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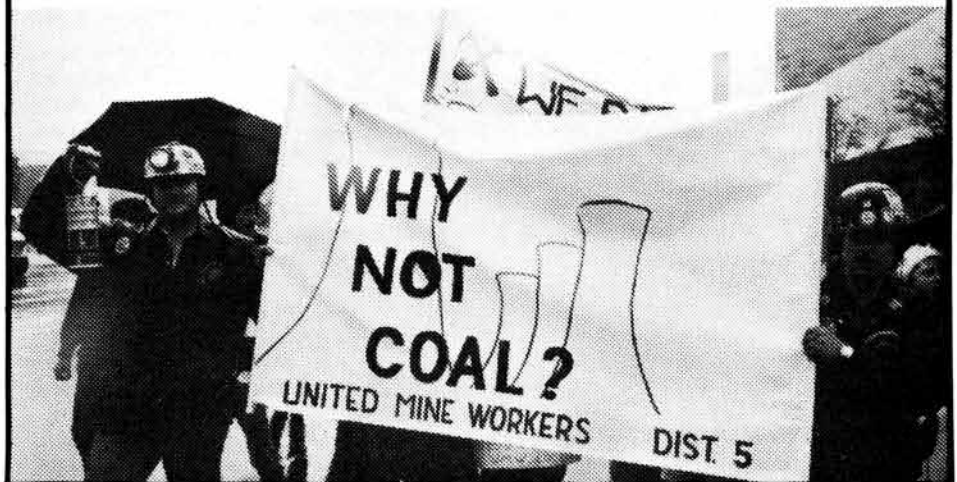
POLISH WORKERS PUSH FIGHT AGAINST BUREAUCRATIC PRIVILEGE



**International
Conference
Vows Solidarity
With Nicaragua
and El Salvador**

New Stirrings in U.S. Labor Movement:

Unions Back Salvadoran Rebels; Call March Against Nuclear Power and For Jobs



**Bernadette Devlin McAliskey:
'I'll Keep on Fighting!'**

**Irish Political Prisoners Set
Date for New Hunger Strike**

Polish Workers Fight Bureaucratic Privilege

By Ernest Harsch

No sooner does the Polish bureaucracy patch together an accord with striking workers in one part of the country, than new disputes and strikes break out elsewhere. The demands of the Polish workers and peasants for democratic rights and control over the economy are becoming irrepresible.

On February 6, an eleven-day general strike in Bielsko-Biala, a textile manufacturing center in southern Poland, came to an end after the 200,000 strikers won their demand for the ouster of the local governor and several of his aides.

But three days later, on February 9, the region around Jelenia Gora in the southwest was brought to a standstill when some 300,000 workers walked off their jobs. An estimated 450 factories, as well as public transport and other services, were affected.

The strike was called by the local branch of Solidarity, the ten-million-member independent trade union federation, and was backed by Solidarity's national leadership.

Like the workers in Bielsko-Biala, those in Jelenia Gora were protesting against the corruption and material privileges of the bureaucrats who rule the country.

The strikers demanded the dismissal of Trade Union Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, who has also been the local Communist Party leader for five years. They also called for the conversion of an Interior Ministry sanatorium into a public hospital and for a rest house open only to party members to be turned into a community recreation center.

In Walbrzych, in the heart of the Silesian coal-mining region, the local branch of Solidarity issued a regionwide "strike alert" in a conflict over the length of the workweek.

In the southeastern city of Rzeszow, which is a stronghold of the new independent farmers' association, Rural Solidarity, workers declared they were considering a one-hour strike in support of the farmers' demand for official recognition of their organization. A leader of the local Solidarity branch declared that "the working class fully supports the peasant demands."

These struggles by Poland's workers are a direct challenge to the bureaucracy's mo-

nopoly over economic and political decision-making. It is this monopoly that enables the bureaucratic caste to perpetuate its privileged status. For the rulers of Poland, defense of such privileges take precedence over everything else.

The Polish bureaucrats' allies in Moscow also feel threatened by the demands of the Polish workers. A February 7 Tass dispatch, for example, quoted with approval a Czechoslovak article that accused Solidarity of "increasingly provoking chaos and anarchy in the country."

But what the bureaucrats see as "chaos and anarchy," the workers see as their just struggle for economic and political rights.

Quite simply, what the Polish masses are fighting for is to transform Poland into a workers democracy, to establish a workers and peasants government in fact, and not just in name. They are saying that the country's big economic and social problems should be discussed freely and solutions should be decided upon democratically.

One example of this is the struggle of the printing workers against the government's heavy-handed censorship. In response to slanderous articles against Solidarity—to which 50,000 of the country's 60,000 printers belong—the printers have warned of a countrywide strike February 13 if censorship is not loosened.

"All we want is to print the truth," said Witold Slezak, head of the printers' union in Warsaw. "We feel that we have a moral responsibility for the information that we provide to society through our work."

Bielsko-Biala Strike

Another example was provided by the strikers in Bielsko-Biala, who threw a spotlight on the corrupt practices and material privileges of the top government and Communist Party officials.

For eleven days, some 200,000 workers in the area paralyzed more than 120 factories, including a major auto plant that produces the Polish Fiat. Many workers staged sit-ins in their factories and enterprises.

Like many of the other strikes that have been held in Poland, the one in Bielsko-Biala was organized democratically and sought to involve as many workers as possible in the discussion of the issues. Communications workers hooked up the strike committee's public address system to about eighty of the factories—and even to the telephone system, allowing anyone to follow the strike proceedings simply by dialing a special number.

The strikers' main demands were for the dismissal of Governor Jozef Labudek, his aides, the chief of police, and other officials.

They were accused, in a detailed 150-page report drawn up by the union, of being corrupt.

The charges included: expropriating government buildings for their own use; constructing summer villas instead of housing for the workers; allocating cars to the secret police instead of to doctors; and distributing priority coupons for the purchase of cars as favors or bribes.

"The officials whose resignation we are demanding did not look after the workers' interests," declared Lech Walesa, a central leader of national Solidarity. "They weren't public servants at all, but social parasites."

Resentment over the special privileges enjoyed by top party and government officials had been building up for some time.

"We had one provincial governor who built a villa at Ustron in the mountains with a brook running through it," said Miroslaw Styczen, a member of the strike committee. "You contrast that with the general standard of living of the people, and you can understand how it breeds frustration and anger."

Labudek's office had been investigated several times before by the Supreme Chamber of Control, the government's so-called watchdog agency, but with no results.

Several lesser officials were dismissed for "irregularities," but the top ones remained in their lucrative posts. The workers finally concluded that the only way to get rid of these hated officials was to go out on strike.

The government's initial response was to stand behind Labudek and his cronies. It charged that the workers' demands were political, and therefore could not be met.

'Instigators' Demand Honest Government

"We have come face to face with manifestations of anarchy," Communist Party leader Stanislaw Kania charged, "with the transformation of an organization that proclaimed itself to be a trade union into something far removed from what it had declared in its statutes.

"We cannot ignore, let alone accept, the fact that, under the direction not of the workers but of instigators, Solidarity is being steered in the direction of political opposition."

A leader of the strike in Bielsko-Biala replied, "If a demand that the authorities be honest is political, then this is a political strike."

On February 4, the national leadership of Solidarity declared its full support for the workers in Bielsko-Biala and warned of widespread labor actions if the government tried to break the strike. "If a forceful attack is made on Bielsko and communications are broken," Walesa said in a communiqué issued to union locals around the country, "Solidarity sit-ins should be organized."

It was this backing from workers across Poland that finally compelled the government to back down. Besides agreeing to the dismissal of Labudek and several of his aides, the government also promised that

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Karolyn Kerry

On February 5 Karolyn Kerry, a leading member of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party for more than forty-five years, died. An appreciation of her life and her contribution to building the revolutionary socialist party in the United States will appear in a future issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

the new governor would take disciplinary action against any local official found guilty of a misdemeanor and that a detailed "examination" be undertaken of the state administration.

One of the reasons the government was so reluctant to grant the strikers' demands was that the practices followed by the officials in Bielsko-Biala are not unusual in Poland. The entire bureaucracy enjoys similar material privileges—which are denied to ordinary workers—and is up to its neck in graft and corruption of all sorts.

A dispatch by correspondent John Darn-ton in the February 4 *New York Times* provided several examples of how Polish officials live.

In Wyszkow, some thirty miles northeast of Warsaw, there exists a secluded compound of about 100 Swiss-style chalets used as weekend retreats by government and party officials. Local citizens, who do not have access to the cottages, call the compound "Bermuda." Darn-ton reported:

There are, according to knowledgeable officials and some former ones who resisted the temptation to enter into such schemes, literally scores of such "Bermudas" throughout Poland.

There is the village of Konstancin, eight miles south of Warsaw, where numerous prewar three-story mansions with wooden gingerbread have been bought and renovated by party officials. There is Krolewska Gora nearby, and next to that Klarysew, where [former party leader Edward] Gierek's house was easy to find because of a super-highway that leads to an otherwise nondescript tiny village.

"Multiply it by 49," said a former party member. "In every province in the country the first and second secretaries were doing the same thing. So were the ministers, deputy ministers, secretaries, directors. It was only in the last two years they began buying seagoing yachts."

Party officials, he said, were offered low-interest state loans to buy land at special rates. They obtained construction materials at government rates, which are 50 percent cheaper than regular prices. After several months, the loans were cancelled. Some officials moved on from house to house, getting richer as they went.

Most top government and party officials, as well as members of the secret police, have access to special "yellow curtain" shops, in which they can find products that are impossible to get elsewhere. Poland's workers, in the meantime, face shortages of many basic consumer items.

It is the existence of such widespread inequities—and the restrictions on democratic rights that are used to maintain bureaucratic privilege—that underlies the labor unrest in Poland today. □

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U.S. Labor Movement and El Salvador

By David Frankel

One of the world's leading big-business dailies—the *Wall Street Journal*—took up what it called “the nasty little war in El Salvador” in its lead editorial February 4.

“What we are seeing here,” the editorial declared, “is the beginning of a foreign policy struggle between the Reagan administration and the American left”—the *Journal*'s term for all of the progressive forces in American society.

“The parallel to Vietnam is uncanny,” the editorial complained.

It charged that “the international left [has] set out to ‘internationalize’ the struggle, using the killings of Americans to arouse the United States.”

In the sneering tone that it uses to convey its contempt for the working masses and its hatred for those who fight for justice, the *Journal* expressed its dismay at the appearance February 3 of “the predictable full-page ad in The New York Times signed by, among others, a complement of self-proclaimed ‘anti-war’ protesters left over from Vietnam. . . .”

Linking the *Times* ad to the worldwide solidarity movement that has been exposing the murderous U.S.-backed junta, the editorial said:

“At the same time this ad was being readied for the *Times* presses, an anti-American protest was staged over Salvador by some 15,000 leftists in Frankfurt, West Germany” (see article on page 120).

Speaking as if the outrage provoked by the junta's barbarism was part of some devious left-wing plot, the *Journal* continued: “It's hard to believe that all of this world-wide agitprop is spontaneous.”

Finally, in an attempt to buck up any corporate executives and stock jobbers depressed by the “uncanny” parallel to Vietnam, the *Journal* assured its readers that this time everything would be different, that the opponents of U.S. aggression “are going to find it harder this time to make it all sell.”

What Has Changed

Things have changed in the United States since the time of the Vietnam War, but not in the way that the editors of the *Journal* would like to have their readers believe.

To begin with, there is the deep mark on the consciousness of the American people left by the experience of Vietnam itself. Having gone through one Vietnam, the American working class is determined not to be sucked in a second time.

It is worth recalling in this regard that there were already 5,000 U.S. troops in

Vietnam in April 1962—fully three years before the first national demonstration against the Vietnam War in April 1965. By that time there were 27,500 U.S. troops in Vietnam.

Reagan and his superiors on Wall Street wish they could send 5,000 U.S. soldiers to prop up the hated dictatorship in El Salvador. If they thought they could get away with it, they would have already done it.

But Washington's first moves to send arms to the junta and to introduce U.S. military “advisers” into El Salvador have already resulted in demonstrations and protest meetings around the country and in the kind of newspaper ads that are so upsetting to the *Wall Street Journal*.

Opposition has also surfaced within the State Department and in Congress, where some thirty representatives are backing a bill to cut off aid to the junta. It took years before there was that kind of opposition to the war in Vietnam in government circles.

However, the most important thing that has changed since the Vietnam period—one that is studiously ignored by the *Wall Street Journal* editorial—is the situation in the U.S. labor movement.

Trade Unionists Speak Out

Throughout the Vietnam War, the AFL-CIO—the U.S. labor federation—maintained a position of complete support for the U.S. government line.

Although the war was as unpopular in the ranks of labor as in any other sector of American society, the trade union bureaucracy was by and large successful in maintaining a solid front on this issue.

Things are different today. While the official AFL-CIO position is to support the junta and U.S. policy in El Salvador, there is a deep split in the labor officialdom. Those who have spoken out represent a far bigger and more influential layer than the ones who raised their voices even at the very end of the Vietnam War.

William Winpisinger, president of the 950,000-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), declared in a January 26 statement:

“In the last days of Jimmy Carter's Administration, a decision was made at the highest levels of the U.S. Government to send military aid to the government of El Salvador, putting another nail in the coffin of Carter's human rights policy.

“All Americans aware of conditions in El Salvador should be opposed to this decision. El Salvador has been described as the worst human rights violator in

Latin America during 1980, and one of the worst in the world.”

Winpisinger also denounced the coverage of news from El Salvador, which he charged “has been manipulated by the State Department. . . .”

“As trade unionists and Americans concerned with human rights for all,” the statement declared, “we condemn all forms of U.S. assistance to the current regime in El Salvador.”

Longshore Union Boycotts Arms

On December 22 the International Longshoremen's and Warehouseman's Union (ILWU), which represents dockworkers on the U.S. West Coast, announced that it was boycotting all military cargo to El Salvador. Nothing like that ever occurred during the Vietnam war.

Keith Johnson, the president of the International Woodworkers of America, said in a message of support to the ILWU: “Your actions are living proof that American workers can effectively bring pressure to end the shameful traffic in weapons which produces only profits to corporate merchants of death and death to Latin American workers.”

Another indication of the mood in the labor movement was the fact that Russell Gibbons, editor of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) newspaper, signed the ad in the February 3 *New York Times* urging an end to all U.S. military aid to the junta.

Also signing was Joe Samargia, president of the USWA's Local 1938, which represents thousands of miners on the Minnesota Iron Range.

And when the national antidraft conference convenes in Detroit, Michigan, on February 13, it will hear United Auto Workers (UAW) Vice-president Mark Stepp, as well as a representative from the IAM. Endorsers of the antidraft conference include UAW Vice-president Martin Gerber and Detroit AFL-CIO head Tom Turner.

Local labor leaders around the country have also been participating in and sponsoring El Salvador solidarity meetings. One such meeting in Chicago January 25 was sponsored by the city's Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Coalition of Labor Union Women, as well as by James Balanoff, director of the USWA's 110,000-member District 31.

Other sponsors of the meeting included international officials of the UAW and IAM; local presidents of the USWA, UAW, and other unions; and District 11 of the United Electrical Workers (UE).

It is certainly a far cry from the December 1965 convention of the AFL-CIO,

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when George Meany, the late president of the federation, responded to a delegation of student antiwar protesters by ordering his goons to "clear the kookies out of the gallery." At that time, nobody in the

convention protested.

But those days are gone forever. The American ruling class will yet look back on the early days of the Vietnam War as one of their better times. □

United Mine Workers Spearhead Fight

U.S. Unions Call March for Safe Energy and Jobs

By Janice Lynn

Three of the largest industrial unions in the United States are sponsoring a national demonstration against nuclear power, for jobs for all, and in support of the mine workers in their upcoming contract fight.

This is the first national antinuclear and full employment march and rally ever called by U.S. labor unions.

The three international unions—the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), and the United Auto Workers (UAW)—are calling on American working people everywhere to come to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on March 28.

This date marks both the second anniversary of the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island and the day after the expiration of the United Mine Workers contract.

The march has already won the endorsement of four other international unions—the United Furniture Workers of America, the Graphic Arts International Union, the International Woodworkers of America, and the International Chemical Workers Union. The march is also being cosponsored by the Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, several national antinuclear and peace groups, and the United States Student Association.

By calling for a national demonstration against nuclear power and for full employment, these seven unions have taken an important step in addressing the social issues that the unions must take up in order to effectively fight the capitalist offensive against working people.

The United Mine Workers has been in the center of this development, spearheading the fight for full employment and safe energy.

Along with eight other unions, the UMWA cosponsored the first National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment last October in Pittsburgh. It was attended by nearly 1,000 people, including more than 100 working miners and UMWA officials.

Sam Church, UMWA international president, gave the keynote speech. "For too long

[energy] decisions were made by the 'energy elite,'" Church declared. "Their concerns were not in providing jobs and efficient energy, but in providing continued and soaring profits."

The follow-up conference that called the national action took place January 17-18 in Harrisburg. The UMWA was the first union to sponsor this national conference, which was attended by nearly 300 people from thirty-five different unions. Again, the largest contingent was the miners.

Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, told the conference participants, "This is going to be an historic march."

He pointed to the important role of the United Mine Workers and the fact that its contract expires the day before the demonstration.

In 1977-78 the miners struck for 111 days, defying all attempts by President Carter and the coal operators to break their union. The UMWA continues to be a central target of the ruling class attack on labor. And the miners are looking for allies and ways to fight back.

The national march in Harrisburg can be a powerful show of solidarity with the United Mine Workers.

Gordon explained how "the fate of the entire labor movement is closely tied to the miners," pointing to the contracts of the 600,000 postal workers and the half a million railroad workers that are also being negotiated in 1981.

"If the employers can weaken or bust the miners union, every other union is next," Gordon said.

"The miners have a special place in the American labor movement and they also have a special place in the safe energy movement," Gordon explained. The UMWA has been actively campaigning for replacing nuclear energy with union-mined coal.

Gordon stressed the urgency of the March 28 demonstration, pointing out how immediately after the Three Mile Island disaster, the nuclear industry had kept a low profile. "Soon after," Gordon stated, "they recouped and they've been on an all-out offensive ever since, with a big propaganda campaign. . . .

"It's imperative now that this be countered by a highly visible, massive public activity."

Gordon explained how street marches and demonstrations were in the tradition of the labor movement—the marches that won unemployment compensation and social security, and the marches that helped organize the unorganized.

He highlighted one of the official march demands—for a shorter workweek and a massive public works program. "We're talking about public works of a constructive type: mass transit, housing, hospitals, schools, parks, and so on."

The March 28 demonstration can be a powerful answer to the capitalists' antilabor attacks, which President Ronald Reagan has intensified.

Reagan has come out for accelerated development of nuclear power. He has already implemented decontrol of oil, allowing prices at the gasoline pumps to go sky-high. He has called for drastic cuts in social programs. He is determined to gut affirmative action programs for Blacks and women. He plans to severely curtail unemployment benefits. And he is moving full-speed ahead with the ruling class drive towards war and militarization.

The March 28 demonstration can be a way for all workers, especially the millions of unemployed workers, and the Black and Latino workers who are particularly hard hit by the U.S. rulers' offensive, to unite and fight back.

It can draw in farmers, student activists, feminists, and other allies of the working class looking for a way to fight back against the U.S. government's reactionary policies. It can be a powerful response to the entire capitalist assault on American working people.

As Gordon declared, "March 28 is the time to bring it all together—for a march for safe energy and for jobs." □

Demands of March

The march and rally in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on March 28 will demand:

- No more Three Mile Islands: Keep Unit One [the undamaged reactor] closed! No dumping of radioactive water in the Susquehanna River!
- Support for the United Mine Workers in their effort to gain a decent contract!
- Jobs for all: a shorter workweek and massive public works programs!
- Guaranteed alternative employment for nuclear workers at union rates!

For more information: Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, 1536 16 Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 265-7190.

International Solidarity Conference Meets in Managua

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—More than 270 delegates, observers, and special guests from forty-one countries gathered here January 26 through 31 for the First International Conference in Solidarity with Nicaragua.

This expression of support comes at a critical time. The U.S. government has adopted a more openly hostile and threatening attitude toward Nicaragua than at any time since the July 1979 insurrection.

Ex-members of Somoza's National Guard have stepped up military raids into Nicaraguan territory from their bases in Honduras. While the solidarity conference was going on, seven Nicaraguans, including four militia members, were killed by these counterrevolutionary bands.

It was clear at the conference that the people of Nicaragua are determined to defend their revolution against these attacks. Even beyond that, the conference itself showed the ability of the Sandinista government to launch a counteroffensive against Washington in the arena of world public opinion.

El Salvador Will Win

The theme of the solidarity conference was "El Salvador Will Win." One of its highlights was a panel of representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR).

The enthusiastic political and moral support that Nicaraguans have shown for the revolution unfolding in El Salvador is one of the reasons Washington is stepping up its economic and diplomatic pressure.

Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce explained at the opening ceremonies of the conference that Washington's threats, coming as they do in "a complex world, full of tensions" are a source of deep concern to the Nicaraguan leadership. He said:

How could we not be worried? But don't interpret our worry in the wrong way. This business worries us because we are concerned for our people, and we know all the sacrifices Nicaraguan workers and peasants have had to make over the centuries. And now, just when they have the possibility of a different and better life, we come up against these problems that slow down the realization of our dream. Yes, we are worried.

But we are not worried in the sense that we think this revolution is going to be stopped. We are not worried, because we know that if 50,000 of our people were prepared to lay down their lives in order to defeat Somoza, then 500,000 will be prepared to die to defend this revolution.

Our people spent years with empty stomachs. Our peasants, who never got to eat anything but corn, are only now beginning to add a little

beans and rice and some sugar to their diet. Our people fought on empty stomachs. At that time the Nicaraguan people did not own the 1.5 million manzanas of land [manzana=1.73 acres] or the 150 companies that they own now. They weren't benefiting from their natural resources the way they do now, nor did they control the financial system the way they do now. And still



BAYARDO ARCE

they were able to fight, and to make sacrifices. Only someone who knows nothing about the Nicaraguan people could think we are going to give in because we lose \$15 million, or \$20 million, or \$50 million, or \$100 million.

We have already said it, but we'll say it again because we know that this is the way our people feel. If we have to live on hay, we will live on hay, but we will do it with our self-respect intact.

Arce was one of a half dozen central leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to address the solidarity conference. Each of them pointed out that, while Nicaragua was undoubtedly entering a difficult period, it was not doing so alone.

Commander Carlos Núñez, a member of the FSLN National Directorate, expressed confidence that the international solidarity movement would help counter the propaganda war being waged against Nicaragua.

"Our country," Núñez said, "won't be able to counter the whole campaign of slander, the lies about our revolution, all the different lines of attack, by itself. We need the help of our brothers and sisters in Latin America and around the world get-

ting out the word in their respective countries about the accomplishments of the revolution, denouncing the pressure campaign and the maneuvers that are being carried out against our country and against Central America. That is the only way we will be able to counter the mighty international efforts to turn Nicaragua into a place nobody hears about."

Interior Minister and FSLN Commander Tomás Borge addressed the conference on the historical importance of international solidarity with people fighting for their freedom. He singled out the international movement against Washington's war in Indochina. "Standing out above all other peoples in solidarity with Vietnam," Borge said, "were our brothers and sisters, the people of the United States."

Social Gains

Conference participants accumulated a good deal of concrete information about the progress the Nicaraguan people have made in the last year and a half—all of which will be useful in building international solidarity and gathering material aid.

Special trips were made to Estelí, Masaya, and the Indian community of Moimimbó, all known as centers of the war against Somoza. Delegates not only saw first hand the terrible destruction caused by the war, but also had a chance to talk to leaders of the mass organizations about what is being done now to move the country forward.

The ministers of health and education and the former director of Nicaragua's Literacy Crusade made detailed presentations about the steps that have been taken to begin to make education and health care available to all.

Music and dance performances and film showings also gave conference participants a feel for the explosion of popular culture that has taken place in Nicaragua since the revolution.

Commander Jaime Wheelock, minister of agricultural development and agrarian reform, drew a balance sheet of the accomplishments of 1980 and the problems facing Nicaragua going into 1981. He explained the serious problems imposed on Nicaragua by the huge foreign debt inherited from Somoza, the sharp rise in the price of oil and other imports, and the simultaneous drop in prices received for Nicaragua's agricultural products.

Wheelock's speech established the framework for a presentation of specific priori-

'Revolutions of World's Peoples Cannot Be Separated'

MANAGUA—Delegates came from all over the world to express their solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

Heinz Voigt and Doris Merk live at a small hospital in a remote area of Nicaragua 175 miles from Managua. Both are doctors. They were at the conference representing their native country Austria.

"The hospital is called La Esperanza (Hope), which is pretty ironic, considering how desolate the region is," Voigt said. The nearest road is almost a half-mile away, and many people have to find their way to the hospital by boat.

La Esperanza is a project of the Austrian solidarity movement, which pays the expenses of three doctors there as well as the costs of maintaining the hospital. Nicaragua pays for the medicines and some of the staff.

"At first, we could provide only emergency care," Merk said. "But now we have twenty-five beds for patients, and we hope to increase that to forty."

"We're also trying to build an overnight shelter for patients' families," Voigt added. "It's such a long trip to the hospital for many people."

They are also planning to build a dock for boats and improve access to the main highway. All these projects will cost some \$500,000.

One of the delegations most warmly received by conference participants came from Vietnam, a country that understands quite well the importance of international solidarity against U.S. aggression. As Nguyen Huu Ngo, re-

presenting the Vietnamese Committee for Solidarity and Friendship with the Peoples, remarked:

"The revolutions of the world's peoples cannot be separated. We have supported Nicaragua's struggle for a long time." He pointed to the September 1979 visit of Vietnamese Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong to Nicaragua as an important step in the building of solidarity between the two countries.

Discussing El Salvador, the Vietnamese delegate pointed out, "It is no longer possible for imperialism to intervene wherever and whenever it wishes, because of the level of the anti-imperialist and solidarity movements."

Bruce Curtis was making his fifth trip to Nicaragua in a year by coming to the solidarity conference. "The conference has helped me understand the Nicaraguan revolution better," he said, "and I've been able to make a lot of international contacts, like with Grenada and Cuba."

Curtis, who is disabled and uses a wheelchair to get around, works in the United States on organizing solidarity with Nicaragua among disabled people, and providing technical assistance and materials to Nicaragua's disabled. He helped establish the first organization of the disabled in Nicaragua, the Ernesto Che Guevara Revolutionary Disabled Organization.

He described his feelings about the conference: "I felt invulnerable because I felt I was part of history. You feel alive in Nicaragua because you feel that, and you get a sense of immortality that makes life a little brighter."

Rudi Balmer is secretary for the national coordinating committee of Swiss solidarity groups. "We began in 1979 by providing information and organizing defense of the Nicaraguan revolution," he said. "By now we have 200 or 250 people active, and we put out publications in French and German. We've had two successful national solidarity projects so far—we raised US\$60,000 to help start up a women's clothing manufacturing cooperative in Estelí, and we sent medical supplies to the Estelí hospital. Estelí was 70 percent destroyed by Somoza's forces. We also raised \$150,000 for the literacy campaign.

"Also, we are organizing solidarity with El Salvador. Three thousand people demonstrated in Bern—in freezing cold—against U.S. intervention on January 17."

One of the delegates from Mexico was Elsa Martínez de Morales, an Argentine living in exile. Martínez's husband was "disappeared" in Argentina in 1976, and her son was killed in Nicaragua in January 1979 while fighting on the southern front.

Martínez brought her son's two young daughters to the solidarity conference so "they could breathe this fresh air, this liberty, as my son would have liked."

She explained, "I want future mothers to live in liberty and never to have to suffer what we did. I feel that all the children who are fighting in some part of Latin America are mine too and I say to them, 'Patria o muerte—hasta la victoria siempre!'"

—Arnold Weissberg

ties for material aid in 1981. The FSLN emphasized aid to be channeled through the Augusto César Sandino Foundation, an agency set up to finance projects of the trade unions, women's association, Sandinista youth, and other mass organizations. Delegates met in regional workshops to discuss implementation of the proposals.

Delegates Pledge Support to Revolution

The largest delegation at the conference was from the United States, with seventy delegates and observers from forty different committees.

Special invited guests included prominent Latin American intellectuals and governmental figures, a representative from the Bureau of the Socialist International, leaders of the resistance movements in countries such as Honduras and Guatemala, and Melba Hernández, a veteran leader of the Cuban revolution who currently serves as head of the Organization

of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL).

At the end of the conference, the delegates adopted a resolution expressing support for the revolution being led by the FSLN. The resolution pledged to answer the anti-Nicaraguan propaganda campaign, oppose any imperialist intervention in Central America, and raise as much material aid as possible. The resolution also voiced support for the revolutionary movement in El Salvador.

In addition to its significance for the solidarity movement around the world, the conference had an important political impact within Nicaragua. Each day the news media carried extensive reports on the conference and interviews with delegates. The main speeches were broadcast over radio and television. Everywhere conference participants went they were received warmly and enthusiastically.

By organizing this important confer-

ence, the leaders of the FSLN showed their confidence that supporters from all over the world would be inspired by what they saw and heard in Nicaragua and go home prepared to work even harder to defend and explain the revolution. All indications are that they were right. □

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Solidarity Actions Throughout West Europe



Demonstration of 3,000 in Brussels.

La Gauche

Activities in solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution took place throughout Western Europe in late January.

In Belgium, 3,000 people took part in a united-front demonstration in Brussels on January 17. Demonstrators opposed the Belgian Christian Democrats' complicity with the ruling Salvadoran regime and called for an end to U.S. intervention.

In Spain there have been demonstrations in all major cities. On January 22 the El Salvador solidarity committee in Bilbao organized a demonstration of 1,500 people. In San Sebastian there was a January 25 demonstration of 2,000, and on January 16 some 1,500 people rallied in Barcelona.

In Madrid on January 25, a demonstration of 20,000 people opposed to Spanish entry into NATO and U.S. bases in Spain heard greetings from the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

In Italy, 1,000 people participated in a march in Milan, which had the support of the main trade unions, all the left parties, the Christian Democrats, and the Republican Party. There were also demonstrations in Rome and Brescia. Resolutions in support of the Salvadoran struggle have been adopted in key unions and factory committees, including those in the Alfa Romeo auto plant in Milan and the Air Italia plant in Turin.

In Sweden there was a demonstration of 350 people in Stockholm on January 20. In the Netherlands 200 people rallied in front of parliament and then marched to the Salvadoran and U.S. embassies. A coalition of about 100 organizations has placed advertisements in major daily newspapers.

There have also been solidarity activities in Copenhagen and Aarhus in Denmark. In Britain, 500 people took part in a January 20 demonstration against U.S. war plans. There was also a large rally on January 23 on the theme "El Salvador Will Win." The rally featured a film, a Labour

member of Parliament, the Grenadian high commissioner to Britain, and a representative of the FDR.

In France a highly successful week of solidarity with Central America was organized. On January 29 a rally was held in Paris, featuring representatives of the FDR. Two days earlier, a delegation of representatives of political parties and trade unions met with the secretary of state for foreign affairs to express their opposition to the French government's refusal to disassociate itself from the Salvadoran regime and the U.S. government's plans for intervention.

In addition, a campaign has been launched to send a planeload of supplies from France to Salvadoran refugees. □

From the Pentagon to San Salvador

The Reagan administration has dumped Robert White as U.S. ambassador to El Salvador and replaced him with a top Pentagon official. White had been a staunch supporter of Washington's policies in El Salvador, but he had complained publicly of some of the junta's more brutal excesses.

The State Department announced February 3 that Frederic L. Chapin would take over the embassy in San Salvador. Chapin's most recent post was as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs in the Latin American Region. According to the February 5 *New York Times*, Chapin "was involved in the preparation of plans for a large military aid program for El Salvador, including military training teams and a score of helicopter gunships. . . ."

Chapin had been given the Pentagon post after being expelled from Ethiopia last July by the Addis-Ababa government. He was serving as U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia at the time.

West Germany— March of 20,000 Backs Salvadoran Revolution

FRANKFURT, West Germany—Twenty thousand people marched here on Saturday, January 31, to demand a halt to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and to express solidarity with the revolutionary democratic opposition in that country.

The demonstration was called by the Munich-based Information Office on El Salvador, which coordinates about eighty solidarity committees in West Germany and West Berlin.

It was supported by representatives of the metalworkers union, the public and transport workers union, the printers union, the Young Socialists (Social Democratic Party youth), Social Democratic members of Parliament, various left-wing groups, Christian groups, student organizations, Chilean exile organizations, and organizations of Turkish immigrant workers.

The speakers included Karsten Voigt, a Social Democratic spokesperson in the foreign relations committee of the Bundestag, the federal parliament; Gottfried Heil, regional secretary of the national trade-union federation; a speaker for the Chilean exile community; a representative of the Turkish immigrant workers organizations; Victor Leandro, the representative of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) in West Germany; and Ana Guadalupe Martínez, member of the diplomatic commission of the FDR and of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

Chants and banners opposed U.S. intervention in El Salvador and demanded that the West German government take a strong stand against such intervention and recognize the FDR. West German coffee companies, which buy about half of El Salvador's coffee crop, were denounced.

El Salvador is becoming a focus of West German national politics. The government headed by Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt will discuss it shortly.

The German Social Democratic Party has a stance sympathizing with the FDR. But Heiner Geissler, the general secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, supports the junta. Geissler is touring Central America.

Polemics on this issue between Christian Democratic and Social Democratic politicians are becoming more common.

—Lüko Willms

Nicaragua Nationalizes Banana Production

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—The revolutionary government here has successfully blocked attempts by local capitalists and a powerful multinational corporation to sabotage the production and export of bananas.

Responding to the demands of Nicaragua's 5,000 banana plantation workers for improvements in wages and working conditions, the Junta of National Reconstruction decreed the nationalization of banana production on December 20.

The U.S.-based Standard Fruit & Steamship Company—sole purchaser of Nicaraguan bananas—tried to block implementation of the decree during subsequent weeks by refusing to buy the fruit. But when Nicaragua demonstrated that it could export bananas without Standard Fruit's technical aid and transportation facilities, the company backed down and negotiated a new contract on terms favorable to Nicaragua.

As soon as Standard Fruit's boycott became known, officials of the Ministry of Foreign Trade here contracted a refrigeration ship from a Norwegian firm in order to move Nicaraguan bananas to market on the West Coast of the United States. Six hundred soldiers of the Sandinista People's Army were mobilized to work day and night for two days in the port of Corinto, changing the labels on 129,200 boxes of bananas that Standard Fruit had refused to buy.

Once loaded, the Norwegian ship steamed for Los Angeles on January 9. It arrived there two days ahead of a Standard Fruit boat from elsewhere in Latin America, with the result that Nicaragua was able to sell its bananas to many of Standard's usual customers.

Favorable Agreement

While the Nicaraguan shipment was on its way to California, junta member Arturo Cruz and agriculture minister Commander Jaime Wheelock were in San Francisco negotiating with officials of Castle & Cooke, Standard Fruit's parent company. They returned here on January 12, bringing news that an agreement highly favorable to Nicaragua had been reached with the big corporation.

Under the new agreement, Nicaragua will buy out all of Standard Fruit's investments in Nicaragua for the sum of US\$13 million. The purchase is to be financed with a no-interest loan from Castle & Cooke itself.

The loan will be liquidated over the next five years through an increase in the export price of bananas from \$3.70 to \$4.30

a box. Furthermore, the export price is to be readjusted annually to reflect production cost increases (which have recently averaged 10 percent a year).

The new agreement also guarantees technical assistance from Standard Fruit during the five-year period, as well as a guaranteed market on the West Coast of the United States.

Even the reactionary bourgeois daily here, *La Prensa*, had to concede that the negotiations had been "a successful effort carried out by a delegation of the Revolutionary Government. . . . The agreement is so beneficial to our country that it surpasses in some respects the contents of the decree" nationalizing banana production.

The successful outcome foiled the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie's efforts to precipitate a crisis between the revolutionary government and the powerful multinational corporation. It was not only an achievement in relation to previous attempts to resolve the situation, but also opened the way to eliminating the entire system of exploitation on the banana plantations (see following article).

Workers Led the Way

The negotiations began in August 1980 after the banana workers, organized in a union affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), sent a delegation to the Council of State to denounce their miserable working conditions and the complete refusal of the banana landlords to live up to a labor contract signed in December 1979.

The Council of State set up a commission that toured the sixteen banana plantations in the northwestern province of Chinandega along with the members of the government junta.

The commission and the junta then met with the Nicaraguan capitalists who own the plantations. The latter are organized in the Nicaraguan Banana Growers Association (ANPB).

The ANPB claimed it was incapable of meeting the workers' demands because plantation owners were too deeply in debt to Standard Fruit. They called for the government to finance improvements on the plantations.

Meanwhile, Standard Fruit claimed it bore no responsibility for the subhuman working conditions since it was merely the purchaser of the fruit.

The junta then called on the housing, health, social welfare, and labor ministries, and on the state-owned water and

electricity institutes, to take immediate measures to alleviate the most pressing problems of the workers. Negotiations with the ANPB and Standard Fruit were begun.

'We Negotiate With Our Eyes Wide Open'

The junta and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) took care to explain the negotiations to the banana workers as well as the Nicaraguan people. Junta-member Sergio Ramirez told a CST meeting:

"We are not radicals full of illusions. What to do about the transnational corporations is a difficult problem. It has to do with our ability at any given time to transform our economic reality."

Commander Henry Ruiz, member of the FSLN National Directorate and minister of planning, sought to clarify the aim of the negotiations to the hundreds of young people who gathered in September for the first National Assembly of the July 19 Sandinista Youth.

"We know that the multinationals are up to no good," Ruiz said, "but they are also very powerful. We are negotiating with our eyes wide open."

Ruiz asked the youth to understand that Nicaragua still had a dependent economy tied to the world capitalist market, and that it did not possess either the transportation system or the distribution network required to sell the highly perishable product. Banana production is highly specialized and Nicaragua still lacks a sufficient number of trained technicians of its own, Ruiz said.

Banana exports provide employment to nearly 5,000 year-round workers and bring in substantial revenues that are needed to reconstruct the country. "We have to make sure that we do not lose those revenues because of some light-minded action, or pick a fight sooner than is convenient for us."

Capitalists Bring on Crisis

But pressures from the capitalists soon pushed the situation further into crisis. On November 2, the banana workers denounced attempts to decapitalize the plantations, the dismissal of key technicians, and the refusal to control insect pests. Plantation owners also began laying off large numbers of workers with no advance notice.

In response, the government junta announced plans to establish a state-owned enterprise to produce bananas. This was to involve taking over the administration of the plantations from the owners while

paying them rent for the land.

The state would hire workers and handle all labor conflicts and negotiate directly with Standard Fruit. The latter would retain its ownership of the production machinery and employ the technicians needed to maintain it.

Negotiations with Standard Fruit to achieve agreement on such a formula bogged down several times, but the workers continued to express confidence in the government's sincerity and its ability to achieve a just solution.

Finally, on December 21, members of the junta and Minister of Foreign Trade Alejandro Martínez Cuenca traveled to the Santa Elisa banana plantation in Chinandega to read the decree formally establishing the state enterprise.

The local bourgeois forces lost no time in trying to sabotage the arrangement.

On December 30, *La Prensa* announced with scarcely concealed joy that Standard Fruit had pulled out of Nicaragua for good and that all banana exports had been paralyzed. The paper claimed that Standard had gotten wind of secret government plans to "nationalize and expropriate" its interests in Nicaragua and thus felt that conditions for further investments were unfavorable.

Together with the Chinandega branch of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), *La Prensa* began a scare campaign warning of impending massive unemployment among banana workers, loss of foreign revenues, and the flooding of the domestic market with excess bananas, thus lowering their sale price to next to nothing.

On January 2, the Nicaraguan Banana Growers Association accused the government of unjustly intervening in the management of the banana plantations. The December 20 decree, they claimed, "violates the principles of free enterprise within the mixed-economy framework promoted by the revolution." The ANPB demanded that the junta meet with them immediately because "we do not understand our role in the industry."

Capitalist Cheating Exposed

But instead of talking to the local capitalists, the revolutionary government mobilized to export bananas despite Standard Fruit's boycott. Wheelock and Cruz went to San Francisco to talk directly to Castle & Cooke in order to counter the misinformation campaign and seek a favorable resolution of the conflict.

"We are not going to say that the negotiations were easy," Commander Wheelock said at the January 12 news conference announcing the agreement with Castle & Cooke. "It is always difficult to find points in common with such powerful corporations."

One complication in the talks, Wheelock explained, was the fact that the Nicaraguan owners of the sixteen banana planta-



tions were more than \$10 million in debt to Standard Fruit. "They were proprietors only in a technical sense, and could have been expropriated by Standard Fruit at any time."

The members of the Nicaraguan Banana Growers Association—all leading members of Alfonso Robelo's Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN)—had been screaming during their frequent trips abroad and in the pages of *La Prensa* about threats to "free enterprise" in Nicaragua. But these same capitalists had set up phony companies in which they appeared to hold 80 percent interest as against Standard Fruit's 20 percent.

"These companies never generated income," Jaime Wheelock explained. "Standard put up all the capital, the infrastructure, everything. The landowner had only to sit in his house. And in these companies Standard always had two votes to the landowner's one."

Nonetheless, Wheelock said, the government was willing to respect "private property" and pay rent to the landowners. Part

of this is to go to pay off the \$10 million debt the latter owe to Standard Fruit, an agreement also negotiated directly with the multinational corporation.

'Banana Republic' No More

The workers responded positively to the successful negotiations between Castle & Cooke and the revolutionary government. Ramiro Padilla told a reporter from the FSLN daily *Barricada*: "The maturity of our revolutionary government is obvious, because it did not permit the imperialists to subordinate the interests of our people like they did under Somoza."

Teodoro Lainez Rodríguez, president of the union at the Relámpago Plantation, said: "Politically, this deals a rude blow to the domestic reactionaries, the traitor bourgeoisie, and imperialism. Socially, administration of banana production by our government will make it possible to meet our most basic needs."

Lainez also noted another advantage: "By the end of these five years we will have our own technicians, ones with a

revolutionary mentality."

Commander Wheelock explained that under the new relations of production on the banana plantations the workers would be expected to participate in all aspects of planning and increasing production. Qualified workers would soon be sent to Ecuador for special technical training.

The workers lost no time organizing themselves more effectively for the tasks ahead. A conference to bring together all banana workers—more than 4,000 in agriculture, 150 in transportation, and 100 in

office work—into an industry-wide trade union was called around a ten-point program focused on maintaining production and improving working conditions.

CST General Secretary Iván García summed up the significance of the new agreement with Standard Fruit: "By breaking out of the traditional framework, improving living conditions, and moving from an inhuman situation to one of human dignity, Nicaragua is the first country in Central America to stop being a 'banana republic.'" □

The Banana Corporations in Central America

Three-Quarters Century of Exploitation

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—The new banana-production agreement worked out between the Sandinista government and the big U.S.-based multinational corporation Castle & Cooke opens the way to ridding Nicaragua of one of the oldest and most characteristic forms of imperialist exploitation in Central America.

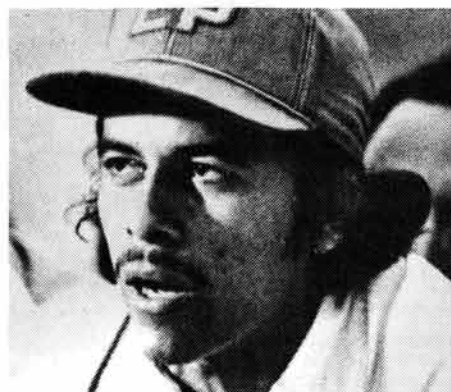
Castle & Cooke is one of three U.S. multinationals that dominate world trade in bananas. United Brands, Del Monte, and Castle & Cooke's subsidiary, Standard Fruit, together control more than 70 percent of the \$2.5 billion-a-year banana trade.

The political power of the banana companies has been so pervasive during the past three quarters of a century that most Central American countries are still referred to by the imperialists as "banana republics."

The big banana enclaves in Central America, financed by U.S. capital, began to develop in the 1890s. The fruit companies consolidated their enormous power on the basis of generous land concessions and customs and tax exemptions granted by the local governments. Such privileges were extracted through promises of large infrastructural projects such as railroads, ports, and telegraph systems, purportedly to aid local industry and generate future tax revenues.

Growth of Banana Monopolies

With the invention of the refrigerator ship, the potential market for the perishable product expanded rapidly. Production on the U.S.-owned plantations was thoroughly rationalized. The companies introduced scientific methods of cultivation, modern technology, fertilizers, and pesticides into banana cultivation. They employed a huge mass of wage laborers and brought factory-like precision and a strict division of labor to the plantations.



Victorino Espinales Reyes, leader of Nicaragua's Banana Workers Union.

The workforce was placed under severe discipline as the companies drove to boost productivity. Tasks were divided into forty-eight well-defined steps—such as cutting the huge banana bunches, putting them on cables for dragging to the packing house, weighing, sorting, washing, and so on.

Banana production began to deform the economy of the entire isthmus. Monopoly over shipping lines and foreign markets gave the banana corporations power to dictate the terms-of-trade agreements with the local regimes. The infrastructure projects proved mostly useless or unnecessary for internal development. The railroads favored only the transportation of bananas from plantation to port, relegating public service to second place at best.

The expected tax revenues were seldom collected. A double system of bookkeeping hid the corporations' real profits from the local governments.*

But while the multinationals reaped

*In 1974 the governments of the Central American countries, Ecuador, and Colombia attempted

huge profits from bananas, they at the same time created a thoroughly proletarian labor force of agricultural, railroad, port, and telegraph workers. Living in large concentrations, these workers formed a key part of the organized labor movement in Central America. Time and again the banana workers fought the corporations in militant strikes. The companies' response was always to call on the obliging local governments to crush labor struggles by military means.

The multinationals were unwilling to accept any breach of labor discipline or improvement in working conditions. Their profit margins were slim, since the world price of bananas remained virtually unchanged for twenty years while production costs in fuel and machinery skyrocketed. Speedup imposed on plantation workers finally brought a 400 percent increase in productivity over a twenty-year period. But the workers never saw any of the benefits.

Abysmal Conditions

Several weeks before the recent government measures affecting banana production in Nicaragua, I was able to visit a plantation here. The abysmal conditions banana workers have faced for years still persist.

Victorino Espinales Reyes, general secretary of the Banana Workers Union, was anxious to point out the many hazards to the workers' health. "Standard Fruit got rich here," Espinales said, "but they left hunger and disease behind for us."

The name of the plantation was "El Paraíso" (Paradise); the workers told us they call it "El Infierno de los Pobres" (Poor People's Hell).

Walking through the plantation, we could see half-naked men without shoes or boots to protect them from the continually wet ground or the frequently encountered snakes. On their shoulders the men carried huge bunches of bananas, weighing up to 150 pounds. Once the bunches were attached to the overhead cable system, other men dragged them for miles to the packing houses. For this they used a rope tied around their waists.

Besides the tremendous discomfort this causes, it also produces intestinal problems and hernias. Standard Fruit refused to provide even simple harnesses.

In the packing houses, women work at washing the dangerous insecticides off the fruit. They stand barefoot in puddles of water, using neither gloves nor aprons to protect them from Dithane M25, an insecticide that attacks the nervous system. The

to form the Union of Banana Exporting Countries (UBEC) and impose an across-the-board export tax of one dollar a box. Castle & Cooke led the fight against UBEC, destroying 145,000 boxes of bananas rather than pay the tax. UBEC virtually folded as the semicolonial regimes retreated under the pressure of the big imperialist corporations.

women complained to us of burning and itching eyes and skin and chronic fungal infections from the constant exposure to moisture. As evidence they all showed us large white blotches on their arms and legs. They also complained of varicose veins from hours of standing.

Victorino told us that the extensive use of pesticides was a major health problem on the banana plantations. The workers, he said, were never instructed in the proper use and handling of the dangerous substances and were provided with no protective equipment. Many of the insecticides in common use here, such as Furadan, have been prohibited for use in the United States.

Another major problem is accidents. Victorino told us of a Labor Ministry study that showed that each banana worker in Nicaragua averages one reported accident each year because of the intensity of the work routine. Workers also suffer from a higher than average incidence of malaria, tuberculosis, and typhoid because of the hot, humid, and unsanitary conditions in which they live and work.

All of the workers told us that medical services were totally inadequate. The doctors, all hired by the company, usually never worked more than two hours per week. They consistently refused to recognize any illness as occupationally related. Rather than initiate any preventive medical program, the doctors preferred to prescribe expensive medications and send people back to work.

Victorino took us to see the barracks-like structures, without windows or electricity, in which the plantation workers live. Each worker is assigned a cubicle four feet by four feet by six feet in which to house his or her family—sometimes up to eight persons sleep in the space. With conditions like these, Victorino noted, it is easy to understand why workers find it nearly impossible to rest and thus suffer from accumulated exhaustion. The dehumanizing effects of being cooped up like animals without the slightest bit of privacy seem almost too obvious to mention. Some workers try to take a part of their 30 córdobas-a-day wages (US \$3) and rent a room in a nearby town to live in on their days off. But few can afford this.

Outside the barracks, Victorino showed us the six sinks, six showers, and six holes in the ground—all in disrepair—that constitute the “sanitary services” for 250 workers.

Landlords Share Blame

The local owners of the banana plantations share the blame with Standard Fruit for such deplorable conditions. The landlords are relatively recent parasites on banana production in Central America. They are being virtually eliminated under the new agreement between Standard Fruit and the Nicaraguan government.

Up until the 1950s, Standard Fruit



Barricada

Workers haul bananas along overhead cables by means of ropes tied around the waist. Intestinal injuries are often the result.

owned its banana plantations outright. But as labor struggles increased and land expropriations threatened (as happened under the bourgeois-nationalist Arbenz regime in Guatemala in the early 1950s), the multinational passed legal title to the land to members of the local bourgeoisie.

This proved to be an excellent public relations ploy. It allowed Standard Fruit to lower its political profile while losing little income. Bananas were now bought from the local landlords for production costs plus a nominal sum for rent, and Standard Fruit could still rake in profits by charging \$37 a box on the world market.

Not only did Standard buy itself important local friends in this way, but it also gained a buffer against international price fluctuations. When world demand for bananas dropped, the company simply raised its quality standards and stopped buying so many bananas. The local landlords took the loss, which was inflicted in turn on the plantation workers.

With the new measures taken by the

revolutionary government, things will now be different in Nicaragua. The landlords have been eliminated from the scene. The prerogatives of Standard Fruit will be eliminated over the next five years, while from now on the needs of the plantation workers and of all Nicaraguan working people will get top priority. The FSLN daily *Barricada* put it this way in concluding a January 16 editorial:

“Nicaragua is not a ‘banana republic’ nor the junior partner of foreign interests. We are facing our problems with dignity and valor, and we are obliged to prevent the freedoms our people conquered with their blood from being utilized for conspiring against their interests or against those of the homeland.” □

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Campaign to Free Nemat Jazayeri Goes Forward

By Janice Lynn

Socialists and others in Iran are pressing forward with their campaign to secure the release from prison of Nemat Jazayeri, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) in Iran.

They are also challenging the recent firings of three other HKE members.

Jazayeri, a lathe operator at the Ray-O-Vac battery factory, was arrested September 8. Although no charges have yet been brought against him, he remains in Evin Prison in Tehran.

Jazayeri had been active in building the factory *shora* (committee) at Ray-O-Vac and in its activities in defense of the Iranian revolution. Co-workers have been campaigning for his release.

In mid-January, some four months after Jazayeri's arrest, three HKE members were suddenly fired from their jobs. No explanations were given for their dismissals.

Bahram Ali Atai and Reza Aresour, workers at the large Iran National automobile factory in Tehran, and Khosrow Movahed, an employee of the Isfahan Oil Refinery, were all called back from the battlefield where they had been participating in workers' units fighting against the Iraqi aggression. Upon their return they were told they were being fired.

The HKE has been raising Jazayeri's case and that of the three fired workers at every opportunity. Brochures have been distributed detailing Jazayeri's case and appealing for support for his release.

At a recent conference held by managers of Iran's nationalized industries, two women Ray-O-Vac workers and one other woman worker raised questions about Jazayeri's arrest. The response of the managers was to shove and physically threaten the three women, and then to have them arrested.

The three women were released on bail and told to return the next morning. The next day, before returning, they delivered a protest letter to the Ministry of Labor and spoke before the Ray-O-Vac factory *shora*.

When they returned to the court, they were briefly questioned and told no charges were being filed against them.

At another conference held at Kargar House—a meeting hall for some eighty Islamic associations and *shoras* in Tehran—the response from the workers was strikingly different.

One of the fired workers, Bahram Atai, was given time to speak. Following his presentation, there was a consensus from the workers present that a commission be

established to investigate the dismissals and Jazayeri's case.

At the workers' conference, a Mr. Boosheri from the Islamic Court also spoke. An open letter had been distributed asking about the firings and asking why Jazayeri was still in jail.

After slanderously hinting that Jazayeri and the other HKE workers were American agents, Boosheri indicated that the questions raised in the open letter would all be answered in conjunction with Jazayeri's trial. However, no date has been set nor has any official announcement been given for such a trial.

At two recent press conferences held by Iranian government officials, reporters from the HKE newspaper *Kargar* succeeded in breaking the wall of silence that had surrounded Jazayeri's imprisonment.

At one of the press conferences, Behzad Nabavi, Iran's minister of state for executive affairs told the *Kargar* reporters that he upheld the provision of the new Iranian constitution that stated people could not be fired from their jobs for their opinions. He claimed no knowledge of Jazayeri's case, however.

At a February 4 press conference, Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti of the Islamic Republican Party and head of the Iranian Supreme Court said that new guidelines



Nemat Jazayeri helped win release of political prisoners held by shah.

for legal political parties and newspapers would soon be issued. If the HKE and *Kargar* were legalized, he indicated, this could have a positive bearing on Jazayeri's case.

The debate and discussion in Iran over democratic rights is intensifying. The sentiment among Iranian workers is against restrictions on these rights.

This is indicated by the broad protests against the firing of HKE member Movahed. The *shoras* of oil refinery employees in Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Tabriz passed a joint resolution protesting "the unconstitutional firing of our brother Khosrow Movahed."

The resolution announces the formation of "a committee composed of representatives of all refineries to investigate this case."

The Isfahan oil employees, in a separate resolution of their own, also condemned Movahed's firing and asked for his return to work.

But a concerted propaganda campaign is being mounted to try to discredit the HKE. *Mizan*, the newspaper supporting the views of former Iranian Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, has attacked the HKE which it describes as the "American Marxist group."

Several members of the HKE were in exile in the United States during the shah's regime. Jazayeri, for example, was national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) which helped win the release of political prisoners held by the shah's torturers. Of course, many—if not most—of Iran's present leaders also spent years in exile in imperialist countries such as the United States, France, and West Germany.

Jazayeri's friends, comrades, and co-workers are urging a stepped-up international campaign to win his release from prison. Along with the support inside Iran from factory workers and their organizations, international working-class support can play an important role in securing Jazayeri's release. □

Petitions Urgently Needed

The following petition can be circulated among trade unionists in factories and other workplaces, on campuses, among human rights activists, and elsewhere:

As a supporter of the Iranian revolution I am deeply concerned about the arrest of Ray-O-Vac worker Nemat Jazayeri.

Jazayeri is a long-time anti-shah fighter who is being detained without any charges.

I call on you to secure his immediate release.

The petitions should be telegraphed to Ayatollah Ali Ghodosi, Prosecutor General of the Islamic Revolution, Office of the Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran.

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

Irish Political Prisoners to Renew Hunger Strike

BELFAST—Irish political prisoners here announced February 5 that they intend to begin a new hunger strike March 1 to protest their continuing mistreatment at the hands of the British government.

A statement by the prisoners declared: "We the Republican political prisoners in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and in Armagh prison, having waited patiently for seven weeks for evidence that the British government was prepared to resolve the prison crisis, and having given them every available opportunity to do so, declare our intention of hunger striking once more.

"On December 18 and 19, 1980, the hunger strikes in the H-Blocks and Armagh prison were ended. When this happened we were expecting that within a few days all protests would begin to be de-escalated and that the first hurdle, the blanketmen receiving their own clothes, could be got over in the sequence described by [British secretary for Northern Ireland Humphrey] Atkins in his December 19 statement.

"Obstacle after obstacle was placed in our way, but we felt morally bound to

explore every avenue before giving in to exasperation and anger. The pettiness of the British administration was well demonstrated on January 23 when the prison governor, acting under orders, refused a number of men their own clothes.

"The twenty men had taken part in successful wing-shifts from dirty to clean cells and had begun slopping out, then washed and shaved and had their hair cut before applying for their own clothes.

"It is a fact that ordinary prisoners in conforming blocks are generally wearing their own clothes unchallenged, and we were angered that the Brits were more intent on humiliating us once again than on settling the prison crisis. . . .

"We the blanket men, and we the women political prisoners in Armagh, have had enough of British deceit and of broken promises. Hunger strikes, to the death if necessary, will begin, commencing from March 1, 1981, the fifth anniversary of the withdrawal of political status in the H-Blocks and Armagh jail.

"We are demanding to be treated as

political prisoners, which everyone recognizes we are. We call on all those who supported us during the last hunger strike to again rally to our cause, and we call upon those who sat on the fence to now see the intransigence of the British and the justice of our cause."

The February 27 issue of *An Phoblacht*, the newspaper of the Provisional republican movement, said in a front page editorial:

"H-Block action committees throughout Ireland, in America, in Europe and Australia have just three weeks left before a second major hunger strike by protesting Republican prisoners commences in the occupied North.

"This period should be used to resume any lost contact with those influential individuals, trade unions, cultural bodies, or other organizations who showed genuine concern during the last hunger strike, and to seek out fresh support from other and untapped quarters."

The statement went on to say that "no details of the number or composition of the prisoners that will hunger strike, whether they will begin on the same date or in a phased process, has been revealed as yet."

Bernadette: 'I Live for the Mass Movement'

McAliskeys Vow to Keep Fighting

By Gerry Foley

BELFAST—Bernadette and Michael McAliskey are recovering rapidly from the wounds inflicted on them January 16 by would-be assassins. Michael was released from the hospital on February 2. Bernadette hopes to return home in a few weeks. She is determined to go back to her house to show that no one can drive her from it.

The McAliskeys' spirits are undaunted. Bernadette was particularly angered by a report in the February 1 issue of the Dublin *Sunday Tribune* that she was going to discuss her political future on February 2 at her first meeting with Michael after the shooting. The implication was that she was thinking about leaving politics.

But, she told me, she had never considered that for a minute. "I live for the mass movement," she declared. "It's when you're just sitting back doing nothing that you start having personal problems and getting scared. When you're involved in a

mass movement, when it's going forward, when you feel you're accomplishing something, all your personal problems and fears fade away."

Bernadette's hospital room has been deluged with telegrams, flowers, and now a long line of visitors is forming to express their respect, concern, and affection.

Like all leaders of the oppressed and exploited, Bernadette faces particular dangers. The enemy tries to impede the struggle of the masses by striking down its foremost leaders.

But the British government knew that it would have to pay a terrible price if Bernadette were allowed to die. That fact is shown by the solicitude the authorities have shown for her in the hospital, despite the brutality and callousness with which they generally behave toward the Irish people.

Bernadette also owes her life to her own fighting spirit.

She never stopped fighting. She did not

trust the British doctors, and only stopped struggling against the insertion of respirator tubes when a surgeon from the Gaelic-speaking area of Donegal explained the procedure to her in his own language, the language of the Irish people's struggle for national liberation.

"He knew that I would see he was a friend if he spoke in Irish," she said.

Michael also never thought of giving up. "From the moment I was shot," he told me, "I never thought of anything but getting better." He said that the doctors were astonished at his physical resistance and his rapid recovery. He had six bullet wounds in his abdomen, a bullet lodged in his skull and the main artery in one arm was severed.

He told me that he had discovered "an instinct for survival" in himself that he had never imagined.

Far from cowering him, the attack had reinforced his courage and his confidence in himself. He was beginning to think very coolly and realistically about how to deal with possible future assassination attempts, recognizing quite clearly that he and Bernadette will always be in danger so long as they keep on fighting. And he has no intention of giving up the fight.

Bernadette's mind is occupied with the question of how to carry the struggle against repression forward. In particular

she is thinking about how to use the upcoming local elections in the North and the general election expected in the South to extend the movement against imperialist repression and to demonstrate that the bourgeois politicians who have stabbed the prisoners in the back and who are collaborating with the imperialist repression do

not represent the Irish people.

Bernadette also recognizes that international support will be decisive in the next phase of the struggle against British repression. She is appealing for the formation of broad action committees everywhere to mobilize the maximum support for the human rights of the Irish people. □

People's Democracy Statement on McAliskey Attack

[The following statement on the attempted assassination of Bernadette and Michael McAliskey was released January 16 by the Irish revolutionary-socialist organization People's Democracy.]

* * *

People's Democracy totally condemns the attempted assassination of Bernadette McAliskey, a founder member of People's Democracy and of the H-Block/Armagh campaign, and her husband Michael. There can be no doubt that there is a concerted campaign of murder against leading members of the H-Block/Armagh campaign. Two other members of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, Miriam Daly and Noel Little, have also been murdered, as have three leading members of the campaign, John Turnley, Ronald Bunting, and Tony Valenti. On the occasion of each of these murders the British army and the discredited RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] have expressed no interest whatever in apprehending the perpetrators of these crimes. If anything they expressed cynical satisfaction at their occurrence.

Bernadette's shooting is the latest and most dastardly incident in the catalogue of horrors perpetrated by the British and their loyalist allies. The H-Block/Armagh campaign, a legal and open campaign, has had to contend with vicious attempts by the British and their supporters to harass, intimidate and murder supporters of the political prisoners. There can be no more telling indictment against the democratic pretensions of the Six-County statelet. The Catholic minority is exposed, day in and day out, to vicious attacks, both legal and illegal, by the forces of the British crown.

Because the British know they cannot eliminate the entire anti-imperialist population they have resorted to assassinating our leaders and attempted to terrify us into submission. They fear the dynamic set in train by H-Block/Armagh more than they fear any other single factor in Ireland. The mass mobilizations all over Ireland shocked the British because they assumed they had beaten our resistance out of us. They had reckoned without the unquenchable instinct for justice of the Irish people which Bernadette played a large part in rekindling. Not only were the British forced to concede an agreement, they are now being forced to implement

that agreement after cynically attempting to renege on it.

The only force strong enough to force the British Government to keep its word and the only force strong enough to force it out of Ireland is the mass mobilization of the Irish people. Because Bernadette understood this simple truth she is now the victim of the assassin's bullet and lies seriously ill, with her husband Michael, in the hospital.

What of the Irish Government? [Irish Prime Minister] Charles Haughey can sip tea with [British Prime Minister] Margaret Thatcher but he appears unable to openly demand that the British call off their terror campaign. He did not openly support the demands of the H-Block/Armagh

The Attempted Assassination of the McAliskys

[The following statement on the attempted assassination of Bernadette and Michael McAliskey was released January 16 by the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, the group responsible for organizing support for the struggle of Irish political prisoners against British mistreatment.]

* * *

The National H-Block/Armagh Committee is shocked to learn of the attempted assassination of Bernadette McAliskey and her husband Michael. We express our total abhorrence at this latest shooting which is clearly part of a concerted campaign of murder against H-Block activists and leaders. To date, several leading members of the campaign have been murdered, including two members of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, Miriam Daly and Noel Little. Three other leading members of the campaign, John Turnley, Ronald Bunting, and Tony Valenti, have also been murdered. Little or no attempt has been made by the British authorities to apprehend their killers.

This peaceful and legal campaign for the rights of political prisoners in the H-Blocks and Armagh has been the victim of slander, intimidation, and physical elimination from the British establishment and its supporters. While the H-Block/Armagh committee has used only the methods of peaceful and legal pressure, its opponents have not.

prisoners despite the fact that the majority of the Irish people wished him to do so. What is he afraid of? Unless the Irish Government, openly and without equivocation, calls on the British Government to disarm and disband the RUC and UDR [Ulster Defence Regiment] and their allies in the other, unofficial, loyalist militias, they will stand condemned as cowards and cynics. Ultimately this is the only course which will save the lives they claim they wish to preserve. Charles Haughey and Fianna Fáil [the ruling party in Ireland] must bear a measure of responsibility for the terror unleashed against the nationalist population and its leaders.

Bernadette has shown us the way forward: continue to press the H-Block/Armagh campaign to a successful conclusion; rely only on our own strength and force those who claim to speak in our name to do as we say. Whether they be in Fianna Fáil, the SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour Party] or in the leadership of the trade union movement they must be forced to act in our real interests. Otherwise we will act ourselves as we have in the H-Block/Armagh campaign.

We express our sympathy to Bernadette and Michael's family, neighbors and friends. □

Bernadette is the latest victim of the assassins, obviously because she is seen to embody the determination and success of the campaign. She is the press relations officer of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee and, as such, has travelled all over Ireland and Europe holding press conferences and speaking at public meetings. The mass support for the prisoners all over this country is due in no small measure to the efforts of Bernadette in urging the setting up of local H-Block/Armagh groups in every county in Ireland.

The British government has been forced to concede to the prisoners and is being forced to implement the agreement drawn up at the conclusion of the hunger strike. The mobilization of the majority support of the Irish people guaranteed this victory.

We call for a public investigation into this and other attacks on the H-Block/Armagh campaign. The Irish government should demand that the British put a check on their violent supporters. If the Irish government does not act in this case, it will be exposed as having complete disregard for the rights of the minority in the Six Counties.

While expressing our sorrow at this attempt to kill Bernadette and her husband, we are equally determined, as she and Michael are, to press this campaign to a successful conclusion. Our sympathy goes out to her family, neighbors, and friends. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Murder of MIR Leaders a Blow to Bolivian Left

The cold-blooded murder of eight national leaders of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) on January 15 by Bolivia's security forces has dealt a blow to the clandestine resistance movement operating against that country's military regime.

Those killed made up the top leadership of the MIR inside Bolivia, and included Artemio Carmargo, the head of the miner's union at the giant Siglo XX tin-mining complex.

The eight were captured during a clandestine meeting in La Paz. According to reports received from Bolivia, only two of the eight were wounded when they were taken from the building. All, however, were killed while in custody. Their bodies were bruised and all were riddled by at least twenty bullet wounds when turned over to their families.

The operation was carried out by plainclothes agents of the Special Security Service (SES). It was clearly aimed at heading off a resurgence of workers struggles in Bolivia.

On January 12 and 13, a forty-eight-hour work stoppage took place against new economic measures announced by the dictatorship. The economic package resulted in sharp increases in the price of food staples and gasoline. Some prices were doubled by the measures.

The work stoppages were centered in the traditional workers' strongholds around the tin-mining areas and in large factories in La Paz and Cochabamba.

According to reports reaching *Intercontinental Press* from Bolivia, the MIR was the strongest group operating underground against the dictatorship. The blow against its leadership has, at least temporarily, decapitated the organization and thrown it into disarray. Many of its rank-and-file members have been forced to seek asylum in foreign embassies.

It is expected that the military dictatorship will now step up its attacks against two other organizations working underground—the Revolutionary Workers Party-*Combate* (POR-*Combate*) and the Revolutionary Workers Party-*Masas* (POR-*Masas*). The POR-*Combate*, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International, played an important role in the forty-eight-hour stoppages called by the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) and has been able to carry out continuing activity in the factories and working-class neighborhoods of the country.

Two members of the POR-*Masas*, Acen-

sio Cruz and Pablo Rocha, were seized on January 13 in connection with the work stoppage and remain in custody as far as is known.

Apartheid Regime Attacks Mozambique

In a predawn raid on January 30, South African troops struck into neighboring Mozambique to attack offices of the African National Congress (ANC), one of the main South African Liberation movements. The troops arrived in Maputo, the Mozambican capital, by helicopter and bombarded the ANC facilities with mortars, rockets, and grenades.

According to Mozambican sources, the assault claimed thirteen lives, most of them members of the ANC. Some of them were reportedly mutilated by the attackers. The South African military admitted that two of its troops had also been killed in the fighting.

In a statement released two days later in Lusaka, Zambia, the ANC blasted the raid as "a criminal act of banditry."

Although the racist regime in Pretoria has previously attacked the bases of liberation movements located in Angola and Zambia, this was the first time South African troops struck into Mozambique since that country won its independence from Portugal in 1975.

The raid reflects Pretoria's concern over the growing influence of the ANC, which was outlawed by the apartheid regime in 1960.

Over the past two years, ANC freedom fighters have carried out increasingly effective military actions inside South Africa. A report in the February 2 *Christian Science Monitor* noted that "the ANC's prestige grows almost daily in the embittered black townships of this white minority-ruled country."

The South African regime has been emboldened by the stance of the new Reagan administration in Washington. The attack into Mozambique came just two days after Secretary of State Alexander Haig advocated an offensive against anti-imperialist struggles, which he termed "rampant international terrorism."

Pretoria has warned of further raids against neighboring Black-ruled countries. "South Africa will in future attack terrorists wherever they are," a South African military analyst declared, using Pretoria's standard epithet for members of the liberation movements.

The threat of stepped-up South African attacks prompted a call for greater African

unity from the new government in Zimbabwe. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe declared that the raid into Mozambique was "a signal warning to us, not only to proceed with speed to strengthen our defense forces, but also to consolidate our military alliance with our Mozambique brothers."

Belgian Marchers Hit Austerity

One hundred thousand workers demonstrated on January 24 in Brussels in response to the call of the Belgian General Federation of Workers (FGTB), the largest union federation in the French-speaking part of Belgium. The FGTB is led by supporters of the Socialist Party.

The march was in opposition to a new austerity plan of the government. The plan projects wage freezes, the elimination of certain unemployment allocations, and the abandonment of plans to reduce the workweek.

The other major trade-union federation, the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (CSC), which is dominant in the Flemish-speaking areas of Belgium and whose leadership is close to the Social Christians in the government, did not take part in the demonstration. But some CSC banners were seen in the streets on January 24.

The struggle against the austerity plan is off to a big start in Belgium, and it will be increasingly difficult for the CSC leadership to remain aloof from it.

Norwegian Prime Minister Resigns Amid Opposition to U.S. Arms Storage

In the face of bitter opposition to the stockpiling of U.S. military equipment in Norway, Norwegian Prime Minister Odvar Nordli resigned January 30, after five years in office.

Nordli's resignation came barely three weeks after the Norwegian parliament had approved an agreement with Washington for storage of artillery, ammunition, trucks, fuel, and other military materiel.

The left wing of Nordli's Labor Party had fought a vocal battle against the stockpiling. Nordli's move had also come under attack from the trade unions. Torchlight demonstrations, mass rallies, and a petition drive were all organized.

The stockpiling of American arms and ammunition was only a small part of the plan. Extensive stockpiling of aircraft for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was already well under way.

There has been widespread opposition in

Norway to NATO defense increases and to nuclear weapons. Although Norway bans all foreign troops and nuclear weapons during peacetime, the arguments around stockpiling grew into a national debate over Norway's role in NATO and the danger of being a nuclear target in the event of war.

Nordli also came under attack for his attempts to hold down workers' wages and to cut back government spending on social programs.

Nordli cited reasons of health for his resignation. But a February 4 *New York Times* dispatch noted, "Quitting may have been the ultimate intention of Mr. Nordli, who had been in poor health, but the Prime Minister was said to have first heard about his decision on the radio while sitting down to dinner."

On February 3, Gro Harlem Brundtland was designated by the ruling Labor Party as Norway's new prime minister. She was selected over the candidate supported by Norway's labor unions.

Brundtland has sought to present a progressive image as a supporter of women's rights and liberalized abortion laws.

She is, however, also a supporter of Norway's continuing presence in NATO, military stockpiling, and favors the increased militarization drive being carried out by the Norwegian ruling class, in cooperation with Washington.

At the same time, Brundtland has been forced to take the antiwar sentiment of Norwegian workers into account by publicly stating that she is in favor of the Labor Party "working more actively for nuclear disarmament."

No Word on Kidnapped Guatemalan

The International Committee for the Life of Alaíde Foppa announced in Mexico City that all efforts to discover the whereabouts of the sixty-seven-year-old Guatemalan writer, art critic, and feminist, who was kidnapped by Guatemalan security forces December 19, have been obstructed by the Guatemalan military regime. Foppa's driver, Leocadio Actún Shiroy was seized at the same time.

Alaíde Foppa, an opponent of the dictatorship, had been living in exile in Mexico since 1954. She was in Guatemala visiting her sick mother. The Democratic Front Against Repression, a coalition of over 150 Guatemalan organizations opposed to the present dictatorship in that country, has charged that the Guatemalan army carried out the kidnapping. Among those who have intervened on behalf of the missing writer are the UN Human Rights Commission, the parliaments of Italy and Mexico,



Bandera Socialista
ALAIDE FOPPA

Amnesty International, the PEN Club of Mexico, and hundreds of Mexican intellectuals.

Foppa is one of the most prestigious intellectuals in Latin America. She is on the faculty of the Autonomous National University of Mexico where she taught the first course in the sociology of women at any Latin American university. She is a distinguished art critic, with more than one thousand published articles, and a translator of French and Italian literature.

On December 22, 1980, more than 500 Mexican intellectuals and artists staged a demonstration at the Guatemalan embassy in Mexico City, demanding information regarding Foppa's whereabouts. The Guatemalan ambassador refused to meet with them.

A full page advertisement from the International Committee for the Life of Alaíde Foppa was printed in the December 26 Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno*. A protest meeting was also held at the Autonomous National University of Mexico on January 19.

International protests demanding the presentation of Alaíde Foppa should be sent to President Romeo Lucas García, Casa de Gobierno, Guatemala, Guatemala. Copies should be sent to the International Committee for the Life of Alaíde Foppa, c/o Consejo Mexicano de Fotografía, Tehuantepec 214, Col. Roma, Mexico D.F., Mexico.

Strikes Shut Down Zambian Mines

In reaction to a Zambian government attack on the country's main trade-union federation, thousands of mineworkers walked off their jobs on January 20. By January 22 and 23, Zambia's copper and cobalt production had been brought to a halt.

The strike followed the January 9 expulsion of seventeen top officials of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions from President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP), the only legal party in the country. Some of those expelled were also leaders of the Mineworkers Union of Zambia. The union leaders were charged with "disobedience" for criticizing the regime's handling of the economy and for opposing a new system of local government that will extend the UNIP's control.

One of the demands of the strikers was for their right to choose their own union leaders. Members of the UNIP have contended that expulsion from the party means de facto expulsion from union posts.

The labor upsurge in Zambia also comes at a time when the Kaunda regime is preparing to impose severe austerity policies on the Zambian people.

Several months ago, the Zambian government began negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for new credits. In exchange for the funds, the IMF

is demanding austerity measures. Among the measures being discussed are higher taxes and the reduction or elimination of many consumer subsidies, including price controls on corn meal, one of the main food staples.

By striking out at the unions now, Kaunda is clearly aiming to stifle potential opposition before he introduces such unpopular measures. But as the mineworkers' strike showed, that could be risky.

Defender of Cuban Revolution Dies

Lourdes Casal, one of the most active and distinguished figures in the Cuban community abroad, died in Havana on February 1 after a long and painful illness. She was forty-two years old.



Harry Ring/Militant
LOURDES CASAL

Casal had not initially been a supporter of the Cuban Revolution. She left the country for the United States in 1961. But after developing first hand knowledge of the situation of Black people in the U.S., and following a 1962 tour of Africa, she began to change her views.

In 1973 Casal travelled to Cuba for the first time since she had left twelve years earlier. A professor of psychology at Rutgers University in New Jersey, she began to actively work with young Cubans in the U.S. who wanted to increase their knowledge of their homeland.

As a member of the Committee of 75 and a collaborator with the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans who had been taken to the U.S. as children by their parents, she tirelessly worked for increased ties between the Cuban community abroad and Cuba.

From its inception, the Committee of 75 included political figures with varying views who favored rapprochement with Cuba.

Casal, from the outset, took a clear, unambiguous position in defense of the Cuban revolution. She was among those who refused to be intimidated by the campaign of assassination conducted by Cuban counter-revolutionaries in the United States. She forthrightly condemned them for the murders of Carlos Muñiz and Eulalio Negrín, two Committee of 75 partisans.

When the events occurred at the Peru embassy in Havana, leading to the Mariel boat-lift, Casal was among the first to respond with a public declaration assailing the incident there for what it was—an anti-Cuba provocation.

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DOCUMENTS

Polish Communist Party Members Discuss Social Crisis

What Is to Be Done?

By B. Rogowski

[The following proposal was presented to a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) organization at the Fonica radio factory in Lodz on November 14, 1980. (The PUWP is the Polish Communist Party.) Since then it has been discussed at other party meetings in the Lodz area.

[A French translation of the text was published in the January 20, 1981, issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*. The translation from French is by *Intercontinental Press* and we have added the subheads in the text.]

The events taking place in Poland since the middle of 1980 have had a revolutionary character. The initiators and principal motor force of this process have been the workers in heavy industry. They have been joined by broader and broader circles of the entire society.

This movement tends to definitively reject the present way power is exercised and the current methods of building socialism. They are saying that the dictatorship of the proletariat should not be a dictatorship over the proletariat, that the broad masses' right to free expression must be guaranteed in law and in fact.

Up to now, the bureaucratic and bloated apparatuses running the state, the party, and the economy have imposed their arbitrary and subjective decisions upon the nation. We can no longer govern in this fashion. Such a system deprives men of their dignity and turns them into a vehicle for achieving objectives that have nothing to do with their class interests.

The revolutionary process we are now going through is spontaneous. The party and state do not control it. Rather they are dangerously adrift in face of the mounting demands.

The bodies of Solidarity—the independent, member-run union—have the greatest influence on how the masses act. But they too yield to the pressure of the masses' needs and their state of mind. In society's view, Solidarity represents all those who call themselves "us" and view the party and state as "them." Little by little a system of dual power is developing.

As a result, the party, and especially its leadership bodies, are in a bad position. The party, along with Solidarity and the

other social organizations, must clearly place itself on the side of "us." If it does not, the party's existence and its leading role lose all meaning.

Party Must Champion Demands of Workers

So, what is to be done? What are the urgent problems of our movement?

This question, which has a Leninist sound, allows us to approach the problem. Today the party must be the motor force of



the revolution and must take the lead in it. If it does not, it will end up in the dustbin of history. Therefore, it must act to carry out redistribution of personal income and private wealth. Quite simply, those who are excessively rich will have to lose significantly so the poor can benefit.

The wage increases that the government introduced will lead to inflation and to a "black market" unless the income of those who earn the most is reduced and unless a tax is imposed on the wealth of the most comfortable groups. Unless this is done, it would also mean that the poorest would bear the costs of the crisis.

The increase in the total amount of money in circulation would be lower if a decision were made to knock the top off the wage pyramid in the state sector and to limit incomes in the private sector.

Punish Corruption

To crown the revolutionary process, it is also necessary to severely punish those who have illegally enriched themselves, and we must use their wealth to aid the poor. To do that, we must set up a special

commission—made up of representatives of Solidarity, other unions and organizations, the militia, the High Control Commission, and the National Coordinating Commission—which would investigate and make public all cases of excessive enrichment. This commission would have to have the power to follow up on all suspicions and rumors in each particular case.

The present leadership of the party is acting much too slowly. Perhaps it underestimates the gravity of the situation or does not have the necessary political authority. It is both scandalous and disturbing that the commission to prepare for the party congress still has not been set up, and the documents for the special party congress have not been published. We have already lost a lot of time. The decisions of the Sixth Plenum were already insufficient and behind the situation. The special congress must take place by January of next year (1981), at the latest.

We must seriously analyze the crisis and indicate the solutions needed to resolve it. But the most important question is the election of a new leadership that is really competent. All its members must be known by the nation as intelligent men of integrity. It is especially important that they have a leadership mentality, not an employee's mentality. Today the party needs men of the masses, representing the interests of the workers, and especially of the most disadvantaged social layers. The members of the leadership must go directly to the masses rather than contenting themselves with meetings with intermediary cadres.

The special congress cannot be prepared by people who have always used the methods of operating that are rejected today. It cannot be prepared by those who will only change their methods under pressure. The commission preparing the congress should make an appeal to those members who have been courageous enough and imaginative enough to oppose subjectivism and totalitarianism and to participate in the Solidarity workers movement.

Form New Party

The congress must proceed to make real changes in the methods of functioning of the Polish Communists. The Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) has been so compromised that it cannot regain the confidence of the masses unless it changes from top to bottom. We propose turning the PUWP into a new party: the Polish Socialist Workers Party (PSWP).

As its name indicates, this new party would have three basic features:

1. "Polish"—meaning independent, flowing from the experience, traditions, and history of the Polish nation; taking into account, both in terms of program and practice, the special features of our culture; aiming to achieve our national interests in the best possible way.



Discussion at Lenin shipyard in Gdansk in August 1980

2. "Socialist"—meaning having the aim of building a society based on social ownership of the principle means of production and on the principle of dividing the wealth on the basis of the quality and quantity of work expended; strengthening the links between Poland and the socialist countries; supporting leftist governments and movements.

3. "Workers"—meaning above all representing the population that lives from wage labor: the working class and the intelligentsia.

Specifically, the Polish Socialist Workers Party would link up with the great tradition of two parties: the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Workers Party. From this we get the two elements of "socialist" and "workers." The name Polish Socialist Workers Party would be the same as the name of the party of Hungarian Communists. Their Hungarian Socialist Workers Party was established in 1956, and also expressed a renewal of links with the tradition of the Socialist Party.

The PSWP's acceptance of the PSP and PWP as models for action would allow it to recover from sectarianism—the affliction of the PUWP, and especially of its leadership bodies. The PUWP inherited this affliction from the "minority" wing of the Communist Party of Poland. The PUWP's sectarianism is seen in the following symptoms: its lack of confidence in its own people; its inability to accept the autonomy of any organization; its selection of people for leadership posts, not on the basis of competence, but rather because they are docile and have the confidence of the leadership; its manipulation of information; its search for a class enemy in every criticism; its panicky fear of any form of opposition; its attempt to keep all power and all initiatives in a single hand.

The PSWP would have to be a mass party, but not like the PUWP has been in the past period. At the present time it is enough that one worker out of ten, among the twelve million wage workers in the

socialized sector, be a Communist. The party must choose its members with such care that it is viewed as the *moral* vanguard of the nation. Therefore when the exchange of PUWP cards for PSWP cards takes place, there should be an investigation of the party ranks. One could expect that those people who voluntarily choose to join will really be authentic Communists. As Lenin correctly said, the most precious members come to the party when it is in the worst situation.

Role of Religion

The PSWP would bring together honest, active, and modest partisans of socialism, whatever their religion. We have to break with the dogma, still present here and there, that only atheism can be a source of socialist inspiration. What counts in Marxism is not atheism, but humanism—the faith in man and social progress. Those members of the party who are bereft of ideals, but use atheism as a tool to further their own careers, have already caused us enough damage.

The PSWP should exercise a leading role in the state, not alone, but with the parties representing the other two classes of our society: the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. At the same time it is necessary to rebuild the peasant movement, as well as the movement of artisans and shopkeepers.

These three parties—worker, peasant, and petty bourgeois—could form a people's bloc in parliament and within the national councils (which also include people belonging to no party). Each of them should have its own independent youth organization.

Ranks in Control

The PSWP should be a less lavish, less bureaucratized party than the PUWP. It should base itself on the dedication of its members and keep the apparatus of paid functionaries to the absolute minimum.

Members of the central leadership and departmental bodies must actually belong

to factory cells, not just in form. They should have to participate in all the meetings of these cells, should be controlled by them and report back to them. This would be an antidote to the chronic problem of the lack of ties between the leaders and the ranks.

We must do away with reports that take the form of messages from the throne, which turn meetings and plenums into a stilted ceremony. Such functioning does not facilitate either an exchange of opinions or criticism.

Instead of reports, we must introduce carefully prepared written materials, which everyone could read in advance. This would make it possible for people to form a real opinion.

Instead of giving an advantage to one or another participant in the discussion through their place at the presiding table, which emphasizes their power, we should introduce the "round table" system, without any separation between participants. Then each person could take part in the debate on an equal footing.

In the present situation it is urgent that we proceed to elections on all levels in the party, and to the election of delegates for the special congress. It is especially important that these elections have a democratic character. The mass of party members must have full freedom to elect those in whom they have confidence.

We expect that the independent and member-run trade union movement will be a factor forestalling the degeneration of the party and the state powers. It will prevent the party bodies from breaking their ties with the masses and continuing to maintain bureaucratic routine. The party, through general directives for the government and state administration, must respond to the needs and interests of the world of work. It must be possible to spontaneously express these needs and interests without restriction.

The leading role of the party cannot solely be based on constitutional and administrative measures. It must above all be founded on real authority. In the long run one cannot govern against one's own people. It is necessary to gain their support and confidence, to show that it is a revolutionary party that struggles and that represents the poor and oppressed.

Members of the party's leading bodies can see these truths and these demands only with the greatest difficulty. These people do not seem to understand the depth of the conflict taking place or the need to act quickly. They do not have links to the mass of members and are not aware of their feelings. In such a situation, only firm and determined pressure "from below" can save the party and country from catastrophe. □

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'The Advance of Humanity Cannot Be Stopped'

[The following speech was given in December at the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba by Humberto Ortega, who headed the delegation of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua. The text is taken from the January 25 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*, published in Havana.]

* * *

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

Comrades of the Political Bureau;

Comrades of the Presiding Body of the 2nd Congress;

Comrade Delegates to this Historic Congress;

Comrade Guests to this Great Event of the Cuban people;

Cuban Brothers and Sisters:

Our delegation brings the fraternal and combative greetings of the modest and courageous people of Nicaragua and their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), to the working revolutionary people of heroic Cuba, their Communist Party and our brother, Fidel. The people of Nicaragua are building the future by constantly deepening the anti-imperialist, patriotic, internationalist and popular process of social emancipation which was started a little over 50 years ago by the Indian American, worker and peasant, Augusto César Sandino, in the heat of the ferocious battle to the death against the invading Yankee marines, who wanted to bind our country forever to the repugnant, unjust, bloodthirsty and oppressive imperial system of the United States.

In 1892 Rubén Darío, our National Poet, said, "The coming century will witness the greatest of Revolutions which have bloodied the Earth." In its irreversible historical advance, humanity has defied the exploitation and oppression of man by man, and throughout the 20th century it has gradually prevailed over world reaction which, in its retrograde efforts to last forever, has forced the peoples of the world to pay a very high social price in bloodshed and suffering to definitively cast off the chains of exploitation and humiliation, winning the just and unshakable right to struggle to be free and firmly and resolutely defend the freedom that has been won.

Many millions of human beings have fallen in the revolutionary struggle for social justice, progress and real peace in this century of uncivilized civilization. From the glorious days of the tenacious struggle of the heroic Bolsheviks against czarism and world reaction, the peoples of the world have upheld with growing strength, intelligence

and determination the banners of national and social liberation which fly from the rifles of revolutionaries and constitute the basic guarantee for taking and defending power for the people.

The struggle against imperialism and colonialism was exemplified by the seasoned and thousand-times heroic Vietnamese people in one of the most moving and dramatic demonstrations of solidarity by a people with humanity as a whole.

It cost the Algerian people a million victims to do away with the cruel colonialism that oppressed them. The dedicated Soviet Union sacrificed 20 million sons and daughters on behalf of humanity in the struggle against fascism in the catastrophic World War II.

Cuba, with its firm revolutionary, anti-imperialist and internationalist stand, showed throughout its titanic and unequal struggle against Yankee imperialism that it was possible to gradually overcome underdevelopment—a legacy of the previous society of exploitation—and build a new society with sacrifice and hard work: the socialism proclaimed by Fidel following the cowardly, vile attack of imperialism at Playa Girón.

In spite of the permanent obstacles and plots of all kinds put in Cuba's way by the most reactionary imperialist circles through the different administrations which have ruled the United States, Cuba is now stronger and more prosperous than ever before, more internationalist and independent than ever before, more *mambi*,¹ more the follower of Bolívar than ever before.

Cuba's experience confirms the validity of what Sandino once said: "The strength of being right is worth more than the right to use force." The right to be free and determine one's revolutionary destiny is a sacred right which the Cuban people will continue defending down to the last drop of blood of the sons and daughters of Martí, who realize that the duty of defending one's country means the full right to give our lives for the country, the Revolution and history.

Our National Poet Rubén Darío asked:

Are there no longer noble knights or brave gentlemen?

Will so many millions of men speak English?

Will we be silent now in order to weep later?

Our answer to Rubén is that revolutionaries are only silent and only weep over the memory of our heroes and martyrs who fell in the struggle for liberation.

Tens of thousands dead, the economy in

1. The *mambises* were the Cuban fighters against Spanish colonialism.—IP

ruins and the country bankrupt was the price the heroic people of Sandino, Rigoberto and Carlos Fonseca² had to pay to banish the last marine from our country: Somoza and Somoza-ism.

At present our unassuming, laborious working people are making gigantic efforts to rebuild the country while resolutely facing up to counterrevolutionary activity. They are constantly strengthening our key weapon, our main arsenal in defending ourselves against imperialism, which consists of the firm will and spirit to struggle to win or die defending our revolutionary Sandinista cause.

This exemplary 2nd Congress is taking place in a world of turmoil with the grave danger of senseless wars provoked by reaction and imperialism hanging over it. But the advance of humanity can't be stopped. The revolutionary flame is spreading in Africa; the Palestinian people are keeping their just cause alive; the socialist camp is developing and firmly backing the struggle of the peoples for liberation; while the democratic, patriotic and progressive governments of Latin America reject the subservient role the imperialist master wants to impose on them.

In our areas of Central America and the Caribbean, Grenada maintains its exemplary revolutionary stand, which serves as an encouragement and gives strength to the other peoples of Latin America, whom we are sure will not let this 20th century David stand alone in its confrontation with the imperialist Goliath. In Central America, in the lands of Sandino, Morazán, Juan Santamaría, Turcios Lima and Farabundo Martí,³ the smallest of our sister countries, the incredibly heroic people of El Salvador, shed their blood in the streets, towns, hamlets and churches of the country in a battle which the military-Christian Democratic reactionary oligarchy, desperately calling for intervention by Yankee marines and regional reactionaries, has already lost. It is trying to block the desire for freedom and the inevitable victory of this brave sister people.

We are sure that the peoples of Latin America and the mature and responsible governments of America and the world will do all they can to prevent intervention in

2. Rigoberto López Pérez was the young Nicaraguan poet who assassinated dictator Anastasio Somoza García in 1956. Carlos Fonseca Amador was the founder of the FSLN.—IP

3. Francisco Morazán, a Honduran general, fought for Central American unity after independence was won from Spain and served as president of the short-lived Central American Federation from 1830 to 1840. Juan Santamaría was a Costa

this long-suffering country. Far from extinguishing the revolutionary flame in El Salvador, intervention will fan the flames of revolution that are to be found in the mountains of our Latin America.

Long live the heroic Cuban people who

through the 2nd Congress of their Communist Party are today strengthening their revolutionary present and future!

Long live indestructible brotherhood and combative fraternity between Cuba and Nicaragua!

Long live the Latin American guide of the Cuban Revolution, our brother Fidel!

Long live the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front!

If Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win!
Patria libre o morir!

Three Women Victimized at Aircraft Plant

Canadian Government Urged Firing of Socialist Workers

By Joan Campana

[The following is abridged from an article in the January 26 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Socialist Voice*.]

* * *

Transcripts from a top government meeting reveal that Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan sanctioned the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]-inspired political firing of three women from Pratt & Whitney Aircraft in Longueuil, Quebec.

Further evidence points to a frame-up of the women on a charge of "sabotage."

The charge is completely unfounded.

The women—Katy LeRougetel, Suzanne Chabot, and Wendy Stevenson—were "laid off" in November, 1979, supposedly due to a personnel surplus. An inquiry by the Quebec Human Rights Commission laid that pretext to rest, finding that the women were "victims of discrimination based on their political convictions."

Confirmation of top government knowledge of the firings emerged December 4 at a meeting of the federal justice committee. In attendance were RCMP Commissioner Robert H. Simmonds; Director-General for the Security Service, Michael Dare; other senior Mounties; and members of parliament.

Solicitor-General Kaplan, in charge of the RCMP for the government, described his "close relationship with the RCMP . . . We meet regularly. We have a regular agenda. It covers Security Service matters . . ."

He went on to explain his knowledge and approval of the firings: "And when that report [the Human Rights inquiry] came out, I had it on the table. I discussed it with the Security Service . . . I am satisfied that [the service] is operating within its mandate. I am . . . not prosecuting people merely because of their political beliefs."

The facts say otherwise.

Sworn testimony revealing a company-

RCMP witch-hunt apparatus against militant unionists and members of political groups in the plant has emerged during two arbitration sessions hearing grievances seeking to rehire the women. The grievances were filed by UAW [United Auto Workers] Local 510 at Pratt.

Testimony confirms that Pratt's management, singling out the three, held several meetings on how to "get rid" of them.

Participating in the meetings was Jacques St. Pierre, head of Pratt Internal Security. St. Pierre, himself a former RCMP Security Service agent, met with Fernand Brault, currently in the Security Service's division on "left groups." The meetings occurred prior to the women's dismissal.

St. Pierre testifies he gave "biographical data" on the women to Brault. He advised management of Brault's visits. "I knew it was a case of the Security Service and . . . quite important . . . I knew which group he was investigating . . . I had worked with him [Brault]."

Yet the company maintains that the RCMP agent's visits and the women's political beliefs had nothing to do with the firings!

Union and Workers Real Target

Sworn testimony at the arbitration hearings demonstrates intimate company knowledge of and interference in internal union business. It shows that management works closely with the RCMP as well as local and provincial police to spy on and compile lists of union militants, political activists and even workers who smoke marijuana, for purposes of harassment and victimization. Names of union officials, union leaflets and reports on the "situation" in the plant are regularly turned over to the police.

St. Pierre testified: "The report on the general situation . . . is [for] the Quebec Provincial Police to establish the current situation in the plant . . . it's not only the extreme movements. . ."

Part of the conglomerate United Technologies, Pratt & Whitney is hated in

Quebec as a notorious anti-union, anti-worker company.

Pratt pays its workers the lowest wages in the entire Canadian aerospace industry—\$2 an hour lower than in Ontario, for example. Now management is worried about the influx of new young workers who won't tolerate the situation any longer.

In company testimony, workers' legitimate concerns become "rumors of illegal strikes, unlawful assemblies and sabotage!"

The prime movers behind it all, according to J.C. Roy, head of Industrial Relations, were the Pratt Three. "When they left, everything was calm; today there is real peace."

That's absurd, as an angry meeting of over 800 workers later showed. Moreover, the company presented *not one shred of proof* that the women were part of any disturbance, much less "saboteurs," for the simple reason that they were not.

The dishonest smear carries no specific charge, hardly something that would be overlooked if the company actually had a case. In fact, *foremen* reported at the arbitration hearing that the women were exemplary workers. Reports by management cited their excellent work. LeRougetel was even offered a promotion!

Arbitration Ruling

Yet both arbitrators accept the company frame-up. In his ruling on LeRougetel, Paul Imbeau wrote: "It does not appear necessary here to take up the long and tiresome proof submitted and uncontradicted [sic] in relation to the spontaneous unlawful assemblies happening in the plant during working hours, the circulation of illegal strike rumors, of sabotage, demands for wage increases despite the collective agreement in force—the whole thing animated by a few probationary employees including the plaintiff [LeRougetel]. . . ."

The company and cops are attempting to tar the women with unsubstantiated charges of "sabotage" to belatedly justify the firing, the continued use of disruptive

Rican hero of the war against the U.S. proslavery adventurer William Walker in Nicaragua in 1856. Oscar Turcios Lima was a central leader of the Guatemalan guerrilla movement in the 1960's; he was killed in an auto accident in October 1966.

tactics against them and their organization, and to intimidate anyone in the plant from fighting for a better deal from Pratt. In company eyes, any Pratt worker who hung around a coffee machine discussing wages could be a saboteur! And the frame-up of the three women is a lesson to all of them!

But the women's only "crime" is to hold socialist views. They support women's equality, the struggle of people in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and the right of Quebec to determine its own future. They

support and build their unions.

Their organization, the Revolutionary Workers League, circulates its views in newspapers, runs candidates in elections, and is active in support of the New Democratic Party and the Quebec nationalist movement. It works to convince a majority to "change things through the political process." The RWL opposes terrorism and illegal or individual violence to bring about change. After years of illegal RCMP surveillance, it has never been charged with a single crime! That's why the com-

pany and the RCMP have to resort to unsubstantiated smears and frame-ups.

The company and the RCMP have massive resources to attempt to carry out this frame-up. Countering it is vital. Letters and telegrams protesting the victimization should be sent to Pratt & Whitney, Personnel Office, 1000 rte. Marie-Victorin E., Longueuil, Quebec. Copies of the messages and badly-needed financial support should be sent to The Committee to Defend the Pratt 3, 4271 Chambord, Montreal, Quebec. □

Lockheed's Racist Record

U.S. Corporation Hates Socialists, Blacks, Unionists

By Garrett Brown

[The following is abridged from an article in the February 6 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

ATLANTA, Georgia—When the Lockheed-Georgia aircraft company began firing unionists at its Marietta plant last December, it came as no surprise to veteran civil rights activists working in the plant.

Nor were they surprised to learn that the firings were preceded by an intensive company campaign of spying, electronic surveillance, and contact with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and police to determine which workers might be associated with the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

At least fifteen unionists, all members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709, have now been fired. The company claims it's because of discrepancies on our job applications. The fired workers know it's because of our union building activities and our political views.

Lockheed conducted a similar campaign of harassment, spying, and firing against workers who supported the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

Militant interviews with Black activists and a review of government civil rights reports reveal more than a decade of company assaults on the democratic rights of Lockheed workers. The recent firings of the fifteen are but the latest chapter.

Blacks Organize for Rights

In the 1960s several dozen Black workers at Lockheed formed the Observatory Council on Discrimination to fight the complete racial segregation and discrimination in hiring, training, and promotions at the aerospace facility.

C.T. "Pete" Lewis and T.R. "Bop" John-

son were active in the council. Both are twenty-eight-year veterans of the plant. Johnson, the former chairman of the council, was also a shop steward for seventeen years.

Before 1951 the only Blacks working in the plant were janitors, according to Lewis. Federal employment directives during the Korean War forced Lockheed to begin hiring Blacks for production jobs. But for many years, "you could count the number of Blacks in the plant because the number was so small," Lewis recalled.

Blacks—but not whites—were subjected to a barrage of tests and educational requirements in order to get hired.

Jim Crow

Those Blacks who successfully fought their way into the plant found it completely segregated:

"There were totally separate parking lots, water fountains, bathrooms, cafeterias, and recreational facilities," said Johnson.

When formal segregation ended in 1964 as a result of an executive order to federally-funded contractors, Blacks discovered that discrimination continued at Lockheed.

In 1967, for example, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) found that two-thirds of Lockheed's departments had no Blacks at all. Only ten percent of the remaining workforce was Black. In all, there were 1,500 Blacks (6 percent) out of the workforce of 23,400. And there were only 49 Black women.

Training and apprenticeship programs, the report continued, were set up "in such a manner as to virtually exclude Negro employees from participating."

The EEOC's report blasted Lockheed's illegal discrimination and threatened to withhold federal contracts.

In 1968 the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed a federal suit against Lockheed. After a bitter five-year battle, the suit resulted in a court-ordered affirmative action program and cash settlements for some of the Black workers.

Lockheed did everything it could to thwart these challenges to its racist policies.

Despite the publicity surrounding the investigations, and numerous warnings from the EEOC, NAACP, and the courts, the company mounted a campaign of retaliation against Blacks in the plant.

Johnson said it was common knowledge that the phones of activists were tapped and that the company received regular reports on Observatory Council meetings from spies.

Telephoto Lenses

Lewis reported that company security personnel were often seen on catwalks taking pictures with telephoto lenses of workers below. This was done presumably while the workers were talking to one another or distributing "subversive" literature about the civil rights movement.

Some activists were also taken to the plant security office under various pretexts, Lewis remembered. There they were grilled about their civil rights activities, personal lives, and job applications.

The company also backhandedly supported a racist campaign by a white shop steward running for re-election in the union.

The racist's campaign literature denounced Blacks in general, talked about "mixing of the races," and made personal attacks on Joseph Jones, the Black candidate for shop steward.

When the EEOC finally released its report documenting racist practices by the company and making recommendations, it took Lockheed five months to agree to a

case-by-case "conciliation agreement" with thirty-seven workers. First, the EEOC had to threaten to withhold Lockheed's billion-dollar-plus contract for the C-5 Galaxy cargo plane.

Lewis reported that in many cases, including his own, the company later reneged on the conciliation agreement.

Ten of the Black workers refused to be part of the conciliation agreement and in March 1968 they filed a federal suit against Lockheed with attorneys provided by the NAACP.

Lockheed carried its harassment campaign outside the plant in response.

A former official of the Atlanta NAACP chapter told the *Militant* that he received a call shortly after the suit was filed in 1968. It was from a white businessman on Lockheed's board of directors. The executive was also a contributor to the NAACP.

He wanted to know "what's the problem out at Lockheed" and "couldn't it be settled out of court." When the NAACP official told him the suit was going ahead, the executive said the civil rights organization would "find it very difficult to raise money" among businessmen if that were the case.

Lockheed fought the discrimination suit tooth and nail, delaying the trial until 1972. In January 1973, after widespread publicity about massive cost overruns and quality deficiencies on the company's C-5 Galaxy program, and growing evidence of international bribery schemes, Lockheed capitulated in the case.

The NAACP suit settlement included elimination of discriminatory "tests" and selection procedures for promotions and apprenticeships; established goals for affirmative action recruiting, hiring, training, and promotion of Blacks; and provided cash settlements and attorneys' fees to suing Blacks.

'Discrimination Still There'

Longtime civil rights activists like Lewis and Johnson say that while things have improved since the 1960s, "there's still a lot of discrimination going on. It's a little more subtle maybe, but it's still there."

And so is Lockheed's use of illegal spying and harassment against workers who stick up for their ideas, as the firings today show.

"That's their old tactic, they haven't changed at all. Back in the old days," Lewis recalled, "they used all kinds of spies and files on us. They'd go over people's applications and try to scare them or fire them if they could."

"But you're eventually going to win," he predicted, "if everybody sticks together." □

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Lockheed Workers Win Support Among Unionists

Chris Hoepfner is touring the United States to win support for himself and fourteen fellow workers who were fired by the Lockheed aircraft company for their political views.

All fifteen are members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Lockheed's Marietta, Georgia, plant. Fourteen of those fired are also members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Hoepfner found a particularly good response among union officials and workers at Lockheed's big Burbank, California, plant. Members of IAM District Lodge 727 at Lockheed in Burbank are all too familiar with the company's dirty tricks against the union.

In a January 23 meeting with Hoepfner, Richard Celebron, president of District Lodge 727, related how Lockheed had tried to disrupt the union during the 1977 contract negotiations.

When information about the negotiations began to leak from his office, Celebron became suspicious that his phone was bugged.

Celebron called in private investigators to check for wiretap equipment. They found a miniaturized radio transmitter in the mouthpiece of his phone.

Celebron then called in the Burbank Police Department. They promptly removed the device and pocketed it.

More than two years later, the police are still refusing to return the bug. They say they must keep it in case the person who planted it confesses. There's only one catch—the police closed the case without finding the eavesdropper.

Celebron also contacted the FBI to ask them to investigate the case. He was less than satisfied with their response.

"They said that unless I could support with documents how I was injured, they couldn't do anything. But if I could do that," he said, "I'd know who the culprit was."

It just so happens that the head of security at Lockheed-Burbank, like the security chief at the company's plant in Georgia, is an ex-FBI agent.

Supporters of the fifteen fired Georgia workers circulated a petition inside the Burbank plant during Hoepfner's visit there.

"Lockheed really stuck its neck out this time—and I hope it gets chopped off," said one shop steward.

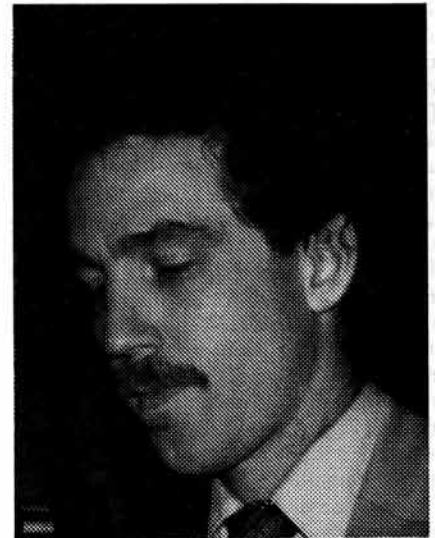
A senior shop steward offered to post the materials and the petition on the plant bulletin board. Another took the

petition and circulated it in his own department.

Hoepfner also met with the president and secretary-treasurer of United Auto Workers Local 216 in Los Angeles, and with the president of United Steelworkers Local 6700 there.

André Kahlmorgan, another one of the fired workers, is also on tour to build support for the case. Commenting on the response of trade unionists, she said:

"I attended the January 17-18 meeting in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where the United Mine Workers and the Inter-



CHRIS HOEPFNER

national Association of Machinists joined with local antinuclear activists to cosponsor a March 28 national demonstration against nuclear power.

"Members from thirty-five unions came to the meeting. When I spoke to them about what Lockheed had done they were outraged."

"Everyone had another story," Kahlmorgan continued. "For example, I talked to a guy who had a similar experience—a miners official who told me about FBI surveillance of their pickets during the last miners strike."

"As soon as I showed the literature to one UMW official, she got everyone who had attended from her local to sign our petition demanding that Lockheed give us our jobs back," Kahlmorgan said.

"Our case is the tip of the iceberg," she said, "and people saw it that way."

Reagan Welcomes South Korean Butcher

By Janice Lynn

With the eleven-day visit of South Korean military dictator Chun Doo Hwan to Washington, President Ronald Reagan set the tone for the reactionary foreign policy he hopes to carry out.

After wining and dining the hated dictator, Reagan agreed to sell Chun's regime F-16 warplanes and announced plans to provide increased credits for arms purchases.

Reagan also affirmed that the 39,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea will definitely remain there. With Chun at his side, Reagan declared February 2 that "the United States will remain a reliable Pacific partner and we shall maintain the strength of our forces in the Pacific area."

During former President Carter's 1976 election campaign, he had promised to withdraw the U.S. troops from South Korea. Only some 3,000 actually left. Then in July 1979, Carter completely shelved his withdrawal plan.

The U.S. rulers, faced with revolutionary upheavals in Central America and the Middle East, and with the advance of the revolutions in Indochina, want to be sure that imperialist domination of the rest of East Asia is not threatened. They hope that the presence of U.S. troops will help Chun's regime meet any further challenges from South Korea's workers and students.

In order to avoid the whole topic of human rights violations in South Korea, the Reagan administration urged Congress to postpone publication of an annual worldwide report on human rights violations. The report included a section critical of human rights practices in South Korea.

Acting State Department spokesperson William Dyess explained that "it simply would not be a good diplomatic practice to have such a controversial report come to light when we have a visiting dignitary in town."

Even the *New York Times*, in a February 2 editorial, felt compelled to warn Reagan against becoming too closely identified with Chun's repressive policies. "If his toasts become a shade too effusive," the *Times's* editors wrote, "his words could prove to be as haunting as Jimmy Carter's accolades to the Shah of Iran."

They were referring to Carter's New Years 1978 toast in Tehran hailing the crowned butcher's commitment to "the cause of human rights."

But ignoring such advice, Reagan went right ahead and in his toast to Chun declared, "In the short time that you've had Mr. President, you've done much to strengthen the tradition of 5,000 years' commitment to freedom."

It was Chun who was responsible for the fierce repression of workers and students in Kwangju and other cities throughout South Korea last May. Some 200,000 Kwangju residents had poured into the streets and taken over the city to make known their opposition to martial law and to the indiscriminate brutality of Chun's paratroopers. Hundreds of people were gunned down when the regime's troops moved back in. Hundreds more were arrested, brutally beaten, and sentenced to long prison terms.

At the time, the Carter administration made some timid criticisms, asking the South Korean generals to ease up and make some concessions. But that was after the U.S. commander in Seoul had released troops from the U.S.-Korean joint command for use against the citizens of Kwangju.

Chun was greeted in the United States by a spate of servile newspaper advertisements placed by Korean corporations at a cost of more than \$300,000.

Employees of Korean companies and banks told how they were "ordered" to go to the airport in New York and wave Korean flags. They said their jobs were threatened if they did not participate.

Despite ads offering free bus transportation to Washington, D.C. and free meals, only 2,200 showed up to greet Chun for his White House visit. Many of these had come out of fear. One Korean businessman said that people on the bus with him regarded Chun as a "killer." Pro-Chun demonstrators also included members of the Unification Church of reactionary cult leader Rev. Sun Myung Moon.

But demonstrators chanting "Chun Murderer" also greeted the South Korean dictator in Washington, D.C. And there were demonstrations outside the United Nations that called for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Korea and for freedom for Kim Dae Jung.

Kim, a leading South Korean oppositionist, had been sentenced to death on frame-up charges of sedition and trying to overthrow the South Korean government. Under international pressure and fearing the consequences at home if Kim was executed, Chun commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment.

In a February 2 statement, fifty-two U.S. Protestant Church leaders urged Reagan to press Chun to "restore freedom of opinion and expression" in South Korea and to free Kim and other imprisoned political figures.

At least three students who participated in the Kwangju insurrection, and who also were sentenced to death, still face possible execution. □

'Free Labor Institute'—

Up to No Good in South Korea

As South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan was sipping Cabernet Sauvignon with President Reagan, things were not so rosy at home.

Textile workers in Seoul, angry about the government's dissolution of their union, held an American hostage for several hours.

The American, George Curtin, just happened to be the director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI).

This outfit, operating under the cover of the AFL-CIO, the U.S. labor federation, is the Asian counterpart of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

Both these agencies are fronts for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The AAFLI was the outfit responsible for the pacification programs in Vietnam that resulted in the murder of more than 30,000 Vietnamese peasants.

And the AIFLD, which does its dirty work in Latin America, recently gained notoriety when two of its employees were murdered by rightists in El Salvador. The two CIA agents were carrying out a phony land reform program in El Salvador that led to fierce repression of Salvadoran peasants.

Apparently the South Korean workers had a pretty good idea of whose interests George Curtin and the AAFLI represent.

Ultrarightist to Head U.S. Human Rights Post

Ernest Lefever, who openly declares that the promotion of human rights abroad should not concern the U.S. government, was chosen by U.S. President Ronald Reagan February 5 to head the State Department's top human rights post.

Lefever, director of the ultraconservative Ethics and Public Policy Center, was a persistent opponent of the Carter administration's attempt to win support among U.S. working people for Washington's foreign policy by pretending to be concerned about human rights.

Lefever is against any such pretense. He opposes making any criticisms of such notoriously repressive governments as the racist, apartheid regime in South Africa or the military dictatorship in South Korea. And he was for supporting dictators like the shah of Iran and Somoza of Nicaragua to the bitter end.

The Reagan administration weighed the possibility of eliminating the human rights post altogether, but decided against it. After all, if Carter could toast the shah's respect for human rights, think of the possibilities for Reagan!