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**Washington
Stops Loans
to Nicaragua,
Sends Guns
to Salvadoran
Junta**



NEWS ANALYSIS

U.S. Rulers Start New Media Campaign Against Iran

By Janice Lynn

Accounts of torture, abuse and extensive mistreatment of the freed American hostages have been emblazoned in the headlines of U.S. dailies, and sensationalized on radio and television.

It is true that any fourteen-month stay—as either hostage or prisoner—is a grueling ordeal.

But this is a hypocritical propaganda campaign. It has been orchestrated by Washington in its continuing efforts to turn the American people against the Iranian people and their revolution.

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter expressed his outrage at what he said were “acts of barbarism.”

But where was Carter’s outrage when tens of thousands of Iranians were subjected to horrendous torture and mowed down in the streets under the U.S.-backed regime of the shah?

And where was Carter’s outrage at the napalming of Vietnamese women and children and the bombing and strafing of an entire country to protect a corrupt U.S.-backed dictator?

No Dice

What are some of these charges of “brutality” and “torture” that are being reported in regard to the freed hostages?

- Richard Morefield, consul general at the former U.S. embassy, complained to his wife that the dice to his backgammon game had been confiscated. Nevertheless, Morefield said, he passed the time reading books and playing cards.

- Bert Moore, administrative consul, told his wife, “He was never beaten or tortured,” although he said he was threatened with a gun. Moore complained about having to wash the pans after the Iranians had cooked. “They used so much grease to cook with,” Mrs. Moore said her husband told her, “and all they had to wash the pans was cold water.” Moore also complained about cold showers.

- The mother of economics officer and oil specialist Robert Blucker said her son told her “they shoved him around a lot.”

- Robert Ode told his wife that his shoes were taken away.

- The mother of vice consul Donald Cooke said her son complained about being continually harangued and that articles were cut out of his magazines.

- A friend of Navy Petty Officer Duane Gillette reported that Gillette told him “he was not tortured, but it was no picnic.”

- There were also complaints about being blindfolded when being moved from place to place, of not receiving all the mail

and gifts that had been sent, and of having to eat “their [Iranian] food.”

- Several of the hostages said they were kept in what they described as solitary confinement.

- Others described an incident, which they called a “Gestapo raid,” when the students searched their quarters for weapons. A few talked about what they called a “mock execution”—that is, they were once held at gunpoint.

- Malcolm Kalp claimed he spent 374 days in isolation and was “physically assaulted on two occasions.”

Documents released by the Iranian students in the embassy revealed that Kalp was, in fact, one of several CIA agents operating in Tehran under diplomatic cover. The State Department has never denied these charges and has refused to say what Kalp’s assignment was in Iran.

The conditions described are a far cry from the abominable conditions suffered every day by thousands of prisoners in U.S. jails. Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano prisoners in particular must endure daily beatings, systematic racist harassment, overcrowding, poor food, lack of heat, mail censorship, and worse.

U.S. officials are doing what they can to help bolster the hostages’ accounts of abuse, in what *Washington Post* reporter Leonard Downie Jr. described as “part of a determined effort, begun by Carter, to emphasize their mistreatment. . . .”

News films, photographs, and even medical reports indicate, however, as Downie admits, that “they have mostly appeared healthy, alert and cheerful. . . .”

We can expect that U.S. government officials who have been sequestered away with the former hostages, will place intense pressure on all the hostages to go along with the horror stories, and to recant any pro-Iranian or antiwar sentiments they may have developed.

Washington does not want a repeat of what happened when the five women and eight Blacks were released and several of them expressed their support for the aspirations of the Iranian people.

‘I Wasn’t Beaten At All’

Some of the truth has been leaking out, however. Barry Rosen, press attaché at the former embassy telephoned an old friend—John Vinocur of the *New York Times*. In the January 23 *Times* Vinocur wrote:

“Every day,” he said, “the presence of death was in my mind. But the Iranians never maintained they would kill me and I

wasn’t brutalized at all. I wasn’t beaten at all.”

CBS television interviewed the two women who had been held at the embassy. They expressed their dismay at Carter’s “rescue mission” last April. “All I can say is thank god there was a sandstorm,” one of them said. They confirmed that most, if not all the hostages, would have been killed.

The January 22 *New York Times* revealed that even if the plan had succeeded fifteen of the hostages would have died.

Former hostage Bruce German, budget officer, was also able to talk to the media. Although he expressed some bitterness toward the Iranian students he told reporters he was never kept in isolation or tortured physically, that in fact, some of the students “were rather humane,” and said, “In the beginning we felt that their motives were sound. We just didn’t agree with their methods.”

Reports of Carter’s meeting with the fifty-two Americans indicate that not only was there intense questioning about the April raid, but also about why the shah had been brought to the United States in the first place.

Iranian students in the United States expressed their views on Washington’s propaganda campaign around the treatment of the hostages. “I think they are trying to ready the American people for further action in the Persian Gulf,” one said, explaining he did not believe what was being said really happened.

Another student said, “The American people think about us as an uncivilized people.” But, he said, “the American record is thousands of dead Iranians. Our record is 52 live hostages.”

Who Are the Real Barbarians?

What is the real record of the U.S. rulers? Who are the real barbarians—the real torturers? Who is it that has committed the real atrocities?

As the January 21 *New York Times* stated in a summary of events leading up to the embassy occupation: “The Central Intelligence Agency helped stage the 1953 coup that restored the young Shah to his throne. . . .”

During the shah’s reign, Amnesty International wrote in 1975, “No country in the world has a worse record in human rights than Iran.”

In a January 7, 1979 *New York Times* interview, former CIA agent Jesse J. Leaf disclosed how the CIA had actually held “torture seminars” to instruct SAVAK—the shah’s secret police—in Nazi torture techniques.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* estimated that in 1975 up to 100,000 political prisoners were held in the shah’s jails. Thousands were executed before firing squads.

Those who managed to escape told of the chilling horror and physical torture they

were forced to undergo:

- electric shock;
- rape;
- enemas with boiling water;
- tearing out of nails and teeth;
- an electrically wired iron bed designed to burn the person on it;
- pressing of the skull in a vise, sometimes until it cracked;
- insertion of bottles into the rectum;
- hanging weights from testicles.

This monstrous torture was even committed against five- and six-year-old children.

The shah's massive army, also trained and financed by Washington, was responsible for the slaughter of an estimated 60,000 men, women, and children, as they demonstrated peacefully in the streets against the shah's tyranny. Thousands more were permanently maimed and crippled.

In 1978 Carter was clinking champagne glasses and toasting this Hitler of Iran.

And Carter feigns moral outrage at "atrocities" alleged to be committed against the fifty-two Americans!

The U.S. ruling class has not hesitated to use any means at its disposal—direct military intervention, CIA plots, arms sales—to prop up hated dictators like the former shah of Iran, Somoza of Nicaragua, Thieu and Ky of Vietnam, the murderous junta in El Salvador, or the repressive regimes in the Philippines and South Korea.

During the war in Vietnam, millions of Vietnamese and 50,000 Americans were killed because Washington was trying to preserve a reactionary regime against the masses struggling for their liberation. The U.S. rulers were responsible for atrocities like the My Lai massacre where nearly 700 men, women, and children were gunned down in cold blood.

U.S. troops have been used to brutally put down other liberation struggles, as in 1965 in the Dominican Republic.

The U.S. embassy in Tehran was the hated symbol of these kinds of policies by the U.S. government. Not only was it a center of espionage, but evidence indicates that some embassy personnel were actually involved in plots aimed at restoring another bloody regime like that of the shah's.

The Iranian people demonstrated by the millions in support of the embassy occupation. They were simply asking that the shah be returned to Iran to stand trial for his crimes and that Washington end its interference into Iran's internal affairs. They were aspiring to control their own country, free from foreign domination.

But this is inconsistent with the needs of the U.S. rulers. In order for the banks, oil monopolies, and other big corporations to survive, they must have cheap labor, new markets, and low-cost raw materials. And this means they must maintain control over the resources of countries throughout

the world, by force if necessary.

In order to accomplish this, however, the U.S. rulers must reverse the deep sentiment that exists among American workers against any more Vietnam-type wars.

The hostage issue was used by the Carter administration to try to whip up the kind of sentiment that could free its hands for military intervention.

The U.S. media has spread the idea that the reason the hostage issue was resolved was because the Iranian leaders feared a military response from the new Reagan administration.

But despite all of Reagan's warlike talk, the reality is that the U.S. rulers—who for 444 days had refused to meet a single one of the Iranians' proposals for resolving the hostage problem—wanted the problem

settled before Reagan became president.

The U.S. rulers knew that Reagan would not be able to do anything different than his predecessor. So Washington finally agreed to the Iranian proposals.

This was a big victory for the Iranian people. Washington was unable to use the hostage issue to crush the Iranian revolution. The Iranian workers and peasants can continue their struggles to move their revolution forward in order to solve the economic and social problems in their country.

U.S. imperialism suffered a big defeat. It is confirmation of the worsening position of imperialism on a world scale.

The oppressed of the world are standing up and fighting back. □

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Washington Suspends Loans to Nicaragua

By Will Reissner

Barely a week after Washington's decision to resume and increase its military aid to the bloody junta ruling El Salvador, the U.S. State Department suspended a \$75 million loan program for Nicaragua.

According to the January 23 *New York Times*, Lawrence A. Pezzullo, the U.S. ambassador in Nicaragua, informed that country's government that "further disbursements of economic aid would be suspended until it was decided that the Nicaraguan Government was not giving aid to El Salvador's guerrillas."

When the U.S. Congress approved the loan funds for Nicaragua in 1980, it stipulated that the White House must periodically certify that Nicaragua is not aiding guerrillas in other countries. New certification from the White House is required for the \$15 million in loans that remain to be disbursed.

The U.S. mass media, echoing charges made by the State Department, has initiated a propaganda campaign charging that the revolution in El Salvador is being sponsored and provoked by Nicaragua and Cuba.

One element of this propaganda campaign was the extensive publicity given to a supposed sea-borne invasion of El Salvador from Nicaragua. The Salvadoran junta, which is the only source for all the reports, claimed that five boats from Nicaragua, carrying 100 combatants, landed at a tourist beach at El Cuco on January 14.

According to Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte, the invading guerrillas were soon "surrounded" and forced back onto the beach.

U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, immediately backed the junta's story, stating "I believe the reports that approximately 100 men landed from Nicaragua yesterday at about 4 p.m." White, the representative of a government that has provided financial and material aid to Salvadoran military regimes for decades, piously added "We can't stand idly by and watch the guerrilla movement receive outside assistance."

But the junta's story about the "invasion" strains credulity to say the very least. Although its military forces are supposed to have fought pitched battles with the "invaders," killing many of them, no bodies and no prisoners were ever presented to the press. Despite this total lack of evidence, the January 26 *Newsweek* faithfully reported the story, accompanied by a map showing the "Nicaraguan landing." *Business Week* gravely

reported that "52 of the 100 men were Nicaraguans." How it knows this it did not say.

The junta's only "proof" that the "invasion" came from Nicaragua was a claim that the boats were made of a type of wood that does not grow in El Salvador. By the same logic, the junta could also have pointed out that wooden boats are made with brass screws, and El Salvador does not produce brass screws.

Blast Renewal of U.S. Military Aid to El Salvador

Since the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) launched a general offensive against El Salvador's ruling junta, the U.S. State Department has substantially increased its military aid to the Salvadoran government.

On January 14, Washington announced a resumption of its \$5 million military aid program to the junta, which had been suspended in December following the murder of three American nuns and a lay missionary by government security forces.

Three days later, on January 16, James Carter authorized an additional \$5 million in military aid to the junta. That aid includes M-16 automatic rifles, grenade launchers, helicopters to move combat troops, and more U.S. military advisors for the Salvadoran armed forces.

The State Department announced that the military aid was being resumed because the Salvadoran government had taken "positive steps" in investigating the murder of the four women. But the U.S. ambassador in San Salvador, Robert White, later admitted that "as far as I am concerned, there is no reason to believe that the Government of El Salvador is conducting a serious investigation."

The families of the murdered women reacted to the announced resumption of military aid with outrage. At a January 22 press conference in New York, William Ford, brother of slain nun Ita Ford, read a statement by her family.

"What makes the resumption of U.S. aid to the Junta even more outrageous," Ford stated, "is that the murdered churchwomen are only four of thousands of people who have been abused, tortured, and murdered by the Junta's security forces. Our tax dollars are

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto "categorically and absolutely" denied any official involvement by his government in the struggle in El Salvador. But he added that the government does not try to "prevent our people from expressing their feelings of solidarity" with the Salvadoran freedom fighters.

As the days passed without any convincing evidence of the "invasion," Ambassador White had to backtrack from his original statements. According to Christopher Dickey, writing from San Salvador in the January 20 *Washington Post*, "U.S. officials here now are saying White 'overemphasized' the supposed invasion and no longer thinks the evidence about it as 'compelling' as the day he spoke."

But the embassy's backtracking from the claim of an invasion from Nicaragua

supporting, supplying, and training a government whose security forces have run amok."

Michael R. Donovan, the brother of slain nun Jean Marie Donovan, stated that on December 22 Secretary of State Muskie had assured family members that aid would not be resumed until the investigation of the killings was completed.

"I regret," said Donovan, "that Mr. Muskie felt compelled to tell us what he thought we wanted to hear, rather than the true situation. And I would ask the new Administration in Washington to immediately withdraw the aid."

Three members of the U.S. Congress who were on a fact-finding tour of Central America sent cables to Carter and Reagan on January 18 appealing to them "to halt immediately military aid to El Salvador."

The legislators—Barbara Mikulski, Robert Edgard, and Gerry Studds—charged that "murder, rape, torture, and the burning of crops are being afflicted on the Salvadorean people by the very troops now receiving U.S. military aid."

The cable continued: "In no case did the refugees we spoke with report that they had been attacked or harassed by the guerrilla forces, despite our repeated questioning."

On January 16, some twenty-five U.S. citizens residing in Nicaragua, half of them priests and nuns, picketed the U.S. embassy in Managua to protest the resumption of military aid to El Salvador. The action was organized by Maryknoll Catholic nuns, two of whom had just been forced to leave El Salvador by repeated death threats against them.

received far less prominence than the original charge.

In an interview in the January 26 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, Ambassador Robert White again raised the charges of foreign help for the Salvadoran guerrillas. "I am convinced that Cuba and other countries [are] supplying the leftists with arms," White stated. He had to acknowledge, however, that "whether Cuba existed or not, you would still have a revolutionary situation in El Salvador."

Business Week, in its February 2 issue, escalated the charges of foreign support for El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Claiming that "Cuban aid to the rebels is very evident," *Business Week*, pointed to the "wide use" of FAL assault rifles. But the Belgian-made FAL assault rifle is a standard NATO weapon.

"Meanwhile," *Business Week* warned, "the buildup of Communist support [for El Salvador] continues inside Nicaragua. A large-scale Cuban apparatus . . . is coordinating the skills of an international cadre of revolutionaries."

The magazine manages to bring in North Koreans, Vietnamese, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and "large numbers of Montoneros, Argentina's left-wing guerrillas."

Such charges are, of course, not new. U.S. support for the vilest dictators is always couched in terms of defense against communist expansion and intervention.

Murat Williams, U.S. ambassador to El Salvador from 1961 to 1964, commented on the current charges about Cuban threats and intervention in El Salvador in a television interview.

"Actually for twenty years we've been hearing that Castro was sending people into El Salvador," Williams stated. "I heard it when I was there all the time."

"Any time there was any disorder among the hungry peasants, among the people who were discontented or thought that they could live a little better than they were living, any time this happened, someone would come to the embassy and say the Cubans have landed."

"We heard it over and over again."

Some of the more thoughtful organs of the U.S. ruling class, however, are worried that the increase in aid to El Salvador and the cut-off of loans to Nicaragua could backfire.

An editorial in the January 24 *New York Times*, meant to be read by the new Reagan administration, argued that both moves were "shortsighted." If the Salvadoran junta continues its current repression, the *Times* warned "the game will be lost to Marxists."

The editors of the *Times* added that in regard to Nicaragua, "the \$75 million aid program, long delayed and now suspended, was intended to strengthen the groups most favorable to the United

States. They are sure to suffer politically if they cannot deliver significant support."

An editorial in the *Times* of London, reprinted without comment in the January 22 *Christian Science Monitor*, is even more explicit. It warns President Reagan that "any attempt to intervene more actively in Central America—by propping up the Salvadorean and Guatemalan governments or by trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan regime—could well backfire on him. It would not only be condemned by influential governments in Latin America, but could lead to the setting up of just the anti-American leftists regimes it was intended to avoid."

Repudiates Earlier Offer

U.S. Refuses to Negotiate With Salvadoran Rebels

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—Washington has rejected an initiative by the revolutionary forces in El Salvador to open talks on the possibility of resolving the civil war there. This information was made available here January 17 by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador.

The FMLN said that the U.S. government at first indicated it would talk to the Salvadoran opposition about the following six topics: a cease-fire, total reorganization of the government, dissolution of the repressive forces, reorganization of the army, reforms, and elections.

On January 14 an official representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and FMLN went to the U.S. embassy in Honduras to express willingness to begin such a dialogue as soon as the U.S. government stopped arming the junta and promised not to intervene militarily in El Salvador.

The State Department's answer, says the FMLN, "was to close off all possibility of a dialogue with us, to launch its campaign of blackmail against Nicaragua, and to step up its military aid to the murderous junta."

This was followed by a public declaration by U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White that, "the United States will never permit the installation of a Marxist government in El Salvador." And one of Carter's last acts as president was to authorize \$10 million worth of war machinery for the junta.

A five-person political diplomatic commission recently named by the FDR has repeatedly stated its willingness to sit down and talk to the U.S. government at any time, although it does not see any point in negotiating with the puppet government in San Salvador. As FDR presi-

dent Guillermo Manuel Ungo explained last week: "We want to talk with the owners of the circus, not with the acrobats."

The international isolation of the Salvadoran junta is increasing. On January 17 the Ecuadoran parliament passed, with only one dissenting vote, a statement of solidarity with the Salvadoran people.

Even in Venezuela, where the official government line tends to be pro-Washington and pro-junta, a week-long national campaign, which included the personal intervention of the president, forced the Salvadoran government to release imprisoned Venezuelan filmmaker Nelson Arrieti.

Prominent Christian Democrats in Italy have called for an emergency joint meeting of the world union of Christian Democrats and the Second International to deal with "the continued violation of fundamental rights" by the military/Christian Democratic junta and with the threat of U.S. military intervention.

Inside El Salvador, the junta is on a stepped-up drive to suppress all news reports except those it writes itself.

El Independiente, the only opposition newspaper that previously circulated somewhat openly in El Salvador, was raided January 18. A number of journalists were arrested. The next day the editor of *El Independiente* and a UPI photographer asked for asylum in the Mexican embassy in San Salvador.

The night of January 17, the offices of the Independent News Agency (API) in San Salvador were occupied by the National Guard. The news agency's directors and staff were taken off to a police barracks.

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FSLN Daily Discusses New Situation in Central America

[The following appeared as an editorial in the January 16 edition of the Managua daily *Barricada*, official organ of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The events occurring in El Salvador in the last five days—the launching of the general offensive—have placed the revolutionary victory of that sister people on the agenda.

This situation brings the threat and danger of imperialist aggression against the Central American revolution even more sharply to the fore. The danger is not only to the Salvadoran people, but also to the most advanced popular process in the area, the Sandinista revolution.

The imperialist system of domination in the area is in a crisis. And the popular forces required to resolve that crisis in a revolutionary manner exist. The Sandinista victory, which was a direct product of this imperialist crisis, has further deepened it: in the first place because the revolution shattered an overall system of economic, political, and military domination that had been built up over many years by U.S. imperialism and the local reactionary classes; in the second place because the revolution's example is a powerful factor in the consciousness and

Australians Say

'Freedom for El Salvador!'

SYDNEY—In Australia, Latin American solidarity organizations have swung into action to try to break an almost complete blackout imposed by the bosses' media on news from El Salvador.

In Sydney, which is home to tens of thousands of Chilean, Uruguayan, and Argentine refugees, an emergency picket was held by the Committee for the Reconstruction of Nicaragua outside the U.S. consulate on January 16.

Although called at only a few days' notice, the picket attracted about 100 people, including many trade union activists and members of the Latin American community. Chants of "Freedom for El Salvador" and "U.S. hands off" echoed through the streets, and loud cheering greeted the announcement that dockworkers in San Francisco had refused to load war supplies for Central America.

A similar action, timed to coincide with Reagan's inauguration, was scheduled for Melbourne on January 20.

FMLN Leader Discusses General Offensive

El Nuevo Diario, a Managua daily, published an exclusive interview with Salvador Cayetano Carpio January 20 and 21, in which the Salvadoran revolutionary leader clarified the current military and political situation in his country.

Cayetano Carpio, sixty-one, also known as Comandante Marcial, is the most famous member of the FMLN command. A strike leader in the 1940s, he was jailed, tortured, and exiled by military governments in the 1950s and 1960s.

Asked about the offensive launched January 10, Carpio told *El Nuevo Diario*, "we consider this the beginning of the strategic battles for the taking of power."

"The enemy is in a very grave strategic situation," he went on. "The army is unable to concentrate its forces to wipe us out in a given area because if it does that it loses its freedom of movement. And in fact it has lost it. This

means that the tasks we set ourselves for this stage of the military and insurrectional struggle are being accomplished."

Cayetano Carpio refers to the stage that opened January 10 as a "general offensive" rather than a "final offensive."

As *El Nuevo Diario* points out, the term "final offensive" has been seized upon by the Salvadoran junta and the proimperialist press to claim that the offensive has been a failure. The interview with Comandante Marcial makes it clear that the FMLN did not have the perspective of taking power in El Salvador in a matter of days or weeks, or before the inauguration of Ronald Reagan.

As he describes, a new stage of the Salvadoran revolution began January 10, with a general military offensive and a diplomatic offensive to prepare for the eventual taking of power.

practice of fraternal peoples and encourages their own struggles. They are now certain that there is only one way to emerge from poverty and oppression—revolutionary victory.

As this situation was unfolding, the imperialist "human rights" policy—conceived and implemented as a way of reinforcing the system of domination—failed to achieve its aim. Given the depth of the crisis and the struggles of the peoples, the imperialists could not carry out "democratic" face-lifts or put forward reforms through the right-wing regimes of the area.

Nicaragua was their first defeat. And the collapse of the genocide plus "reforms" policy in El Salvador will be "checkmate."

At the same time, the problems of imperialism throughout the world are becoming more acute. As a result, the ultrarightist sectors have taken on greater weight within the imperialist power bloc. The results of the recent elections, not only in the executive branch but throughout the entire U.S. power structure, based on a program for "recovering hegemony" in the world through aggressive and warlike plans now endanger world peace and the self-determination of peoples.

The danger is especially acute for the Central American peoples in imperialism's so-called backyard. This is because of the imperialists' strategic superiority, which could

encourage them to carry out their aggressive "promises," as well as because of the urgency that the Salvadoran revolution represents. They may try to "resolve" the Salvadoran revolution in line with "the national interests of the United States."

But those are not the only factors at work. Carrying out an aggressive interventionist policy requires a favorable international situation, which the imperialists have not been able to create. The Sandinista revolution and the peoples of Central America have won the solidarity of all the peoples and democratic governments of the world. A real anti-interventionist bloc exists, in face of which any aggressive policy will have a high political cost.

Moreover, the empire has not been able to bring together the reactionary governments of Latin America in support of its interventionist maneuver, since those governments are under strong pressure from their own peoples. And regarding the internal fortress of the Sandinista revolution, they have been unable to break the unity of the entire nation around the tasks of defense and production.

In fact, this revolution, which they try to blame for causing things that are simply the result of the internal situations of various countries, has become—as we said—a powerful moral and political stimulus for the struggles of the peoples.

Thus it does not surprise us that the pressures from the right-wing circles of imperialism are now being expressed in the accusations and threats made by certain officials in the U.S. government against the Sandinista revolution.

They accuse us of intervening militarily in El Salvador. Arguing that they have "proof," they threaten to suspend financial "aid" in their attempt to break our dignity and subjugate us once again. This brings to mind economic measures they have employed against other liberated people.

These developments, which harm the re-

lations that have been established since the revolutionary victory, can only encourage right-wing sectors in Central America and foster armed aggression against our revolution. They also encourage the reactionary sectors here at home to try to destabilize the Sandinista process.

The real aim of all this cannot be covered up: that is, to create a climate for intervention against El Salvador, which in turn would threaten to internationalize the conflict in Central America.

The tasks of the people of Sandino flow from this situation. They are to close ranks

and prepare in an organized way to defend our dignity and our revolution, and to prepare ourselves for the harshest economic, social, and political tests. The perspective of an easy future of material well-being through peaceful and creative labor is becoming more doubtful.

Instead we must be prepared for the most difficult conditions of life, for the greatest effort in productive labor, and for defense of our political freedom, even at the cost of our lives.

That is also the best solidarity that we can provide to our sister people of El Salvador. □

Depends on Consciousness of Masses

Nicaraguans Discuss 1981 Economic Plan

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction has initiated discussion of an ambitious economic plan for 1981.

In a January 13 speech before the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Planning Minister Henry Ruiz outlined the 1981 plan.

The plan projects a 22% boost in industrial production and the creation of some 60,000 jobs. Overall investment is projected to rise 43.5%, and sharp increases are projected for food production, chemical products, petroleum products, construction, and mining. Cotton planting is slated to increase by one-third.

Overall consumption is projected to increase only 2.6%. However, Ruiz emphasized, consumption of basic services and goods by the working class—including such items as food and fuel—will rise, according to the plan, by 12%.

The plan's official title is "Austerity and Economic Efficiency," and Ruiz made clear where the austerity would come in. The sacrifices, he said, would be made by "the privileged sector."

Ruiz noted in a January 16 speech that "it's possible that some people will find it difficult to continue eating caviar."

Indicating the central political role played by Nicaragua's workers, Ruiz explained:

"We have decided, for political reasons, to make the first public exposition of the Economic Plan in front of the workers. . . . The victory of our people was the victory of the historically dispossessed, and it means that the tasks of national reconstruction, the tasks of economic reorganization, the tasks of social restructuring are fundamentally the tasks of those classes."

Ruiz noted that the plan had already been discussed with leaders of the Nicaraguan Trade-Union Coordinating Committee (CSN), who were enthusiastic about it. He emphasized that such discussions would continue with all sectors.

The 1981 tasks are being elaborated not only in economic terms, but also in political terms, appealing to the internationalism of Nicaragua's workers.

In a January 10 speech, Commander of the Revolution Luis Carrión, urged participation in campaigns to conserve sugar and fuel supplies. He explained: "We will set up reserves of sugar and fuel and whatever else we save, for use in case of external aggression or should our Salvadoran brothers and sisters ask for our material help.

"Where will we get sugar to give them, if not from what we don't put in our own mouths? How will we give them fuel, if we don't conserve it? Where will we find anything to give, if we don't patriotically deny it to ourselves?"

"We don't have great surpluses that we can draw on, nor do we have much in the way of material resources. All we can give is what we deny ourselves, all we can do is share what little we have."

These ideas were further explained in a January 18 *Barricada* editorial:

"Transforming our Revolution into a bastion a hundred times stronger in the face of eventual imperialist aggression is today's task. And not only in the interests of the Nicaraguan people. But precisely in the interests of all the peoples of Central America. For this reason, the tasks of Defense and Production [1981 has been declared the Year of Defense and Production], led by our vanguard, are also our internationalist responsibilities."



Mexico City protest in support of struggle in El Salvador. Estimates of number participating in January 22 march ranged from 50,000 to 100,000.

Fulfilling the 1981 plan, like the 1980 1980's economic gains. Ruiz reported that plan, will depend in large part on the consciousness and participation of Nicaragua's working masses, precisely those working people who made the revolution and in whose interests the government of National Reconstruction runs the country and economy.

A key element of the 1981 plan is raising productivity by 9%, a task that can only be achieved through a higher degree of organization of the workers themselves, Ruiz said.

Success of 1980 Plan

Part of this increase will come in a cut in nonessential government spending. Ruiz explained that this will release workers for the productive sector without requiring slashes in government services.

The new plan will be able to build on 1980's economic gains. Ruiz reported that

the overall production goals of the 1980 plan had been 99% fulfilled.

One of 1980's most impressive successes came in creation of jobs. The plan had projected creating 61,400 new jobs, but in fact employment increased by 112,300, bringing the jobless rate down from 32% to 17%.

Should this year's plan achieve its goal of 60,000 new jobs, unemployment would fall to 13%, the lowest ever for Nicaragua and the lowest in Central America.

Major successes in agriculture were also achieved under the 1980 plan. Rice, corn, and beans, important domestic food stuffs, all were produced in quantities greater than projected.

Problems arose with exports, however. Cotton, an essential source of foreign exchange, brought in only 92% of projections. Other exports, including meat, gold, and chemical products, reached only 88%. A relative bright spot was coffee, which, despite five-year-low world market prices, brought in what the plan had projected.

Another important problem remains industrial production. In 1980, industrial production reached only 90% of its target. Ruiz explained, "We need fertilizers, we need machinery, we need equipment, we need material production."

The 1981 plan, if successful, will bring industrial production back up to the level of 1977, which was the country's highest.

Continuing Problems

Nicaragua also faces a series of economic problems beyond the revolution's control.

Forced to sell raw materials and buy manufactured goods, Nicaragua is essentially at the mercy of the world capitalist market. With 1980 coffee prices way down, national income was sharply reduced.

Soaring oil prices also take a heavy toll. Petroleum imports cost Nicaragua \$165 million in 1980, and will jump to \$256 million in 1981, without any increase in consumption.

In 1977, one hundred pounds of Nicaragua's coffee bought thirteen barrels of oil, Ruiz explained; in 1980, five barrels; and in 1981 the same one hundred pounds of coffee will buy just two-and-a-half barrels.

Nicaragua also faces the problem of an inherited \$1.6 billion foreign debt. The debt was worsened by the country's unfavorable balance of trade. Of every dollar Nicaragua earns in foreign exchange, fifty-five cents goes to pay debts.

Because the plan's success depends on the voluntary cooperation of all the workers, Ruiz said, "If there are some compañeros who don't understand the problem, we are totally willing to discuss with them, to explain our economic problems. . . ."

"We want every peasant compañero, even the ones with only a couple of acres, to know how much it costs to produce their hundred pounds of coffee." □

Workers Say 'We Are the Ones Who Must Decide'

Can Poland Afford a Five Day Workweek?

By William Gottlieb

Millions of Polish workers went on strike January 24 to demand that the government keep its earlier promises and introduce a five-day workweek.

"Privately, union leaders have said they are willing to compromise and permit Saturday work on a voluntary basis once the Government concedes that it had agreed to start the five-day week this month in the accords that ended strikes last summer," *New York Times* reporter John Darnton reported January 22.

However, Andrzej Gwiazda, a leader of the independent trade union, said that the government has taken a position as "hard as rock." It is clear that a new confrontation is building up.

Government officials have tried to paint the workers as irresponsible and greedy, out to get what they can regardless of the cost to the Polish economy. At the same time, the regime refuses to give the workers' representatives adequate information about the economy and it refuses to acknowledge the right of the workers to have a say in basic economic decisions.

As one leader of Solidarity, the independent union federation, put it: "If Solidarity gets information showing the entire seriousness of the economic situation, Solidarity may change in its decision. Talks will be resumed."

Another Solidarity member explained: "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."

What is happening in Poland is of vital interest to the working class worldwide, and not least because of the issue of the shorter workweek that is being posed. In the capitalist countries, many millions are unemployed as a result of the economic crisis. At the same time, workers are often forced to put in sixty, seventy, or more hours a week as a result of forced overtime. U.S. steelworkers in Dallas, Texas, for example, were forced out on strike January 12 because of an eighty-hour workweek imposed on them by the bosses.

In the workers states, where capitalism has been abolished as a result of proletarian revolutions, the length of the workweek is also of vital importance. Few things affect the quality of life more than the length of the workweek, and shortening the workweek has been a historic goal of the labor and socialist movements.

In fighting for a shorter workweek, the Polish workers are continuing a struggle begun by the working class more than a

hundred years ago in Britain, the first industrial country.

Under pressure from the struggle waged by the labor movement, the British government was obliged to pass legislation setting a legal maximum to the hours of work. In more and more branches of industry the workday was shortened first to twelve hours and then to ten hours.

In the 1880s, a huge movement swept North America and Europe for the eight-hour day. It was the U.S. trade unions that now took the lead.

On May 1, 1886, some 350,000 American workers—40,000 in Chicago alone—went out on strike. This mighty movement became the basis for the international working class holiday of May Day.

Marx and Engels placed special emphasis on the movement for a shorter working day because they considered it the precondition for all further progress by the working class. As long as working people were forced to toil fourteen to eighteen hours a day, six days a week, the working class would never be able to improve itself. Only by winning a shorter workday could the basis be laid for further gains.

The capitalists predicted ruin and bankruptcy if the workweek was shortened. In fact, however, the shortening of the workweek was in the interest of everybody in society but a handful of capitalist exploiters. It was a demand, raised by the working class, for the rational use of the advances made possible by science and technology in order to improve the quality of life for everybody. And as any worker knows, even without new machinery, a shorter workday results in fewer accidents, less waste, and a higher rate of productivity.

Capitalists Offer Advice

While the capitalist rulers are busy trying to drive back the gains of the labor movement all over the world, including in the area of shorter hours, they have not hesitated to try to take advantage of the situation in Poland to try to score some propaganda points and sow confusion in the working class.

For example, Karl E. Meyer wrote in regard to the struggle in Poland in the January 15 *New York Times*: "Marx would not be amused. Nothing, he insisted, was more characteristic of capitalist exploitation than 'the unlimited and reckless extension of the working day.' He scourged English manufacturers for operating a gigantic 'workhouse' 12 hours a day, six

days a week. He promised salvation, and the eight-hour day, only when the proletariat finally owned the factories. Tell that to the workers of Gdansk."

This doesn't prevent Meyer from agreeing with the Polish bureaucrats on the issue at hand. The workers, Meyer notes, "are being told that after 35 years Polish Communism cannot afford a five-day week. Given its wretched performance, the final irony may be that the managers are right."

The Polish government points to real objective economic problems when it argues that Poland cannot afford a shorter workweek. Inflation in the capitalist world has driven up the costs of oil and other imports skyhigh. The global capitalist recession has in the meantime shrunk demand for Poland's exports.

Since the bureaucrats had based their economic plans on the continuation of capitalist prosperity in keeping with their reformist political orientation, Poland has found itself owing massive debts to the imperialist banks. Poland now has to use 92 percent of its export earnings just to pay the principal and interest on its debts!

The Polish government claims that in the light of these conditions the only solution is austerity and long working hours. As one official told the Associated Press last summer, "There's only so much beer in a barrel. All we can add is just foam."

What the Government Leaves Out

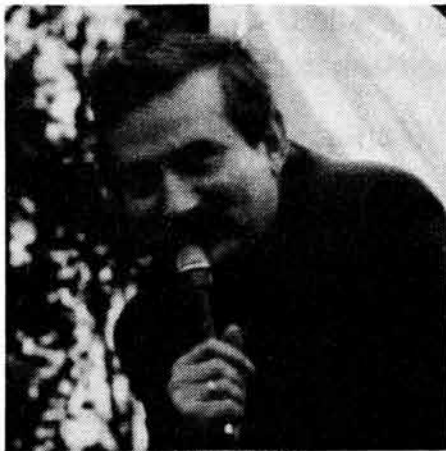
However, there is another side to the economic picture that is left out by the Polish government's line. Poland is one of the world's major industrial countries. The productivity of labor in Poland is just a shade below that in Italy. Between 1970 and 1978, Polish workers increased the amount produced in industry 118 percent, compared to 36 percent in the United States, 34 percent in Japan, and 66 percent in the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, Poland is a major agricultural exporter, and is rich in natural resources such as coal.

The truth is that the problem facing Poland is not primarily economic at all. It is political.

Poland's working people have been systematically excluded from having any voice in making basic economic and political decisions. But a planned economy requires the active control of producers and consumers at every level if it is to run properly. No central planning commission or political leadership, no matter how brilliant, can possibly know all the facts about a complex economy, or anticipate all its needs. That is why workers democracy is essential if the planned economy is to function effectively.

However, the Polish government has repeatedly proven incapable of instituting a system of workers democracy because it represents a privileged bureaucratic caste.



LECH WALESA

If the working masses were to take control, they would quickly eliminate the high salaries of the bureaucrats, their access to special stores, special medical care, special vacation spots, luxury housing, and other privileges.

It is this fundamental social problem that is behind the tension in Poland, and that led to the massive workers protests of 1956, 1970, and 1976, as well as to the current struggle.

It is the demands and the actions of the workers themselves that show the way out of the crisis facing Poland.

First of all, secret dealings behind the backs of the workers and farmers have to be abolished. Everything must be out in the open, from the real economic statistics to the discussions on economic policy.

Jean-Yves Touvais described this workers democracy in action during the negotiations in the August 1980 strike. "The discussion takes place in a small room in the MKS [Interfactory Strike Committee] headquarters. The reporters can take pictures through the big glass partition, while the delegates follow the discussion, which is piped out into the other room and throughout the shipyard." (*Intercontinental Press*, September 8, 1980, p. 912.) The institutionalization of this kind of democracy would make it possible to avoid tremendous economic mistakes.

Lech Walesa gave an example of a prefabrication plant that is producing at 50 percent of capacity due to a lack of raw materials. Walesa pointed out, "The government decided to build another right next to it. It's absurd. The plant is useless. Maybe the Central Committee doesn't know that, but we workers see it everyday. The free trade union means control over economic decisions at every level, local, regional, and national. We need a new plan, and that's how we'll do it."

This kind of workers control cannot be achieved, however, as long as the government maintains a stifling censorship of the mass media. For this reason the workers demanded that freedom of expression in word and print be guaranteed.

At the same time, the workers realize the reason that the government resists these measures is that it is under the domination of a privileged caste of bureaucrats. Therefore, the workers demanded that these special privileges be abolished. The Gdansk strike committee demanded:

"Abolition of privileges for security services by granting equal family allowances to all. Liquidation of special shops [open only to police and party officials]."

"Abolition of commercial prices [the system under which quality meat is sold only in special shops at high prices]." (See *IP*, August 25, 1980, p. 845.)

If sacrifices must be made, they must be shared equally. Therefore, instead of charging sky-high prices for scarce meat, the workers proposed that rationing be introduced.

At the same time, the workers demanded that commodities in short supply should not be exported: "Full supplies on the domestic market. Only surplus commodities should be exported."

The use of inflation to drive down real wages must be ended. Therefore the workers demand: "Guarantee of automatic salary increases following increases in prices or devaluation of the currency."

For An End to Bureaucratic Deformations

Taken together these demands are far more advanced than any demands that have been raised by the union movement in capitalist countries. This is because in capitalist countries the workers are compelled to sell their labor power to the private owners of industry. The unions must fight to limit the exploitation of the workers by capital.

The Polish workers are basing their demands on the foundation established by the earlier workers revolutions that abolished capitalism in Poland. The mines, factories, mass media and foreign trade are all in the hands of the state, not of individual exploiters. The workers are simply proposing that the bureaucratic deformations be ended.

More recently, the Polish workers have taken up the demands of their most important allies, the working farmers. The farmers are demanding the right to organize and a voice in public affairs.

The elimination of bureaucratic mismanagement and parasitism, would save the Polish economy enormous sums every year. Perhaps even more important, it would open the way to releasing the full creative powers of the workers and farmers, and would generate an unprecedented increase in labor productivity.

Most important, by showing that working people can be masters of their own fate, they are setting an example for workers around the world. This is the most important contribution the workers and farmers of Poland can make to the cause of international socialism. □

Iran Workers Urge Release of Nemat Jazayeri

A stepped-up international campaign among supporters of the Iranian revolution is needed to win the release from prison of Nemat Jazayeri, a leader of the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE).

Jazayeri was arrested September 8 and taken to Evin Prison in Tehran where he remains to this day. Charges have still not been brought against him.

Before his arrest, Jazayeri was a lathe operator in the repair shop of the Ray-O-Vac battery factory in Tehran, where he won the respect of his co-workers. Not only was he one of the best workers (having received a letter of commendation for his work), but he was active in building the workers' *shora* (committee) in the factory and in its activities in defense of the Iranian revolution.

While in exile in the United States before the overthrow of the shah, Jazayeri served as national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). His work in CAIFI helped to win the release of political prisoners held by the shah's torturers and focused international attention on the crimes of the Pahlavi dictatorship.

Many of Jazayeri's co-workers have been speaking out against his arrest. Petitions have been circulated, letters sent, and meetings held.

One of these workers, Siamak Varzi, spoke at a December 17 forum in Tehran on Jazayeri's behalf. Varzi had just gotten out of the hospital after having received three bullet wounds in his legs at the front in the war with Iraq, and came to the forum on crutches. The meeting was attended by about 200 people.

"Nemat was a worker who was always for the revolution" Varzi said, explaining how Jazayeri had encouraged all the workers to become part of the army of 20 million to defend the revolution against attacks.

Varzi told how Jazayeri had come into conflict with the bosses.

"[Nemat] would tell us how they should not rule over us," Varzi told the meeting, and how "supervisors should not be able to provoke a strike just because they are unhappy with the government, and should not be able to just shut down the factory."

"The workers liked him," Varzi said, telling how Jazayeri once had been chosen by the workers to speak at a meeting on behalf of the 500 Ray-O-Vac workers. It was a meeting to defend the president of the *shora*, who had been beaten up by the bosses.

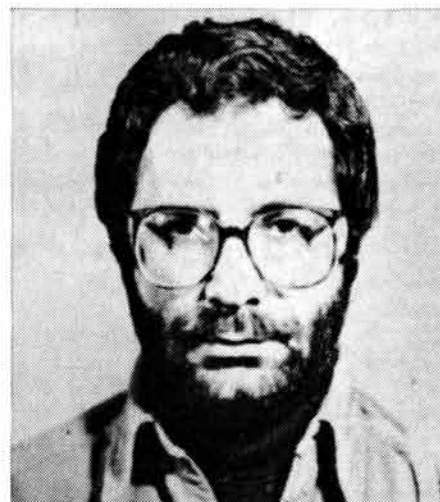
And Varzi explained how any worker who spoke out against the bosses or cam-

aigned for the release of Jazayeri could be subject to the same kind of unjustified arrest.

While Varzi was collecting signatures on petitions for Jazayeri's release, management broke into his locker and confiscated the petitions. But the workers vowed to continue the petition campaign.

"I feel sorry that a country makes a revolution, and two years after the revolution, they pick up a person and put him in jail with no visiting rights," Varzi declared. (Only Jazayeri's family have been allowed to visit him).

"The boys in the factory really want Nemat returned to his work. Nemat has



NEMAT JAZAYERI

done nothing. He has only objected to [the bosses] bullying us," Varzi said. □

'Nemat's Place is Not in Prison'

[The following are excerpts from a letter sent by two Tehran workers urging the release of Nemat Jazayeri]

* * *

The Honorable Ayatollah Ghodosi
Prosecutor General of the Islamic
Revolution

We are two friends of brother Nematollah Jazayeri, a militant worker at the Ray-O-Vac factory.

About a month before we went off to the war front to fight against the mercenary Iraqi enemy, Nematollah Jazayeri was arrested for reasons which are still unknown to us.

Since we are completely familiar with Nematollah Jazayeri's background and his very constructive activities, we thought that his arrest was due to a misunderstanding, and we were hopeful that he would be released as quickly as possible.

Although we two had to leave the war front due to injuries, during the two months we were fighting . . . we always felt the empty place of our brother Nemat and we always thought of him. Because, for months before, he had foreseen the danger of an imperialist attack on our revolution and in this connection he put his efforts towards mobilizing the workers in the army of 20 million. He patiently explained the need for defense of the revolution to the workers.

Nemat always encouraged us to produce more and better, especially during the imperialist economic blockade. His

effective and to-the-point interventions, in order to avoid divisions and disturbances among the workers, and his tireless efforts to advance the revolution, won him a special place in the hearts of the majority of workers in the factory.

It seems that authorities in the Prosecutor General's office, or whoever is responsible for his arrest, are holding him in prison . . . because he identifies himself as a militant socialist.

We would like to take this opportunity to ask the authorities in the Prosecutor General's office to release our militant brother. At no time has he committed any violations of the law. On the contrary, with all his technical skill and political experience, and as a simple worker, his struggle has been an example for all of his co-workers.

Brother Nematollah Jazayeri's place is not in prison. We, along with a number of workers in the factory, expect that Nemat will be freed as soon as possible, so that he can participate along with us in the fight against the mercenary enemy.

The Honorable Ayatollah Ghodosi, Prosecutor General of the Islamic Revolution, we would like to ask you to order a review of Nematollah Jazayeri's case, so that the conditions of his release can be prepared.

Most cordially,
Mostafa Seifabadi, worker at Dupar
Pharmaceutical Industries
Siamak Varzi, worker at Ray-O-Vac
factory

Free Nemat Jazayeri!

Friends and co-workers of Nemat Jazayeri are urging a stepped-up international campaign to win his release from prison. They are requesting that supporters of the Iranian revolution in factories and other workplaces circulate the following petition to be telegraphed to Ayatollah Ali Ghodsi, Prosecutor General of the Islamic Revolution, Office of the Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran:

I am a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of the U.S. government's threats and the Iraqi

regime's criminal military aggression aimed against your revolution.

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

I call on you to secure his immediate release.

Copies should be sent to Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Rajai, Tehran, Iran; President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Tehran, Iran; and Kargar, Box #43/174, Post Area 14, Tehran, Iran.

Labor and Student Upsurge Worries Imperialists

Philippines: Martial Law Ends—Repression Remains

By Janice Lynn

With much fanfare, Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos proclaimed January 17 that after more than eight years, he was lifting martial law.

Two days prior to Marcos's announcement, 200 opposition figures held a news conference to expose his move as a sham. They demanded instead "a dismantling of the Marcos dictatorship." The United Democratic Opposition labeled Marcos's action "a paper lifting."

More than 1,000 decrees and orders that had been issued during the eight years and four months of martial law will all remain intact.

Everything will be the same, representatives of the United Democratic Opposition declared, "no free press, no free speech, no peaceful assembly, no independent legislative body and no rule of law."

Only two of the most repulsive symbols of martial law are scheduled to be phased out. Military tribunals are to be replaced by civilian courts, and army detention centers are to be dismantled.

However, Marcos has authorized the army to arrest and detain suspected "subversives" and quell protests, even without martial law.

The order formally lifting martial law also allows for the continued detention of political prisoners without an inquiry by civil courts.

In addition: the right of habeas corpus remains suspended; strikes in vital industries are still banned; and the military retains the right to arrest people on the island of Mindanao, where the Muslim

population had been carrying out a struggle for independence.

Marcos also retains the power to issue additional emergency laws, as needed.

As a token measure, the Marcos regime released 341 prisoners—out of more than 1,700 in military camps around the country.

Groups opposed to the Marcos dictatorship announced plans "to test the sincerity of Marcos."

"By testing we mean trying to exercise our constitutional rights," opposition member Salvador Laurel declared. Plans include rallies, demonstrations, and starting a daily newspaper.

Under martial law, demonstrations were outlawed and only newspapers sympathetic to the Marcos government were allowed to publish.

The United Democratic Opposition has demanded the immediate restoration of habeas corpus, release of all political prisoners, abolition of censorship, and the right of labor to organize and strike. The coalition also expressed its opposition to the two big United States military bases in the Philippines—Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Navy Base—charging that the bases are being used to "prop up the Marcos dictatorship."

The formal lifting of martial law comes in the context of increasing opposition to the Marcos regime. Student protests and demonstrations, as well as an upsurge of strikes and other labor action, have taken place over the last year.

In one of the largest job actions in the

Philippines since martial law was imposed, 6,500 gold miners at the Benguet Corporation walked off their jobs at the beginning of this year. The January 5 strike began after months-long negotiations collapsed.

The gold miners make the equivalent of US\$1.73 a day. They were demanding a 53 cent increase for 1980 and a slightly lower amount for 1981 and 1982. The strikers were ordered back to work the next day.

A leaked confidential memo, written by an independent consultant for the World Bank warned that "the authority of President Ferdinand Marcos is eroding and his position is becoming increasingly precarious."

It was in this context that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard C. Holbrooke was dispatched to Manila at the end of December to meet with the Philippine dictator.

On January 3, Holbrooke also met with one of the principal Filipino opposition leaders, Senator Benigno Aquino. Aquino is in the United States after spending more than seven years in detention in the Philippines.

Holbrooke tried to convince Aquino to accept Marcos's impending lifting of martial law and to denounce opposition forces charged with a recent spate of bombings.

Oppositionists in the Philippines have denounced the U.S. government for its support to Marcos. On January 20, a group of students demonstrated outside the U.S. embassy in Manila to protest Washington's complicity with the Marcos dictatorship and its charade of ending martial law.

The demonstrators were quickly dispersed by Marcos's police. □

Czechoslovak Regime Mistreats Petr Uhl

Czechoslovak socialist Petr Uhl, who is serving a five-year prison sentence as a result of his activities exposing the Stalinist regime's violations of democratic rights, continues to be persecuted while in prison.

Since January 1980 he has been confined at the Mirov prison, where he has been prevented from reading the daily newspapers, subjected to long periods of solitary confinement, and refused access to letters sent by his companion. Each detainee at Mirov is allocated only 1.5 meters of space, and the cold and damp conditions there are particularly bad for Uhl, who suffers from chronic bronchitis.

The chief of the prison has threatened, "Uhl won't get out of this hole so quickly."

Letters expressing solidarity with Uhl can be sent to Petr Uhl, 8/10/1941, PS 1/6 PSC, 789 53 Mirov, Czechoslovakia.

March of 100,000 Honors Martin Luther King, Jr.

U.S. Blacks in Biggest Rights Protest in 17 Years

By Osborne Hart



Part of throng at January 15 protest.

Osborne Hart

[The following article is abridged from the January 30 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The largest Black rights demonstration in nearly two decades took place here January 15, demanding that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday be declared a national holiday.

A huge, militant crowd of more than 100,000 people, the overwhelming majority Black, rallied at the Washington Monument to honor the slain civil rights leader. Thousands more demonstrated in cities throughout the country.

Not since the 1963 march on Washington, led by King, has there been such a national outpouring of the Black community.

Portraits of King were held aloft everywhere.

Black nationalist flags of red, black and green waved throughout the crowd.

Clenched fists punctuated chants of "We want a holiday—Black folks' holiday!" and "We took a holiday!"

The mood was festive but determined. Determined that civil rights gains, won by the movement King helped lead, will not be taken away by Reagan or by racist terrorists like the Ku Klux Klan. Determined that the struggle will go on until Black people are truly free.

Participants represented a broad cross

section of the Black community—from high school, junior high school, and even younger, to many thousands in their forties and fifties, to the elderly.

Parents brought their children to help educate them about King's contributions to the civil rights movement.

The enormous turnout is even more impressive considering that the demonstration was not centrally organized by civil rights groups or unions.

Buses were chartered by church, community, and social groups. Operation PUSH and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference brought busloads. Radio station WJPC in Chicago organized forty buses.

Chapters of the newly formed National Black Independent Political Party in Newport News, Virginia; Pittsburgh; and Washington, D.C. organized contingents.

And thousands upon thousands of people just came on their own. Typical of the individual initiative that marked this action was a bus from East Orange, New Jersey—organized by a mother and daughter simply because they thought it should be done.

Groups of unionists marched with their signs and banners, including District 1199 Hospital Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Electrical Workers; Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689 in Washington; auto workers; steelworkers; teachers; and Teamsters from North Carolina.

After holding a union-sponsored King commemoration the night before, members of United Steelworkers Local 2609 in Baltimore drove in carpools to the demonstration.

At the Brooklyn Navy Yard in New York, Marine and Shipbuilders Local 12 passed a resolution just the night before, endorsing the march and demand for the King holiday. The union sent a message of support.

For most workers the day was not a holiday. But in open defiance of their employers, many simply took the time off to travel here.

Groups of marchers sang along with the music of "Happy Birthday"—the song dedicated to King composed by Black musician Stevie Wonder.

Wonder initiated the demonstration call just six weeks ago, along with a petition campaign for the King holiday. He publicized the action during a cross-country concert tour and was seen as its leading figure.

The demand for a King holiday—for federal government recognition of the leading historic figure of the civil rights movement—became a focus for responding to all the attacks on Black rights today.

Coming just five days before Ronald Reagan's inaugural, this immense outpouring sent an unmistakable message to the new Klan-endorsed administration.

Hand-lettered signs spelled it out:

"Freedom now—later for Reagan"

"I want a job"

"We shall have our first class citizenship, or . . ."

"Honor Martin Luther King—dishonor Reagan"

At the rally, Black activist and comedian Dick Gregory elicited a resounding "boo" at the mention of Reagan's name. Gregory pointed to the power of the vast numbers gathered here and said of the King holiday, "We're going to have it. We want it. We demand it. We're going to get it."

William Tate, vice president of United Auto Workers District 65 in New York City, scored the Reagan administration as "committed to the elimination of the minimum wage, anti-union attitude and policies, cutbacks in social programs including food stamps for the poor and needy, and spending millions of dollars on nuclear weapons at the risk of war. Not to mention increased segregation by establishing 'states rights.'"

King's son, Martin Luther King III, denounced the "indecent housing, poor health care" and other ills that plague the Black community. He urged a fight for jobs for all.

The appearance of Stevie Wonder highlighted the day's protest. He was escorted on stage to thunderous cheers and applause.

After thanking the multitude of demonstrators for coming out, Wonder expressed

his feeling about King's contributions as "one of our great leaders," a fighter for peace, equal rights, and justice.

In the day's most inspiring moment, Stevie Wonder led the huge crowd in

singing "We Shall Overcome."

He closed the rally with his hit song "Happy Birthday." The masses rocked, swayed, and sang along with him.

As tens of thousands streamed out of the

rally, they were still singing, still cheering, still smiling.

They had made their presence felt. They had celebrated a hero of the Black freedom struggle. They would not be turned back. □

Rushes Troop Reinforcements to Africa

French Regime Gets Black Eye in Chad

By Ernest Harsch

Hundreds of French troops, equipped for a rapid military strike, were dispatched in mid-January to Bouar, in the Central African Republic, just a hundred miles from the border with Chad. In France itself, two paratroop companies of Paris's overseas intervention force were placed on alert.

The threat to Chad could hardly be clearer. The French government—which had dominated Chad for decades and which has sent troops to Africa many times to crush popular rebellions and overthrow independent governments—is once again signalling its readiness to intervene in defense of French imperialist interests.

The Chadian government has condemned the French threats and has called on Africa to beware of "the danger that a French intervention would represent."

Paris's new military moves come in the wake of the defeat of the French-backed forces in Chad's civil war. On the night of December 14-15, after a months-long stalemate, the rebel forces of Hissène Habré were driven out of the Chadian capital of Ndjameña by government units, supported by Libyan troops. Within a few more days, Habré's army had disintegrated and his remaining followers fled across the borders to Cameroon and the Sudan.

The coalition of forces backing the government of President Goukouni Oueddei was victorious. Goukouni is the leader of the largest faction of the Front de Libération Nationale du Tchad (Frolinat—Chad National Liberation Front), which has been fighting since the mid-1960s against French domination over Chad.

A front-page editorial in the December 17 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* summed up the outcome of the Chadian civil war: "A major setback for Paris."

French Troops Not Welcome

The extent of Paris's reverse was symbolized by Goukouni's statement on January 6 that "Chad will never again allow French troops to be stationed on its territory." He pointed out that the Chadian people had "lost thousands of martyrs while France supported the previous reactionary Chadian regimes."

In a further display of independence from Paris, the Chadian government has established especially close ties with the regime of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in neighboring Libya. An undisclosed number of Libyan troops, technicians, advisers, and doctors have been sent to Chad to help strengthen the government's forces and to assist in the reconstruction of the country, which has been ravaged by years of warfare and French intervention.

On January 6, following a visit by Goukouni to the Libyan capital of Tripoli, the two governments announced a "strengthening of the strategic alliance between the two countries." The borders were to be opened between Libya and Chad to allow unhindered travel, and a joint communiqué called for the "complete unity" of Libya and Chad.

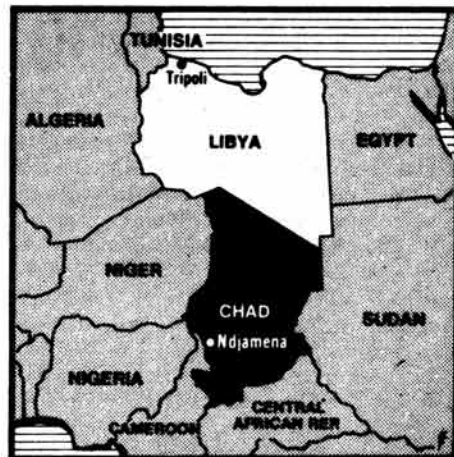
Enraged that two African governments would take such a step without consulting them—let alone without their okay—the French imperialists and their allies in Africa have launched a major propaganda drive to try to portray the presence of Libyan troops in Chad and the agreement between the two governments as an outright Libyan annexation of Chad.

Robert Galley, the French minister of defense, stressed that Paris disapproved of the unity agreement and claimed that it was "contrary to international law." With all the arrogance of a colonial overlord, the French Foreign Ministry questioned the Chadian government's right to conclude such treaties. It also announced that it would cancel an oil-exploration deal that had previously been signed with Libya.

In Washington, the State Department declared that the U.S. government was "extremely concerned" by "the presence in Chad of an estimated 4,000 Libyan troops with tanks and artillery."

President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt, who provided aid to Habré's forces during the Chadian civil war, warned of "Soviet infiltration" and a "red encirclement" of the region "from Afghanistan to Aden, from Angola to Ethiopia, from Syria to Libya and Chad." Sadat also hinted at a possible direct military intervention against Libya and Chad.

President Gaafar el-Nimeiry of the Su-



dan threatened to continue aiding the remnants of Habré's forces and dispatched Sudanese troops to the Chadian border. The Nigerian government expelled Libyan diplomats from that country.

Paris, Washington, and the proimperialist regimes in Africa are concerned not only about the diminished French control over Chad, but also about the Libyan regime's increased influence in the region as a whole. They have made little secret of their displeasure over many of Qaddafi's foreign policy initiatives, including his regime's support for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Iranian revolution, and numerous anti-imperialist currents on the African continent.

In addition, they are worried that the French setback in Chad could encourage other peoples in the region to step up their own struggles against imperialist domination. There is hardly a government in the area that has not faced some sign of serious internal unrest in recent months.

French Reinforcements Sent

Thus the bolstering of the French military presence in Africa, besides being a direct threat to Chad, is aimed at dissuading popular opposition to these neighboring regimes. In addition to the new units sent to the Central African Republic, some troops have been dispatched to Niger, and Paris is considering reinforcing its other military garrisons in Senegal, Gabon, and the Ivory Coast. A French military mission has been sent to the Sudan.

The French government has tried to justify these moves by claiming that it is only seeking to defend African countries from external aggression. A January 8 Foreign Ministry statement, for example, had the audacity to declare that "France would stand by the Chad people insofar as

their rights were concerned, and by Africa insofar as Africa's security was concerned."

The people of Africa, unfortunately, have considerable experience in what such fine-sounding phrases actually mean.

During the Angolan civil war of 1975-76, the French government collaborated with the South African invasion of that country and helped funnel money and arms to the Angolan side backed by Washington and South Africa.

Two times, in 1977 and 1978, French commando units intervened in Zaïre to crush popular uprisings in the province of Shaba, leaving hundreds of Africans dead.

In 1977 and 1978, French planes took part in bombing raids against guerrilla units of the Polisario Front, which is fighting for the independence of Western Sahara from Moroccan rule.

And in September 1979, French troops intervened in the Central African Republic, deposed the existing government, and installed a new pro-French regime.

History of Imperialist Intervention

Chad itself has been the victim of years of French intervention.

Around the turn of the century, the indigenous societies in the region were subjugated by the French colonial armies. To help ensure their continued rule, the colonial authorities sought to pit Chad's various peoples against each other, primarily the Sara people of the south against the largely Muslim and Arabic-speaking peoples of northern and central Chad.

Despite Paris's self-proclaimed "civilizing mission" in Africa, French rule left Chad an impoverished country. French companies made large profits from the cotton plantations of the south, but Chad's approximately 4.5 million people had to live on a per capita income of just \$90 a year. Virtually no industry was developed.

When the French finally decided to grant formal independence to Chad in 1960, they installed the pro-French dictatorship of Ngarta Tombalbaye to guard their interests. Tombalbaye soon instituted discriminatory measures against the peoples of northern and central Chad, and in 1963 massacred more than 100 Muslim protesters in the capital. Two years later, a massive peasant uprising in eastern Chad was put down, with the loss of hundreds of lives.

It was out of these conflicts that Frolinat was formed in 1966. It described itself as a nationalist group that opposed both the French presence in Chad and the neocolonial regime in Ndjamena. Its main base has traditionally been among the Muslim peoples.

Between 1968 and 1972, several thousand French troops conducted brutal counterinsurgency operations in the countryside, leaving thousands dead. Though Frolinat suffered heavy losses, the rebellion was not crushed.

Frolinat had been receiving aid from neighboring Libya since Qaddafi's seizure of power in 1969. This included material assistance and the provision of sanctuary in southern Libya. But Qaddafi's backing was erratic. In 1972 he cut off all aid to Frolinat, and later pushed 2,000 refugees back across the border into Chad, when the French agreed to sell Libya jets. In addition, Tombalbaye allowed Qaddafi to annex a strip of Chadian territory along the northern border with Libya.

New Regime Installed

In 1975, Tombalbaye, who had been unable to contain the insurgency, was overthrown and a new pro-French regime, that of Gen. Félix Malloum, was installed. He proved no more successful in halting the rebellion than his predecessor.

By late 1977, the most important faction of Frolinat, that of Goukouni Oueddei, began to make new gains and to win greater support in the country. Qaddafi, by then, had resumed aid to Frolinat.

In January 1978, Goukouni's insurgent forces went on the offensive, and soon won control of the vast, but sparsely populated, northern regions. Malloum's army suffered staggering losses, with Frolinat capturing about a quarter of the regular army and the paramilitary forces.

As Frolinat continued its drive into central Chad, which is more heavily populated, Paris rushed in more than 1,000 reinforcements to hold off the rebel offensive. For the first time, the French intervention sparked off large demonstrations in the major towns of central and southern Chad, revealing the depth of the anti-imperialist sentiment in the country.

In face of this growing resistance to French domination—and renewed opposition to French military interventions from within France itself—the authorities in Paris concluded that they could not maintain their control through armed might alone. Consequently, negotiations were begun with a small, splinter faction of Frolinat headed by Hissèbe Habré. With the aim of derailing the anti-imperialist upsurge, Habré was appointed prime minister in August 1978, while Malloum became president.

With French backing, Habré recruited troops and strengthened his military forces in the capital. The French viewed Habré as a possible counter to Goukouni's Frolinat. By early 1979, Habré felt strong enough to try to eliminate Malloum himself, and a brief but fierce civil war erupted in the capital between the two pro-French figures. Paris, however, had already abandoned Malloum and gave its tacit backing to Habré.

But Habré failed to win any significant popular support. The main Frolinat rebel forces still wielded considerable influence. They were too strong to ignore. In late 1979, Paris was finally forced to accept their entry into a new coalition govern-

ment. Goukouni became president and Habré minister of defense. Lt. Col. Wadal Kamougué, the most prominent holdover from the Malloum regime, was named vice-president.

As part of this agreement, which was reached under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Paris had to promise to withdraw all French troops from Chad.

Divided Government

The new government, which was formally composed of eleven political and military groups, was fragile and divided. Habré took advantage of this and moved to further strengthen his position in the capital. According to a report in the December 17, 1980, *Washington Post*, French officials considered Habré's armed forces "one of the best disciplined and well-trained military organizations in French-speaking Africa."

In March 1980, Habré struck. He launched an all-out military assault against Goukouni and the other groups supporting the government. Ndjamena was devastated, and in the first two months of the war alone at least 800 persons were killed in the capital.

Paris, which withdrew its last troops in May, claimed that it was neutral in the civil war. In reality, it continued to back Habré against the recognized government. Moreover, the proimperialist regimes in Egypt and the Sudan provided direct assistance to Habré's forces.

With this backing, Habré managed to capture and hold important sections of the capital. The military conflict reached a stalemate, which lasted for months. In late November, Goukouni agreed to sign an OAU-sponsored cease-fire, but Habré refused.

Confronted with Habré's intransigence and the interference of the French, Egyptian, and Sudanese governments in Chad's internal affairs, the Chadian government asked for Libyan military assistance, in accord with a defense treaty signed between the two governments in June 1980. This assistance was apparently decisive in breaking the stalemate. Much to the French imperialists' surprise, Habré's "disciplined" army simply fell apart.

Though Paris has been dealt a stinging setback, the dangers to Chad—and to the rest of Africa—remain. As long as French troops are in Africa, no people on the continent can feel secure. □

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'The People of El Salvador Do Not Stand Alone'

[The following speech was given in December at the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party by Salvador Cayetano Carpio, who headed the delegation of the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). The text is taken from the January 11 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*, published in Havana.]

* * *

Comrade Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba;

Comrade Delegates to the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba;

Fraternal Delegations;

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of a heroic people at war, the delegation of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador has the great honor of being present at this historic 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of socialism and revolution in the Americas. (APPLAUSE)

For us this is especially significant given the vital historical moment in which this great event is taking place, when the sister people of Nicaragua have shifted the course of history in Central America; when the Salvadoran people are entering the stage of increasingly intense and decisive battles for liberation; and when other peoples of the area, like the sister Guatemalan people, are entering a decisive stage of their struggle.

The dear sister people of Guatemala are struggling heroically and firmly advancing in a process of revolutionary and democratic unity. The struggles of the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala and other peoples of Central America complement each other. The Central American revolutionary struggle is one.

We are witnessing a shift in the history of Latin America. The events taking place now are creating a new situation, one of great revolutionary gains, which undermines the foundations of imperialist domination and the internal structures upon which that domination is based in several of our countries.

At this historic stage, socialist Cuba, with the daily progress it makes in building a new society, is the bright beam which inspires all the patriots, revolutionaries and democrats of the continent. The Salvadoran revolutionaries, united under the banner of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—the FMLN—are proud to be at this Congress, greeting the glorious people of Martí who represent the

first socialist country in America; the Communist Party of Cuba, which has changed the history of the Americas; its Central Committee; and Comrade Fidel Castro, glorious leader of the Cuban Revolution and the Latin American Revolution. (APPLAUSE) This Congress will be especially significant for the construction of socialism in Cuba and for promoting revolution in Latin America.

It is also a special honor for us to be able to address the delegates of all the Communist and Workers' Parties and revolutionary and democratic organizations gathered here and to sincerely express our profound appreciation for the militant solidarity we are getting from the peoples of the world in this stage of our struggle. With deep feeling we can say that our people are not alone. From the distant and beloved land of Vietnam comes the encouragement of that heroic people who defeated Yankee imperialism in a decisive manner, a fact which inspires all our fighters, (APPLAUSE) all the men and women fighting in the factories and classrooms, in every corner of our country. We also feel the encouragement of the dear people of the Soviet Union and their glorious Communist Party, (APPLAUSE) invincible bastion of the world revolution and the struggle against imperialism. To those peoples and the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Yugoslavia and the rest of the peoples of Europe and their Communist Parties we say, Thank you, brothers and sisters, for your solidarity. (APPLAUSE) And we say the same to the Parties and peoples of Ethiopia, Angola and the other African nations; the Arab peoples; and the peoples, Parties and revolutionary and democratic organizations of Latin America. (APPLAUSE)

The people of El Salvador do not stand alone. The fraternal encouragement of Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada is something that strengthens us daily in the tireless battle for liberation. World solidarity, the militant aid of all the world's peoples that grows daily will be decisive for the victory of the Revolution in El Salvador. We ask you not to reduce your solidarity, because the attacks, provocations, maneuvers and intervention of Yankee imperialism increase daily and there is a likelihood of direct military attack after all other forms of aggression using imperialist puppets have been tried.

The Salvadoran people, more than any other in Latin America, have experienced and are experiencing firsthand all the

bestiality, the brutality of the methods of U.S. imperialism to maintain its rapacious domination. The blood being shed is not being shed in vain, for it paves the way to freedom and revolution, not only in El Salvador but in all of Central and Latin America. The Revolution is indivisible; if our determination and heroism are able to break the chains of U.S. imperialism; this will surely have an impact on the history of all Latin America. (APPLAUSE)

In this year alone, over 10,000 patriots and innocent people have been murdered, including the beloved leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front who have been proclaimed national heroes of the Revolution. Many other leaders and cadres of different organizations have also been killed by the forces of counterrevolution that are directed, supplied and advised by U.S. imperialism. The bloodthirsty puppets have destroyed hamlets and devastated entire regions; they have committed the worst acts of vandalism; they have slaughtered children, women and old people by the thousands; they are responsible for all sorts of violations, abuses and torture practices. More than 50 bodies of worthy representatives of the people are found daily on roads, in fields and in cities. Napalm and 100-lb. bombs fall daily on towns in different parts of the country. However, the counterrevolutionary army, under the command of the most reactionary military leaders, instructed and advised by the Pentagon, is increasingly realizing that it is impossible to defeat a people who are firmly determined to achieve liberation. (APPLAUSE) The latest offensives in different parts of the country by the counterrevolutionary army using thousands of soldiers, tanks, planes and gunships, dropping napalm and burning down the homes of hundreds of thousands of peasants have not succeeded in destroying the revolutionary forces. They haven't succeeded because the Revolution developing in El Salvador is based on the entire people, who are increasingly joining the ranks of the Revolution, the insurrection, the people's militia, the people's army and the guerrilla forces. The workers and peasants have taken up the cause of their own liberation; the people themselves are forging their right to self-determination, step by step, with their own blood. (APPLAUSE)

We are striving to achieve a democratic and revolutionary government which will provide broad freedoms, progress, peace and justice for all. It will be founded on the masses and on all patriotic and democratic forces of the population organized into the

broad Democratic Revolutionary Front. To this end we are preparing for increasingly intense and decisive battles. U.S. imperialism and its puppets will not be able to break down the will of our people. We are sure that the dawn of freedom, that the new day is near, but we realize it won't be easy, that it will be like it was in Cuba and Nicaragua. Even if thousands more heroic fighters and ordinary citizens of our country have to die, nothing and nobody can stop the victory of the Revolution in El Salvador. (APPLAUSE)

In this struggle we ask the peoples of the world to tie the hands of Yankee imperialism, for it wants to launch a direct military attack on our country. Help us to prevent this. We know that no matter how mad the Pentagon's plans, the will and determination of the peoples world public opinion, can stop them, just as it has so far stopped their criminal plans to start a third world war.

If U.S. imperialism is crazy enough to launch a frontal attack on our people, we assure you that we will also shed our blood to stop that intervention and defeat it as the people of Vietnam did. We wouldn't want to pay such a high price for victory, but if necessary we will do so. (APPLAUSE)

Let the Yankee Pentagon make no mistake, if it attacks the Salvadoran people it will have another painful thorn in its side, (APPLAUSE) and the seasoned people of Farabundo Martí will have more cause than ever to shout from their battle posts, "Cuba, Fidel, Sandino, Bolívar, hit the Yankees hard!" (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Comrades, allow me to extend sincere and revolutionary greetings to Comrade Fidel Castro and all the delegates to the Congress at this historic moment.

We assure you that we will continue to

struggle harder to achieve the total unity of our people; the unity of the Salvadoran people and of their revolutionary and democratic organizations is the firm guarantee of the Revolution in El Salvador.

Long live proletarian internationalism! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Long live the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba! (SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE!")

Cuba, Vietnam and Nicaragua won. El Salvador will win! (APPLAUSE) The example of our heroes and martyrs inspires us, and, as our people say every day in town and countryside, the color of blood is never forgotten.

Ever onward to victory! (APPLAUSE)

United to fight until final victory!

Revolution or death! We will win! (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

(SHOUTS OF "LONG LIVE SALVADOR, LONG LIVE!" AND "FIDEL, FOR SURE. HIT THE YANKEES HARD!") □

Grenadian Prime Minister Speaks at Havana News Conference

'The People of El Salvador Can Count on Our Support'

[The following article by Orestes Valera appeared in the January 11 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*, published in Havana.]

* * *

The people of El Salvador and their patriotic forces have the fullest support of our Party, government and people, said Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada, at a press conference held in Havana.

He said that he viewed the struggle in El Salvador as one between the great majority of the people—patriots, democrats, progressives, socialists and Communists—against a small minority backed by the military, U.S. imperialism and certain Christian Democrats in the region. The prime minister rejected the imperialist characterization of the struggle as one between the extreme left and extreme right, saying that, in actual fact, the great majority of the people are fighting for national liberation.

The prime minister expressed Grenada's fullest support in all possible forms and in keeping with its resources for the people of El Salvador.

Regarding Nicaragua, Bishop said that very close fraternal ties had been developed with the Sandinistas, the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction and the Nicaraguan people. He explained that there had been important meetings with the top leaders of that



Osborne Hart/Militant

MAURICE BISHOP

country, and that during the festivities to mark the first anniversary of the Revolution in Grenada Commander Daniel Ortega was an honored guest.

Bishop said Grenada's relations with Nicaragua's Revolution started a month before the Sandinista victory, when the

Provisional Government was set up. These relations have been broadened and developed extraordinarily since then. Grenada has sent teachers to help in the literacy campaign with the English-speaking population along the Atlantic Coast, and more will be going this year.

On showing his deep feelings of friendship and solidarity with Cuba and Nicaragua, Maurice Bishop said that, as far as he was concerned, the four highlights of the year were attending Sandino Day in February when he spoke to the Nicaraguan people at a mass rally; being in Cuba on May Day, International Workers' Day, when he spoke to the Cuban people; being in Nicaragua on July 19th for the first anniversary of victory; and being in Cuba for the 2nd Congress of the Party and briefly addressing the Cuban people again.

On the subject of cooperation between Cuba and Grenada, the prime minister said it was developing very well. He said the ties with the Cuban Party, Government and people were those of brothers and sisters.

Among the many forms which Cuban aid takes in Grenada, Bishop said, is the construction of the international airport; the donation of fishing boats; and the magnificent work done by the medical brigade of 15 doctors, dentists and technicians who served in Grenada for a year and provided free treatment for nearly half the people of the country. This is at the root of the slanderous anticommunist propaganda campaign against Cuba, he

added, but Grenadians increasingly appreciate how valuable this cooperation is, while realizing that imperialism and its spokesmen in the region and the local reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries want to destroy relations between Cuba and Grenada, but, the prime minister asserted, they will fail because those ties are indestructible.

Speaking of the Cuban internationalist workers, Bishop said they had earned themselves a well-deserved reputation. Cuba can rightly be proud of them because they are very honest workers who maintain principled relations with Grenadians and are very fraternal and proletarian, he remarked.

On another topic, Bishop said that the main tasks of the Revolution in Grenada were the same as those facing the Cuban Revolution: production and defense. In his opinion, the Revolution can only develop and defend itself if it is based on principles and, therefore, it is necessary to increase production and build a solid national economy, destroying dependency on imperialism while providing the people with more economic and social benefits. The whole revolutionary people must be organized and mobilized in order to democratically participate in the affairs of the country. Bishop then mentioned the need to have strong means of defense so that the people can protect the Revolution from foreign attack.

For its defense, the people of Grenada count on the People's Revolutionary Army and the militia made up of thousands of people organized from the squad to battalion levels who are being trained to use the weapons available. These forces can be quickly mobilized, said the leader of the New Jewel Movement.

In answer to a question, Bishop said the greatest successes of the Grenadian Revolution were in the field of education.

A literacy campaign is being carried out by the People's Education Center which is aimed at teaching everybody. The current illiteracy rate is only seven percent, but the goal is to eliminate it completely.

The second stage of the campaign, the prime minister explained, is based on a series of programs aimed at improving the knowledge of people studying trades. Hence, fishing, tourism and police schools have been opened, as well as others for public officials and the militia. The agricultural and agroindustrial training school has been significantly enlarged, and since October 1980, more than 80 percent of the nongraduate teachers are undergoing special training. During the last 22 months many new schools have been opened with training programs for various sectors. School enrollment capacity has been increased, particularly as a result of the opening of a secondary school last September.

A total of 221 Grenadians are attending universities abroad, while in the year

before the victory of the Revolution, there were only three university students.

In the field of the economy, Bishop said there had been an increase in agricultural production which was being diversified and broadened. A series of factories to process agricultural produce have opened, such as the coffee processing plant, and another to make jams and other fruit preserves.

Fishing is important, Bishop stressed, both in terms of increasing the catch as well as training new personnel to serve in the sector. He also mentioned the work done in the fields of tourism, construction and road repairs and the important international airport project. Unemployment has been reduced from 50 percent before the Revolution to 35 percent. He mentioned that there was only one government economist and that building the national planning apparatus had been started from scratch.

Nevertheless, the prime minister said, Grenada is satisfied with its economic and production victories, which are based on the work of the Party and its central role in building a strong economy and a sound state apparatus.

Bishop also discussed the great dangers which the Grenadian Revolution faces.

He said that the next three or four months would be critical. The likelihood of a formal blockade, increased isolation, possible intervention and the threat to destroy some trade ties has been expressed by the most reactionary spokesmen in the region including Tom Adams of Barbados.

These people are trying to have Grenada thrown out of CARICOM [Caribbean Community] with which Grenada maintains close ties, he explained.

The prime minister said Grenada was doing all it could to foil the plans of imperialism and its regional spokesmen.

Giving more details on this subject, Bishop mentioned efforts by the United States and Great Britain to block Grenada's traditional sources of aid as happened when the Windward Islands asked for help from the banana association to help repair damage to agriculture caused by a hurricane. The aid was offered, but only if Grenada was excluded.

Bishop also denounced manipulation by U.S. embassy officials to cut off the flow of foreign exchange and provoke the collapse of programs and projects which Grenada is undertaking with the Caribbean Development Bank.

He added that in 1981 Grenada will have to work harder to foil imperialist efforts to undermine the Revolution.

At the same time, he said, in the next two years, Grenada's economy will be more stabilized and consolidated, more diversified. The unity of its people will increase and political awareness of the masses will deepen; the workers' class conscience will advance and the vanguard role of the Party will be further developed. Grenada's military capacity and the willingness of the people to struggle will be further strengthened. The revolution is irreversible, the prime minister concluded. □

New Evidence on Role of Iraqi Regime in Seizure of Iranian Embassy in London

Last April 30, just six days after the aborted U.S. military raid against Iran and in the midst of a months-long imperialist propaganda campaign aimed at justifying such aggression, six young Arabs seized the Iranian embassy in London.

They demanded autonomy for the largely Arab population in Khuzestan in southern Iran, and the release of ninety-one imprisoned Arabs.

At the time, the Tehran government charged that the six Arabs were agents of the Iraqi regime.

During court testimony in London, January 13, this was shown to have, in fact, been the case.

The one member of the group that survived a British commando attack on the embassy, twenty-three-year-old Fowzi Nejad, admitted that the London embassy seizure had been planned and organized with direct help from the Iraqi government.

"They told us in Iraq that the police

would not attack," Nejad told British police. He said that after the six had crossed into Iraq they were given Iraqi citizenship and began to receive training for the London embassy seizure.

While the struggle by oppressed Arabs in Khuzestan for their national rights is a just one, the seizure of the Iranian embassy in no way advanced that struggle. Rather, it fit in with Washington's campaign against the Iranian revolution.

The Iraqi regime, which has long denied and brutally repressed the rights of oppressed nationalities in its own country, cruelly used these young Arabs for its own ends.

The new evidence of the Iraqi regime's complicity in the London embassy seizure, its complicity in a foiled coup attempt against Iran last July, its harboring of counterrevolutionary, pro-shah forces, and its invasion of Iran all fit in with the drive by U.S. imperialism to crush the Iranian revolution.

Mexico: Bonanza for Bosses, Poverty for Masses

By Aníbal Yáñez

[The following article appeared in the January 26 issue of the U.S. Spanish-language socialist fortnightly *Perspectiva Mundial*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Ronald Reagan's first trip abroad as president-elect of the United States was to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, where he met with Mexican President José López Portillo on January 1. The stated purpose of the meeting was to allow the two to develop a "personal relationship."

In reality the meeting reflected the U.S. rulers' recognition of Mexico's strategic importance with regard to Central America and the Caribbean, regions being swept by powerful liberation struggles. The U.S. government hopes that Mexico can help to put out the fires in Central America and the Caribbean, perhaps by offering to serve as a "negotiator" to hold back the revolutionary process.

But Mexico itself is not the pillar of stability that imperialism needs in the region. As a capitalist country, Mexico has not been immune to the realities of the class struggle.

Poverty of the Masses

During 1980, the already declining living standards of the Mexican masses fell even further. Wage earners were hit by the effects of an austerity plan, featuring wage freezes and pressures by the bosses and their government to increase productivity through the imposition of increased work loads, speed-ups, and longer working hours.

For the majority of the working age population—more than half of whom are unemployed—1980 was a year of great economic hardship, with big increases in the price of products such as sugar, bread, tortillas, eggs, and milk.

Bourgeoisie is Not Suffering

But while the year was very hard on the Mexican masses, it was a different story for the Mexican bourgeoisie. In 1980 the profits the country's largest monopoly business groupings grew.

For example, while the automobile industry in the United States is in a deep crisis, in Mexico it is booming.

Recently Michael N. Hammes, the president of Ford Motor Company de México, told the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* that his company plans to invest "huge sums" in Mexico in partnership with the Alfa financial group of Monterrey. According to

Hammes, Mexico is a country that is "attractive to businessmen."

The general manager of Chrysler de México, Jack H. Parkinson, also described his company's extensive investment plans to *Excelsior*. He reported that in the past year Chrysler de México's sales rose 36 percent.

Ford and Chrysler, along with General Motors, are among the twenty largest in Mexico. While they do not have a single Mexican investor in their auto operations, they do participate with Mexican financiers in other businesses.

Last December, Robert H. McBride, who was the U.S. ambassador to Mexico under Nixon and is currently an advisor to Reagan, stated that "there seems to be a harmony of objectives and a capacity for joint activity between industry and banking in Mexico and the United States. . . . The powerful Monterrey groups have been associated with U.S. corporations . . . as have the groups in Mexico City. . . ."

Oil: Bonanza and Problems

Mexico's oil has whetted the appetites of Mexican and foreign capitalists. In fact, oil has become the most important element in the country's foreign trade, representing more than two-thirds of all Mexican exports. But nearly every other category of exports has declined, while imports, especially from the U.S., have risen.

Despite the growth of some sectors of Mexican capitalism, and despite the oil income, Mexico's economy faces serious problems.

Mexican capitalists are unable to compete in a market dominated by powerful imperialist corporations. In addition, the austerity measures and the decline in non-oil exports mean that the Mexican domestic market is continuing to shrink, causing problems for Mexican capitalism as a whole.

Despite the contraction of the domestic market, the bosses and their government firmly maintained the austerity program in 1980. Although this policy has resulted in restricted domestic sales, it also has sparked an investment boom that pulled the Mexican economy out of the deep recession it was in in 1976-77.

And the government is committed to maintaining austerity as a means of disciplining the working class and forcing it to hold down its wage demands.

Workers Struggle Against Austerity

But working people, with the industrial workers in the lead, began to struggle against the austerity in 1980. Throughout the year there were strikes, work stoppages,

and demonstrations against austerity, as well as movements for trade-union democracy.

Nationally, according to official statistics, there were nearly 8,000 strikes, an average of 22 per day, in the year beginning in September 1979.

On February 9, 1980, more than 3,000 General Motors workers in Mexico City began a strike that lasted 106 days. They were demanding a 45 percent wage increase and union rights at a new plant built in Ramos Arizpe, just outside of Saltillo, the capital of the state of Coahuila.

On March 10, 14,000 miners began a thirty-day strike against the Altos Hornos steel company in Monclova, Coahuila. In April there were strikes by workers in soft drink bottling plants and by 23,000 telephone workers.

In May there were strikes against the government's austerity program by miners in Real del Monte and Pachuca, and by workers belonging to the Oaxaca state federation of the National Union of Education Workers (SNTE).

Mass Demonstrations

On May Day there were two huge demonstrations in Mexico City. In one, organized by the progovernment union federations, more than a million workers took part. Despite the organizers, throughout that march there were banners and slogans from important sectors of the working class protesting government policies.

The other demonstration attracted more than 200,000 militant workers from more than 120 unions. Organized by the Independent Workers Union (UOI), the main theme of the march was defense of the right to strike.

On June 9 there was the first national demonstration of SNTE workers in support of the strike committees that had been set up in Oaxaca. More than 100,000 workers went into the streets of Mexico City on that occasion. In the following months the strike committees began to spread to other states as well, challenging the control that the progovernment union bureaucracy exerts over the SNTE.

Other important strikes included those of the airport workers, Ford Motor Company workers, and 40,000 workers in the textile industry.

While not all the strikes ended in victory, these struggles have shown a growing number of workers that there is an alliance between the government, the bosses, and the trade-union bureaucrats. Many are be-

ginning to see that they must achieve trade-union democracy and independence from the government party if they are to struggle effectively for their demands.

Fight for a Workers Party

Bandera Socialista, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), the Mexican section of the Fourth International, notes that "it is increasingly necessary for the working class to express itself in the political arena, not just on the trade-union level. The best way to channel this dynamic is to struggle to form a labor party, based on the class organizations of the Mexican workers. It is necessary to break with the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI—the ruling capitalist party] and form a working-class party.

"The key to the future victories of the Mexican workers," *Bandera Socialista* maintained, "will be the centralization of their struggles, and independent political action."

'Mexico is Part of Central America'

Tomás Galindo, a leader of the PRT and of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), addressed a December 28 international meeting in solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean, which was held in conjunction with the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Indianapolis, Indiana.

"Mexico has been considered imperialism's backyard," Galindo stated. "But Mexico is also something else. For us, the young revolutionists, it is a country . . . where the class struggle has been expressed strongly in the battles workers have waged for their unions, peasants for their land, women and youth for their rights.

"That is why," Galindo continued, "Mexico is part of Central America. The fate of the workers in my country is tied, not to the interests of capitalism, but rather to the historic interests, aspirations, and sentiments of the workers and peasants who made the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua, and who are making the revolution in El Salvador. . . ."

The anti-imperialist tradition runs deep in Mexico and is strongly rooted in the consciousness of the workers. As a result, Mexican workers view the victories of other Central American peoples as their own victories as well. That is one reason why a strong movement in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, and now with El Salvador, has developed in Mexico.

The anti-imperialist sentiments of the Mexican people forced the Mexican Chamber of Deputies to vote unanimously, at its December 17, 1980, session, to condemn the state of terror that exists in El Salvador and to demand absolute respect for the Salvadoran people's right to self-determination.

On the same day, the Labor Congress (CT), which is composed of 34 of the largest



Mexico City demonstration in support of struggle in El Salvador.

Bandera Socialista

union federations in Mexico—including steelworkers, oil workers, electrical workers, and telephone workers—supported a proposal by the atomic energy workers union to call a world conference in support of the struggle of the Salvadoran people. That conference will take place in Mexico City on February 20-22.

Given the scope of the struggles waged by

Mexican workers for their own demands and their strong solidarity with the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean, the U.S. government will have problems trying to use the Mexican government to defend imperialism's interest in the region, no matter how close the "personal relationship" established between Ronald Reagan and José López Portillo. □

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Education in Revolutionary Cuba

By Ernest Harsch

HAVANA—Along Avenida Quinta, in the elegant Miramar section of Havana, stand many of the old homes of Cuba's former rulers. Before the revolution, this was a neighborhood of the very wealthy, far from the poverty and squalor of the older, working-class sections of the city. This was Cuba's "Fifth Avenue," named after the fashionable boulevard of New York City.

But today, many of these old mansions are boarding schools. The large rooms, the spacious courtyards filled with palm trees, the airy balconies, the atmosphere of quiet and serenity, all provide ideal surroundings in which Cuba's young people can study.

What has happened since the revolution along Avenida Quinta is what has happened throughout the country.

In Santiago, Camagüey, Holguín, and Cienfuegos, in large cities, small towns, and remote areas of the countryside, there are now thousands of new schools. Many have been built since the revolution, modern buildings with libraries, laboratories, and well-lit classrooms. Some have been converted from old army barracks and other buildings. Everywhere one goes there are exuberant and cheerful schoolchildren, with their colorful uniforms and their books.

In fact, it seems as if all of Cuba is one big school.

A National Priority

In Cuba today, education is a national priority. Nowhere else in Latin America has so much been done to wipe out ignorance and illiteracy and to raise people's awareness of the world around them. The leadership in Cuba understands that without an educated population it would be impossible to develop the country's economy, expand social programs, or enable the Cuban people to adequately defend their revolution.

Out of a total population of about 10 million, there are presently some 3,350,000 youths, workers, and housewives enrolled in classes—one third of the entire population. It is a truly remarkable figure for a country that just twenty-one years ago had an illiteracy rate of more than 25 percent, where schools did not exist in large areas of the countryside, and where high school and university education was considered a luxury, for those who could afford it.

Education in Cuba is now completely free, from the first grade through the university level. Everything that a student needs to study properly is provided by the government: books, writing supplies, classroom aids, uniforms, audiovisual materials, laboratory equipment, and in many cases even housing and meals.

Expenditure on education is the largest single item in the national budget and is equivalent to 11 percent of the country's gross national product. The education budget for 1980 is 1,340 million pesos,* sixteen times higher than the budget for 1958, the year before the triumph of the revolution.

During the past five years alone, 894 new schools were built in Cuba—an average of one new school completed every two days.

Each year, an average of 23 million books are printed for educational purposes.

All this is a product of Cuba's planned and socialized economy. Without the revolution, which made possible the accumulation and concentration of the necessary human and material resources, and their rational allocation in the interests of human needs instead of private profits, Cuba's great strides in education could not have been achieved.

Victory Over Illiteracy

When the revolution came to power, it faced many formidable problems inherited from the old regime. One of the greatest was the high rate of illiteracy. Out of a total adult population of 4 million at that time, about 1 million could not read or write. Many Cuban campesinos and workers had never had a chance to go to school, or had been forced to drop out at an early age because their parents could not afford books or school uniforms.

The new revolutionary government soon set out to overcome this debilitating legacy. Speaking before the United Nations on September 26, 1960, Fidel Castro announced that during the following year Cuba would carry out a major campaign to wipe out the scourge of illiteracy. "Cuba," he declared, "will be the first country of America which, after a few months, will be able to say it does not have one person who remains illiterate."

Though the goal the Cuban leadership had set itself was a difficult one to achieve—one that had never before been accomplished in such a short period of time—Fidel's announcement was no idle boast. He knew that he could count on the spirit of sacrifice and the revolutionary determination of the Cuban people.

In early 1961 the great literacy campaign began. From all walks of life, Cubans volunteered to go out into the countryside to teach peasant families how to read and write.

Above all, it was the youth who responded to the challenge; some 100,000 students between the ages of ten and nineteen volunteered to be teachers. They were soon joined

*One Cuban peso is worth about US\$1.40.

by another 140,000 men and women: factory workers, housewives, teachers.

The volunteers spent months living in the remotest areas of the countryside, patiently teaching campesinos the basics of literacy. And because of the political content of the teaching materials, these poor farmers and agricultural laborers responded with enthusiasm. They were not only learning how to read and write, they were also learning about those things that affected their daily lives: about the agrarian reform and the establishment of cooperative stores, about the effects of the U.S. economic blockade, about the need to defend the revolution from attack.

Nor were the illiterate peasants and workers the only ones to benefit from the literacy campaign. The young student volunteers, who had been drawn for the most part from the cities, learned the real meaning of class oppression. They directly experienced the poor living conditions in the Cuban countryside and came to understand, in a concrete way, how imperialist domination had hindered Cuba's economic development.

These young volunteers went out to the countryside to be teachers; they came back revolutionaries.

By the end of 1961, the campaign had achieved its basic goals. More than 700,000 illiterates had been taught the fundamentals of reading and writing. The illiteracy rate had been brought down to 5 percent—the lowest of any Latin American country, and even lower than that of the United States, where the official UNESCO figure in 1973 was 6.6 percent. In subsequent years, the illiteracy rate in Cuba was reduced even further, to 2 percent.

During the decade of the 1960s, several other countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia also attempted to carry out literacy programs, many of them drawn up by "experts" from the UN educational organization, UNESCO. All were dismal failures.

The fundamental reason why Cuba succeeded where others failed was that Cuban society was undergoing a revolutionary transformation. The promise—and the reality—of a better life for everyone gave the Cuban people the incentive to mobilize on a scale sufficient to eradicate illiteracy, once and for all.

The Old and the New

The school system inherited by the new revolutionary government was also totally inadequate to meet the real needs of the Cuban people.

On the eve of the revolution, schools existed for the most part only in the urban areas. Nearly half of all primary-school-age children did not attend school at all. Most of those who did dropped out before they reached the eighth grade, because their parents could not afford to continue sending them. There were gross inequalities between the public and private schools. The administration of the public school system was highly ineffi-



Harry Ring/Militant

Cuban schoolchildren.

cient. The universities were the preserve of the wealthy.

The quality of the education was likewise very poor. It did not prepare Cubans to face the concrete problems of everyday life, and it did not seek to meet the real needs of Cuba's underdeveloped economy. In the universities, the emphasis was on turning out white-collar workers and professionals, not technicians and agricultural experts.

Fidel explained the reason for this neglect of education in a speech in September 1959. "Our people were ignorant of the most essential economic questions, an ignorance which was the product of interests which always wanted to keep the people uneducated. Why was it so? Because only in the absence of political and economic consciousness could the government do the things it did here. . . ."

To raise the Cuban people's consciousness, therefore, the education system required a tremendous expansion and complete overhaul.

Thousands of new schools were opened up in the early years of the revolution. In the first year alone, the number of students increased by more than 370,000 and enrollment in the countryside more than doubled. Thousands of new teachers were trained.

In 1961, the government nationalized all private schools in order to eliminate the disparities with the public school system and to open them up to the sons and daughters of working people. The same year, education was made free, with uniform standards and facilities for all. Double shifts were started in elementary schools, and the number of school days was increased. A special adult

education program for women was launched.

The grade structure was reorganized, so that today Cuban students attend six years of primary school, three years of basic secondary school, and three years of preuniversity and technical and professional school. Any Cuban who has completed the twelve grades has the right to go on and receive a university education, free of charge.

Some of the most up-to-date teaching methods have been introduced into the Cuban schools. Modern mathematics are taught from the first grade. Textbooks are constantly revised to include the results of the latest research in various fields. Many schools have well-equipped laboratories and even audiovisual equipment.

The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, held in 1975, paid considerable attention to education. It analyzed the continued problems and inadequacies of the educational system and outlined a number of concrete proposals to improve it. In line with the slogan "Education is the right and duty of everyone," the five-year economic plan adopted at the congress paved the way for a substantial upgrading of Cuba's entire educational system.

Through reorganization, the allocation of greater resources, and an increase in teacher training, primary education was further improved during the five-year period. Today, 99 percent of all children between the ages of six and eleven attend school. The passing rate is now more than 93 percent. In the past five years alone, nearly 1.3 million students graduated from the sixth grade, about the same number of sixth-grade grad-

uates as during the entire first fifteen years of the revolution.

The greatest advances were made in intermediate education, which experienced an explosion in enrollment over the same five years. Most of the 894 schools that were built in that period were polytechnic schools or junior and senior high schools in the countryside. While enrollment in intermediate schools stood at 604,000 in the 1975-76 school year, it had nearly doubled to 1,150,000 in 1979-80.

As Cuba continues to industrialize, there has been a growing need for more and more skilled technicians, scientists, and engineers. As a result, an increasing emphasis has been placed on higher education.

The university system was reorganized following the party congress, with the establishment of a separate Ministry of Higher Education. While there were just five centers of higher education in Cuba in 1975-76, the number has now risen to thirty-four universities, higher polytechnic institutes, and university centers. Enrollment has similarly increased, from nearly 84,000 in 1975-76 to slightly more than 200,000 in 1979-80. It is expected that during the next five-year period enrollment will surpass 300,000.

While before the revolution most university students were from the propertied classes, today they are from working-class families. In fact, more than half of the students (55.4 percent) are themselves workers.

The emphasis of university education has likewise shifted. No longer are the universities geared toward turning out lawyers, professionals, business managers, and bureaucrats, but toward training the agriculturalists, construction engineers, doctors, and technologists that Cuba so very much needs.

Work and Study

One of the most innovative changes in the Cuban schools since the revolution has been the combining of work and study. Teaching students how to be productive participants in the building of the new Cuba is today one of the central goals of the educational system.

Almost all students in Cuba engage in some kind of productive work as part of their regular studies. In primary school, it may be simply tending a garden, while in the universities engineering students may spend some time working in a sugar mill.

To more effectively integrate labor with scholastic studies, the government began in the early 1970s to build "schools in the countryside." These are mostly junior and senior high schools, drawing students from the surrounding rural areas and from the cities.

Each school is responsible for the cultivation of some 1,250 acres of land, and students work in the fields several hours a day. Within three years, the value of the crops that are produced in this way is enough to underwrite the costs of construction and operation of the school.

Even more important, however, is the effect that this labor has in the development of

the students themselves. In the words of Clarence Bromfield Mellis, the principal of the Félix Pena Díaz Polytechnical High School in Santiago, the students acquire "a sense of the material world." They learn where the products that they consume come from, and gain a greater appreciation of the productive nature of human society.

For many students, Bromfield pointed out, the schools in the countryside provide an additional attraction. Since they are boarding schools, they give young people a chance to live away from their families at an important period in their lives, allowing them to become more socially independent. And for those students raised in the cities, it is something of an adventure besides.

Fidel, in a 1971 speech, stressed the importance of combining work and study in the development of well-rounded individuals. "We think that it has been truly tragic that a large part of humanity has had to do only brutal work while the other part has done only intellectual work," he said. "We think that the person who does only manual work becomes brutalized. And we also think that the person who does only intellectual work becomes deformed and, to a certain extent,

he also becomes brutalized. We think that this is unnatural; a real anomaly. That is why we aspire to a human society in which everybody will do both manual and intellectual work."

Adult Education

Parallel to the regular school system, but no less important, is Cuba's far-reaching program of adult education.

The literacy drive of the early 1960s was only the first step. To ensure that the newly literate did not forget what they had learned, and to further raise their educational level along with that of the rest of the population, follow-up courses were organized. Those adults who had previously attended school, but had dropped out after only a few years, were also encouraged to enroll in special adult education classes.

Shortly after the end of the literacy campaign of 1961, the government announced the Battle for the Sixth Grade, a campaign to raise the educational level of all adults to at least a primary-school level.

Hundreds of thousands were enrolled in the new worker and peasant courses. Special classes were set up for women in the cities

and in the rural areas, some of them organized by the Federation of Cuban Women. For those who had already achieved a sixth-grade education, but wanted to continue their schooling, similar courses were organized at higher levels.

The Battle for the Sixth Grade has now been won. Over the past five years alone, 850,000 Cuban adults graduated from the sixth grade, bringing the campaign to a successful conclusion. Since 1961-62, nearly 1.5 million adults have completed the sixth grade.

During the 1975-76 to 1979-80 period, a further 115,000 adults graduated from the ninth grade, and 45,000 from the twelfth grade.

Thus, not only does Cuba have the distinction of being the first country in Latin America to wipe out illiteracy, it also has the highest general educational level.

But for revolutionary Cuba, even that is not enough. The Battle for the Ninth Grade has just begun. By 1985, the government aims to have more than one million workers and peasants complete the equivalent of junior high school.

The preparations for this campaign are

From Volunteer Teachers to Revolutionaries

HAVANA—In 1960, the year before the formal launching of Cuba's great literacy campaign, several thousand young people had already begun to travel out into the countryside and up into the mountains to teach peasant families how to read and write.

Inspired by the vision of the new Cuba that the revolution promised, they had answered Fidel Castro's April 23, 1960, call for volunteer teachers to begin the battle against illiteracy. "We need a thousand teachers," Fidel said, "who want to dedicate themselves to teaching peasant children."

By the beginning of May 1960, the first contingent of 1,700 volunteers had begun the strenuous journey up into the Sierra Maestra. Several other contingents soon followed.

For many of the volunteers, especially those accustomed to city life, it was a totally new experience, one that was to change their lives.

Few of those who participated in those heroic first days have forgotten them, twenty years later. To get their recollections, the Havana weekly *Bohemia* interviewed a number of those original volunteers in its November 28, 1980, issue.

Edith Monzón, now a high school teacher, recalled what it was like then: "I was sixteen years old, and had

graduated from the ninth grade. I joined the third contingent and began to work as a volunteer teacher in Boca de Cananoba, Sagua de Tánamo. I gave classes under a tree, while we were building the school. We wrote on scraps of cardboard and on used paper. Our blackboard was a big piece of cardboard. These inconveniences soon began to disappear, and didn't prevent this small community from enjoying a new life."

José M. Fontaines, who now works in the Academy of Sciences, pointed out, "The experiences of the volunteer teachers in the Sierra Maestra showed them how to teach; it showed them the needs and legitimate aspirations of the peasants and enabled them to find the answers to those needs."

When Mangaly García went up into the mountains, she was already a teacher, as well as an employee of the National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA). She said that she "suddenly learned the realities of the Sierra. For example, I didn't understand why a peasant would ride down a road on horseback, while his wife and child followed behind on foot. I knew that it would be difficult to change deeply rooted prejudices and ideas. I grieved over the state of the children, their reserve—almost their fear—before un-

known people. I worried about the superstition and the quackery.

"So it was a victory to win the affection of the children and their parents."

Ricardo Gutiérrez, who later became a construction worker and spent four years heading up a Cuban construction team in the West African country of Guinea, explained that it was through the experience of teaching in the mountains "that I became a revolutionary. From the first letter that I sent my mother from the Sierra up until the last, you can see the ideological changes, how I was converted into a real revolutionary. Fidel placed great confidence in us, and the majority responded."

After describing some of his experiences in the Sierra, Javier Ardizones, who is presently the head of the foreign relations department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, concluded: "Today, we feel a deep revolutionary satisfaction that Cuba is one big school, and that just as yesterday the young people responded to Fidel's appeal, there are now thousands who have joined the Manuel Ascunce Domenech Pedagogical Detachment in order to teach in the schools in the countryside and, at the proper time, to march in other contingents—in a brotherly gesture of internationalist solidarity—to teach in Angola and Nicaragua."

—Ernest Harsch

evident in numerous workplaces throughout the country, with tens of thousands of workers already enrolled in the new series of classes.

In one cigar factory in Havana, a hand-lettered sign proclaims: "Raise the cultural level of the workers. For the ninth grade, the new battle for education!"

'The Task of Everyone'

Such sweeping changes in the Cuban educational system could not have been possible without the greatest active participation of the population as a whole. At every level, the Cuban leadership seeks to involve workers, teachers, students and parents in the discussions about education policy and in the actual running of the schools.

"Education," Fidel has said repeatedly, "is the task of everyone."

One of the main bodies through which this mass involvement is expressed is the School Council, which exists at the level of the individual school. The councils are composed of parents, unionists, community members, and leaders and activists of the various mass organizations. They serve as links between the schools and the local community, ensuring the broadest participation in school affairs.

Students are mobilized primarily through their own organizations—the José Martí Pioneers Organization for primary and junior high school students, the Federation of Intermediate Education Students (FEEM) for those in the senior high schools, and the Federation of University Students (FEU).

These student groups are prominent in organizing and carrying out various educational activities, in counseling students on their fields of study, and in encouraging participation in political, cultural, and sports activities. Representatives of the student groups have a say in the administration of the schools.

The Cuban trade unions also play an active and central role in educational affairs. It was the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) that was directly responsible for organizing and overseeing the Battle for the Sixth Grade and is now launching the Battle for the Ninth Grade. The CTC's involvement in adult education dates back to the literacy campaign of 1961.

Besides seeking to raise the educational level of the workers, the unions encourage them to take a strong interest in the scholastic progress of their children, attend parents' meetings, discuss problems with the teachers, and in general take an active part in school affairs.

The Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), and the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) have likewise taken on various educational responsibilities, both directly and through their representation on the School Councils.

As the "Theses on Education" adopted by



Harry Ring/Militant
Science laboratory in a Cuban school.

the Communist Party congress in 1975 pointed out, "Through the revolution, the role of the mass organizations in the educational system has become truly decisive. Education is a matter that deeply concerns teachers, parents, workers, and peasants. Only a socialist revolution can ensure the widest possible participation of the masses and their social organizations in the educational process. In this field, there has not been a single task in which the mass organizations have not taken part in a responsible, enthusiastic, and exemplary fashion."

Education for Revolution

The structure and content of Cuban education is well suited to teaching youths and adults alike how to think as political individuals.

From an early age, Cubans are encouraged to be inquisitive, to ask questions, to try to think through complex questions. As anybody who has been to Cuba can testify, conversations with Cuban students can be quite lively, with much give and take.

Unlike schools in capitalist countries, where students are kept ignorant of the class struggle and are taught an idealized version of history and social development, students in Cuba learn to look at the world in a materialist light. They learn why it is that Cuba was kept underdeveloped during the period of U.S. domination. They learn about how the Cuban and world economies function and about the different interests

and roles of various social classes.

In the process, Cubans learn to become conscious revolutionaries. They understand *why* the Cuban revolution must be defended and strengthened. And they understand why that is a responsibility of everyone, not just of the leadership.

As a result, the determination to stand firm against American pressures and threats is very widespread in Cuba today, even among the youngest. One ten-year old, for instance, was asked if he was afraid of a possible U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean. "You can be sure," he replied, "that we will fight."

Above all, Cubans learn to be internationalists. From the earliest grades, they study the histories, cultures, and literatures of other countries. Special emphasis is put on studying the class struggles of the twentieth century, the Russian revolution, the Vietnamese revolution, the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and elsewhere. One widely used eleventh-grade textbook, for example, is *The History of the Cuban and International Communist, Workers, and National Liberation Movements, 1945-1977*.

Cuban students thus learn the importance of solidarity with other peoples. It is therefore no wonder that tens of thousands of Cubans have volunteered to serve in other countries and that many have fought to help defend them from imperialist attack, most notably in Angola and Ethiopia.

Education is likewise seen as an internationalist duty, and Cuban teachers have played a role abroad as important as that of Cuban troops. Today there are some 3,500 teachers, technicians, literacy advisors, and curriculum specialists working in fourteen countries. A special brigade, called the Augusto César Sandino Primary Schoolteachers Contingent, went to Nicaragua shortly after the triumph of the revolution there. In addition, about 16,000 students from other countries are studying in Cuba.

The Cuban government has made it clear that it is ready, insofar as its resources permit, to help any country that asks for educational assistance.

This internationalism of the Cuban people—plus an unshakeable confidence in the future—was captured by one tenth-grade student at a polytechnical school in Santiago. "One day," she said, "every child in the world will have schools and classrooms like we have here in Cuba." □

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New Campaign to Back Political Prisoners Planned

Irish Liberation Activists Face New Threats

By Gerry Foley

BELFAST—The attempted assassination of Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and her husband, Michael, on January 16 is becoming the focus of a new battle that began to open up after the end of the fifty-three-day hunger strike by Irish political prisoners December 18.

On the one hand, supporters of the prisoners, held in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison, are preparing to open up a new campaign to force the British to stop stalling on the concessions that they promised the prisoners and that were the basis on which the hunger strike was ended.

On the other hand, leaders of the H-Block campaign face the threat of assassination by pro-British murder gangs, and there is a renewed propaganda campaign asserting the need for repression against militant nationalists in the name of law and order.

When Sir Norman Stronge, a Protestant landlord, was killed along with his son by nationalist guerrillas on January 21, five days after the McAliskey shooting, the propaganda campaign went into high gear.

The proimperialist morning paper in Belfast, the *Newsletter*, tried to use the assassination of the two Protestant aristocrats to counter the effect of the H-Block campaign and the attempted assassination of the McAliskies in exposing the repressive nature of British rule in Ireland. It wrote:

"The assassination of Sir Norman . . . was just another proof—if any were needed—of the merciless intent of those responsible for these and all the seemingly endless list of crimes suffered by the people of Northern Ireland over the last decade and still going on."

The *Newsletter* listed Sir Norman's claim to the veneration of the populace: "Sir Norman had a distinguished military career in the army and was for a long period the much-respected speaker of the Northern Ireland House of Commons. He was for more than a decade Sovereign Grand Master of the Royal Black Institution."

The Royal Black Institution is one of the most powerful associations of the Orange Order, the Ku Klux Klan-like organization of the Protestant ascendancy in Northern Ireland. Stronge was thus a symbol of proimperialist Protestant caste rule, and that presumably is why some nationalist guerrillas struck at him. Such actions are inevitable in a context such as the one in Northern Ireland. They are, however, used to obscure the real source of the violence.

The attempt to present the shooting of Stronge and his son as retaliation for the shooting of the McAliskies is particularly dangerous now, since this can provide the pretext for another attack on Bernadette or for attempts on the lives of other leaders of the H-Block campaign, five of whom have already been killed.

Paddy O'Hanlon, a leader of the procapitalist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), the main reformist party identified with the oppressed Catholic population, immediately suggested that the attack on the McAliskies had set off a new round of dead-end violence. O'Hanlon declared:

"The acts of the past week have cast a gloom over the Northern scene after the end of the H-block hunger strike had engendered such hope. Now we seem to be seeing a return to the tit-for-tat shootings."

O'Hanlon's bemoaning of shattered hopes was ironic in light of the fact that the SDLP did nothing to help the H-Block prisoners beat back the British attempt to break them. During the struggle that led to an initial victory for the prisoners, the SDLP kept a low profile. At the same time, it discouraged active support for the prisoners by claiming that its standard bearer, John Hume, was quietly negotiating a settlement with the British behind the scenes.

The fact is that the British authorities are refusing to move ahead with the concessions promised to the prisoners by British Secretary for Northern Ireland Humphrey Atkins. It was the promises made by Atkins that were the basis on which the hunger strikers ended their protest. Thus, the attempted murder of the McAliskies did not take place as a new era of compromise and reconciliation was dawning. Rather, the attack came as the movement against imperialist repression was girding for a new campaign to force the British to honor their promises, a new campaign that will also widen the assault on the massive system of imperialist repression.

Bernadette was greatly needed in this new campaign because of her great personal authority and political understanding. It was because of her leadership of the mass movement against repression and in defense of human rights and dignity that three proimperialist assassins broke into her home early in the morning of January 16 and pumped bullets into the bed where she lay shielding her two-year-old son.

The attempted assassination of Bernadette made clear what the real source of

violence in Northern Ireland is. She has always been and remains a leader of the mass struggle for civil and human rights. She has never been associated with military activity nor advocated guerrilla warfare, much less retaliatory killing.

The fact is that the British authorities are acutely aware of the international reputation that Bernadette Devlin McAliskey enjoys, and the impact on world public opinion of the brutal attack on her and her family. The Royal Victoria Hospital where she is, and the Musgrave Park Military Hospital where Michael McAliskey is, are being inundated with telegrams and flowers. This massive outpouring of worldwide concern protects them and must be continued.

The H-Block activists and the Catholic population as a whole are heartened by this display of international sympathy, which represents protection for them as well. The McAliskies are expected to recover without any permanent damage, and they are in good spirits despite a very close call.

There is no way that the British government can avoid responsibility for the lives of the McAliskies, nor can it pose as the disinterested defender of law and order. For example, after the Stronge shooting there is considerable pressure on the legal republican representatives here, but the Protestant terrorist groups responsible for the shooting of the McAliskies enjoy full legality and maintain under-the-table relations with the British repressive forces. They are seldom disturbed by the British army.

A Loyalist leader speaking on television here a few days ago made clear where the violence comes from, despite the claims of the proimperialist press. He said that civil rights were a danger in Northern Ireland and those who advocated them have to be "wiped off the face of the earth."

The McAliskies were shot to maintain this repression, to intimidate the movement against it. But the H-Block activists and leaders are not intimidated. They are continuing as usual, and they will relaunch the national campaign in support of the political prisoners on January 25, in Dublin. They are heartened also by reports that the shooting is inspiring redoubled protests against British repression internationally, and by the formation of new H-Block committees in the United States and other countries. □

Messages of Support Needed

Messages of support should be sent to Michael McAliskey, c/o Musgrave Military Hospital, Belfast, Northern Ireland; and Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, c/o Mrs. Dan Devlin, 96 Moneyhaw Road, Little Bridge, Moymore, County Derry, Northern Ireland.