In all such plants on the kibbutzim you have two classes. The hired workers can reach a certain low level, but all the managers are from the kibbutz. Every three or four years another manager is put in—of course, he doesn't understand anything about what is happening in the plant. But by virtue of being a kibbutz member, he immediately goes to the top.

Well, I don't have to tell you how the

other workers feel about this.

Another group of workers on the Ariel kibbutz described how they could see the swimming pool. They complained that this swimming pool is out of bounds for them. They are forbidden to swim there or to bring their children there, even on Saturdays.

How can such a situation not corrupt the exploiters?

To give another example that illustrates the change in ideology. There is currently a conflict within the Labor Party between [former Prime Minister Yitzhak] Rabin and [former Defense Minister Shimon] Peres. Peres took it on himself to visit many of the kibbutzim that support Rabin to try to persuade them. He visited Givat Brenner, a little south of Tel Aviv. This is an old kibbutz that lives mostly on the basis of industry run by hired labor.

Peres spoke there, and he complained that Givat Brenner's journal had accused him of being a friend of the employer. So suddenly his audience begins to shout, “This was a compliment! We are the employers!”

Peres still thinks in terms of when the kibbutz movement claimed to be socialist.

Now, on the question of militarization. The kibbutz movement educates its children, especially its male children, to be good soldiers. It justifies itself before the rest of Israeli society by pointing out how the proportion of those soldiers killed who come from the kibbutzim is so much higher than for the rest of Israeli society, which is true.

This is their justification to themselves and to Israeli society “We produce the good soldiers, we produce those who sacrifice their lives, because of this we have to be given more”—more credit, more money, more opportunities for exploiting, and so on.

Because of this corrupting environment—and this is really a victory for the human spirit—many of their young people are leaving. They have to bribe their own people by one year of fully paid vacation outside of Israel. Or by unlimited, paid study at the university. And even with this, 50 to 60 percent of the young people are leaving within three, four, five years after their military service.

Because they do not really understand what is hitting them, the kibbutzim have begun establishing a system of inquisition directed against their own young members. They are putting controls on the mail, they are forbidding outside lecturers who are not approved. They are establishing special “education before the army” centers where the youth are herded to be brainwashed. And nothing helps.

They are opening the mail of their young people to see if they are receiving any Trotskyist literature. The Israeli Revolutionary Communist League [RCL—the Israeli section of the Fourth International] met a young woman of about eighteen

from Gan Shmuel who had been in Jerusalem for about two or three months, and who was interested in Trotskyist ideas. So, after she returned to the kibbutz she made the mistake of asking for literature by mail. Her mail was opened, and this young woman was called on the carpet before the full secretariat of Gan Shmuel, composed of eighteen older people, who interrogated her for hours until she wept and promised to be "all right."

An important part of this militarization is the role of kibbutz members as pilots in the Israeli air force. First of all, air force pilots are the most pampered group among the Israeli military, which is highly privileged to begin with. Even the bourgeois press is complaining about this and giving examples of how high officials in the Israeli civil service or executives in private industry find that their sons who enter the standing army at the age of twenty-one [after the three-years of conscripted service] are soon receiving a higher salary than their fathers. And in addition to the salary, they get a free car and so on.

The pilots are the upper class in this bloated military bureaucracy that has been spawned in the past few years. About a year ago I calculated that an Israeli pilot, upon finishing his first year of military service and the first six months of his one-year pilot training—that is, at the age of nineteen-and-a-half—receives six months' back-salary because at this point he is accepted retroactively into the permanent army. In September or October 1979, this bonus was 180,000 Israeli pounds, when my monthly salary as a professor at the university was 12,000 Israeli pounds.

Can you imagine the temptation?

Another inducement is that the Israeli air force, after two or three years, pays for a vacation on any spot on the globe that the pilot chooses. Mexico is very popular.

A high proportion of these pilots are sons of the kibbutzim. And of course they have rebelled against the kibbutzim rules that require giving all those bonuses back to the kibbutzim, and the kibbutzim have agreed to relax these rules in order to keep some connection with them.

Q. How is it that the regime is able to afford these tremendous bonuses and salaries with the depth of the economic crisis in Israel?

A. Because this is all covered by America. The entire Israeli budget, and especially the military budget, is now divided into two. That part covered by Israeli taxes, and that part which comes from the United States.

The state of Israel is extremely poor when it comes to anything that is not connected with the army, but it is rich when it comes to the army. Because the money comes from America.



Israeli troops in West Bank city of Ramallah. 'The power of the military governor is absolute.'

Q. I would think that all these privileges for the upper ranks would arouse resentment.

A. Enormous resentment. Not only some resentment, but enormous resentment. In addition to all the salaries and bonuses, you have the use of the soldiers as servants. Not only to drive the officer's wife to the market, and his son—the little master—to school, but also to work around the officer's house.

But there is more, especially the beating and torturing of soldiers by the officers—and not in prisons, but in the regular units. This has reached the point where it has become a public scandal.

A recent example, although an extreme one, was the complaint of a soldier's mother. The soldier, a draftee of nineteen, spoke back to his colonel, who ordered him handcuffed by his hands and legs to a bed that was placed in the command room of the battalion. The soldier was left in this position for sixty-two hours, with the effects that you can imagine. After this he was put in the military prison for five days. We don't know what happened there, because he emerged insane.

About two weeks ago an Israeli military court noted that there are many cases of soldiers beating their officers when the opportunity presents itself—on the soccer field, in coffee houses, at nighttime as they are going home, and so on. Of course, the majority of soldiers who are beaten up by their officers don't do anything about it. But enough do.

It is really a class war because the officers are so highly paid and the soldiers are literally hungry. General Eytan has cut the amount of food issued to the common soldiers, and the draftees are hungry. Permanent soldiers can buy themselves some food. But the draftees, who are

in many cases from poor families, do not have money and are hungry. I have seen food riots in the army myself, and have heard of others.

In addition, there is sabotage. For example, in October [1980] a unit in an engine repair shop decided that their work load was too heavy. So they decided to put sand in the engines so that the engines would be transferred to another department—it's part of the bureaucracy. Damaged engines in one place, those that are completely destroyed in another. One regimental sergeant-major alone is accused of sabotaging sixty-one engines.

Such things are common today. But you must understand that the Israeli army is divided into two social compartments. One is the elite units and the other is the general army.

The elite units, such as pilots, paratroopers, and others are composed of kibbutz members, graduates of special high schools, graduates of agricultural schools, etc. Beatings, hunger riots, sabotage, are all common in the regular army, but not in the elite units.

This explains the military nature of the Israeli attacks in Lebanon. They are deluxe operations, like the American war in Vietnam. Armor is taken in and out by helicopter or by sea, and so on. Because they can only rely on these elite units. They don't trust the general army. That they send in only under the conditions of the Litani operation [the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in March 1978]. Everything is flattened by the air force and artillery, and then when there is no opposition the general army goes in. This is motivated by the state of corruption and discontent that I have described.

Q. Have you noticed any changes in

regard to the Palestinian movement?

A. Well, in the West Bank and Gaza there is now terrible repression, much worse than in any previous period that I can remember.

You know, of course, that the power of the military governor is absolute. He is a dictator who can issue any regulation he wants, and his regulations have the force of law.

Thousands of Palestinians are now forbidden to leave their own villages by administrative decree. I tried to get permission for a man in Ramallah to go to the funeral of his brother-in-law, which was in Bethlehem. Permission denied. Nobody can say that this was a matter of security. It is simply persecution.

All political meetings, of course, are forbidden. It is even forbidden to hold sessions of the municipal councils open to the public, because the occupation authorities know that these will turn into a political demonstration.

But any gathering of Palestinians can turn into a protest. So, you have the military governor often prohibiting wedding receptions, dinners, and other social events.

There are now 2,300 books—aside from newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets—that are on the military governor's list of prohibited reading material. The list is updated every three months. You can be arrested in Bethlehem or Ramallah for having the wrong books.

But there's more. For the first time, there is now systematic suppression of anything—not just words, but anything in art or in symbols that can be taken to represent Palestine.

People are actually being put into prison for the crime of writing the word Palestine on their teeshirts. I myself have defended a boy in Hebron who was given six months in prison for this. Others were sentenced for three months, for two months, for eight months, and so on. By the way, the punishment is greater if the word is written in English.

Political posters and pictures have been prohibited for a long time, and now they are prohibiting posters that show flowers painted in the colors of the Palestinian flag—white, black, green and red.

An owner of a textile shop in East Jerusalem was arrested for the crime of putting in the window of his shop bolts of white, black, green, and red cloth.

The military governor goes through an art exhibition and points out which paintings will not be allowed.

One picture that was confiscated showed a dove sitting on a window, because the dove was covered with the pattern of the kaffiyeh.

A picture of a wild horse rearing up on two legs was also prohibited. This means refusal—well, you get the picture.

Because of this new policy it is my

impression that the Shin Bet [secret police] apparatus in the occupied territories is much weaker than before. Under Ben Gurion, the rule for the Shin Bet was "no left, no right." But under Begin an enormous number of right-wing religious fanatics have entered the Shin Bet, and for them, an Arab is an Arab. They don't make the distinction between what the racists call a good Arab and a bad Arab.

Until a few years ago, "good Arabs" received a special notable card or a letter from the military governor, so that when they showed it they were not beaten on the streets. Now, the settlers go around beat-

Anti-Cuba Terrorists Strike in Montreal

[The following appeared as an editorial in the January 12 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Socialist Voice*.]

* * *

On December 23 at 9 p.m. a deadly bomb exploded on the sidewalk in front of the Cuban consulate on Avenue des Pins in Montreal. No one was injured but the windows of the building were blown out. A phone call from a man claiming to be a Cuban exile living in Canada credited the bombing to the Alliance of Cuban Revolutionary Organizations.

Despite the phone call no one has been arrested and charged with the bombing.

"This terrorist act could have cost the life of representatives of the Cuban government," stated a message of solidarity from the Revolutionary Workers League [RWL] to the Cuban consulate immediately after the bombing. "On September 11 Felix Garcia Rodriguez, the Cuban attache to the United Nations, was assassinated in broad daylight in New York. And in Montreal there have been two previous attempts to bomb your consulate."

The lead editorial in the December 27 Montreal daily newspaper *Le Devoir* by Jean-Claude Leclerc, entitled "A troubling impunity," took note of the pattern of terrorist action and the failure of the cops to apprehend the bombers.

The editorial asserts that "the case of the explosion on Cremazie Boulevard in 1972 that resulted in the death of a member of a Cuban trade delegation, the reason for the failure of the police to arrest the guilty party is hardly in doubt: the explosion was shown to be the work of American agents and only the degree of participation of members of the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] has not yet been publicly established."

The editorial notes that Prime Minister Trudeau's private residence is almost directly across from the Cuban consulate. Other foreign diplomats as well as Quebec Premier René Lévesque have residences on the same street.

ing people indiscriminately. Secondly, no such cards are issued any longer. Every Palestinian is maltreated.

Because of this, they are losing many of their informers. But this shows that they have a new policy. The general policy is to keep the Palestinians from lifting up their heads.

Q. My impression is that this policy has not been very successful. The protests continue.

A. The ferment is going on and will for sure break out at some point. □

Leclerc asks, "Is this area without protection? Do we trust security to incompetents? or have our antiterrorist specialists become less vigilant when it comes to the property and lives of Cuban representatives in Montreal."

The *Le Devoir* editorial calls for immediate action: beefed-up protection for the Cuban consulate; and investigation into previous "investigations" by the police that have "come to nothing," and a special police investigation of the latest bombing and its foreign and Montreal connections.

We agree.

But why not simply arrest and prosecute the bombers? After all, they are certainly well-known to the Federal, Quebec and Montreal "security services" who, if not directly involved in this terror bombing, have knowingly looked the other way. The record shows this to be so.

Police and RCMP inaction or worse, is completely in harmony with the hostility of Ottawa and imperialist capitals everywhere to the role of Cuba in the world today. As the RWL solidarity message explains, "the Cuban government and people are playing an exemplary role through your aid to the struggles of oppressed people throughout the world. Your government is giving more aid to the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada than the richest countries of the world, such as Canada and the United States. Your aid to the Salvadoran people in their difficult and bloody struggle against the junta in power can be decisive to another revolutionary victory in Central America."

All supporters of democratic rights, all defenders of the Cuban revolution, need to act now to stop further murderous actions against Cuba.

- Apprehend and jail the bombers now!
- Open the police files on the previous bombings!
- Hands off Cuba and its representatives!