

Intercontinental Press

combined with **imprecOR**

Vol. 19, No. 7

March 2, 1981

USA \$1

UK 40p

Launches Offensive on El Salvador U.S. Threatens Cuba, Nicaragua



Uses Phony Figures to Claim Pentagon Is Falling Behind

**REAGAN TO U.S. WORKERS:
'GUNS, NOT BUTTER!'**

El Salvador: U.S. Threatens Cuba, Presses Allies

By Fred Murphy

"We have not yet decided on the precise steps we will take to deal with the situation," U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig told foreign diplomats in Washington February 17. "We will, however, in some way have to deal with the immediate source of the problem—and that is Cuba."

Haig's "problem" is El Salvador. After claiming for weeks that the revolutionary forces there had lost popular support and been dealt severe military blows in January's general offensive, Washington has now admitted the dire straits the military/Christian Democratic junta really faces.

The U.S. response has been to threaten Cuba, step up economic pressure on Nicaragua, and mount a propaganda offensive aimed at lining up support at home and abroad for a crusade against communism in Central America.

But the initial results have not been promising for Washington.

Pentagon Sees 'No Hope'

A Pentagon study brought to light in the February 21 *New York Times* concluded that although the Salvadoran armed forces supposedly outnumbered the guerrillas by four to one, it will be "impossible" for them to defeat the rebels.

According to the *Times*, the Pentagon study showed that government forces cannot control the rebels' arms supplies nor rout them from their strongholds in the countryside.

"The assessment thus concluded that the Salvadoran Army was 'not organized to fight a counterinsurgency' battle nor even a conventional war. It was deemed 'more like a 19th century constabulary than a 20th-century army' and was said to have 'no hope' of winning with the resources at hand."

At the same time, President Napoleón Duarte of the Salvadoran junta was bemoaning the economic disaster his regime is facing. Duarte told the *New York Times* that El Salvador needs \$300 million in loans if bankruptcy is to be averted.

If it is to rescue the junta from its desperate situation, Washington must sharply increase its military intervention in El Salvador—even beyond the millions in weapons, helicopters, and munitions already sent in recent weeks. Vast amounts of economic aid will also be required.

This is exactly what the Reagan administration wants to do, but it faces immense obstacles. Political support from the American people and from Washington's allies abroad are lacking.

In hope of overcoming some of these prob-

lems, the State Department launched a political, diplomatic, and propaganda offensive in mid-February.

Central to the campaign was a set of "secret documents" allegedly captured from the guerrilla forces in November 1980 and January 1981.

A State Department summary released to the press February 19 claimed the documents revealed "a highly disturbing pattern of parallel and coordinated action by a number of Communist and some radical countries seeking to impose a military solution in a small, third world nation."

Washington's summary was reminiscent of the State Department's infamous 1965 "White Paper" on Vietnam, which claimed that the revolution there was really the result of aggression from Hanoi.

The State Department's new opus traces an elaborate guerrilla arms network involving Hanoi and Havana, Ethiopia and Nicaragua, Iraq and the Soviet Union. "... the insurgency in El Salvador," the State Department concluded, "has been progressively transformed [into] a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist power through Cuba."

The Reagan administration's propaganda blitz quickly became a bipartisan effort. "All events seem to point towards Cuba, to be perfectly truthful," said House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, a top Democrat, after a briefing by Secretary of State Haig February 17.

"Central America is probably more vitally important to us than any other part of the world," House Democratic leader James Wright added. "Our response to what is happening there requires a bipartisan, unified approach. . . ."

The two main U.S. liberal dailies, the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, also fell into line.

"A military response is necessary in El Salvador," a *Post* editorial declared February 18, "where a Nicaraguan-, Cuban-, Soviet-supported insurgency is attempting to overthrow an army-backed center-right government with a commitment to social reform."

The *Times* chimed in the following day. By warning "the Soviet Union and Cuba . . . to stay out of a region of primary American influence," an editorial said, the Reagan administration was pursuing "a perfectly reasonable objective in today's world."

No Enthusiasm in Europe

Among the central targets of the State Department's sensational revelations were Washington's allies in Western Europe.

A top-level diplomatic delegation was dispatched to Paris, Bonn, and other European capitals during the third week of February. Carrying sixteen pounds of "evidence," the State Department's Lawrence Eagleburger set off in search of firmer European support for Reagan's hard line.

But little enthusiasm was generated. *New York Times* correspondent Richard Eder captured the mood of European governments in a February 20 dispatch from Paris:

The Dutch were silent about it. The Belgians said they were impressed. The West Germans said they could not disagree with the evidence because they had no independent evidence of their own. The British put the same point more positively. The French started off by expressing a receptive agnosticism, continued through the week with progress reports on their state of advancing belief and ended with top-level leaks about virtual conviction.

Even the conservative British weekly the *Economist* voiced skepticism at the validity of Reagan's evidence. "Captured documents are a risky basis for sound intelligence," an article in the February 21 issue correctly noted, "particularly when those who say they captured them have an interest in proving that their contents are accurate."

As of February 21 the only concrete achievement of the Eagleburger mission was a suspension of \$1.5 million worth of powdered milk and other relief aid the European Common Market Commission had planned to distribute to private charitable organizations in El Salvador. Washington objected to the aid on the grounds that some of it might have found its way to the guerrillas.

"Dried milk was probably a politically unfortunate topic for American diplomatic efforts to land on," the *New York Times's* Richard Eder noted. "The point is that there seems to be a widespread disinclination in Europe to condemn the entire cause of the Salvadoran opposition because part of it is Marxist-dominated or because it is getting Communist arms."

The response was coolest in West Germany, where 20,000 persons demonstrated on January 31 against U.S. intervention in Central America and where the ruling Social

Africa, a continent in revolt.

And *Intercontinental Press* brings it to you every week.

Intercontinental Press gives you the most important developments in the African liberation struggles. It also publishes key documents of the liberation movements and exclusive interviews with the participants.

Why not subscribe, or take out a subscription for a friend? For rates, see inside cover.

Democratic Party is on record supporting the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

While Eagleburger was in Europe, a similar mission headed by ex-CIA official Gen. Vernon Walters was conducting a tour of Latin American capitals. A key objective of Walters's trip was to press the Mexican government to back off from its strong stance against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador.

But Mexican President José López Portillo refused even to meet with Walters. Three days later López Portillo gave Washington's anti-Cuba drive a public rebuff, welcoming Havana's Minister of Economic Cooperation Héctor Rodríguez Llompart and declaring that Cuba was the Latin American country "most dear" to Mexico.

López Portillo's defiant stance is a reflection of the immense solidarity toward the Salvadoran struggle that exists among the people of Mexico and the rest of Latin America. Tens of thousands of persons marched in Mexico City January 22 to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Threats to Cuba, Nicaragua

Speaking on television February 22, Reagan aide Edwin Meese III reiterated the U.S. threats to Cuba. The Reagan administration, Meese declared, "will take the necessary steps to keep the peace any place in the world, and that includes El Salvador."

When asked if such steps could include a naval blockade of Cuba, he replied, "I don't think we would rule out anything."

"I think it's to Cuba's own self-interest to halt them right now," Meese said, referring to alleged arms shipments to the Salvadoran freedom fighters.

Such threats are being taken with total seriousness in Cuba. Tens of thousands of workers, peasants, and students are joining the new Territorial Troop Militias that have been set up, and other defense preparations are under way. Similar measures are being taken in Nicaragua.

But for all their dire warnings, the imperialists face big obstacles in carrying out their threats.

No Cover for Intervention

In his February 17 briefing for foreign diplomats, Haig complained of "the external disinformation campaign" about El Salvador. What he meant was the widespread knowledge about the true nature of the Salvadoran regime, the absence of a credible political cover for U.S. intervention, and the broad solidarity that exists for the Salvadoran struggle internationally.

Republican Senator Charles Percy, despite being an early and enthusiastic supporter of the Reagan-Haig anticommunist crusade, showed concern February 17 that the new theme was not going to be convincing to public opinion within the United States.

According to the *Washington Post*, Percy said he had told Haig to recall the lesson of

the Vietnam War—"you could not move without the support and cooperation of the American people."

The Senator was especially worried over the Salvadoran regime's cover-up in the murder of four U.S. Catholic women missionaries last December. The week Percy spoke, *Time* magazine offered evidence from the FBI itself that the Salvadoran regime has refused to investigate the role of its own police forces in the murders.

Since the missionaries were killed, there has been a big expansion of solidarity actions with El Salvador in the United States. Leading trade unionists, such as Machinists' President William Winpisinger, have called for an end to all U.S. aid to the junta. In some areas, union locals have officially joined solidarity committees. Likewise, broad sections of the Catholic church in the

United States have spoken out against intervention in El Salvador. The growing U.S. movement against military registration and the draft has decided to make El Salvador a central focus of its action campaign in the coming months (see page 167).

In Western Europe, big demonstrations have taken place in recent months against the imperialists' militarization drive—against U.S. bases and NATO in Spain, nuclear missiles in Britain, and so on. Governments there are responding to this mood when they show reluctance to enlist in Reagan's Central American crusade.

So, however much Reagan may rant against Cuba and Nicaragua, his problem is as much the workers in the United States and Western Europe as it is the revolution in Central America. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: February 23, 1981

USA	164	Reagan Tells Workers, "Guns, Not Butter" —by Will Reissner
	167	Antidraft Conference Sets Actions —by Suzanne Haig
	173	Socialist Vote in Presidential Election —by Sue Hagen
PHILIPPINES	166	Pope Condemns Injustices—by Janice Lynn
NICARAGUA	168	FSLN Replies to U.S. Blackmail —by Arnold Weissberg
	169	Rights Violation Lie Angers Workers —by Lorraine Thiebaud
POLAND	170	Students Win Demands—by Ernest Harsch
IRAN	172	Issue of Democratic Rights Comes to Fore —by Janice Lynn
CUBA	178	Campaign to Build New Militias Under Way —by Fred Murphy
JAMAICA	180	Seaga Regime—a Good Friend of Imperialism —by Ernest Harsch
GRENADA	188	Interview With Richard Jacobs
BRITAIN	192	Miners Stop Pit Closings—by David Frankel
WEST GERMANY	192	Social Democrats Divide Over Nuclear Arms and Austerity
AROUND THE WORLD	174	Basque General Strike Protests Police Murder
STOP NUCLEAR POWER!	176	The Deadly Toll at Three Mile Island
DOCUMENTS	183	Speech by Jaime Wheelock

Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594). Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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

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

Business Manager: Sandi Sherman
Copy Editor: David Martin.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned

material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

To Subscribe: For one-year subscriptions in the U.S. or Canada send \$35.00 (41.00 Canadian dollars) to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates for first class and airmail.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 3774, Auckland.

For airmail subscriptions to Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe send \$50 for one year; \$25 for six months. Write for subscription rates to all other countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

Reagan Tells U.S. Workers, 'Guns, Not Butter'

By Will Reissner

When President Ronald Reagan addressed both houses of the U.S. Congress on February 18 to lay out his economic program, his nationally televised speech called for sharp cuts in all areas of federal spending except for the military. As Reagan told the assembled members of Congress, the Department of Defense is "the only department in our entire program that will actually be increased over the present budgeted figure."

To justify his call for a sharp increase in arms spending while slashing social expenditures by \$41.4 billion, Reagan resorted to an old theme—we've got to catch up with the Russians.

According to the new president, "since 1970 the Soviet Union has invested \$300 billion more in its military forces than we have. As a result of its massive military buildup, the Soviets have made a significant numerical advantage in strategic nuclear delivery systems, tactical aircraft, submarines, artillery and anti-aircraft defense. To allow this imbalance to continue is a threat to our national security."

Old Wine in New Bottles

This propaganda campaign, which tries to portray the United States military as a pygmy about to be swamped by the Soviet juggernaut, has been echoed uncritically in the entire U.S. mass media. It is always easier to sell big arms programs and military interventions abroad if they are portrayed as defensive moves.

But the fact is that Washington has introduced every major new weapons system since the Second World War. Washington produced:

- the first atomic bomb in 1945;
- the first intercontinental bomber in 1948;
- the first hydrogen bomb in 1954;
- the first nuclear submarine in 1954;
- the first submarine-launched ballistic missile in 1960;
- the first multiple independently targeted warhead (MIRV) in 1970.

Each time a new system was introduced, it was claimed that the Pentagon was simply catching up with the Soviets.

In 1956, American working people were warned that there was a "bomber gap." In 1960, President John F. Kennedy campaigned for office on the basis of a supposed "missile gap." In 1967 the specter was raised of an "antiballistic missile gap."

But, as Michael Parenti of the Institute for Policy Studies explained in the July 1980 issue of *The Progressive* magazine,

"in each instance, it was subsequently discovered that *no such gap existed* and that U.S. capabilities were *superior* to the Soviet Union's." (Emphasis added.)

In 1975, the Department of Defense began warning of a new "gap." This time it was claiming that the U.S. was falling behind the Soviets in developing MIRVs—multiple independently targeted nuclear warheads that are mounted on a single missile. But the MIRV "gap" was simply more of the same.

Even as the Pentagon was issuing its dire warnings about the MIRVs, defense analyst James McCartney calmly noted that "the United States has had MIRVs for years. It has hundreds of them ready to use, while the Soviets are just getting them."

How much truth is there in Reagan's assertion that the Soviet Union has been outspending the U.S. on arms for a decade? None at all! According to its own figures, between 1970 and 1979, the U.S. government has spent \$1,048,700,000,000 on the military. For those who have trouble counting zeros, that comes to over *one trillion dollars*.

Is it credible that the Soviet Union, with an economy that is only two-thirds the size of the U.S. economy, not only matched

that rate, but exceeded it by \$300 billion? Just on the face of it, the Soviet Union would face a big strain simply matching U.S. spending, much less spending 29 percent more.

But there is an old maxim that anything can be proven with statistics. And the CIA's figures on Soviet military spending, which Reagan used to push his claim that the Soviets are outspending the U.S., are a case in point.

Change in CIA's Accounting Method

If the figures do not support the charge that the Soviets outspend the U.S., the best thing to do is to change the way arms spending is calculated, and that is precisely what the CIA recently did.

In the past, the CIA compared what the U.S. actually spent on arms, in dollars in the U.S., with what the Soviet Union spent, in rubles in the USSR. By that method of figuring, which is the most accurate as we shall see, the Soviet Union spends only 60 to 70 percent of what the Pentagon spends.

But since that cuts across the "catch up with the Russians" theme, the CIA *retroactively* changed the way it computes Soviet spending. The CIA went back and recomputed Soviet expenditures on a totally different basis; it compared how much the U.S. actually spends, in dollars in the United States, with what the Soviets *would* spend if they also purchased everything in dollars in the United States.

That simple change suddenly made it appear that the Soviets had been spending up to 44 percent more on arms annually than the U.S. This method, which is funda-

Labor, Blacks Blast Budget Cuts

The day after Reagan's budget speech, the executive council of the 13-million member American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) blasted Reagan's program as demanding "more sacrifice from those who have little, to give more to those who already have too much."

Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers of America, declared that "it is a soak the poor and give to the rich proposition," noting that Reagan "is simply going to reduce Government spending by passing on the reductions to the working people."

The president of the International Association of Machinists, William P. Winpisinger, charged that "Reagan has produced deep and arbitrary cuts in a lot of things that have provided the consensus by which this country has been held together, and unless Congress fine-tunes it very judiciously he has almost inexorably set in motion a

chain of events which ultimately would erupt into a war in the streets in this country."

Sam Church, head of the United Mine Workers of America, led a February 19 picket line in front of the White House to protest proposed cuts in benefits for miners suffering from Black Lung disease. Church warned that miners would call a national strike if the cuts were carried out.

Black leaders and civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) angrily condemned the cuts. Vernon Jordan of the National Urban League warned that "even modest cuts in social programs will have a devastating impact on many poor families."

A broad coalition of unions, civil rights groups, and social welfare organizations has begun planning for a response to Reagan's proposed budget.

mentally flawed, maximizes apparent Soviet spending while minimizing U.S. spending.

What's Wrong with CIA Method

Each government structures its armed forces to take maximum advantage of the strengths of its own economy and to minimize reliance on its economy's weaknesses. Each side maximizes use of resources and technology that are readily available in its own country, while minimizing the use of resources or technical methods that are in short supply or excessively expensive.

To concretely understand how the CIA's method skews the figures, let's imagine a hypothetical comparison that has nothing to do with weapons. Suppose the minister of housing of Saudi Arabia wanted to compare the cost of building a five-room house in Saudi Arabia and a five-room house in heavily wooded Siberia. In Siberia, of course, the house would be constructed of wood, the available local material.

If our Saudi Arabian housing minister computed what it would cost to build the *Siberian wood house* in the Saudi Arabian desert, the cost would appear very high because the basic construction material (wood) would have to be entirely imported.

The proper comparison, of course, would be to compare the cost of a five-room wood house in Siberia with the cost of a five-room brick or adobe house in Saudi Arabia, because each country would build its housing using materials that are locally abundant.

But the CIA uses the first method precisely because it maximizes Soviet costs while minimizing U.S. costs.

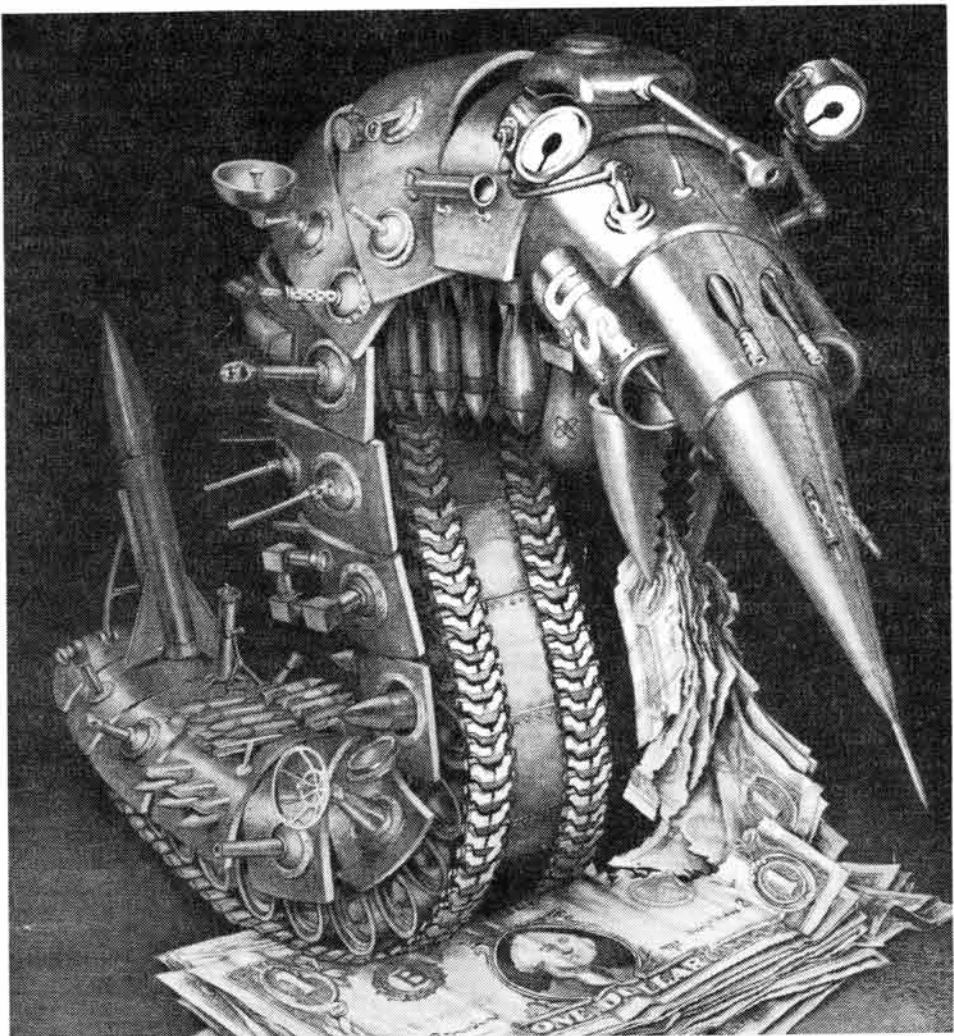
The CIA further skews the comparison by using different methods to determine the effects of U.S. and Soviet improvements in weapons.

For example, when the U.S. replaced the \$65,000 Maverick missile with the *more effective* \$25,000 Wasp missile, the CIA figured that U.S. arms spending per missile had declined by \$40,000.

But when the Soviets make the same kind of substitution, replacing missile "A" with the cheaper (but 30 percent more effective) missile "B," the CIA figures that since the new missile is 30 percent more effective, its costs will be calculated as 30 percent higher than the missile it replaced.

In other words, when, in military parlance, the U.S. gets "more bang for the buck," U.S. spending figures go down, while the same change makes Soviet spending go up.

The CIA, and Reagan, also conveniently ignore the fact that the U.S. and the Soviet Union are each members of a military pact. But in 1978, for example, the U.S. allies in NATO spent \$75 billion on defense, while the Soviet Union's allies in the Warsaw Pact spent only \$12 billion.



Shouldn't those contributions be taken into the equation?

A Selective List

After making his false claim that the Soviets outspend the Pentagon, Reagan went on to catalog a highly selective list of areas where the Soviets are "ahead" of the U.S. Let's look at some of them more closely.

According to Reagan, "the Soviets have made a significant numerical advantage in strategic nuclear delivery systems," meaning, in plain English, that the Soviets have more nuclear-armed missiles and bombers than the U.S.

This claim is a distortion for two reasons. First, it ignores the fact that Britain and France, both NATO allies of the U.S., have their *own* nuclear missiles and bombers aimed at the Soviet Union, which Reagan does not include in his total.

But more importantly, it pinpoints the *delivery system* without taking into account the *number of nuclear warheads* that can be delivered. The Soviet Union, it is true, has more nuclear-armed bombers and missiles than the U.S. (2,504 compared to 2,058). But the U.S. delivery systems are

equipped with more than 9,200 warheads, while the Soviet Union has 6,000. Again, these figures do not take into account the British and French warhead totals.

Furthermore, while no Soviet nuclear bombers can reach the U.S., the U.S. Air Force has hundreds of bombers in Western Europe that can hit the main cities of the Soviet Union.

In addition, the U.S. has already announced plans to place an additional 572 missiles in Western Europe that are capable of hitting Soviet cities.

Reagan also cynically points to the Soviet Union's more sophisticated air defense systems as proof that U.S. military spending must rise. But this is a totally spurious argument! No matter how much money the Pentagon is given, it would not spend that money on air defense systems simply because the Soviets have no planes that can reach the U.S.!

U.S. bombers can hit the Soviet Union, so the Soviets build anti-aircraft defenses. Soviet bombers cannot hit the U.S., so the U.S. does not build them. Hardly an argument for catching up with the Russians.

Reagan also charged that the Soviets are

ahead of the U.S. Navy in submarines. Again, he makes a very selective choice. Why not compare, for example, aircraft carriers? The U.S. Navy presently has 13 of those giants. The Soviet Navy has a grand total of two carriers, less than the number in either the British or French navies.

Why not compare the total naval strength of the NATO countries versus the Warsaw Pact countries? NATO has over 3,000 ships, while the Warsaw Pact has less than 1,500. But that would undercut the argument that the U.S. needs to engage in a massive shipbuilding program to "catch up" with the Soviet Navy.

This kind of sleight of hand is often seen in media coverage of arms spending. For example, the February 16, 1981 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* gravely warned that "Russia's Navy, once weak, is now mounting a formidable challenge to America's power on the high seas." The article states that "today Russia has about 800 ships, and the U.S. Navy has dwindled from a force of roughly 900 ships in the Vietnam War era to about 460 ships."

U.S. News ignores the relative size and firepower of the ships in the two navies. In this respect U.S. forces continue to have a commanding lead. *U.S. News* also skips over the fact that the Soviet Navy performs functions that are carried out in the U.S. military system by the Coast Guard.

Therefore, even discounting the size of the navies of the allies of each power, a comparison of the size of the Soviet navy and U.S. navy and Coast Guard, which has 280 ships of its own, would bring the total number of ships in both to about 800 versus 740. Hardly a yawning chasm.

Why the Arms Spending Hike?

The U.S. military does not have to "catch up" with anyone. The big increases contemplated in the Reagan arms budget are offensive in character. Two of the biggest spending programs show that to be true.

More than \$17 billion are earmarked over the next five years for the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), a military force specifically designed to intervene abroad in defense of imperialist interests.

The primary targets of the RDF are the Middle East and the Central America and Caribbean region. Already the RDF has carried out practice invasions of both areas. The RDF is aimed against revolutionary struggles that threaten the profits of U.S. corporations, not against the mythical Soviet threat.

The second huge new program is the MX missile system.

The MX missile system, which could cost as much as \$106 billion, would be made up of between 200 and 275 missiles shuttled around underground between at least 4,600 shelters covering a large portion of the states of Utah and Nevada.

The purpose of building this system,

together with the introduction of 572 new cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe (from which they could hit Soviet targets in as little as *four minutes*), is to maintain a U.S. first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union.

If the Reagan administration has its way, arms spending would soar to above \$1 trillion over the next five years while social services are slashed. War spending

would rise from 24 percent of the federal budget in 1981 to 32 percent in the 1984 budget.

When Reagan presented his budget proposals to congress, they were met by what the *New York Times* described as a "thunderous" ovation. The reaction of American working people, as the cuts begin to be felt, will not be to applaud. But it may well be thunderous. □

Under Pressure From Activists in Church

Pope Condemns Injustices in Philippines

By Janice Lynn

During his six-day visit to the Philippines, Pope John Paul II felt compelled to strongly condemn human rights violations and to assail the country's unjust distribution of wealth.

As in many countries in Latin America, priests and nuns in the Catholic church in the Philippines have been active in struggles for social justice, in many cases helping to lead actions against the dictatorial rule of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos. The pope's statements reflected the pressure from these activist church forces.

Several bishops in the Philippines had written to the pope, urging him not to come. "The Marcoses want to use the Pope's presence to sanctify their rule," Bishop Julio Xavier Labayan stated.

Although the pope ignored the request not to come, he took his distance from the Marcos regime.

On February 17, the first day of his visit, the pope declared, with Marcos at his side, "One can never justify any violation of the fundamental dignity of the human person or of the basic rights that safeguard this dignity."

Three days later, in the city of Bacolod on Negros Island, the pope came out for the right of sugar workers to organize. "Free associations of workers that base their actions on the peerless dignity of man will inspire confidence as partners in the search for just solutions," the pope declared.

Some 500,000 sugar workers in this region work for a small handful of plantation owners. During harvest time they earn less than US\$1 a day.

The pope told the sugar workers, "Injustice reigns when within the same society some groups hold most of the wealth and powers while large strata of the population cannot decently provide for the livelihood of their families even though they spend long hours of backbreaking labor in factories or in the fields."

Turning to the large landowners, the pope declared, "Land is a gift of God to all humanity." It is inadmissible, he said, that this gift be used "in such a manner that the benefits

it produces serve only a limited number of people. . . ."

Just four days before the pope's visit, priests, nuns, and seminarians demonstrated with workers and students in Manila. The more than 1,000 demonstrators demanded the freeing of all political prisoners, the lifting of all repressive laws, and an end to U.S. imperialist domination and to the exploitation of labor. They also denounced the oppression of national minorities.

Some fifty nuns in habits formed a circle around the demonstrators as a shield against Marcos's riot police.

The activist priests and nuns reject the official church policy of "critical collaboration" with the Marcos dictatorship. They point to the corruption and the continuing detention of political prisoners and the fact that thousands of Filipinos are starving to death. According to the government's own records 40 percent of all deaths and more than 50 percent of children's deaths are caused by malnutrition.

At the same time that the pope assailed economic and social injustice, he warned the militant priests and nuns about becoming too involved in "temporal problems." He told the Philippine workers and peasants, "The road towards your total liberation is not the way of violence, class struggle or hate."

But wherever the pope went, the class struggle intervened. Some 3,000 students, priests, and nuns held an antigovernment demonstration prior to his stop in Davao City, Mindanao.

A group of student detainees in Cebu began a hunger strike and banged on the bars of their cells near where the pope was saying mass. And during his speech at the University of Santo Thomas in Manila, banners reading "Free the country from U.S. imperialism" and "Stop military atrocities" were unfurled.

Regardless of his intentions, the pope's indictment of the social injustices in the Philippines will give impetus to the struggles of the Filipino workers, students, and peasants against the Marcos dictatorship. □

U.S. Antidraft Conference Sets Actions

By Suzanne Haig

[The following article appeared in the February 27 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

DETROIT—Some 1,200 high school and college students, Blacks and Latinos, trade unionists, and other antidraft activists gathered here February 13-15 for the first National Antidraft Conference. Sponsored by the National Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), the conference was held at Wayne State University.

A proposal for action, jointly submitted by Detroit CARD, national SANE, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Young Workers Liberation League, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, was overwhelmingly approved.*

The proposal called for CARD to support and actively build the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. This will be a march against nuclear power, for jobs, and for support to the United Mine Workers in their fight for a decent contract.

Conference participants voted to make this action the next major focus for CARD. Not only was there strong opposition to nuclear power, but participants recognized that March 28 was the best way to expand union support for the antidraft movement.

Initial sponsors of the March 28 action include the United Mine Workers, United Auto Workers, International Association of Machinists, United Food and Commercial Workers, International Chemical Workers, and the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

As the action proposal stated, March 28 "presents us with the opportunity to reach out to potential allies of the antidraft movement and to link the questions of nuclear power and nuclear weapons with the government's militaristic war drive."

In addition, the conference called for national demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco May 9. "No registration! No draft!" "Stop the U.S. war buildup!" "Fund human needs not war!" and "U.S. out of El Salvador!" were cited as demands for

the action in the joint proposal.

The conference also voted to build local antidraft actions April 4-11 and to participate in the national days of protest against U.S. military involvement in El Salvador, March 24 and April 18, called by the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Opposition to U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and solidarity with the workers and farmers in their struggle against the murderous junta was a galvanizing force at the conference.

When Arnaldo Ramos of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador was introduced at the conference rally Friday night, the audience exploded in applause, jumped to their feet and chanted, "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador!" in an electrifying standing ovation that was repeated when he finished speaking.

"This," Ramos said, "is the most moving salute the people of El Salvador have received from an American audience.

"We are here because your society and our society are locked in a deadly embrace, which, if not stopped immediately, will turn the Caribbean into a senseless conflagration parallel to and perhaps worse than the tragedy in Vietnam. . . .

"We need the active solidarity of the American people in this very difficult moment in our history."

Jerry Gordon, coordinator of the National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, was also enthusiastically received.

"I want to tell you tonight," he said, "that we need your support. We need you to mobil-

ize. We need a big presence of the antidraft, antiwar movement together with us, marching with workers and environmentalists, in Harrisburg March 28.

"No ally is more important than the labor movement, which must be won to the side of the antidraft movement."

Pointing to one of the demands of March 28, "Jobs for all: a shorter workweek and massive public works programs," Gordon said, "No social movement that addresses itself to any question on the political horizon can be the ostrich and ignore the jobs fight of millions of Americans.

"We have to tie together jobs with antidraft, with nuclear power, and all the other issues," he said to loud, sustained applause.

Bokeba Enjuenti, Detroit co-coordinator of the National Black Independent Political Party, was continually interrupted by cheers and applause.

Addressing the struggle against the draft and for jobs in the Black community, he said, "We feel there is a direct relationship between economic recession, high unemployment, and the military industrial war machine in this country."

Dick Greenwood, international representative and special assistant to the president of the International Association of Machinists, also spoke about jobs at the rally.

"There are 10 million idle minds marking time in the army of the unemployed, pressed into the service of the nation in a holy war against inflation," Greenwood said. Instead of unemployment, "let's crack down on the oil companies, which want us to go to war to save their interests." □



Agnes Chapa/Militant

Antidraft conference voted for actions in March, April, and May.

*The sponsorship of the action proposal reflected the breadth of political views represented at the conference. SANE is a large liberal peace organization. The Young Socialist Alliance is a Trotskyist youth organization that is in political solidarity with the Fourth International. The Young Workers Liberation League is the youth group of the pro-Moscow Communist Party. And the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee is the main Social Democratic formation in the United States. —JP

Nicaragua Replies to U.S. Blackmail

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—If U.S. policymakers believed that they could bludgeon the Nicaraguan people into ending their political support to the struggle against the Salvadoran dictatorship, the last few days here should give them some second thoughts.

On February 10 the State Department announced that the Reagan administration was holding up \$9.6 million in credits for the purchase of U.S. wheat by the Sandinista government.

Despite the fact that virtually all Nicaragua's wheat comes from the United States, reaction here has been outrage, not fear.

Speaking at a televised public gathering February 13, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega called the cutoff a violation of the human rights of the entire population of Nicaragua, especially the poorest sector.

'Let's see if the people who are so concerned about the human rights of the ex-National Guard have anything to say about this act which violates the human rights of all Nicaraguans,' Ortega challenged.

Ortega continued, "We are not going to sell ourselves for bread or for \$15 million or for \$1,000 million." The crowd cheered.

'We Are a Proud People'

Following this enthusiastic outburst, a compañero took the floor and declared, "We are a proud people. Who needs their bread anyway? We have three different kinds of bananas. We can eat bananas instead of bread." He was also cheered.

The FSLN's view of the wheat cutoff was expressed in a February 16 *Barricada* editorial entitled "Food Weapon Against Nicaragua." *Barricada* noted that the wheat cutoff was "a criminal aggression" aimed at "bringing us to our knees." And, the editorial said, "We know it is only a step from economic war to military aggression."

Barricada went on to outline the responses of the Nicaraguan people: work towards economic independence, strengthen national unity, and maximize participation in the popular militias to "maintain a state of readiness that will guarantee defense of our independence."

"Our people will not be left without bread," the editorial said, explaining that the "powerful international solidarity movement and excellent relations with democratic governments" would provide wheat.

Recalling a Sandinista slogan, the editorial concluded, "Better death than the life of a slave."

Meanwhile, Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock announced the start of an international "Bread for Nicaragua" campaign.

International Response

The Reagan administration's efforts to bring Nicaragua to its knees have not been well received internationally.

On February 15, the sub-director of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, Philippe Yriart, lashed out at the use of food as a political weapon. Although not mentioning Washington by name, Yriart said that international aid "must not be used to interfere in any way with the decisions of any country."

Raúl Tanco, president of the World Food Council, energetically condemned the action of the Reagan administration in cutting off wheat credits, declaring such action "very dangerous to world peace."

On February 16, the Canadian government announced it was granting a Canadian \$4 million credit to Nicaragua for the purchase of Canadian food. The Canadians also offered to undertake a \$500,000 study of food development for Nicaragua.

Mexico's Secretary of Agrarian Reform, Javier García Paniagua, declared February 16 that his country would continue to



Lynn Silver/IP

TOMAS BORGE

support Nicaragua. The Mexican Democratic Party and People's Socialist Party also condemned the wheat cutoff.

The Mexico City dailies *Excelsior* and *Uno más Uno* likewise condemned the aggression.

The social-democratic Socialist International (SI) has reiterated its support for Nicaragua and the revolution in El Salvador. Pierre Schory, a leader of the SI visiting Nicaragua, called the wheat cutoff "indecent."

Disinformation Campaign

Despite the clearcut rejection by the Nicaraguans of Washington's blackmail, recent articles in the U.S. press have suggested that the Sandinistas are in fact bending to the imperialist pressure and backing away from political support to the Salvadoran revolution.

In a dispatch from here published February 16, the *New York Times* quoted Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge as calling for a "political solution" to the conflict in El Salvador because neither side could win a military victory.

However, the same day, a representative of Borge's office at the Ministry of the Interior denied that Borge had made any judgement at all on the military situation in El Salvador.

Contrary to what the *New York Times* article suggests, calling for a "political solution" in El Salvador does not imply a retreat from support to the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). In fact, the FMLN and the FDR have repeatedly said they are open to a political solution based on the principle of nonintervention.

On February 16, a member of the

'We Sandinistas Will Never Swallow Our Pride'

On February 18, thousands of Managua residents gathered after work to commemorate the death of Sandino and to hear Comandante Tomás Borge speak on the true nature of Sandinism.

"If the imperialists take away our wheat, what will we eat?" Borge asked the crowd. "Bananas," they shouted. "Tortillas." "Tamales." "Yuca."

"Yes," said Borge, "but we will never swallow our pride. We Sandinistas will never have callouses on our knees."

Borge emphasized that internationalism was inseparable from Sandinism. "Because the workers and peasants all over Latin America and in our sister country of El Salvador face a common enemy."

The crowd rose cheering when Borge said that "whenever anyone is struggling for their liberation, Sandino is there."

FMLN's Unified Revolutionary Directorate said in Mexico City, "If there is a viable political solution, we are open to it. Now more than ever, before the destruction of the country and the huge loss of lives, we are for a political solution, to avoid spilling more blood and to avoid leaving the country in destruction and misery."

Neither the Nicaraguan masses nor the FSLN have altered their support to El Salvador. In a typical solidarity action, reported in the February 17 *Barricada*, a Managua *barrio* (neighborhood) donated a crate of medicine for the Salvadoran people. *Barricada* commented that the medicines "could be used by the Salvadoran refugees in our country or when the Salvadoran revolution triumphs."

Workers volunteering for the cotton harvest have agreed to donate their pay to a fund for El Salvador. A group of 1,120 workers went off to the harvest the week of February 15 chanting slogans of solidarity with El Salvador.

Responding to the February 16 *New York Times* article, Irving Dávila of the FSLN's Department of International Relations told *Intercontinental Press*: "Imperialism is undertaking a political, diplomatic, economic, and military campaign in

Central America aimed at destabilizing our revolution and crushing the popular forces in El Salvador. At the propaganda level they are suggesting that we, the revolutionaries, are the ones causing the problems, when it is exactly the opposite. They are the ones intervening in El Salvador.

"The position of our government toward El Salvador is solidarity, political and moral. This solidarity did not begin with the triumph of our revolution, but long before. The solidarity has been increasing as our people have learned more about imperialism."

Referring to Nicaragua's alleged support of a negotiated settlement in El Salvador, Dávila said "Our leaders have no reason to tell the Salvadorans how to do things, if they should or should not negotiate. We have never suggested any kind of solution.

"This is a campaign to undermine confidence or to split the solidarity groups."

He concluded: "The solidarity of our people, our government, and the FSLN, is a solidarity that maintains itself in spite of all the pressures of North American imperialism. Yesterday, today, and always we maintain our solidarity with the Salvadoran people." □

crowd into the airport lobby, angry words were exchanged between the two very different reception committees. González's supporters began referring to the crowd as *chuzma*, or rabble. Small fights broke out. Fabio Gadea, a radio station owner and MDN leader, was struck with several eggs, and CTN president Carlos Huembes received a bloody nose.

For a moment the police were unable to control the popular anger and indignation. Commander Marcos Somarriba of the Interior Ministry took a megaphone and climbed onto a chair. He called for prudence and soon calmed the demonstrators.

Somarriba explained that brawling was not the correct way to express the bravery of the Nicaraguan people, and that the airport was not an appropriate battleground.

"Certainly this character and his actions merit repudiation," Somarriba said, referring to González and his slanders. "They are counterrevolutionary and antipatriotic. But let's keep things on the political level."

The crowd applauded and formed a human cordon to escort members of González's group out of the airport. Meanwhile, people continued to shout, "Traitors get out!"

Outside on the runway a similar scene took place, as members of the police called on the crowd to organize themselves into a circle. Militia members from various factories aided the police in maintaining order.

When González's plane landed, Justice Minister Ernesto Castillo greeted him with the news that he was under investigation for "certain aspects of his trip."

The police led González out a side entrance of the airport in order to avoid incidents. But not before the self-styled defender of "human rights" had gotten the message that he could not slander the Nicaraguan revolution with impunity. □

Slanderer González Gets Hot Reception at Airport

Rights Violation Lie Angers Nicaraguan Workers

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—José Esteban González did not get the reception he was expecting when he arrived here on February 13.

González, head of the so-called Permanent Commission on Human Rights in Nicaragua, was returning from a trip to Europe during which he had accused the Nicaraguan government of using "methods of torture and repression very similar to those used in the past by the Somoza dictatorship. . . ." (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 23, p. 144.)

When González descended from his plane at the Augusto César Sandino airport, he found himself confronting more than 1,000 angry workers singing the hymn of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The welcome banner prepared by a small delegation of González's bourgeois supporters was nowhere to be seen. It had been replaced by a huge red-and-black FSLN flag.

González's arrival time had been announced that morning in a small box on the front page of the reactionary daily *La Prensa*.

When we arrived at the airport at 10:30 a.m., representatives of the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), the Social Christian Party (PSC), and the Confedera-

tion of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN) were being interviewed by *La Prensa* reporters. (The MDN and PSC are bourgeois parties; they have close ties to the right-wing union bureaucrats who head the CTN.)

Soon, however, the parking lot began to fill with cars, buses, trucks, and bicycles. Men and women jumped out of the vehicles, still dressed in their work clothes, greeting each other and talking. Hundreds of construction workers in multicolored hardhats turned out. The atmosphere was almost festive.

But people were upset and angry. They carried hastily made signs and banners saying "fuera los chanchos" (Out with the pigs) and "For the enemies of the people—Sandinista repudiation!"

A large caricature of González showed him receiving "first prize for tall stories," while another portrayed him as a mechanical doll being wound up by Uncle Sam.

Members of the police and armed forces could be seen among the crowd. But they were not lined up in front of the workers carrying billy clubs or teargas. They were young and unarmed and mingled freely among the people. Many were women.

As more and more protesters began to

Fight for Abortion Rights in Spain

Four hundred and thirty-two women who visited a family planning clinic in Seville, Spain have been summoned to appear in court. The clinic, accused of performing abortions, was raided last October. All files and equipment were confiscated. The staff and women waiting for consultations were arrested.

Following the arrests, meetings and protests took place throughout the province. Feminist organizations, political parties, and trade unions supported a petition calling for the release of all those detained and for the legalization of abortion.

Those facing charges have appealed for protests against any legal action being taken against the staff of the clinic or its patients, and demanding the legalization of abortion. Messages should be sent to: Juzgada de instrucción No. 6, Caso 3640/80, Prado de San Sebastian, Seville, Spain.

Students in Poland Win Demands

By Ernest Harsch

In yet another concession to popular demands, the Polish government reached an agreement with striking students on February 18, bringing to an end a series of student protests that had swept the country from one end to the other.

The student strikes began on January 23 in Lodz, a textile manufacturing city in central Poland. Thousands of students occupied university buildings to press their demands for greater university autonomy and official recognition of the newly formed Independent Student Union (NZS).

The strikers in Lodz soon won support from students around the country. Delegations from colleges and universities in other cities traveled to Lodz for discussions and to express their solidarity. As they returned to their own campuses, the strikes quickly spread.

By mid-February, students had occupied dozens of campuses in Warsaw, Poznan, Wroclaw, Czestochowa, Katowice, Krakow, and other cities in sympathy with the demands of the students in Lodz.

The resurgence of the Polish student movement, which has been relatively quiescent since the late 1960s, has been directly inspired by the example of the Polish workers. The formation of the NZS was modeled on Solidarity, the ten-million-member independent trade union federation. Leaders of the Lodz students' strike traveled to Warsaw for discussions with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

Although the immediate demands of the students dealt mainly with campus issues, they also raised broader political questions, such as the need for greater democracy throughout Poland.

One of the slogans pasted on the walls at the University of Lodz declared, "We want the government to be totally under control of public opinion." The quotation was attributed to Lenin.

In face of the mounting student unrest, Higher Education Minister Janusz Gorski signed an agreement with the Lodz students on February 18. According to Polish

television, the agreement will apply to all of Poland's nearly 100 colleges and universities.

The key plank of the agreement was official recognition of the NZS as an independent student association not under the control of the Communist Party hierarchy.

The agreement also allows decisions on curriculum to be made by individual educational institutions or by university senates. The latter are to be newly constituted, with student representatives accounting for 30 percent of the members.

Compulsory manual labor for students is to be abolished. New history books will include topics that were previously censored. University appointments are to be

made exclusively on the basis of merit, not party membership. Students are to be free to commemorate any historical anniversary, and the campuses are to be off limits to the police.

The students' chief negotiator, Marek Perlinski, stated just before the accord was signed, "We haven't got all we wanted by any means, particularly on our political demands. But we have achieved practically all that was humanly possible in the academic field."

With the establishment of the independent NZS, the students will be in a much stronger position than before to fight for their interests.

The sit-ins, moreover, have raised the political consciousness of many students and drawn them into the mainstream of the struggle for workers democracy in Poland.

As one student commented, "This has been a cathartic experience for us. It's exhausting, but it's also exhilarating. For the first time we have the feeling of being involved in the community, of participating in something important." □

Interview With Krakow Student Activists

'Polish Student Unions Must Be Independent'

[The following interview with Malgorzata Bator and Marek Ciesielczyk, two leaders of the Independent Student Union (NZS) in Krakow, Poland, was obtained by *Combate*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) of Spain. The translation, from the January 23, 1981 issue of *Combate* is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. When, and on what basis, was your union established?

Answer. The NZS was set up in Krakow on September 22, 1980. That was relatively late in comparison with the establishment of other independent unions. We should keep in mind that the strike movement among workers began during the university vacations.

When the school year began we set up a liaison committee with the MKZ (interfactory committee) of Solidarity. The desire to organize ourselves in an independent way could already be seen in December 1979 with the creation of the Academic Renewal Movement. It was the first time since the Second World War that a group of this type demanded legal recognition—as the independent unions are doing today.

The main demands raised by the Academic Movement have been taken up in the present program of the NZS.

Q. What are those demands?

A. First of all, we demand university autonomy and the right of the students to express themselves regarding the courses, as well as regarding everything that affects the organization of the university.

Concretely, we want the students to have one-third of the representatives in the university senate, and to have the right to oversee all the questions that concern them.

At present we have one-third representation in those bodies in form. But those who "represent" us are members of the apparatus of the [Communist] party like Janda, who is a "student delegate" although he occupies posts as a police official and is a member of the party leadership.

In addition, we want to end the present situation, where all the courses are decided from above, without our having any say in the subject matter and content of the courses. We have many "indoctrination" classes in which they tell us any old thing in the courses on political economy, Marxist philosophy, or political science.

We are not in any way opposed to studying these questions. But we want serious courses, given by people who know about the subjects and who explain the various schools of thought on the material, and not "orthodox" expositions in which

European Subscribers

Subscriptions to Europe are now being processed through New York. Please address all correspondence to:

Intercontinental Press
410 West Street
New York, New York 10014

silence and lies end up prevailing over the truth.

Moreover, while it is obvious that there have to be a certain number of mandatory subjects, we want a portion of the courses to be electives. We don't see why every student has to take four hours of political economy in the first year, two courses in so-called Marxist philosophy in the second year, or the so-called political sciences in the third.

Q. Are you also raising demands that deal with material questions?

A. Yes, mainly on the question of housing, which is the most pressing problem in Krakow. Out of the 6,000 university students, almost half do not have a room in the student dormitories and do not have families that live in Krakow. In addition, although the dormitory rooms are cheap (around 120 zlotys per month), it takes 2,000 to 3,000 zlotys to rent a private room, while the scholarships are only 1,800 zlotys.

This lack of housing therefore means that many students have to give up their studies. This is outrageous, and all the more so since they just finished spending twenty million zlotys to renovate one of the student dormitories, and it remains empty.

The authorities used the reconstruction work as a pretext to evict everyone who lived in it because they knew that that dorm was a center of the movement questioning official policies that had begun being organized in the university at the beginning of the year. Twenty million was totally wasted because they have decided not to reopen it.

In addition, we have other demands that might seem strange to you: we are calling for free access to all the books in the library and the archives. Up to now some books have been inaccessible, even to the professors, unless they were well placed enough to be able to get the necessary authorization.

Q. In your program you state that you are "an independent student organization that is apolitical," while saying at the same time that "the voice of the students should be able to make itself heard, without any censorship, concerning the country's political and social questions." Why do you call your movement apolitical?

A. Because we do not want to be linked to any political organization, in contrast to the SZSP (Socialist Union of Polish Students), which is completely dominated by the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP, the official name of the Communist Party] and which cannot claim to represent the students, as we show in our program. Up to now, this organization officially represented 60 percent of the students.

While it is true that its membership was relatively large, that is because it was the



Meeting of 'Solidarity.' Struggle of Polish workers has inspired other layers of society, including students.

only organization that had resources to provide material aid to the students (regarding housing for example) and not because all those who were members accepted its political positions. We felt that it was crucial to create a union that was truly open to all.

Q. What are your relations with the authorities?

A. We have been able to get an official office, which reflects a certain relationship of forces, and an increase in scholarships. However, we continue to run up against resistance from the authorities regarding the resources we need to print our materials.

One of our main problems is that due to legal reasons we cannot be part of Solidarity because we are not paid. One of the proposals they have made to us has been that we should link ourselves to the Ministry of Science and Culture.

But that would give the rector the right to interfere in the affairs of the union, even to dissolve it. And we want to be absolutely independent from a legal standpoint, since it is obvious that the authorities would use the first ebb in the mobilization to try to prohibit us.

In addition, they try to use every maneuver possible. We organized a meeting with the minister of the university, Janusz Gorski, to present our platform of demands to him. All that happened was that he tried to convince us that the NZS should fuse with the SZSP on a basis that would have completely tied our hands. We rejected that.

Meanwhile, the SZSP is trying to win back leadership of the mobilization. They have taken up the demands that have been raised for some months regarding university autonomy and democracy in general, although last spring they violently denounced the Academic Movement as being "antisocialist."

They've even gone so far as to call for a strike at the university (some of the leaders said the SZSP would disappear if it did not ride the coattails of the movement).

But the fact that we have now created a federation of independent student unions linked to Solidarity, with practically identical by-laws, will help us to resist those attempts to take us over.

Q. What are your ties with Solidarity?

A. We collaborate closely. When there are assemblies, for example, we take part in the marshalling. We have ongoing relations with them to discuss everything concerning the building of independent unionism. We have designated comrades to keep in daily contact with the Krakow MKZ.

Q. Do many women comrades participate in the activities of the union?

A. No, the girls do not participate much in the movement. I have participated in the mobilization since the beginning of last January. But the pressures are very strong on the majority of the girls. You already know the ideas about the role of women in this country. There is not yet a feminist movement in Poland like the one that exists in the West. □

Issue of Democratic Rights Comes to the Fore in Iran

By Janice Lynn

The question of democratic rights is coming more and more to the fore in Iran. Increasing dissatisfaction is being expressed at government attempts to restrict these rights as well as at the government's refusal to put an end to the recurring attacks by ultrarightist gangs.

On February 17, Sayed Ahmad Khomeini, the son of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, issued an open letter calling for an immediate end to political violence. He denounced the actions of the rightist hooligans, commonly referred to in Iran as "club-wielders." The letter was printed in every major Tehran daily.

Khomeini's letter was prompted by an incident that had occurred three days earlier. Hojatolislam Hassan Lahuti, a member of Iran's parliament, was addressing a rally of several thousand people held in a mosque near the city of Rasht. The rally was broken up by rightist thugs who were armed with knives, sticks, pistols, and rifles. They shot at Lahuti's car and held him prisoner for two hours.

A similar incident had occurred February 6 in Tehran when a demonstration organized by two leftist groups was also broken up.

In his open letter, Ahmad Khomeini pointed out that his father had stated many times that "the expression of views is free." The letter asked, "Why should one not respect the views of others?"

The letter also stated, "I wonder why the authorities do not say anything about it. Why do they not arrest the club-wielders? Why do they not try them before our oppressed people who have just been saved from the yoke of the Pahlavi regime's thugs?"

Khomeini's decision to speak out reflects the fact that the Iranian people have become increasingly angry as they have seen revolutionaries who fought against the shah's tyranny jailed, demonstrations and rallies broken up, and even members of the Islamic Revolutionary Party (IRP) victimized.

Atmosphere for Political Activity Improves

Not only has there been widespread criticism of the attacks by these right-wing hooligans, but in recent weeks—as a result of the developing pressures for democratic rights—there has been a general opening up of the political atmosphere in Iran.

Socialists in Iran report that some of the leftist organizations which had previously gone underground in response to repeated attacks on their members and bookstores, are now functioning more openly and have

begun selling their newspapers on the streets once again. Newspapers are able to circulate as long as they do not call for reversing the revolution.

Workers *shoras* (committees) in the factories continue to function and to publish their own newspapers. The shoras have taken initiatives in mobilizing and organizing workers to participate in their own units to fight at the front against the Iraqi invasion.

The shoras have taken an important part in organizing arms training for the workers. At the Arj refrigerator assembly factory in Tehran, for example, the shora has recently initiated a new program that now includes heavy artillery training.

Victories on Economic Issues

On economic issues, the shoras continue to press their demands as well. In some places they are winning significant victories.

Recently the government tried to renege on paying the workers special bonuses that had been promised them. Although the workers generally have been willing to make sacrifices for the war effort, this was going too far.

Workers in Tehran circulated big petitions, which they posted in factories calling on the shoras to obtain the bonus for them. Representatives of about seventy-five shoras in Tehran went to the Ministry of Labor to urge that the bonuses be paid. They also proposed that the Ministry of Labor be abolished and that the shoras be the ones to elect the ministers.

Under this pressure, managers in several factories were forced to pay the bonuses. Building on these initial victories, workers elsewhere are carrying on similar struggles.

Among the peasants, struggles have been taking place demanding that the government implement Point No. 3 in its land reform program that calls for distribution of big estates. The peasants have come into conflict with the big landowners who oppose this measure. In one province, 25,000 peasants signed petitions calling for land to be distributed.

Bani-Sadr's Role

The ups and downs in the class struggle play an important role in determining how far the government can go in attempting to suppress opposition.

Iranian President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr has presented himself as the champion of democratic rights—devoting large sections of his speeches to this issue. Some

forty of his supporters in parliament issued a letter February 18 calling for an investigation of political violence. Among the signers were former Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan and other members of his government who were forced to resign in November 1979 because they were viewed by the masses as too willing to compromise with imperialism.

If the violent attacks against political groups and rallies are not halted, the letter said, that would indicate that the IRP has a hand in such incidents.

The popular response to Bani-Sadr's defense of democratic rights has prompted sectors of the Islamic clergy to respond to this issue as well.

Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of Iran's parliament, and Ayatollah Ardabili, head of Iran's judiciary, noted at a February 12 commemoration for martyrs of the revolution that the lawlessness of the rightist bands could not continue.

Rafsanjani also stressed the importance of the gains of the Iranian revolution, especially noting the victory won against U.S. imperialist domination of Iran.

Also addressing the issue of democratic rights, a group of thirty-eight intellectu-

To find out what's really happening in Iran . . .

You have to read
Intercontinental Press!

Intercontinental Press tells the truth about developments in the Iranian revolution. It counters the lies and distortions in the world capitalist press.

IP correspondents were on the scene during the insurrection that toppled the shah. Readers got first hand reports of the U.S. embassy occupation. Much of the information in *IP* is simply not available in English anywhere else.

You should be getting *IP* every week. Why not subscribe, or take out a subscription for a friend? See inside cover for rates.

als—writers, academics, lawyers, and journalists—circulated a twenty-one point letter February 16.

Citing "major acts of tyranny," they accused the IRP of monopolizing power; blamed authorities for suppressing individual and social freedoms; opposed the suppression of opposition political parties; condemned the purging of academics, teachers, and white-and blue-collar workers on ideological grounds; opposed the

imprisonment of "militants and libertarians," and criticized the closing of the universities.

Neither of the two procapitalist factions in the government offer any solutions to the economic and social problems faced by Iran's workers and peasants.

As the issue of democratic rights comes to the fore, the Iranian masses will continue to press the government to meet their economic and social needs. Removing all

restrictions on democratic rights will enable the workers and peasants to better carry out their struggles against procapitalists and landlord forces.

And it will allow the developing workers movement to better organize independent, mass organizations of their own which can form the basis for a political alternative to the present capitalist government and move towards a workers and farmers government. □

SWP Kept Off Ballot in California, Texas, Michigan

Socialist Vote in U.S. Presidential Election

By Sue Hagen

[The following article appeared in the February 20 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

According to official returns, more than 50,000 people voted for Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidates for president and vice-president in the 1980 elections. Tens of thousands more voted SWP in areas where socialist candidates ran state and local campaigns.

The vote totals by themselves don't tell us much. Because of the capitalist two-party monopoly on the ballot and the media, elections are not a very good gauge of what working people are thinking. The high percentage of workers, especially youth, who don't vote just underscores the point.

Far more revealing than the November election results are developments like the growth of labor opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador; the union-sponsored rally against nuclear power to be held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on March 28; the founding of the National Black Independent Political Party; and the growing discussion of a labor party based on the unions.

Even so, there are statistics about the elections worth noting. The SWP was on the ballot in twenty-eight states, the Communist Party (CP) in twenty-four, Workers World Party (WWP) in eleven, and the Socialist Party (SP) in ten.

The Citizens Party, with Barry Commoner as its standard-bearer, ran on a liberal capitalist program. Identified with opposition to nuclear power, Commoner received nearly a quarter million votes.

The right-wing Libertarian Party was on the ballot in every state. Opposed to unions and civil rights, the party is an enemy of working people. Its antidraft stance no doubt fooled many and accounted for a share of its 920,000 votes.

There was a systematic attempt to exclude socialist candidates from the ballot in several states. In Michigan, for example, a discriminatory law requires third parties to run in a separate qualifying primary.

In California, the SWP submitted nominating petitions far in excess of the required number, only to be ruled ineligible. The SWP filed suit and won wide support, but Governor Jerry Brown's administration refused to yield and the California courts backed him up.

SWP candidates were also ruled off the ballot in Texas.

In Missouri, however, the SWP won a big victory. Socialists waged a well-publicized fight for ballot rights, and forced the state to reverse an earlier decision excluding them.

In the Tidewater area of Virginia, SWP congressional candidate Sharon Grant, running against one opponent, polled more than 13,000 votes, and Black precincts in Newport News and Hampton gave her over forty percent.

The vote totals printed in the charts here were compiled by the *Militant* based on reports from state election boards. The results are incomplete, since there are long delays in reporting votes for socialist candidates.

In January the Federal Election Commission announced the following national vote totals for presidential tickets: SWP, 50,166; CP, 43,871; Socialist Party, 6,720; Workers World, 13,211; Citizens, 230,377.

The totals reported to the *Militant* by state election boards show a national vote for the SWP presidential ticket of 53,470. □

	SWP	CP	SP	WWP	Cit.
Alabama	1,303	1,629	1,006	—	517
Arizona	1,100	25*	—	2*	551*
Florida	41*	123*	113*	8*	—
Georgia	9*	—	—	—	—
Illinois	1,302	9,711	—	2,257	10,692
Indiana	610	702	—	—	4,852
Iowa	244	298	534	—	2,273
Kentucky	393	348	—	—	1,304
Louisiana	783	—	—	—	1,584
Massachusetts	3,735	—	62*	19*	2,056*
Michigan	—	3,262	—	30*	11,903
Minnesota	711	1,117	536	698	8,406
Mississippi	2,347	—	—	—	—
Missouri	6,515	26*	—	—	573*
New Hampshire	71	129	—	76	1,320
New Jersey	2,198	2,555	1,973	1,288	8,203
New Mexico	325	—	—	—	2,202
New York	2,068	7,414	—	1,416	23,186
North Carolina	416	—	—	—	2,287
North Dakota	89	93	82	—	—
Ohio	4,191	5,016	—	4,094	8,883
Pennsylvania	20,291	5,184	—	—	—
Rhode Island	86	178	122	80	—
South Dakota	229	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	490	503	519	400	1,112
Utah	124	139	—	—	1,009
Vermont	81	121	134	—	2,390
Virginia	1,986	—	—	—	14,024
Washington	1,137	834	956	341	9,403
Washington, D.C.	157	354	—	51	1,826
West Virginia	4*	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	383	772	808	414	7,767

*Write-in votes

AROUND THE WORLD



Basque General Strike Protests Police Murder

A general strike paralyzed industry and commerce in the Basque region of northern Spain on February 16 in protest against the murder of a 30-year old Basque activist in police custody on February 13.

The strike was called by the main political parties and trade unions in the region. It reflected the widespread anger at the death of José Ignacio Arregui, who had been taken into police custody on February 4 and held incommunicado until his death in a Madrid prison hospital.

Official reports of his death acknowledged that Arregui's eyes and body were badly bruised and the soles of his feet had been severely burned.

The reports of Arregui's condition at death provided new evidence that the Spanish police still practice torture against prisoners, despite prohibitions against its use in the country's constitution.

The death has focused attention on the Law of the Suspension of Fundamental Rights, which was adopted in December to aid police in fighting Basque separatists. Under its provisions, a suspect can be held for ten days before having the right to see a lawyer.

Protests of the death of Arregui united broad sectors of the Basque population, which has been divided recently over tactics in the struggle for Basque independence. On February 6, members of one faction of the independence movement killed a nuclear engineer working on the construction of a nuclear power plant in Lemoiz. That action had drawn sharp attacks from most of the Basque movement.

Factories, schools, and banks closed throughout the Basque region to protest the police killing of Arregui. Public transportation was also halted. Significantly, response to the strike call was strong in Pamplona in the province of Navarre. Although the city and province have a large Basque population, the Madrid government has refused to include them in the Basque self-governing region, despite demands from Basque nationalists.

Pakistani Students Protest Martial Law

Students in several Pakistani cities held demonstrations and marches in mid-February to protest against the martial law regime of Gen. Zia ul-Haq.

The riot police responded with tear gas and beatings. Protesters were arrested and

colleges and universities were closed indefinitely. A similar crackdown in Karachi six weeks earlier resulted in the arrest of about fifty persons, who were charged under martial law regulations with plotting anti-government activities.

The February student actions followed the formation earlier that month of a nine-party antigovernment alliance, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. The strongest party within the coalition is the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) of the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was hanged by the Zia regime in April 1979.

One sign of the party's growing support has been the success of its student wing, the Pakistan Students Federation, which swept the polls during the 1980-81 student union elections. Until then, the campuses had been dominated by supporters of the pro-government Jamaat-i-Islami.

One student leader at Rawalpindi's Gordon College was quoted in the February 20 *Washington Post* as saying, "We are against martial law and press censorship, we believe Pakistan must have elections and a political process."

Puerto Rican Independence Fighters Get Harsh Prison Terms

Ten Puerto Rican nationalists were sentenced February 18 to savage prison terms ranging from fifty-five to ninety years. The ten were convicted in Chicago on charges that included seditious conspiracy for plotting to oppose the U.S. government through illegal means, automobile theft, and illegal use and possession of weapons.

The ten are supporters of Puerto Rican independence, accused of being members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) of Puerto Rico.

During the sentencing Federal District Judge Thomas McMillen declared, "if there had been a death penalty I would have imposed it without the slightest hesitation."

The nationalists were already convicted of Illinois state charges of conspiracy and weapons violations and are serving sentences of eight to thirty years.

The proindependence fighters, not recognizing the jurisdiction of the U.S. court, refused to participate in the proceedings. They demanded instead to be treated as prisoners of war and to be tried by an international court.

The six men and four women were

brought into the courtroom February 3 with chains around their waists. When they condemned the U.S. imperialist court system and proclaimed their support for independence for Puerto Rico, the judge ordered them removed from the court. Supporters demonstrated outside in their behalf.

At their sentencing, the ten nationalists were hauled into the courtroom with their hands and feet manacled.

During the six days of court proceedings, a table full of ammunition, dynamite, detonating devices, and rifles, was prominently displayed. Police claimed to have confiscated these from the proindependence fighters. Enlarged, color photos of the ten defendants were displayed at the front of the courtroom. Given this atmosphere, it was not surprising that the guilty verdicts were handed down after only two hours of jury deliberations.

The Puerto Rican nationalists have now begun a hunger strike to protest their prison conditions.

Torture in Turkey's Jails

Since the Turkish armed forces seized power in September 1980, tens of thousands of trade unionists, journalists, and political activists have been rounded up and thrown in prison.

Among those recently arrested were some 300 members and leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Trade-Union Confederation (DISK). Because of the repression, DISK has been unable to function. Strikes are forbidden.

On February 19, the authorities announced the arrest of another fifty-five persons. They were accused of belonging to an underground organization called Takko, which the regime claimed "sought to divide the Turkish people and cause a civil war." The alleged leader of the group is Mustafa Eker, a district chief of the Republican People's Party, one of Turkey's two main bourgeois parties.

Other prominent political prisoners include Ismael Besicki, a Turkish sociologist who was imprisoned for his writings on Turkey's Kurdish population; Mehdi Zana, the mayor of the biggest Kurdish town, Diyarbakir; Ali Dincer, the former mayor of Ankara and a member of the Republican People's Party; and Dogan Yurdakul, editor of the daily *Aydinlik*.

Reports of torture of political prisoners in

Turkey are becoming increasingly common. According to a report from Ankara in the February 15 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, all of the DISK leaders being held at the Selimiye military barracks in Istanbul have been beaten and tortured.

The former mayor of Istanbul, Ahmet Isvan, was kept blindfolded and strapped to a chair for five days while under interrogation, according to members of his family.

The junta has admitted that four political prisoners have died in custody since the coup, one of them as a result of electric shock.

The junta has also carried out official executions of political activists. According to a February 19 United Press International dispatch from Ankara, four were hanged following summary military trials, and another forty are sitting on death row.

Protests against the massive repression have been mounting in a number of European countries, where many Turkish migrant workers are employed. The Council of Europe adopted a resolution accusing the Turkish junta of human rights violations, and the Confederation of European Trade Unions called off a visit to Turkey after it was denied permission to visit the imprisoned DISK leaders.

Workers Refuse to Handle El Salvador Military Cargo

On January 31 workers in the port of Barcelona, Spain, refused to handle cargo for the Peruvian freighter *Cuzco*, which was carrying twenty light tanks from Italy to the Salvadoran junta.

This action was supported by the Coordinating Committee of Port Workers and by the unions on the docks. The ship had previously stopped in Genoa, Italy, to pick up the cargo of FIAT light tanks. Dockworkers in that city had agreed to load the military cargo only after they had been told that the tanks were destined for Peru.

The Barcelona dockers, aware of the deception practiced in Genoa, stated they would not handle the *Cuzco* until they saw official documents proving the cargo was bound for Peru.

On the same day as the beginning of the dockers' action, more than 2,000 people in Salamanca, Spain, took part in a demonstration in solidarity with the struggling people of El Salvador.

Young Socialists Meet in Denmark

Forty-five young socialists gathered in Alborg the first weekend in February to discuss building the revolutionary youth movement in Denmark. Most of them were members of the Socialist Youth Alliance (SUF), which has been organized in a number of Danish cities over the past six months.

According to a report in the February 12-18 issue of *Klassekampen*, the weekly newspaper of the Danish Socialist Workers

Party (SAP), the conference placed special emphasis on building a campaign of solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution. Gunhild Fjord, a worker from Sonderborg, explained that the SUF would campaign for material aid to the Salvadoran liberation fighters, and for the Danish government to break relations with the junta.

Also discussed at the conference was the SAP's campaign to win ballot status for the upcoming parliamentary elections in Denmark. The SAP needs to collect 25,000 signatures in order to get on the ballot.

In addition to representatives from the SAP—the Danish section of the Fourth International—guests were also present from the Swedish Young Socialists and from the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.

U.S. Rulers Angry Over 'Irrational Fears' in Europe

What is the matter with West European workers? They simply cannot seem to work up much enthusiasm for a stepped-up nuclear arms race with Moscow. Policymakers in Washington are displeased and have begun to express annoyance.

U.S. officials were particularly upset with recent statements by leaders of Norway's ruling Labor Party suggesting the idea that a nuclear-free zone ought to be created in Scandinavia. Although the Labor Party leadership supports Norway's membership in NATO and approved the positioning of U.S. military supplies in Norway in January, it has had to contend with massive opposition to the imperialist militarization drive among the working class.

The opposition to NATO's war plans forced the resignation of Prime Minister Odvar Nordli on January 30. Nordli had tried to forestall antiwar sentiment by a

New Year's speech in which he referred to the nuclear-free plan passed by a conference of the Labor Party.

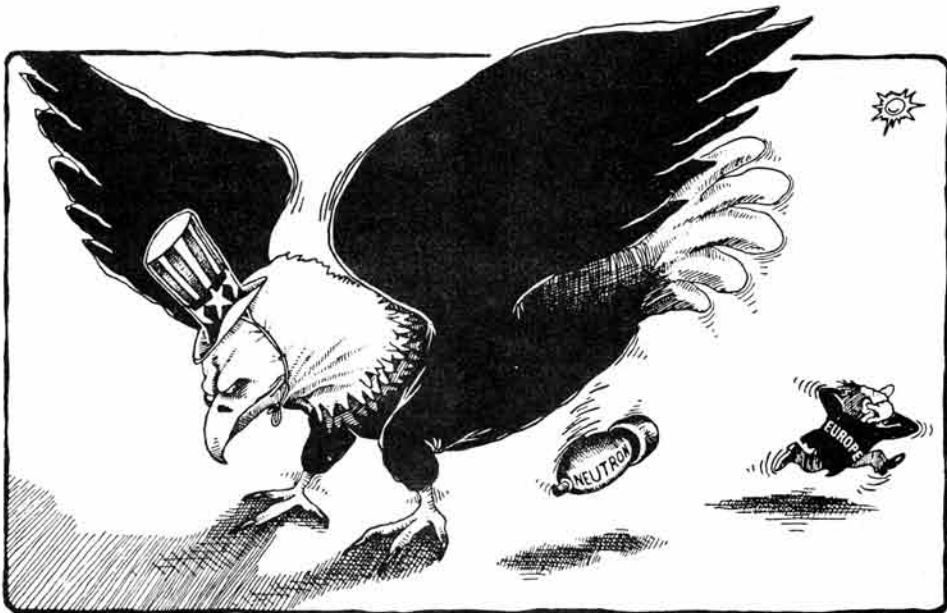
"The Norwegian initiative, not discussed beforehand in NATO, was sufficiently vague as to cause confusion and irritation," *New York Times* correspondent John Vinocur reported February 15. "More important, a diplomat from an Atlantic alliance country said, it was regarded as the kind of undisciplined attempt at new arms control measures that might weaken the resolve of those European members participating in the alliance's decision in December 1979 to modernize its tactical nuclear arsenal."

Vinocur noted that the West German, Belgian, and Dutch regimes "are encountering internal political difficulties in preparing the way for the planned deployment of the missiles at the end of 1983."

Gro Harlem Brundtland replaced Nordli as prime minister on February 4, but U.S. officials are still dissatisfied with the stand of the Norwegian Labor Party. Vinocur reported:

"Mrs. Brundtland, who is regarded as favorable toward NATO, seemed unlikely to bring additional conciseness because the issue is a passionate one for some segments of her party. With elections coming in September and polls predicting the possibility of a Labor defeat, she could only hurt her position by completely turning away from the decision reached at a party congress. . . ."

The U.S. imperialists, however, are continuing to demand that their European allies push forward with the militarization drive, despite opposition from the working class. As the editors of the *New York Times* put it February 13, "Soviet propaganda has raised irrational fears" about doomsday weapons such as the neutron bomb.



The first egg.

Ranari Lurie/Die Welt

STOP NUCLEAR POWER!

The Deadly Toll at Three Mile Island

[The following are major excerpts from a speech given by Jane Lee at a meeting of the U.S. National Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, January 18.

[Jane Lee is a farmer who lives three and a half miles from the nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island. She has been documenting the effects of radiation from the reactor on animal and plant life in the area for the past six years.

[The meeting that Lee addressed called a demonstration against nuclear power, for jobs for all, and in support of the coal miners in their fight for a decent contract. The demonstration will take place in Harrisburg on March 28, the second anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident. It has won the endorsement of antinuclear groups, antiwar activists, and major trade unions, including the United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, and United Auto Workers. The text of Lee's speech is taken from the February 20 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

I live on a farm three and a half miles west-northeast of Three Mile Island. This farm has been in the same family for over 200 years. It is federally and state inspected. In 1974 Unit 1 began its operation and by 1976 the farmers—and some who had farmed for thirty-five to sixty years—began to encounter muscle and bone deficiencies and other health-related symptoms in their animals that were never experienced before.

Steers, less than a year old, were not able to stand up, and dragged their hinds about. Some lasted a month. Some lasted four to six months. Farmers called the state Agricultural Department, but they took no interest.

Many times the lab would ask, "Are you calling from Middletown?" before you even had the chance to tell your location. Curious, is it not? This all occurred before the accident, not after.

Dr. Robert Weber, our vet, was puzzled by the symptoms in the area that at that time were confined to a five-mile radius of the plant.

We know what we saw. No amount of discrediting by the NRC [Nuclear Regulatory Commission] public officials can ever erase from our minds what we saw and what we experienced.

Stillbirths

Other deficiencies that were encountered



JANE LEE

Suzanne Haig/Militant

were: an increase in stillborns, abortions, respiratory failures, breeding problems. That increased 10 percent on our farm. Constriction of the cervix, which created a high incidence and a high level of caesarian births. Caesarian births are also increasing among humans.

Despite the repeated application of hormones that should dilate the cervix for the delivery of animals, those animals could not dilate. The people who produced the hormone told Dr. Weber, "That's impossible," and of course, you know, that's what I keep getting: "That's impossible."

We discovered cats who would have litters in four different fetal stages: one cat would be alive without fur on it; the next one would be dead with only some fur on it; there would be another fetal stage, and then another fetal stage.

Rabbits, many of them born like Casper the Ghost—no ears, no hindquarters, just tapered down, nothing. Hogs, sows unable to deliver all their young. Farmers not knowing how many she had until she started to swell and the vet would come out and find the remaining piglets in the uterus, gangrenous.

The defoliation of trees was incredible. On our farm, the trees were as naked as trees you see outdoors at the end of October. Flower beds, with the flowers all dead, laying black in the garden.

Sloppy Management?

Fruit trees were especially vulnerable. And of course it's all washed away with, "Well, it's elm disease or it's wet worm, or

it's this, or it's that." I'm well aware of the diseases of trees. But I have never, ever, seen anything like this.

York County is notorious for the starlings that came by every year. They never showed up after the March 28 accident. Birds were found dead on the highways, in the backyards.

No one will quarrel with the fact that all farmers encounter some problems on their farms, but not to the level we experienced in the period of 1976 through 1979.

Of course the NRC and the Pennsylvania Agricultural Department and the Pennsylvania Radiology Department have all explained it away by charging the farmers with sloppy management.

But what they failed to explain to me is why farmers who farmed for years without this number of complaints, who are well acquainted with farming procedures, are suddenly filing more and more complaints about their high vet bills and the high mortality rate and illness rate among their animals.

Nowhere do they explain why Met Ed [Metropolitan Edison—the owner of the Three Mile Island reactor] went sneaking about collecting meat sections from these same farmers, all the while posing as the Food and Drug Administration inspectors. Or about the animals taken away by the New Bolton Center, half dead and blind. The condition of those animals or what brought the condition about were never fully explained.

Dead Animals Confiscated

Nor was anything said about the confiscation of Mr. Hoover's animals that he personally had sent to the New Bolton Center because he was dissatisfied with the reports coming back from the lab in the agricultural department.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania went down there and confiscated these animals, confiscated the reports, and he got nothing. That was his property. They had no right to do that.

The animals that were affected in that area were cows, heifers, steers, and milking cows, horses, goats, sheep, pigs, rabbits, guinea pigs, ducks, geese, cats, dogs, birds, and even a five-year-old mule that was so full of cancer that Dr. Weber said he has never seen anything like it.

The longevity of a mule is thirty years. You're not supposed to get cancer for twenty years after exposure. Yet this mule was full of cancer.

A friend who operates a major animal

rendering service in our area warned me two weeks prior to the accident at TMI that Met Ed employees delivered three truck-loads of dead fish.

The dead animal market, following the accident, dried up. They received no dead carcasses. Dr. Weber informs me that the dead carcasses were picked up by the agricultural department, and he was assured of a report on the matter. He is still waiting.

Dr. John Nicholoff, of the Summerdale Lab, was asked about these animals and the results, and he said, "As far as we are concerned, we never received the dead animals." This is the same man who denied the death of the 500 birds at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert of Anni-ville township.

'Oh, Those Birds'

When an investigative reporter confronted Nicholoff on the question of the birds, he denied any knowledge of any birds dying. "Why, if 500 birds died in this state," he said, "we'd certainly know about it. It would certainly be in the papers. We would certainly tell the governor."

The reporter reached back in his hip pocket and pulled out the agricultural department's autopsy report and showed it to Dr. Nicholoff, and Dr. Nicholoff had a sudden memory recall. He said, "Oh, those birds."

Despite the lab's radiological testing of the birds, we were assured that no, the birds did not die from radiation exposure.

There is information, however, that reveals how Met Ed employees removed twenty charcoal filters from the vents on April 16, 1979. The removal of those filters without replacement coincided with an increase of radioactive iodine release, registered with the NRC, which allowed for bypass leakage into the atmosphere.

The birds died on May 2, fourteen days after the filters were removed. The autopsy report says the birds died from massive internal hemorrhaging. Neither the NRC nor the Argon Lab bothered to check their own files to ascertain if there had been any leakage of radiation at the time.

But then, it wasn't the truth they were looking for, but merely the discreditation of Dr. Weber and the farmers. This was to silence any more discussion on the subject.

I will not be silenced by bureaucratic sycophants, whose sole purpose is to perpetuate their pay checks and nuclear power.

The whitewash on nuclear power began under the Eisenhower administration when he said, "Tell the people anything, just don't tell them the truth about our nuclear testing."

Black Babies Uncounted

The Health Department of Pennsylvania has still not released the statistics on the infant mortality data of 1979. It is now 1981 and still they procrastinate.

Even without this data, we know for a certainty that the abortions, the stillbirths, the crib deaths, and infant deaths soared for the period of April through September. Statistically, this is the very time of the year when the infant deaths decrease. Instead they increased.

I think there's an interesting statement here too. When they were doing the statistics, they removed all the deaths from the Harrisburg area and mixed them with the state area deaths. And then they took all the Black babies and said, "We can't have them. We can't count the Black children, because they have too high a mortality rate."

It is not bad enough, the dehumanizing they have done to us. They have taken the Black community and wiped them off altogether. Black babies are not even counted.

It will be a long time before we know the degree of the thyroid damage done to children in this area. The learning disabilities and degrees of retardation may not reveal themselves totally until the school year begins for these children.

Some hospitals tested for hyperthyroidism, some did not. But none gave 100 percent testing. The damage done to our immunity system, our damaged chromosomes, are multiplying in a submerged environment, only to surface later, revealing another unknown or rare disease or a growing malignancy, which will all reveal themselves in time.

We will become just another experiment

Fire at French Nuclear Plant Contaminates Workers

Workers at the La Hague nuclear reprocessing plant in France were contaminated by radioactivity after a fire broke out there January 6.

Nineteen workers at the plant were originally checked for contamination. Although any exposure at all to radiation is harmful, the French government has set standards of what it considers allowable dosages. One worker was found to have received the equivalent of one year of the maximum dosage allowed by the French government.

The next day, several hundred workers decided to go for examinations. One in three was found to have been contaminated.

On January 8 the workers went out on strike and demonstrated in front of the management offices. They demanded that their family members and all plant vehicles be checked for contamination; the immediate stoppage of all facilities until they have been checked; immediate monitoring of the surrounding population and environment; and the establishment of an independent monitoring organization to monitor plant and environmental radiation data.

Management immediately agreed to give

by science or just another mortality statistic, like the infants who were "no one."

Labor Threatened

Today, major decisions will be made by this gathering that can bring this nation together. The choice you make today will have far-reaching ramifications for this country.

Believe me when I tell you this. Do not think that you are not important. You are at the heart of what can be brought about in this country.

We can do it, but we can do it better with the unions. We are talking about our children, our homes, our futures, and our nation—you and me. Never before has labor been so threatened.

Never before has the nuclear industry been so frightened, and never have they resorted to such fear tactics to divide labor. Our brothers and sisters who are laughingly referred to by the NRC and the nuclear industry as sponges are in the greatest peril of all.

The awful consequences of the future are beyond the scope of our comprehension. We have a responsibility today to create a safe and a brighter future for tomorrow.

Thomas Jefferson said, "Merchants have no country of their own. Wherever they may be, they have no ties with the soil. All they're interested in is the source of their profits. The mere spot they stand on does not constitute so strong an attachment as that upon which they derive their gain." □

examinations to all workers who wanted them and to check the vehicles, the factory dining room, and the workers' families. With their main demands granted, the nuclear workers agreed to go back to work.

On January 12, nearly 5,000 people demonstrated in the nearby city of Cherbourg calling for the nuclear reprocessing plant to be shut down.

The French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), which represents the majority of workers at the La Hague plant, published the results of an investigation on the radioactivity released as a result of the January 6 accident.

After the fire, the level of radioactivity in milk produced in the area had risen to 10,000-15,000 picocuries per liter. Normal measurements in this region are between 20 and 50 picocuries per liter.

In addition, on the morning of the fire, beta radiation in the building nearest the fire was twenty-six times the maximum dosage deemed permissible by French authorities.

The La Hague union published these facts to counter attempts by the plant's owners to downplay the accident. The January 6 fire was the sixth accident at the La Hague plant in a year. □

Campaign to Build New Militias Under Way in Cuba

By Fred Murphy

Stirred by Washington's belligerent stance toward the revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean, workers, peasants, and students across Cuba are joining in a massive campaign to build popular militia units.

In doing so, the Cubans are joining their sisters and brothers in Nicaragua and Grenada, where similar drives to arm the people were launched last year and have been accelerated in recent months.

Cuba's new Territorial Troop Militias (MTT) were first called for by Fidel Castro in his 1980 May Day speech. Large-scale military preparation by the entire Cuban people, Castro said at that time, would "force the imperialists to think long and hard before they commit the blunder of invading our country"

Building the new militia units was a central theme of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba held in December.

"Our party, the state, and the political and mass organizations should give [the MTT] top priority as an indispensable part of our country's defense system," Fidel Castro said in his Main Report to the party congress.

"We will not rest until every Cuban who wants to defend his neighborhood, his municipality, his work center and his country—block by block, inch by inch—has a rifle, a grenade or a mine and has been given the necessary training for carrying out his sacred duty of defending his homeland to the death."

While the building of the new militias first got under way in the latter months of 1980, it was only after the Second Congress that a massive campaign was launched.

"We have accelerated the process," army commander Raúl Castro explained in a January 21 speech, "to meet the threats hurled by the new U.S. administration. . . ."

Nineteen eighty-one has been declared the "Year of the Twentieth Anniversary of Girón" in Cuba. Among other things, this is a pointed reminder to Washington of the crushing defeat that Cuban militia units dealt to a U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary invasion at Playa Girón (the Bay of Pigs) in April 1961.

The Territorial Troop Militias are being formed in small units on a voluntary basis in each workplace and neighborhood. The local units in turn make up battalions and regiments on the municipal and provincial levels.

Organization of the militias is being

jointly overseen by the People's Power organs (elected units of local government) and by the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Fund-Raising Campaign

The Second Congress of the CP adopted a motion calling for an effort to finance the new militias through voluntary contributions from the Cuban people in order to minimize the impact on the country's economic development.

The fund-raising campaign began in early January. Since then the main Cuban daily newspapers, *Granma* and *Juventud Rebelde*, have been carrying almost daily progress reports on the drive.

"The process of raising funds for the Territorial Troop Militias has already begun in the construction industry throughout the country," *Juventud Rebelde* reported January 4. "At the Hermanos Toscano carpentry shop in Cárdenas, the first mass meeting of workers has been held. The workers decided on the spot to contribute one Sunday of voluntary labor and donate their wages to the patriotic goal."

Special commissions to oversee the militia fund drive have been set up at the municipal and provincial levels. They are composed of representatives of Cuba's mass organizations—the trade unions, the

Federation of Cuban Women, high-school and university student organizations, the National Association of Small Farmers, and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs).

The CDRs in Havana Province have called for ten days of voluntary labor between February and September as a contribution to the militia fund campaign.

Soldiers from the Revolutionary Armed Forces are also participating on a voluntary basis, contributing their free time to serve as militia instructors. The soldiers are also making financial donations out of their wages.

Cuba's most outstanding literary figure, poet Nicolás Guillén, made a special donation of 50,000 pesos (US\$69,000) in book royalties to the militia fund on January 29.

Even children are participating in the drive to build the militias. The Young Pioneers Organization is raising funds by collecting and redeeming discarded glass bottles.

The effort to defray the cost of the Territorial Troop Militias through financial donations and voluntary labor has "a profound political meaning," Fidel Castro said in a speech January 20. It was reminiscent, he said, "of the best militia traditions."

"All indications are that the money



Fidel Castro talks with women militia members in Granma Province.

raised, especially given the systematic work of the commissions and the emulation among municipalities, will allow for the complete self-financing of the institution," Castro said.

Strategic Importance

The Cuban leader was speaking at a swearing-in ceremony for local militia units in the town of Guisa in Granma Province in the eastern part of the island. He emphasized the strategic importance of the new militia units to Cuba's defense:

We are a country which is threatened, and an island to top it off, so that in terms of defense the most important thing is to defend our territory against enemy landings. . . .

The ground forces, the Revolutionary Navy, and the Revolutionary Antiaircraft Defense and Air Force have the necessary means and training to undertake their respective combat operations and activities. The territorial units will be the ideal complement to this framework which ensures the defense of the country from the most remote points to all the interior regions. There will be no part of our country left unprotected; there will be no area in which the enemy will not encounter tenacious and firm resistance; there will be no fronts—for all fighters, whether from the regular forces, Civil Defense, or territorial troops, the front will be where the enemy is.

A large part of Castro's January 20 speech in Guisa was devoted to a detailed recollection of the heavy fighting that took place in the area during the Rebel Army's final offensive against the Batista dictatorship in November 1958. Crucial to winning the battle of Guisa, Castro emphasized, were the volunteers from among the local population—"ordinary men and women, just like you."

Castro also recalled that during Batista's final days in power the dictator sought pretexts "for the Yankees to intervene in Cuba." At one point the rebels captured a jeep in which two U.S. oil company employees were riding. "As a result, a spokesman for the U.S. State Department made very threatening statements," Castro read the reply broadcast over Radio Rebelde:

Let us point out that Cuba is a free and sovereign nation. We wish to maintain the most friendly relations with the United States. . . . But if the U.S. State Department continues to let itself be influenced by the intrigues of Mr. Smith and Batista and makes the inexcusable mistake of leading its country into an act of aggression against our sovereignty, we will defend it with dignity. . . .

The threats contained in your latest statement do no honor to such a large and powerful country as the United States. Moreover, while threats are effective with cowardly and abject people, they will never work with men who are willing to die in defense of their homeland.

Role of Women

The very same statement could be repeated today, Castro said, but with the addition of two words: ". . . with men *and women* who are willing to die in defense of their homeland." The Cuban leader went

on to make special reference to the role of women in the Territorial Troop Militia.

"The combat capacity of our women was demonstrated in our war" against Batista, he said. "But it wasn't easy for them to demonstrate it, because the men had all kinds of prejudices."

Male fighters would sometimes ask why better weapons were being issued to women's units. "On more than one occasion I got so annoyed that I would answer, 'because they're better fighters than you are.'"

Participation by women in the new militias means more than "a simple struggle for equality," Castro said, "although the struggle for equality is manifested in this and other forms. It's a need, and the potential force represented by women as fighters in defense of the homeland is really extraordinary. This is why it was decided that each regiment of the Territorial Troop Militia in every provincial capital have a women's battalion, and that

every municipal battalion include a women's company."

'Dissuasive Factor'

Commander Raúl Castro summed up the main aim of the Territorial Troop Militias in his January 21 speech.

"Our small country is part of humanity threatened by tension and injustice," he said. That is why, "while we're determined to play our role in the defense of peace and détente on an international scale, we're also doing our very best to beef up our defense in the knowledge that it will be a dissuasive factor to the strutting hawks that occupied the White House yesterday. . . .

"Our ideology advocates peace and understanding among nations and peoples, but should imperialism impose a war on us, we will be capable of winning the peace deserved by those who do not renounce their legitimate rights and refuse to bow to the barbarians of our time." □

Natural Resources Institute Sets 1981 Plans

Nicaragua Makes Gains in Protecting Environment

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—The Nicaraguan Institute of Natural Resources and the Environment (IRENA) has announced a series of projects for 1981 that will benefit both the natural environment and the country's economy.

As its name suggests, IRENA has responsibility for both the management and protection of all Nicaragua's natural resources. This includes research and law enforcement.

The Somoza dictatorship sought to loot Nicaragua's natural resources as quickly as possible. Huge tracts of forested land were clear-cut and never replanted, causing serious erosion problems. Water pollution went unchecked—including the dumping of forty tons of mercury by one company alone into Lake Managua. Rare animals were smuggled out of the country.

Under Somoza, the private profit of a few Nicaraguans and U.S. corporations took priority over the national interest in a productive, safe environment.

All of this has changed since the revolution. IRENA has undertaken an integrated program of education, protection, research, and development.

In 1980, IRENA undertook such diverse projects as the establishment of sixteen fishing cooperatives; managing the Masaya National Volcanic Park's 250,000 visitors; setting up a turtle breeding project; continuing research into the sources of pollution of Lake Managua; establish-

ing a shark-protection program for Lake Nicaragua (home to the world's only freshwater sharks); and the production of 66 million linear feet of lumber and wood products.

The protection of Nicaragua's forests is a major undertaking. Wood exports provide an important source of foreign exchange. But, as IRENA Director Jorge Jenkins noted at a February 2 news conference, forest fires constitute "one of the most serious problems of revolutionary development." Each hectare burned costs the country US\$1,000, and about 128,000 hectares (320,000 acres) burn each year.

IRENA will also continue its fight against water pollution, the country's most serious environmental problem. For 1981, the institute plans to look into the pollution of rivers in the eastern part of the country by mining operations and undertake a project to halt the pollution of Bluefields Bay, on the Atlantic Coast.

Despite the revolutionary commitment of IRENA's staff—more than 130 are militia members, for example—the overall poverty of the country limits its ability to rapidly erase the Somoza legacy.

Responding to a reporter's question about one particularly polluted body of water, Jenkins explained that while IRENA was aware of the problem, there was nothing that could be done about it this year. "We have few technical personnel, few vehicles, and a small budget," he said. "It is necessary for us to set priorities." □

Jamaica's Seaga—a Good Friend of U.S. Imperialism

By Ernest Harsch

When Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga visited the White House on January 28, he left little doubt about where his loyalties lay.

With President Reagan, Chase Manhattan Bank Chairman David Rockefeller, and other top government and corporate officials gathered around, Seaga appealed for a "new thrust" by Washington into the Caribbean region.

The assembled dignitaries could not have been more pleased. With the victories of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions, the growing influence of revolutionary Cuba, and the rise in popular struggles in El Salvador, Guatemala, and elsewhere, the American imperialists have been looking for ways to step up their intervention against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. And here was Edward Seaga, the head of the most populous English-speaking Caribbean island, laying out a welcome mat.

Seaga pledged that his regime would ally itself with Washington's moves into the region. "We hope that we may be a part of the development process of the USA's interest in the Caribbean," Seaga said.

Reagan was full of praise for his Jamaican visitor. "It's a special pleasure to welcome a leader of such unique and personal courage," he declared. Seaga's coming to power in October 1980, Reagan said at a January 29 news conference, was "greated by me with great enthusiasm."

The imperialists' appreciation was also reflected in a sizeable loan to Jamaica, a new agreement for closer economic collaboration between U.S. and Jamaican business interests, and a concessionary food sale.

Destabilization Campaign

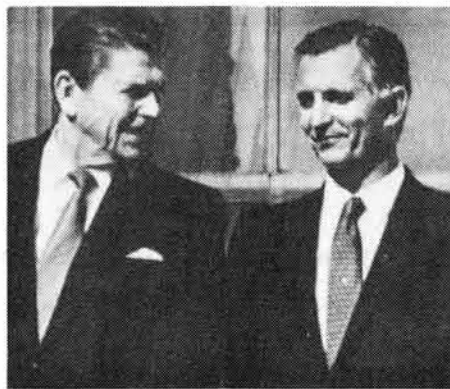
The timing of Seaga's visit to the White House—making him the first foreign head of state to meet with the new American president—was an indication of the importance of Jamaica in Washington's interventionist policy toward the region as a whole.

In fact, Seaga's installation in office was itself a product of such U.S. intervention.

The previous government of Michael Manley had enraged the American imperialists by seeking to achieve greater independence from Washington and by establishing close relations with Cuba. American officials responded with a brutal destabilization campaign.

In the months preceding the October elections, money and guns were supplied to

bands of thugs organized by Seaga's proimperialist Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). A systematic campaign of right-wing terror left hundreds dead, especially working-class activists and supporters of Manley's People's National Party (PNP).



Edward Seaga (right) with President Reagan

Important sectors of the army and police participated in attacks on the PNP.

Through such intimidation—plus ballot fraud during the elections themselves—Seaga and his American backers managed to bring down the Manley government. The Seaga victory was "made in America."

In contrast to the policies of the previous Manley government, the Seaga regime's proimperialist and anti-working-class orientation has been striking.

At the same time, however, Seaga has not been able to go as far and as fast as he would like. The PNP retains considerable popular support and the Jamaican labor movement has a tradition of militant struggle. As a result, Seaga's attempts to implement his reactionary policies have met active opposition.

Expel Cuban Ambassador

One of Seaga's first steps as prime minister was to sharply reduce official relations with Cuba.

Within days of taking office, he ordered Cuban Ambassador Ulises Estrada to leave the country. Estrada had won the JLP's particular enmity by publicly answering the party's slanderous attacks against Cuba and against the Cuban aid to the Manley regime. In late 1979, Seaga had organized provocative right-wing demonstrations demanding Estrada's expulsion.

Although some Cuban doctors and construction workers remain in Jamaica, the

total number of Cubans working there has decreased.

On February 6, the Seaga regime officially announced the termination of the "Brigadista" program, under which more than 1,000 Jamaican youth were taught construction skills in Cuba. The remaining 120 participants in the program had already been ordered home two weeks earlier.

Those Jamaicans who studied in Cuba now face a witch-hunt. Minister of Construction Bruce Golding, who announced the termination of the Brigadista program, revealed that participants are under investigation by the military and police. Golding declined to make specific charges for "reasons of national security," but last year Seaga accused those who took part in the program of having undergone guerrilla training in Cuba. No evidence was given.

Witch-hunts

In a similar manner, the Seaga regime has launched a purge of the news media, particularly the government-owned Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC). Anyone who holds anti-imperialist or Marxist views, or who has helped produce programs not to the liking of the JLP leadership, now faces possible dismissal.

Some twenty prominent members of the JBC have already been fired, including Deputy General Manager Claude Robinson, a former Manley press secretary, and Brian Meeks, the workers' representative on the JBC board. The JBC's Current Affairs Department, which had aired programs exposing the American CIA and discussing political developments in such countries as Namibia and Mozambique, has been scrapped entirely.

Several staff members of the government's Agency for Public Information have also been dismissed or transferred. According to the agency's new director, they were "supporting a communist line." One government minister admitted that the targets of the media purge were those who were "seriously politicised."

At a general meeting of the Press Association of Jamaica (PAJ) on January 31, a resolution was unanimously adopted condemning the government's "blatant acts of victimisation, intimidation and harassment of media workers as well as its attempts to impose censorship throughout the publicly owned media."

Noting that several leaders of the PAJ were among those dismissed or transferred, PAJ President Ben Brodie charged that the media purge was part of a plan to

“crush the democratic institutions that media workers have developed for themselves.”

He also noted that the attacks on the news media came while the regime was negotiating a new loan agreement with the International Monetary Fund. He said that when the IMF’s “harsh terms begin to take their toll . . . the plan is that the people of this country must not have access to the media to air their grouses and present their views.”

Other sectors of the civil service are being threatened with similar witch-hunts. On January 22, Agricultural Minister Percival Broderick warned employees in his ministry that “some of you are about to lose your job because you talk on matters that you have no right.”

Some prominent political activists have likewise been singled out for government victimization. PNP General Secretary D.K. Duncan, who is also a key leader of the party’s left wing, was charged with illegal possession of firearms shortly after the October 1980 elections. Several of his bodyguards face trumped-up charges of murder. Like other left-wing leaders, Duncan had been the victim of assassination threats—and attempts—during the JLP’s pre-election terror campaign.

Bullets and Bulldozers

In Kingston’s working-class slums, organized right-wing attacks have continued, despite an overall decline in the number of killings. They have been carried out both by the JLP’s bands of thugs and by the regular police and military forces. Almost every day, the Jamaican newspapers report “shootouts” between the police and residents.

In some PNP strongholds, the repression has even intensified. In the Beverley Gardens section of Kingston, for instance, residents have been forced out of their homes by gangs of up to 100 JLP thugs.

“Political terrorism has been a frequent feature in the region since the past general elections,” the December 28-January 3 *Jamaica News* reported, “and became worse since the event ended.”

Since early January, there has been a step-up in raids by joint units of the police and military, backed by armed JLP goons, in the Arnett Gardens, Jones Town, Woodrow Street, and Craig Town areas of Kingston. A number of youths have been shot down.

In Jones Town, where the government is attempting to build a joint Police-Military Command Post, bulldozers were moved in to demolish houses. When the residents resisted, four tanks and extra police and army units were sent in.

The Seaga regime has threatened even greater repression in the future. In early December, Brig. Robert Neish, the army chief of staff, warned that the military was prepared to move against “sabotage in many different areas of industry” and

“guerrilla or radical political activity.”

In a New Year’s Day speech, Seaga complained about a “cancerous growth of indiscipline, which has broken down lines of authority, destroyed the work ethic, and generated anti-social behaviour to points of disruption.” He made it clear that his answer to such unrest was not social reform to alleviate popular grievances, but a well-equipped police and military force.

The police have already received quantities of new M16 semiautomatic rifles and Seaga has publicly stated that he may approach Washington for other equipment to improve police and military communications and mobility.

At a news conference in Washington on January 29, Seaga revealed that his regime was considering asking the American, Canadian, and British governments for military training assistance.

Antilabor Policies

During the 1980 election campaigns, Seaga tried to blame all of Jamaica’s economic woes on the Manley administration. The JLP, he demagogically claimed, had solutions to the inflation, unemployment, and many other problems facing working people.

Since coming into power, however, Seaga has done nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Jamaican population.

Unemployment officially stands at 35 percent of the workforce (or about 350,000 unemployed). Unofficially, the jobless rate in some parts of the country reaches as high as 60 or 70 percent. Despite the severity of this problem, the Seaga regime has slashed some of the previous government’s job programs. About 12,000 youths have been thrown out of work by the abolition of the Special Youth Employment Programme.

Minister of Industry and Commerce Douglas Vaz explained in late January that price increases were “unavoidable.” In addition, consumers still have to face

periodic shortages of such basic commodities as chicken, margarine, sugar, soap, and detergents.

As workers continue to resist further cuts in their already low living standards, prominent supporters of the JLP regime have already begun to call for steps to reduce “industrial unrest.” A series of columns in the reactionary *Gleaner*—which supports Seaga—appealed for an outlawing of strikes.

During one strike by workers at a soya bean processing plant in St. Catherine in early February, armed thugs encouraged by a JLP member of parliament attacked the picketers.

Meanwhile, the prospects for big business have brightened considerably. Seaga’s repeated advocacy of “free enterprise” and his vows to curb labor “indiscipline” have bolstered the confidence of the capitalists. They look forward to a reduction in government restrictions on business practices and to new opportunities to jack up prices and profits.

The response of the landlords has been among the boldest so far. In early February, the All-Island United Landlords Association called on the government to do away with rent controls. “The true relationship between landlords and tenants need to be re-structured now that we have got a new Government which stands for democratic traditions,” it said.

“The Rent Board, which was used as a symbol monument of Socialism by the former Government, needs to be eliminated.”

It charged that the Manley regime’s Rent Board had been intended to create hatred and destroy “the family life that existed between landlords and their tenants.”

In an abrupt about-face from Manley’s goal of achieving greater state control over the economy, Seaga has moved to throw open larger sections of the economy to private enterprise. On December 19, 1980,



Seaga’s thugs during Jamaican elections. Organized right-wing violence continues.

he announced that a Divestment Committee would be set up to decide which nationalized enterprises would be returned to private ownership.

Back to the IMF

Now that "their" government is in power, the imperialists have lifted their economic embargo against Jamaica.

During the first three months of the Seaga regime, about 100 foreign investors signaled their intention to sink more than US\$200 million in new investments into Jamaica.

On January 19, the last day of the Carter administration, Washington agreed to provide Seaga with a \$40 million loan.

During Seaga's visit to the White House, he and Reagan agreed to the establishment of a joint U.S. Jamaica "private sector committee" to help channel private investments to Jamaica and facilitate capital transfers. Reagan pledged economic support for Seaga, "especially in his efforts to expand his country's private sector."

Winston Mahfood, the president of the Jamaica Manufacturers Association and one of the island's biggest capitalists, said of the agreement, "It should pay dividends."

Just a day before Seaga's Washington visit, the West German ambassador to Jamaica conveyed his government's willingness to extend new aid to the Jamaican regime.

And in early February, the U.S. chargé d'affaires in Kingston signed a US\$15 million food loan agreement. The food loan was provided under Washington's PL480 program, which has often been used in the past as a tool to aid regimes that are politically friendly to U.S. imperialism.

On top of all this, Seaga has resumed negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), making a request for a new US\$550 million loan. This was a sharp reversal of the Manley regime's decision in March 1980 to break off further talks with the IMF in reaction to the onerous austerity measures the fund was seeking to impose on Jamaica in exchange for continued access to IMF credits.

The provision of new loans and financial aid may bring some short-term relief to the Jamaican economy, softening the impact of the country's foreign exchange crisis and allowing it to import some scarce consumer goods and badly needed spare parts and raw materials for industrial production.

But the IMF, in line with its standard practice, will also demand that Seaga impose new austerity measures on the Jamaican workers and open up the country even further to imperialist economic penetration. While the IMF may be more lenient with Seaga than it was with Manley, it will nevertheless expect its terms to be met.

Around the same time that Seaga visited

Washington, the IMF released a report justifying its hostile stance toward the Manley regime. A representative of Jamaica's financial community, who was quoted in the January 25-31 *Jamaica News*, commented, "I believe that the timing of the release of the report is a message to the present Government. The message is that unless the targets which are agreed are met, then the IMF will have no option but to cut off all assistance."

Such loans, moreover, will eventually have to be paid back—with interest. Jamaica's foreign debt already stands at nearly US\$900 million.

Seaga's frequently stated goal for the Jamaican economy is to impose on it a "Puerto Rican model"—the adoption of economic policies that will make Jamaica attractive to foreign investors.

Despite Seaga's claims to be acting in the interests of the country's economic development. Such a course can only lead to a deepening of Jamaica's dependence on imperialism.

Protests and Strikes

Seaga's attempts to impose his "Puerto Rican model," however, will inevitably meet popular resistance. Over the past decade, the anti-imperialist sentiments and class consciousness of Jamaican working people have risen considerably. There have already been some important indications of resistance to his reactionary policies.

In mid-January, a new antigovernment organization was officially founded, the Young Communist League (YCL). It is the youth group of the Workers Party of Jamaica, the island's largest organization that considers itself Marxist.

At the YCL's founding congress, its members discussed the new situation facing working people under the Seaga regime. In a display of continued solidarity between the Jamaican and Cuban people, the congress received greetings from the Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas (Union of Young Communists), the Cuban Communist Party youth group.

The YCL has already become active in opposing some of Seaga's policies. In a public letter protesting the termination of the Brigadista program with Cuba, YCL General Secretary Arthur Newland expressed the youth group's "deep concern over the continued witch-hunting and victimization of youths who have benefitted from the friendly relations between the Governments and peoples of Cuba by studying construction techniques in Cuba."

On February 4, the YCL organized a demonstration of more than 300 residents in Kingston to protest "the killings of innocent youths, intimidation and harassment by the Police and Army personnel." The protestors, most of whom were students, carried placards reading "Why the execution of students."



MICHAEL MANLEY

The PNP, which remains the largest opposition party, has also criticized some of Seaga's policies. Its members of parliament, particularly left-wingers like D.K. Duncan, have repeatedly spoken out against the "restructuring" of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation and other measures.

In his New Year's message, PNP leader Michael Manley declared, "The workers must continue to protect their economic gains as well as their achievements in the struggle for economic and industrial democracy."

"During the coming year, therefore, the Opposition in Parliament and the People's National Party outside of Parliament will continue to defend, and struggle to advance, the interests of all the people."

Since Seaga came into power, there has been a rash of minor strikes in Jamaica, involving paper, cigarette, soya bean, bank, yeast, and milk workers. Sanitation workers staged a demonstration, and a shut-down of the country's vital bauxite industry was narrowly averted during the course of the labor dispute.

Workers involved in these actions belonged to both the National Workers Union, which supports the PNP, and the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, which backs the JLP.

Another important labor federation, the Independent Trade Union Action Council, has protested against Seaga's plans to denationalize certain enterprises. It charged that the "mass organisations are now feeling the threat of insecurity" as a result of the establishment of the Divestment Committee.

As is already evident, Seaga will have considerable difficulty in controlling the country's unions, a fact that is worrying his imperialist backers. An article in the November 3, 1980, *Wall Street Journal*, just a few days after the elections, complained about the existence in Jamaica of a "labor movement that wields enormous power outside any government." □

Nicaragua's Economy and the Fight Against Imperialism

[The following is a speech given by Commander of the Revolution Jaime Wheelock, Nicaragua's minister of agricultural development and a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), to the First International Conference in Solidarity With Nicaragua, held in Managua January 26-31.

[The text of the speech was originally published in Spanish in the February 1 issue of the FSLN daily *Barricada*; the translation is by *Intercontinental Press*, partially based on an English-language text distributed to conference participants by the FSLN Department of International Relations.]

* * *

Compañeros of the presiding committee of this extraordinary gathering in solidarity with our people and our struggle;

Compañeros Julio López and Raúl Guerra;

Brothers and sisters from all those countries and peoples that for a long time have been supporting the formidable efforts of the Nicaraguan people to conquer their freedom, national independence, and social progress:

Today we would like to give you some general information on the achievements and the prospects of the Sandinista economy. We do so at a time when the reactionary forces of imperialism, along with the Somozaists and the reactionaries here at home, are bent on setting up obstacles to the Sandinista People's Revolution.

That is why we think your presence here has a deep revolutionary significance—both of internationalism and of solidarity—because it amounts to a show of support from the whole world, from democratic peoples, from progressive and humanistic consciences, from those who have faith in the peoples' future. At the same time, it is an incentive for us Nicaraguans and revolutionaries to know that in the battles that await us in defense of our national sovereignty and independence, we can count on the tremendous strength of international solidarity.

We will not mention figures because we will be distributing documents and statistics that show the successes and obstacles of the Nicaraguan revolution in its economic and social development. We know that as you carry out your tasks of solidarity and support to the Nicaraguan cause you need to understand as we do the basic conditions, the favorable and unfavorable aspects of our economic and social development, and our current achievements and problems.

Social and Economic Conditions

In looking at the basic conditions of the Sandinista economy, we must first take up the objective situation we found ourselves in

when the revolution triumphed. First, a sparsely populated country with a little more than 2 million inhabitants concentrated in the area along the Pacific Coast. Fifty percent of the population lives in the countryside, and 50 percent in urban areas. With the exception of Managua and five or six cities with 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants, the latter are practically all small peasant villages. So much of the 50 percent of the population called urban is actually a rural population as well.

There are some 800,000 workers incorporated into the economic activity of the country; of these, more than 60 percent were illiterate. So the labor force was a poorly skilled one, mainly engaged in handicrafts and peddling in the towns. In the countryside, tenant farmers cultivate basic grains on tiny plots, while the bulk of the agricultural labor force works picking cotton and coffee and cutting sugarcane.

We have had an economy in which development has been slight, where alongside a relatively small industrial sector we find a very broad range of handicrafts. In the countryside, export-oriented latifundia are complemented by a very extensive sector of small peasant production.

The main features of the Nicaraguan economy are economic backwardness, dependence on imperialism, and a predominantly capitalist socioeconomic structure, in which we nonetheless find many who subsist on precapitalist forms of production, both in the urban handicrafts and peasant sectors.

We have a highly developed infrastructure in the Pacific zone, while in the central and Atlantic zones the conditions for production, transportation, and communications are almost totally lacking. The Atlantic Coast has more than 60,000 square kilometers but only 200,000 inhabitants. That is, an area three times as large as El Salvador but with a population thirty times smaller.

Underdevelopment and Dependence on Imperialism

So the objective economic conditions the Nicaraguan revolution was faced with were a backward structure, cultural oppression of the workers (the majority of the population), underdevelopment, and economic dependence.

As is well known, Nicaragua is a country that produces enough food for its own people and has a quite efficient peasant economy. But it must also be taken into account that the economic power of capitalism was mainly brought to bear on agricultural exports, with the aim of meeting the requirements of the international capitalist market. This forced a weak and stagnant natural economy to serve as the basis of imported tech-

nology so as to meet the needs of a dynamic agricultural export sector.

We are dependent not only because of what we export to the international capitalist market but also because of what we must import—machinery, materials, technology, and capital—in order to produce.

Owing to the rapid development of certain sectors of our economy, such as agriculture, without a corresponding development of industry, we are forced to buy all our machinery and technology abroad. This prevented our traditional handicrafts from being transformed into a national industry.

The warriors of the past century were unable to build the cotton gins, coffee processing plants, or sugar mills that later would proliferate in the country. Those artisans who manufactured twine, domestic goods, bowls or carts were unable to become manufacturers of often highly sophisticated pesticides and fertilizers overnight.

Therefore, when the Sandinista revolution triumphed on July 19, our underdevelopment and dependence were of what we term the "qualitative" type, meaning the enormous difficulty of achieving independence in culture, technology, and industry, in order to become independent in agriculture.

Program to Overcome Backwardness

This may sound somewhat dramatic but it is a reality which exists not only in Nicaragua but also in many countries of the so-called Third World.

Therefore, making a revolution in disadvantageous conditions meant in itself drawing up a long-term strategic program aimed at striking at aspects of Nicaragua's economic and social problems that could be described as crucial—a program to strike at backwardness, to strike at underdevelopment, to strike at economic dependence.

Thus, our revolution put forth a program that might be called the program of a poor country, of a small, backward country which has to work for its national independence, which has to work for its economic independence, which has to work for the cultural betterment of its illiterate work force, which has to develop vast areas in the country where our backwardness is total, which has to redress the demographic and economic imbalances existing in our territory, where the contradictions of neocolonialism, capitalism and imperialism's oligarchic enterprises have coincided to create chaos and economic anarchy. That is what we found on July 19.

We are aware that the more backward a country is, the more difficult it is to achieve social progress. Precisely for that reason, we have not worked in a spectacular manner. We know that this is a very difficult task, because the country needs substantial in-

vestments for development. Much time is needed to master technology, much time is needed to lay the foundations of a sound, independent economy.

The Legacy of War and Somozaism

That is the strategic aim we are working toward with spirit and will. But that is the long-term challenge. On July 19 our immediate task was to provide the basic necessities of our people.

Economic doctrines and romantic ideas are no good if the people are hungry. And on July 19, in addition to terrible material destruction, we found a quite onerous foreign debt. At the same time, there were the after-effects of a capital drain of more than \$800 million.

There was, of course, the basic economic and social conditions we found: backwardness, underdevelopment, poverty. We found a country that was totally bankrupt, with no foreign currency, no foreign savings; with a debt of \$1.6 billion, and destruction amounting to more than \$800 million, which affected more than 35 percent of the industrial production and more than 25 percent of agriculture.

The war coincided with the harvest of basic crops and, some time later, the cotton harvest. So in 1979 and part of 1980, those basic crops were lacking. The basic diet of Nicaraguans consists of corn, rice, and beans, and it so happened that in that year there were no beans, rice, or corn.

And, worst of all, we would not be able to export cotton, the prime crop for Nicaragua's survival. Of the 320,000 *manzanas* [1 manzana = 1.726 acres] traditionally sown, it was only possible to sow 50,000.

We had to devote a large amount of resources to the rehabilitation of the infrastructure. You know that Somoza's regime vented its rage on the factories, on strategic industries and production units.

Much was destroyed in the countryside also, where agricultural machinery was pillaged. Tobacco was virtually looted, and they took away more than \$3 million worth of machinery. Destruction was general.

Our foremost job at the time was the rehabilitation of the infrastructure, and to this end we had to spend large sums of foreign currency. Our debts increased because we had to buy spare parts and equipment in order to return to relative normalcy.

In Nicaragua, normalcy has depended to a great extent on foreign credit. If there is transportation, it is because we have used credit lines abroad. If the factories are running, it is because we have brought in a considerable number of spare parts, which has meant great expenditures in foreign currency or external loans. If we have worked successfully in economic reactivation, it has been at the expense of growing foreign indebtedness.

First Months of Revolution

The first six months of the revolution were dedicated to administrative organization, to extirpating the whole corrupt cancer

of Somozaism. This meant incorporating into state and economic management a politically, administratively, and technically inexperienced intelligentsia. It meant organizing the revolution's ranks, creating large mass organizations and an army truly capable of facing any attack by Somozaism and reactionary forces abroad.

So the 1980 program was called the Plan for Economic Reactivation. This program called for using the country's productive forces to the utmost while making substantial investments in material, human, and financial resources. The latter made it possible to



JAIME WHEELOCK

Lou Howort/IP

put the productive machinery back into motion, under the difficult conditions our country found itself in.

National Unity and Popular Hegemony

We have been talking about objective socio-economic conditions; that is, the legacy of the past, the legacy of backwardness, underdevelopment, and poverty. That is the most difficult thing we face. We have been talking about the legacy of destruction caused by the war, the collapse that occurred with the revolution and its aftermath, and the cost to our country all this signified.

But there is a third aspect we want to emphasize so that the logic of the Sandinista economy can be fully understood. This aspect is the political one—the question of national unity.

We seek to emerge from poverty and underdevelopment, to counter dependency, and to rehabilitate and reactivate our economy while maintaining national unity. It is a very difficult and complex task, one that might even seem to call for wizards or magicians. Sometimes the contradictions involved are so deep and irreconcilable that it is difficult for us to harmonize them.

How can we deliver our people from poverty, while at the same time reactivating our

economy and utilizing all our productive forces? And how can we do this while large sectors of our economy are still subject to forms of exploitation that are characteristic of capitalism in underdeveloped countries?

In fact—and this is perhaps one of the deepest concerns of our revolution—the economic considerations of the Nicaraguan revolution are not as important to us as its political aspects.

In a way, the Nicaraguan revolution is not just a Nicaraguan one. It is a revolution made by a people who share the problems of many other peoples like our own—peoples who still live under the iron rule of military dictatorships, which as we all know are the typical and classic forms used by the imperialists to dominate our peoples.

The imperialists install such military dictatorships where they cannot intervene directly or where there are no local oligarchic or bourgeois classes with enough economic power and political talent to guarantee the subjugation of the people. So they turn those classes into their intermediaries, into representatives of their interests in such countries.

This is what they do when they cannot intervene directly—either because the people struggle as our people did in Sandino's time, or because international diplomatic considerations prevent them from doing so. (I think it would be difficult for the imperialists to intervene in a direct, military way in Colombia or Venezuela, for example.)

Here in Nicaragua neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives could guarantee imperialist domination. So when it became impossible to check the vigorous advance of Sandino they had to intervene—first directly and then by means of a military dictatorship that placed itself above all the classes and parties and represented imperialist interests exclusively.

Imperialism's military dictatorship—which also protected a servile, subsidiary, and irrelevant local form of exploitation—was destroyed by the Sandinista revolution. The typical and classic form the imperialists have introduced in Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile, and other Latin American countries suffered an important defeat here in Nicaragua.

This is why national unity is of such great importance to the Nicaraguan revolution.

Three Pillars of Reaction

Some months ago, a U.S. State Department official said that the pillars of what he called the "traditional regimes" were being torn down in Central America. Those pillars were in crisis, he said, explicitly pointing to the reactionary church hierarchy, the oligarchy, and the fascist army. Those were the three pillars on which the so-called traditional domination rested.

According to this official, that is what had maintained the unity, stability, and cohesion of society. But what is now involved is that once this pattern was broken in Nicaragua, a new type of national unity appeared.



Fred Murphy/IP

House in Masaya, Nicaragua destroyed during fighting against Somoza.

Here there is stability, peace, and production.

We are not going to say that we are living in paradise, because there are contradictions and an intense ideological struggle. The reactionaries keenly desire to win over the middle strata of the population. They are making a stubborn effort to take advantage of the backwardness of the peasantry and the humble people to turn them against the revolution.

But one thing is certain: here, neither the reactionary hierarchy, the oligarchy, nor the military dictatorship can guarantee national unity any longer. There is unity, but under revolutionary rule. It is a unity rooted in the mass organizations, the organizations of the workers, peasants, students, and democratic women.

In other words, a people's unity with people's armed power, and a government program allowing for and stimulating the participation of all strata in the national reconstruction of Nicaragua. And all those factors are united under the firm guidance of our vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Five years ago that was a dream, an illusion. But now this State Department official realizes that while the old traditional patterns have been replaced by revolutionary patterns, peace, stability, and the smooth functioning of the economy are maintained. This is a victory of the revolution, this is a victory of all the revolutionaries in the world. And that is even more important than the specifically economic aspects.

A Large Portion of the Surplus Is Now in the Hands of the People

Our main concern, therefore, is to fully use the nation's productive forces. And we think that under a revolutionary power it is

also possible to induce the forces of the middle class and even the bourgeois sector to join us, in the same way an agricultural worker offers his energy, his sweat, his blood in the task of building the New Homeland, which is what the peasants and workers are doing.

In order to strengthen the country's unity we can benefit from the bourgeoisie's experience in agriculture, from their management skills in industry. The contradictions arising from their participation are less significant than the solutions they provide for carrying on the struggle against the common enemy.

The contradictions inherent to social classes are less important than our material achievements in reconstructing the foundations of national economy, in the struggle for development, in the struggle against backwardness, and indeed in the struggle against economic dependence, because the rationale of the economy is centralized in a plan, in an economic program that assigns a role to each social force.

We are not referring to that old, backward economy where a big manufacturer could do as he pleased. In the first place, a big manufacturer has to contribute to the financial system and has to pay a fixed interest rate reimbursing the money that was lent to him by the state, by the people.

Secondly, when he produces, he has to pay production taxes, export duties, capital gains taxes, and real estate taxes, as well as income taxes, because our economy operates on this basis. And of course, there is our political capacity, the capacity to regulate what some call the reproduction of capital.

We nationalized foreign trade and the banks. This means that the state receives all the foreign currency. No big cotton producer here can obtain dollars, only córdobas. With

those córdobas he has to pay bank interest, production taxes, export duties, capital levies and income taxes.

Somewhere, usually in a bank, he will keep a rather significant amount. And that money is also available to be used by our economy as a whole.

Thus, we are able to also use these resources, these individuals, as workers in national reconstruction. Their contribution is significant.

There has been no need to expropriate the means of production. In reality, what we are expropriating are the surpluses.

We should seriously consider whether it is convenient or not for a poor, dependent, and backward country lacking a skilled work force, to use these resources and exploit the land by introducing state and national control over the surplus rather than over the means of production themselves.

Of course, this is a very special circumstance in Nicaragua. It probably does not apply to other countries. But we do have control over property, profit, and surpluses.

The middle and upper strata feel that we respect their property, and that they can live somewhat affluently. They feel somewhat at ease, because we allow them the possibility of owning some of the means of production.

We believe that rather than being a problem for the revolution, this is vital for the revolution. Unity to confront imperialism is vital. That is why our economic program has included such elements of unity both in the 1980 plan and in the 1981 plan as well.

Economic Reactivation in 1980

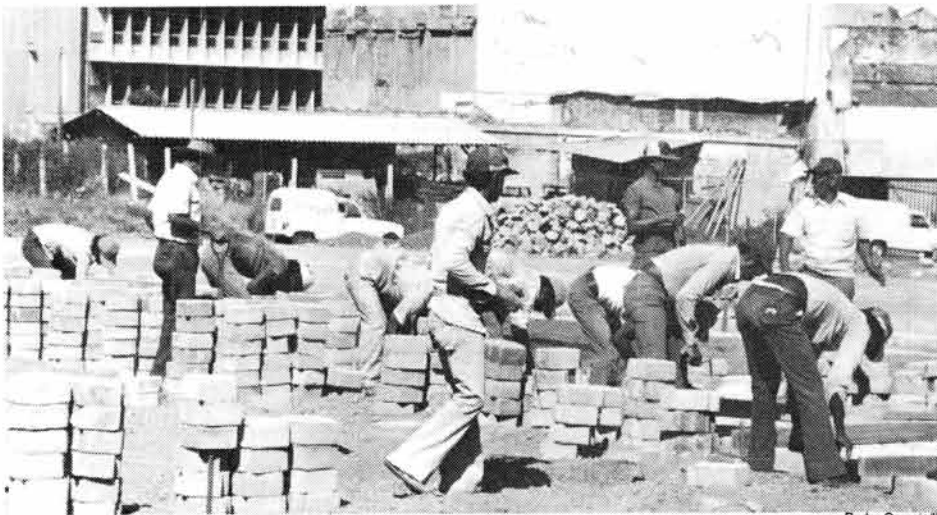
What have we achieved in recent months? At the beginning we had set ourselves a really high growth rate. We were going to grow by 23 percent. Of course, this figure has to be seen in terms of the very difficult year the Nicaragua economy had suffered. In 1979, Nicaragua's gross national product equalled that of 1962.

We had gone back seventeen years, so from a certain point of view this 23 percent growth was not so difficult to achieve when resorting to all our forces and using all our financial resources.

It was difficult in the organizational conditions, because of the material damage we had suffered and also because of the shock and turmoil our people suffered, the geographical distribution of the population, and other social factors.

But we can say that we have practically attained that figure, and in some aspects we have surpassed it, especially in agriculture. The employment goal of 95,000 workers was 92 percent fulfilled; in 1980 we were able to create 82,000 new jobs. We succeeded in the economic reactivation of our main lines of production.

As for coffee, the harvest will surpass by 7 percent the figure planned for 1980. The lowest figure for cotton production in the 1980 program was surpassed, the highest being 170,000 manzanas planted, the low-



Pedro Camejo/IF

Reconstruction of the economy is a key priority.

est, 120,000 manzanas. We planted 140,000 manzanas, but in terms of yield we will practically equal the figure that could have been expected from the 170,000 manzana goal.

We planted more than 45 percent over the figure planned for rice and 20 percent more in tobacco. As for sugarcane, we surpassed the plan's goal by 25 percent.

We can say that we recorded the most important and biggest grain harvest in our country's history. We had rain, transportation and communications problems that considerably reduced the harvest, and storage problems that considerably cut production.

Nevertheless, in agricultural production, both for domestic consumption and exports, we can say that our people made a great effort to reactivate the economy. The agricultural workers, the students who harvested cotton and coffee, the whole people, all the sectors of our people in a joint effort were able to achieve the goals set for national reconstruction in order to give Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan revolution our first major economic success.

Industrial reactivation faced problems, not so much because of lack of resources, energy, vitality, ability, and administrative capacity, but mainly because the Central American Common Market underwent a crisis. Virtually all our industrial production for exports, that is, our most important domestic production, is oriented toward the Common Market. El Salvador had market problems, as did Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala. And we have not been able to market some of our products yet.

We think that when the situation in El Salvador is resolved in favor of the revolutionaries we will occupy a more favorable position economically because El Salvador is one of our major markets.

We want to underscore one interesting aspect—economic reactivation got a little out of control in the sphere of services.

It was natural that because of the physical

destruction in agriculture and industry, it was going to be difficult to reconstruct. So the workforce, especially small farmers and workers, were reoriented toward the commercial sector. Trade grew excessively, by 140 percent. This is a distortion, a trend toward creating too large a tertiary sector that will have negative effects if we do not check it.

But in general, we can say that the 1980 program was a success. We do not face the same situation we had at the beginning, that of 1962. We are already at the level of 1978. That is really a remarkable achievement, which gives us hope and encouragement for the coming year.

Efficiency and Austerity in 1981

Generally speaking, 1981 will likewise be a year of reactivation. We will put stress on savings and economic efficiency. But economic efficiency in what sense?

You can see clearly that there are new administrators and new workers who lack experience. Where there is destruction—let us say, in a factory—if you grant the administrator 1 million córdobas to produce 100 units, reality will prove under present physical, administrative, and organizational conditions that 1 million córdobas in that production center will probably produce only 70 units. That is the problem we have faced throughout agriculture and industry, although it seems to have hit us harder in agriculture.

We have dumped lots of money—again and again—into small production units that never before had had access to it. They were not able to manage their resources efficiently, so instead of producing forty units, they produced twenty. That is why we are now facing financial problems, and perhaps some inflation, since there are large sums of money with no counterpart in products.

The 1981 program is aimed at solving this problem by using different variables—assigning credits more rationally, granting

credits to those who can produce efficiently.

Somewhat romantically, at one point we were even traveling in helicopters and giving out credits to peasants who lived in very remote areas. The credits virtually fell into their hands from the helicopter. But who was going to gather that production? By which roads, by which means of transportation?

The fact is that the produce, if there was any, remained there because that money was spent on salt, shoes, and clothing and not on production.

Such romantic errors are made in every revolution. They are just the counterproductive side of the generosity of revolutionists.

Still Counting Cattle in 1980

In agriculture the problem was more or less the same. Imagine all Somoza's agricultural enterprises and production centers—some 2,000 of them. When we took office at the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform we did not even know where they all were. We sent nine or ten compañeros out to locate them. All we knew was that there were ten in one place, twenty in another; we did not know what they produced.

In early 1980 we were still counting cattle. There were no records; production indices were unknown, but people had to be fed. We had to produce milk and coffee, we had to raise cattle. Then the National Bank connected a pipeline to siphon money to the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform. Otherwise it would have been impossible.

One compañero we sent to Matagalpa reported 149 estates with 10,000 workers—we had to pay wages and back wages, and the land had to be tilled. At that time we had no accountants, we had to buy things and write invoices on scrap paper.

In those early days inefficiency was unavoidable. The 1981 program tries to solve this problem as well.

We must try to make the system efficient by implementing inventories and accounting systems, controlling costs, programming financing and production, making inventories from the smallest item to the biggest industrial enterprise, keeping a record of all the costs, reducing unnecessary expenses, curtailing waste, and fighting against unproductive employment.

Efficiency is one of the principals of the 1981 program. It means that if we invest 100 córdobas, we must get 100 units; and not only 100, but even 120. Efficiency must be the guarantee of a healthy economy and of austerity in this country.

You know that in many economic aspects Nicaragua depends on resources from abroad. In order to produce cotton, we have to import fertilizers, pesticides, agricultural airplanes, plows, and cotton harvesters. In fact, we possess only the work force and the land for cultivating cotton in Nicaragua, but the rest—that is, the technology—must be imported.

Within the framework of such austerity, we have to plan our savings. We must con-

serve fertilizer and pesticides and plant pest-resistant varieties.

You also know that we depend completely on oil imports. Last year we spent some \$200 million on oil, while our exports accounted for less than \$500 million. This year we will have to spend \$280 million dollars on petroleum alone.

Rich Countries Must Pay Oil Bills of Underdeveloped Countries

Should this situation continue, by 1985 our exports will go only to buy oil. This situation is really unbearable, not only for Nicaragua but for all the poor economies that lack this resource.

We know that the oil-producing countries have a legitimate right to make those who have always exploited them pay. But the countries of the Third World account for scarcely 3 to 8 percent of world oil consumption, while current oil prices represent for Third World countries the cost of survival itself.

We could even say that oil prices are one of the most destabilizing factors, one of the most threatening and destructive factors for our economies.

The world has to do something about it. We have to do something about it. If a decision should be made to make the developed countries pay the oil bills of the underdeveloped countries, that would be completely just.

Oil prices for the developed countries should be increased according to consumption in the Third World. Third World countries should receive their oil free of charge or even be subsidized by the developed countries.

A Vicious Cycle

What we are suggesting is not out of the reach of those nations for a very simple reason. Some Third World countries like Brazil consume a large percentage of that oil, so excluding Brazil and other relatively large countries, we, the small countries, account for only 2 or 3 percent of world oil consumption.

So, if we charge to and demand from the developed countries this 3 percent, we could quite easily solve the problem of our economy. We think that this struggle—our struggle, the struggle of all the underdeveloped nations, and your own struggle as well—must be waged, because we have to make people aware of this problem.

This problem alone could destabilize us economically. The time will come when we will have to say "Energy or death!" at the same time we say "Free homeland or death!"

This is a problem we are facing now because we also have to pay our external debt. If we pay for oil and for our external debt, we will be producing only in order to import. This is a vicious circle.

We could say that this is the most acute and burning aspect of economic dependence. A country that exports at increasingly lower

prices and imports at increasingly higher prices will always be indebted, increasingly indebted.

What has been the response of the international capitalist economy? To lend at high interest rates. They buy at low prices, they sell at high prices, and they lend us the deficit. So we face mounting indebtedness, a spiral that will finally force us to declare: "From now on we will not pay a single cent."

We only owe \$1.6 billion. Some countries owe as much as \$65 billion, and there are others that owe \$20 billion, or ten, or three, or four. The time will come when an economy like Nicaragua's will be suffocated and there will be a collapse. At some point there will be a collapse.

We must all be aware of that. This applies both to the *compañeros* who are in a position to launch campaigns to familiarize public opinion with the situation, and to those representatives of friendly countries where perhaps there are still great shortcomings in terms of fully understanding the complex problems our revolution faces.

There are tremendous economic resources that could be mobilized for the strengthening of a revolutionary process like ours, if everyone were convinced that this revolution has a bearing, not only locally or regionally, but on the whole world.

This is an ongoing revolution in a Third World country that has been able to overthrow imperialist power, that is building national unity with a democratic and pluralistic orientation, that is working miracles in the midst of a series of contradictions, that is trying to make a contribution to our peoples so as to open to them the road to liberation. All this can make the vacillators in many places put confidence in the revolutionaries who are able to conduct their nations towards real independence, social progress, and stability.

And each and every brother or sister in each and every country, must work tirelessly in order that solidarity and material support, economic and financial cooperation, might contribute to breaking through the economic and financial barriers that international reaction is setting up.

We Are Ready to Confront Any Imperialist Aggression

A few days ago they warned us that should the Nicaraguan government persist in alleged military aid to the revolutionary movement of El Salvador, the \$75 million loan from the U.S. government would be immediately suspended, and that its payment would be immediately demanded.

They have now paused to review the granting of the remaining \$15 million. We are morally and politically ready to resist these aggressions.

In any case, we will set a fresh example, an example for everyone. Perhaps it will be an example differing from Chile's simply because of disproving the notion that there cannot be a second revolution in America or

that the revolution can be reversed. We think that when a revolution is a real one, it is irreversible.

So our example might well be that wherever imperialism seeks to reverse a revolution in Latin America, it will find a people ready to fight to the last drop of blood for their independence.

We consider these aspects to be really important. We know that our essential responsibility is to work for the building of the Nicaraguan economy, but it is still more essential to defend ourselves, to mobilize our people, to prepare an army capable of dealing blows to any other army. It is more essential to see that our mass organizations are armed to the teeth.

It might seem to be a contradiction that the defense of our economy, of economic independence, of the actual construction of a progressive economy seeking social justice should be based not only on an economic program, but also on the armed struggle against foreign aggressors.

Our economy might drop to 1940 levels. The circulation of vehicles might cease in this country. We might have immense difficulties with supplies. But we would be securing the future, while reaffirming the right of our country to act according to its interests.

That is why figures are not as important as the way in which we combine certain efforts. The important thing is revolutionary construction, the ability to make the revolution prevail, the ability to maintain national sovereignty and the rights of the Nicaraguan people, to rebuff imperialist financial, political, or military threats and not to yield to their pressures.

We are ready even to die in order to prove it once more—as we proved it during our struggle against the filibusterers in 1856, as we proved it during the 1926-33 war, as we proved it on July 19—and this time with more capacity, ability, experience, self-assurance, and weapons. Nicaragua can be swept away, its land destroyed and turned into salt and ashes, but it will never be conquered.

Great efforts have been made in the cotton harvest, which lacked manpower this year, as we had foreseen. We would like to invite you, once you have completed your program, to pick cotton for Nicaragua.

I intended to give you a brief report, but it turned out to be a speech. In concluding, I would like to thank you on behalf of our people and government for your encouraging presence. We are also pleased to note the presence of dearly beloved brothers and sisters who all for many years have been supporting the worldwide struggle for Nicaragua.

We would like your stay to be very fruitful, and we are going to make all possible efforts for you to draw the highest benefits from this historical and excellent meeting of solidarity with the Nicaraguan people.

Thank you, *compañeros*. □

Grenada, Cuba, and the Caribbean Revolution

[In January 1980, Richard Jacobs was chosen by the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada as its ambassador to Cuba.

[Jacobs, who is just thirty-six-years old, was active during the 1960s in the Black Power movement in Jamaica, where he was studying at the University of the West Indies. After receiving a scholarship to Oxford University in 1968, he participated in the struggle in Britain against the involvement of Barclay's Bank in the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique, which was then a Portuguese colony.

[From 1971 to 1979, Jacobs was a lecturer in political economy at the University of the West Indies in Trinidad. He also served as vice-president of Trinidad's 20,000-member Islandwide Cane Farmers' Trade Union and as a member of the Executive Committee of the Council of Progressive Trade Unions.

[From exile in Trinidad, Jacobs participated in the struggle against the Gairy dictatorship in Grenada. He contributed to the 1974 book, *Independence for Grenada: Myth or Reality?* Following the Grenada revolution, Jacobs also coauthored the book *Grenada: The Route to Revolution*.

[Besides serving as ambassador to Cuba, Jacobs is also Grenada's nonresident ambassador to Nicaragua, Panama, and the Dominican Republic.

[The following interview with Richard Jacobs was obtained on November 28, 1980, in Havana, Cuba, by Ernest Harsch and Osborne Hart.]

* * *

Question. How do you view the relations between Grenada and Jamaica following the Jamaican elections?

Answer. Every country and every people have the right to make their own decisions. The people of Jamaica have elected Edward Seaga. We, of course, respect their views and their choice.

Our objective in the Caribbean has always been to maintain the best of relations between Grenada and our CARICOM [Caribbean Community] partners. And we will make every effort to continue to maintain good relations.

It is, however, well known that we were supportive of the Manley government in Jamaica, principally because of the policies that it pursued in relation to Grenada and the Third World. And as you know, Manley was a great champion of the new international economic order. He provided very sympathetic assistance and support to the Grenada revolution at our most crucial moments.

Our open expectation is that the new government in Jamaica will continue along

those lines and therefore provide us in the Caribbean with the opportunity for greater collaboration.

So far, the present government of Jamaica has not taken any action that would suggest that they have any preconceived ideas, any preformulated hostilities towards the Grenada government. We hope and expect that like all the other CARICOM countries we can work with them.

Q. The U.S. government made little secret of its displeasure with the Manley government, and even initiated a destabilization campaign against it. Do you see a similar attitude by the U.S. ruling circles toward Grenada?

A. From the very beginning of our revolution, the ruling circles, the most backward ruling circles, in the United States have been very hostile towards our revolution.

We have attempted from the very beginning to develop normal relations with the United States. But all the efforts that we have made have so far been unsuccessful.

For example, the United States does not now accept the person whom we have accredited to be ambassador to the United States, Dessima Williams, who is now our ambassador to the OAS [Organization of American States, headquartered in Washington].

The United States is harboring the criminal Gairy. We have taken all necessary measures to facilitate his extradition to Grenada. And yet, we find that there has been no positive response in terms of their own extradition proceedings. So Gairy remains a threat to Grenada. And he is living in the United States without molestation, and indeed with protection, from the government.

When our deputy prime minister, Bernard Coard, went to Washington for meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, he was refused police protection, while at the same time Gairy has been provided with police protection. We view this as an unfriendly act.

We are very clear that the only basis on which we can have normal relations with any state is that both parties must accept the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of each other. We are prepared to do that.

The second condition is that they must accept the right of the people in the Caribbean to ideological pluralism. That is to say, if Grenada wishes to take one ideological path which differs from that of any other territory in the Caribbean, we have that fundamental right.

The third condition is unconditional respect for our sovereignty, unconditional respect.

So far, all the initiatives that we have taken to develop a dialogue with the United States on these matters have failed to materialize. And this is of great concern to us.

We have had to devote an enormous amount of time, energy, and resources to defense. But it would be so much more exciting if the militia, instead of having to do guard duty at night, could sleep at night and work in the morning to improve the roads and improve banana, cocoa, and nutmeg production.

So we are hoping that President Reagan will have a more positive attitude towards the Grenada revolution.

But if he doesn't, Grenada will not die. We are in a position to defend our revolution.

Q. In contrast to the U.S. government's attitude toward Grenada, there's been the Cuban attitude. Could you explain a bit the Cuban response to the Grenada revolution?

A. I think that states act on the basis of their philosophical predispositions.

I don't think it is analytically useful to look at the difference between just the United States and Cuba. I think it is much more useful to look at the difference between imperialism and proletarian internationalism. When you look at it that way, then you begin to understand the response of various nations—and not just the United States—in a negative way towards the Grenada revolution, and the response in a positive way towards the revolution from socialist countries—and not just Cuba.

The fact is that the philosophical predispositions prevailing in Cuba and other socialist countries perceives the independence of states and internal dynamic development as having an interrelated connection.

For example, the aid given to Grenada by Cuba could easily be used by Cuba. They are assisting us in the construction of an airport, but they need airports in Cuba.

So you have to ask yourself the question: Why is it that Cuba, which can use an airport, is assisting Grenada in this project? It seems to me that the major predisposing factor is the commitment to proletarian internationalism, as a fundamental principle of the operation of the state system.

And it is not just Cuba. For example, in the case of Qaddafi of Libya, there is an enormous commitment to proletarian internationalism, and this has been reflected in his relationship with Grenada. And there is the case of Iraq, Algeria, and Syria.

Also the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union in this year has suffered a setback in its agriculture. But it is this year that they choose to give Grenada \$3 million in agricultural equipment, free of cost. Why? Be-

cause they love Grenada? Not because they love Bishop or any other individual in Grenada, but because they perceive Grenada as yet another link in the chain of international proletarian solidarity.

And we are also responding in that way. We have, for example, an agricultural school, in which there are fifty places. We have 200 people applying to go to that school. But we said that we can only accept forty-two people. The other eight people must come from our friends in the Eastern Caribbean. Therefore, we offered scholarships to St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica.

A poor country, Grenada is not in a position to offer scholarships. But because of our understanding of international proletarian solidarity, we do that.

When the hurricane hit Dominica, we couldn't afford much, but we sent what we had, a few dollars, \$5,000 or whatever. We also set aside ten acres of land to produce food which would be sent to Dominica. That is food that we could eat in Grenada.

This is a reflection of the kinds of qualities, the kinds of principles that bind the progressive world together.

I want to caution that proletarian internationalism is not something restricted to the socialist world. While the CIA promotes negative propaganda towards Grenada, we have thousands of Black and white Americans who demonstrate their international solidarity every day. So there are strong elements, significant elements in the United States who are supportive of the Grenada revolution.

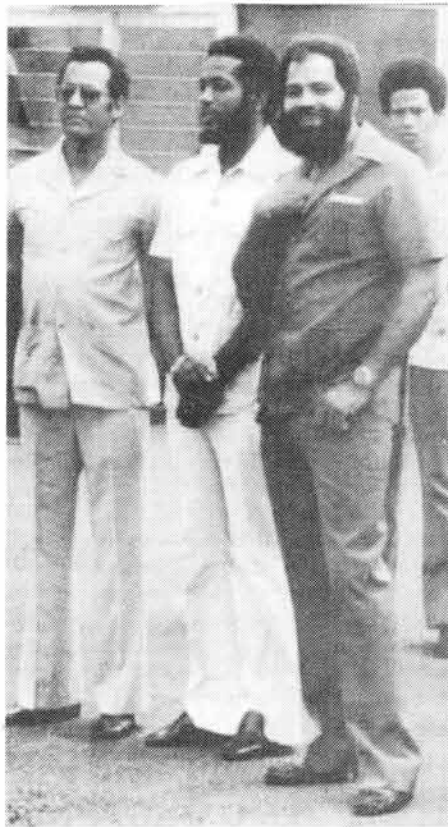
Q. Could you go into some of the concrete ways that Cuba has aided Grenada?

A. I mentioned the airport. That is our biggest project. It will have a very important influence on the development of the Grenada economy. The major objective of the airport is to establish a direct link with the outside world. Right now it is necessary for us to go through either Barbados or Trinidad. Secondly, it will improve dramatically our tourist potential.

Probably the most dramatic area of Cuban assistance has been doctors. They have provided fifteen medical doctors to Grenada, in all fields, including dentistry. This contributed enormously to the improvement of the quality of life of the Grenadian population as a whole.

They have assisted us in upgrading our radio station. When the revolution triumphed, the radio station became a very critical means of communication. But there were sections of Grenada which couldn't hear the radio station—and Grenada is a country of just 144 square miles. We were operating on one kilowatt, from a station that has a five kilowatt capacity.

Everything in the country had degenerated during the Gairy years. The Cuban assistance has been to assist in upgrading the areas of total neglect.



Free West Indian

Richard Jacobs (right) with Grenadian leader Selwyn Strachan and Julian Rizo, Cuba's ambassador to Grenada.

For example, we had a water system that was set down before Gairy came into office. All of the pipes leaked, all of them. Forty percent of the water that was generated leaked out underneath the ground. Gairy didn't care about that. He was getting water, because he had a special pump that pumped water from the main street into his house. So he didn't have a problem. But the people had a problem.

The Cubans assisted us in identifying the leaks. And simply by repairing the leaks, without changing the size of the pipes, we increased the actual piped water in Grenada by 30 percent.

With the assistance of the Cubans, we have also developed our fishing industry. The Cuban government donated eleven fishing boats. Already we are producing our own saltfish, which we had imported previously. By doing that, we have cut down on imports, cut down on our export of capital, and thereby made that amount of money available for development and the creation of jobs.

I think that we need to link up this question with the previous question, about the nature of aid.

Because, you see, the aid that we have been offered in the past, and the aid that emanates from those who advocate the imperialization of the world, is one in which they say: We will give you aid for a specific thing only. That thing is to encourage the

development of the capitalist sector. That's fine if you want to develop the capitalist sector. But suppose we do not wish to develop the capitalist sector. Suppose instead we wish to develop the state sector. Then there's no aid.

Also, in those kinds of circumstances, the aid is inevitably tied to the need to articulate the foreign policy objectives, attitudes, and orientations of the particular government that is giving the aid.

We have said to everybody that we are not interested in that kind of aid. We want aid with no strings attached.

And I think that one of the most profound experiences that we have had in our relationship with Cuba is that they have never asked us to adopt a position on anything, at anytime. They have never sought to dictate the positions that we adopt.

That is what we understand to be a relationship of profound respect, based on mutual sovereignty, mutual acceptance of the sovereign rights of each country to, as the Americans say, do their own thing.

Q. During the Black Power movement in the Caribbean in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there seems to have been little direct influence by the Cuban revolution. How consciously did leaders of the New Jewel Movement, like yourself or Bishop, or others in the English-speaking Caribbean, look to Cuba and see it as an example?

A. Isolation is a terrible thing. The blockade undertaken by the United States against Cuba was not only an economic blockade. It was also a psychological blockade. It was a propaganda initiative of no mean order, where there was a constant bombardment on the airwaves, in the newspapers, in the universities, and so on. It was a very hostile anti-Cuban campaign.

That was one factor that contributed to our own lack of contact with the Cuban revolution in a concrete way in the early stages.

It was also a question of even getting to Cuba. How do you get to Cuba? You had to go to Mexico, and then come to Cuba. Or you had to go to the Soviet Union to get to Cuba. It was a very serious matter, the isolation.

The other thing, of course, was the linguistic barrier, which was also very serious.

And the Caribbean territories, politically speaking, were still colonies. Their link was with England.

We were brought up on the myth of English infallibility, British invincibility. But when the empire began to collapse, people began to realize that Britain was not in fact invincible, not infallible. The net effect was to create the conditions for liberation throughout Africa and the Caribbean, the English colonies.

So when our generation returned to the West Indies [after studying abroad], when the time came for mobilizing, the intellectual initiative for the early mobilization came from the English-speaking world, basically the United States and England. It is in that

context that Black Power had a significant hold on the region.

I remember when Stokely Carmichael¹ came to Trinidad around 1970, he made the point that you have got Black Power here, because the white power was not overt.

But white power controlled the banks, in the case of Trinidad and Grenada and other territories. The churches were staffed and controlled by Europeans. Whites also controlled significant elements of the land; if you look at Barbados or St. Vincent, you see that kind of pattern. So it was in that context that Black Power became an issue in the Caribbean.

But it soon dawned on people, including me, that Black Power was not a sustaining ideology. Because there were serious questions to be asked about white people who were not hostile to Blacks.

In the era of Black Power, the world correlation of forces started to take a positive move towards the liberation movements, the independence movements. People started asking themselves: What is the basis for the positions adopted by people like Sékou Touré and Kwame Nkrumah?² Because these were the heroes of our era. You obviously had to go back to Marx.

We developed in the Black Power movement a lot of specious arguments about people who were psychologically Black or psychologically white. These were nonsensical, but it was a phenomenon of transition.

For example, when the time came to explain Lenin's contribution to the liberation of Africa, the only conclusion that a Black Power man could come to was that Lenin was psychologically Black.

Then the issue arose about Fidel Castro. He liberated the Black people of Cuba. What kind of man was Fidel Castro? Absurd as it might sound now, that was a critical issue. We started off by saying that Fidel Castro was psychologically Black, and then we ended up by saying that he was Black! And then people asked the question about Che, because he also was a hero. What color is Che? Che is Black.

What else could you say? That was the predominant ideology, that good things are only Black. Black is beautiful and so on. And, you know, it reached the stage where Black Power people were saying that God is Black.

1. Stokely Carmichael, who is now known as Kwame Toure, was a prominent leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—one of the main student groups in the U.S. civil rights movement of the early 1960s. Carmichael then became a leader of the Black Power movement during the late 1960s and for a short period was a member of the Black Panther Party.

Carmichael later founded the pan-Africanist All-African People's Revolutionary Party, which he currently heads.

2. Sékou Touré has been president of Guinea since that West African country gained its independence from France in 1958. Kwame Nkrumah led Ghana to independence from Britain in 1957; he was overthrown by a proimperialist military coup in 1966. Both were advocates of pan-Africanism.

That dynamic required a rational solution. The fact was that Lenin was not Black. He was anti-imperialist.

And that is where the influence of the Cuban revolution entered into the struggles for liberation in the Caribbean. Here you had an anti-imperialist man, Fidel Castro, who is white, who was doing everything that the Black Power people said only a Black man could do.

People started looking for solutions. They were talking about a Black government. But what does that mean? What does a Black government do? And they looked at examples all over the world where there were Black people in power, but where white people controlled the economy.

I think it is in that context that one can see the emergence of a link between Cuba and the rest of the Caribbean.

It was also in that era—as a converging factor—that the balance of forces now made it more possible for Cuba to emerge out of its isolation. Because of the developing left orientation in the Caribbean, the governments of the Caribbean—Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, Guyana—were forced to recognize Cuba.

That meant that there was an opportunity for interaction. Through that we got the development of the friendship associations. And I always say to my friends in ICAP, the Cuban Institute for Friendship of the Peoples, that they were the first contacts that we had with the Cuban revolution. That was a fact.

We came to Cuba, and it was a startling experience for us. You come here as a socialist, but you come here with an exposure only to imperialist propaganda, where people tell you that people are lying in the streets, suffering from starvation. This is the propaganda. I remember the first time that I came to the beach. It was a startling experience to see everybody happy.

The reality is, when you come to Cuba, you see the fantastic impact of the revolution. And we went back committed to a model that would pull us out of poverty.

What is certain is that the model that we had been using had condemned us to persistent and permanent poverty. The Westminster, capitalist, proimperialist model was just not working. It bred unemployment. In the case of Grenada, we had 57 percent unemployment on the day of the revolution. No country in the Caribbean, except for Cuba, had less than 15 or 20 percent unemployment. It bred illiteracy, poor housing, poor health conditions.

So we had to find a model. And for us in Grenada, the approach that we have been pursuing is the noncapitalist approach. It has been having enormous rewards.

For example, it is the noncapitalist approach that has us on the verge of eradicating illiteracy. No other country in the English-speaking Caribbean has been able to do that.

This is what the imperialists see as the real danger of the Grenada revolution.

During the first anniversary of the revolution, the Grenada leadership invited Ken Gordon of the *Trinidad Express*, one of our severest critics, to come and see the Grenada revolution. He went back to Trinidad and wrote that, boy, they have made impressive gains in Grenada. That's what he said. But then he added that Grenada is a real danger, because if Grenada can make these gains under a noncapitalist model, people elsewhere will get ideas that the noncapitalist model can apply to them too.

They see that as a danger. We perceive it as a contribution to international understanding and international proletarian solidarity. Whatever experiences we have, we are able to pass them on to other people.

Another danger they see in the Grenada revolution is its communicability. Grenada, as you know, is the first English-speaking revolution in this century. What that means is that all the English-speaking Caribbean territories now can communicate with Grenada in a way they couldn't communicate with Cuba and the Soviet Union.

And in the United States, the lessons will be learned. If Grenada can be free, then the Black colony of the United States—as Stokely Carmichael described it—can also be free.

So one of the fears of imperialism is that Grenada will set an example to English-speaking people throughout the world, to Black people. They fear it. It can upset their plans for domination.

But we have no such ambitions. Our only ambition is to develop our country to move forward. But if, perchance, we provide an example for somebody else, well, we are willing to teach them, to assist in their development.

As our leaders have repeatedly stated, Grenada does not constitute a threat to anybody. We are a very small island in the Caribbean Sea, with many small islands. We have 120,000 people. All our military capacity is for defense. We don't have the capacity to launch an attack against anybody else. We don't have any interest in doing that. We do not see ourselves as exporting revolution. We see ourselves as developing our revolution.

In fact, theoretically, no one has the capacity to export revolution. Revolution is a phenomenon that comes about as a result of the convergence of objective and subjective factors in a concrete situation. That is what happened in Grenada. That is what happened in Cuba. That is what happened in Nicaragua. And that is what is happening in El Salvador. No amount of sabre-rattling will prevent the development of these revolutionary processes.

So, it will emerge that Grenada presents absolutely no threat to anybody else. And in that context, there is no reason why we cannot proceed along the chosen line of peace. For us, that is a very important point. Because if we don't have peace and coexistence, our resources will be misdirected, and that will mean that the revolution will not be

able to develop, or at least will have a skewed development.

But if we are not able to develop in peace, we will just have to fight to develop. We are prepared to do that. It is not an arrogant statement. It is a statement of fact. We cannot be intimidated. We have spent too long a time struggling for our freedom. It is something we regard very, very dearly.

Q. Nineteen eighty was the year of education and production in Grenada, and you just mentioned that the drive against illiteracy would be completed soon. What are the next immediate goals of the revolution, in the coming year or two?

A. That's a very important question, because that is an area where I think the people in the United States who are sympathetic to our revolution can make a tremendous contribution.

The main problem that we have is a problem of unemployment. We had, as I said, 57 percent of the population unemployed on the day of the revolution. We have now reached 43 percent of the population unemployed—it might be down to 40 percent. But this is still a large percentage of the population. We have not yet put everybody to work, and that is the major objective of the revolution.

How do you put people to work? We have established a program of cooperatives, mixing, as we say, idle lands with idle hands. That will put a lot of people to work.

But we need also to industrialize our society. We have invested a lot, and we will continue to invest a lot, of our limited resources in the program of industrialization.

The government is committed to a mixed economy. We can use any investment interests people have, who are prepared not to be exploitative in their relationship with the people of Grenada. Our people are very excellent workmen. They can contribute to the profitability of a company, as well as to the society.

I think that, especially among the Black community in the United States, there are ways of dealing with our unemployment problem. Even increased tourism would contribute to the solution. The establishment of industries in Grenada, small industries employing under 100 or 200 people, would be a great incentive to the development of the Grenada revolution.

Another important objective now is mobilizing the people as a whole to be involved in the democratic process in Grenada.

You see, we inherited a tradition of oligarchy. From the days of slavery on the plantation, there was only one boss, the plantation master. When you go to colonialism, there was only one boss, the governor. When you go to neocolonialism and Gairyism, there was only one boss, Gairy. So we had a tradition of authoritarianism.

But we have set into motion an enormous process of democratization in Grenada, where everybody has the institutional ability to contribute to the decision-making process. The trade unions, the women's organi-

zations, the youth organizations, the pioneer organizations, the militia, all of them have this ability to contribute to the process of democratization.

But it is a slow process. People have not been accustomed to participate. They still respond to the conception of an individual person who will be there to guide them and make decisions on their behalf. But that

can't work. It must be a democratic process, total democratization.

We are therefore concerned with institutionalizing it. It's not going to happen in one year. It will take some time to develop democratic institutions.

So I would say these are the two major objectives in the coming years: the solution of the unemployment problem and the institutionalization of democratic forms. □

Actors, Singers, Writers Not Allowed to Work

Argentine Regime Blacklists Artists

[The following dispatch from Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency, appeared in the January 25 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*, published in Havana.]

* * *

For the last five years, Argentine artists have been unable to find jobs in motion pictures, radio or television in spite of the fact that there are no laws against it.

The category of "blacklisted" came into being in the wake of the March 1976 military coup and it ranges from Luis Brandoni, head of the Actors' Association of Argentina, to internationally known tango singer Hugo del Carril.

Others on the list were folk singers Horacio Guarani, who has been the victim of several attacks, Mercedes Sosa, who was even banned from appearing in small concert halls—the only ones who had the courage to hire her—and popular singer, actor and film director Leonardo Favio.

The endless list is also composed of actors Víctor Laplace, Jorge Rivera López, Irme Roy, Emilio Alfaro, Carlos Carella, Federico Luppi and Roberto Galán, one of the most popular figures of Argentine TV.

To the roster of actors, singers, folk groups, journalists whom no mass media organ will hire, and writers banned from every publishing house, we may add the dozens who had to leave the country for political or economic reasons and others who are in prison or have disappeared.

Recently, a number of artists were taken off the blacklist, among them Osvaldo Publiese, one of the best-known composers and bandleaders of typical Argentine music; folk singers Atahualpa Yupanqui and Horacio Guarani himself, and actors Federico Luppi, Haydée Padillo, Héctor Alterio and several others.

TV master of ceremonies Roberto Galán who, like many others of his colleagues doesn't know why he's on the blacklist, said, "I'd like to know why I can't get work, I want reasons. I also want to know what I'm accused of."

Leonardo Favio recently wrote a letter to

General Roberto Viola, who will be inaugurated as president in March, in which he said, "Just because I'm a thinking man, for the last four years I've been the object of persecution that makes it impossible for me, as well as many other actors, to find a job."

Hugo del Carril, who's allowed to appear only in nightclub shows and small concert halls, said, "Last year I went through the bitter experience time and time again of not being able to work in my own country, that is, officially."

Noted actor and motion picture director Alfredo Alcón denounced the ban, saying, "It affects colleagues who have always complied with the law and who are ostracized in an overt violation of a basic right: the right to work."

Writer, poetess, composer and singer María Elena Walsh, banned from singing publicly and having her works published, said, "Unless you abide by the rules imposed by your society, you run the risk of having your head cut off—metaphorically speaking—or something like that." And the "something like that" can be taken for "not as metaphorically as it may seem." □

Your library should get *Intercontinental Press.*

Intercontinental Press is a unique source for political developments throughout the world. *IP* is the only English-language magazine with a full-time bureau in Managua, providing weekly reports on the development of the revolutionary upsurge in Central America. *IP* correspondents provide our readers with in-depth coverage of events such as the Iranian revolution, the freedom struggle in South Africa, and the workers struggle in Poland.

Many of the documents, speeches, and interviews we publish appear nowhere else in English. Why not ask your library to subscribe? Make sure others get a chance to read *IP* too.

British Miners Stop Pit Closings

By David Frankel

British coal miners have handed Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher a stunning defeat. By forcing Thatcher to back off from plans for massive pit-closings and layoffs, the miners dealt a powerful blow to the anti-working-class offensive of the British rulers and set an inspiring example for workers throughout the world.

As part of its cutbacks in public spending, the Thatcher government planned to close twenty-three coal mines by April 1982, and to eventually close as many as fifty of the 219 mines in the country's nationalized coal industry. At stake were some 30,000 jobs.

On February 17, about 26,000 miners in South Wales went on strike to protest the planned closings. They were joined that same day by 3,000 miners in Kent.

Although the National Union of Miners executive had not yet voted to authorize a strike, by February 18 miners throughout Scotland had joined the walkout and railway workers were refusing to move coal to power stations.

"So the militants are setting the pace, and the moderates are panting to catch up," complained Britain's main financial

weekly, the *Economist*, in its February 21 issue.

With the memory of the 1974 miners' strike that brought down the Tory government of Edward Heath still vivid, Thatcher beat a hasty retreat.

Commenting on Thatcher's decision in the February 19 *New York Times*, Youssef M. Ibrahim noted that she "feared a prolonged miners' strike now because of the devastating effect it would have on the already depressed British economy."

Like others in the capitalist press, Ibrahim also pointed to the support for the miners in the rest of the British labor movement.

But there is another factor that should be noted. That is the recent shift to the left by the British Labor Party.

The intensification of the class struggle that would have resulted from a confrontation between the government and the miners would have helped push the Labour Party further to the left. At the same time, the hand of the miners would have been strengthened by the stance of the Labour Party.

Thatcher is now on the defensive, and

other layers of the working class have been inspired by the victory of the miners. Thatcher's defeat is particularly important since she has personified the capitalist drive to further militarize British society while forcing down the standard of living of the working class.

As David K. Willis put it in the February 20 *Christian Science Monitor*, "By suddenly backing down in a dispute with militant coal miners, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has encouraged more than 2 million other government-paid workers to call even more vociferously for pay raises this spring." □



THATCHER: Not so confident anymore.

West Germany

Social Democrats Divide Over Nuclear Arms and Austerity

Pressure from the ranks of the working class is creating rifts at the top of the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is now facing extensive opposition within the SPD's parliamentary delegation to his policies on nuclear arms, nuclear power, arms exports, and austerity.

At the center of the fight is the issue of nuclear weapons, particularly the 1979 decision by NATO to deploy an additional 572 nuclear missiles in Western Europe by the end of 1983. Schmidt got the December 1979 conference of the SPD to go along with that decision by linking the plan for more missiles to the pursuit of a new arms agreement with Moscow.

As many as 50 of the SPD's 218 parliamentary deputies are now demanding that the deployment of the new missiles be delayed, or else scrapped altogether.

SPD deputies are also demanding that the military budget be cut by some \$500 million. Schmidt had slashed the West German budget by \$8 billion in November,

concentrating on social welfare and environmental programs, while increasing military spending by 1.75 percent.

Proposals for the export of submarines to the Chilean junta and of tanks to the Saudi monarchy are also under fire.

"The current debate on defense issues comes amid a discernible growth of the undercurrent of pacifist sentiment in West Germany," *Washington Post* correspondent Bradley Graham noted February 18. Defense Minister Hans Apel has complained publicly about the antimilitarist climate in the country.

"The very numbers of nuclear warheads on West German territory are said to be enough to cause widespread public fright," Graham remarked.

Finally, Schmidt is faced with a growing movement against nuclear power, whose development he is backing. Even the SPD organization in Hamburg, Schmidt's hometown, has voted against the development of new nuclear projects.

According to a report in the February 23 issue of *Time* magazine, Schmidt told his aides, "We've got to get this mess under control fast. Too much is at stake."

An emergency meeting of the SPD's national executive board was held February 11 and issued a statement declaring, "The political task of social democracy remains the decisive support of Helmut Schmidt and his government."

But the statement did not address the sharpest points of conflict within the SPD. And West Germany's imperialist partners are obviously upset at the expression of opposition to the militarization drive and the capitalist economic offensive in the SPD.

As the British business weekly *Economist* said in its February 14 issue: "In the present economic and political climate the left seems set to gain ground. Germany is in a recession, and unlikely to get out again in a hurry, so arguments over how limited funds are to be spent will become shriller." □