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USA: Coal Miners Square Off Against Reagan



Northern Ireland:
Political Prisoners
Resume Hunger
Strike

*Nicaraguan Leader
Tomás Borge
Answers Charges
of Rights Abuses*

*On-the-Scene
Report From
El Salvador:*

**RESULTS OF
THE FMLN
OFFENSIVE**

Pentagon Pushes for Nuclear First Strike



Air-launched Cruise missiles are element of Pentagon's first strike plans.

El Salvador—Reagan Draws Fire in U.S., Canada

By Fred Murphy

The Reagan administration announced March 2 that it is sending an additional \$25 million worth of arms and equipment and twenty more military advisers to the Salvadoran dictatorship.

This step-up in U.S. intervention in Central America came amid rising protest in the United States and abroad and growing nervousness in ruling-class political circles as to the wisdom of Reagan's course.

Despite claims that it is backing moderation and reforms in El Salvador, the real effect of Reagan's course has been to encourage the most right-wing sectors of the military there.

"Western sources here are suggesting that to end the terrorism [i.e., the massive opposition to the dictatorship], the United States may look favorably on strategies followed in Brazil and Uruguay, where dissent was eliminated along with subversives," *Washington Post* correspondent Christopher Dickey reported in a February 28 dispatch.

"The message being received by conservative Salvadorans," Dickey continued, "is that if the guerrillas and the terrorists . . . have to be eliminated altogether to achieve peace, then so be it."

Reagan's moves put so much wind into the sails of the right wing that Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson—reputedly the head of the Death Squads—held a news conference in San Salvador on March 3 and openly called for a new coup to oust President Napoleón Duarte and other Christian Democrats from the government. He said Washington "would not be bothered" by such a development—"The Reagan administration is with the armed forces."

Washington needs to keep Duarte around for its propaganda purposes abroad, so it was quick to disavow D'Aubuisson's statements. But on at least one point the State Department and the murderous major appeared to be in full agreement.

Sources close to President Duarte made it known in the first days of March that he was planning a trip to West Germany to initiate talks with representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the broad coalition of opposition forces that Washington has been trying to brand as nothing more than a "Communist front."

The day after D'Aubuisson's threats Duarte announced that he had made no plans for such talks or for a trip to Europe. "I cannot go at this moment," he told

reporters.

Washington's position on negotiations was put clearly by John Bushnell of the State Department at Congressional hearings on March 5. The Salvadoran freedom fighters must first "give up their attempt to take power through the barrel of a gun" before any talks can be held, Bushnell said. In other words—surrender to Duarte and the colonels.

Nor is Duarte himself particularly serious about making concessions to the rebels. "We are not willing to negotiate any position in the Government," he said on March 4, "because the only people who have the right to determine positions in the Government is the Salvadoran people through elections."

Calling "elections" for 1982 is the latest ploy by Duarte and Washington to refurbish the junta's badly tarnished image abroad. The real content of this move was outlined by Dickey in the March 1 *Washington Post*: "A general clean-up [of 'subversives'] would be coupled with movement toward the election of a constituent assembly in order to provide a democratic opening or at least a democratic facade for the current self-appointed, U.S.-backed government."

Convincing the most extreme right-wing sectors of the officer corps to go along with this maneuver is still an obstacle, however, as D'Aubuisson's threats showed.

Reagan's confrontationist course met with little sympathy abroad during the State Department's diplomatic offensive in late February. Fresh difficulties have since broken out in Canada.

After talks with Secretary of State Alexander Haig in early February, Canadian foreign minister Mark MacGuigan declared that Washington could count on Ottawa's "quiet acquiescence" to its moves in El Salvador.

That caused a storm of protest in Canada—in the streets, in the press, and in Parliament. On February 28, hundreds of persons marched in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and other cities against U.S. intervention and Canadian complicity.

In the House of Commons, the Trudeau government's policy toward Central America was attacked by leaders of both the New Democratic Party (NDP—Canada's labor party) and the Conservative Party. NDP leader Ed Broadbent told demonstrators in Ottawa February 24 that the Salvadoran rebels had a right to take arms from Communist sources because there was no other way to overthrow an oppressive regime.

Finally Prime Minister Trudeau had to pledge to tell Reagan it "is a mistake" to give military aid to the Salvadoran junta when the U.S. president visits Canada March 10-11.

Canadian solidarity organizations were planning further protests to coincide with Reagan's visit.

In late February and early March, a delegation from FDR-affiliated trade unions visited the United States under the auspices of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The labor leaders met with officials and addressed meetings of such big U.S. unions as the steelworkers, auto workers, and machinists.

Reagan's military moves are also meeting resistance from the hierarchy of the Catholic church in the United States. The U.S. Catholic Conference declared March 2 that in El Salvador "the principal responsibility for violence rests with the junta" and that "the provision of military assistance by the United States . . . identifies the U.S., at least symbolically, with the repressive role of the security forces."

A delegation of five Catholic leaders told Secretary of State Haig February 23 that the bishop's conference wants an end to U.S. military aid to the junta.

One indication of the mounting concern in ruling-class circles regarding Reagan's course in Central America was the sudden rediscovery by the *New York Times* of a State Department "dissent paper" that was first brought to light last November. (The complete text was published in the December 15 *Intercontinental Press* and is still available for \$1.25.)

In a March 6 column, *Times* foreign affairs writer Flora Lewis drew attention to the document, which she said shows "how many pitfalls have been overlooked in the U.S. reaction to Salvador's awesomely bloody civil war, the links and implications for the region as a whole, and the grave danger that the policy Reagan is now pressing forward will produce the opposite of desired results."

The key point of the paper, Lewis said, "is that U.S. involvement in Salvador's war will almost surely spread the fighting to other countries and bring more, not less, intervention from Communist regimes. Negotiation will be even harder now than last year, and it is much more necessary."

The State Department responded to the *Times* column the next day by denying that the "dissent paper" was an official document and complaining that "it is unfortunate that anonymous opponents of our policy in El Salvador choose to exploit the American press with their propaganda in such a deceptive manner."

Reagan, Haig, and company may find it unfortunate, but the debate over intervention in El Salvador will not be so easily brushed aside. And their opponents have a name: the American workers and youth. □

Reagan's Nod to Pretoria

By Ernest Harsch

The new administration in Washington, President Reagan said in a televised interview March 3, should be "helpful" to the South African authorities.

He added—in direct response to the African liberation movements and other anti-apartheid forces who have been demanding an end to all U.S. aid to the racist white minority regime—"Can we abandon a country that has stood beside us in every war we have fought? A country that, strategically, is essential to the free world in its production of minerals that we all must have?"

As his first public comment on South Africa since taking office, Reagan's message was clear: the apartheid regime in Pretoria could count on continued U.S. backing.

The interview was not the only signal of Washington's intentions in southern Africa. Just three days later, the U.S. representative to the United Nations abstained on a General Assembly vote calling for trade sanctions against South Africa because of its continued illegal occupation of Namibia. Washington has made it clear that it will veto any similar resolution in the UN Security Council.

Among Reagan's appointees, several have already made their support for the South African regime public.

One is Ernest Lefever, who has been named assistant secretary of state for "human rights and humanitarian affairs." He has publicly attacked those who have criticized the South African regime. The research center that he founded—called the Ethics and Public Policy Center—is partly funded by South African sources.

Another is Chester A. Crocker, a member of the conservative Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, who is now the assistant secretary of state for African affairs. In an article in the January-February issue of *Africa Report*, Crocker referred to the South African regime as "an integral and important element of the Western global economic system. Historically, South Africa is by its nature part of us."

Reaction among the white rulers of South Africa to Reagan's remarks was jubilant. A headline in the Afrikaans-language *Die Vaderland* declared the day after Reagan's interview, "U.S. Will Not Leave South Africa in the Lurch."

Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha welcomed Reagan's remarks, and noted that South Africa's strategic value to the West rested on the "maintenance of civilized value standards"—a euphemism for continued white rule over the country's Black majority.

Despite occasional statements critical of

the South African authorities made during previous administrations, economic, political, and military backing for the apartheid regime has long been a keystone of U.S. policy toward southern Africa. Reagan was reaffirming that policy.

At the same time, however, Reagan's remarks indicated a willingness to back the apartheid regime more openly and to ease up on the pro forma criticisms of apartheid that U.S. diplomats must sometimes make.

Such a shift in public stance would give Pretoria greater diplomatic leverage in the negotiations over Namibia and allow it to show South Africa's rebellious Blacks that it has powerful allies abroad.

But in trying to make such a shift, Reagan will also have to be mindful of the likely reaction to it. As Chester Crocker noted, "In political terms, South Africa is not embraceable without our incurring massive diplomatic damage and risking severe domestic polarization." □

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USA: Coal Miners Ready for a Fight

By Stu Singer

[On February 18 U.S. President Ronald Reagan called for massive increases in Washington's war budget, coupled with \$45 billion in budget cuts hitting everything from education, unemployment insurance, retirement benefits, and school lunches, to black lung benefits for coal miners.

[Black lung is a crippling respiratory disease caused by the coal dust miners breathe on the job. Four thousand miners a year die from the disease, and 70 percent of retired miners show black lung symptoms.

[In 1969, after years of struggle that included strikes, demonstrations, and the ousting of their procompany union leaders, the miners won a law providing benefits for black lung victims. Now, Reagan is trying to gut that program.

[Responding to this attack, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) President Sam Church announced February 27 that the union would call a two-day work stoppage March 9 and 10, and urge miners throughout the country to demonstrate in Washington March 9.

[Reagan's attack on the miners comes as the UMWA's national contract is about to expire on March 27. The last time the bosses tried to take on the UMWA, in 1977-1978, there was a 110-day nationwide strike.

[Meanwhile, the UMWA is one of the central forces in the March 28 demonstration set for Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The Harrisburg protest is against nuclear power, for jobs for all, and in support of the coal miners in their contract fight. It will take place on the second anniversary of the Three Mile Island nuclear accident.

[The following article on the issues in the UMWA contract negotiations appeared in the March 13 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia—About a month before the expiration of the Bituminous Coal Contract the companies distributed a propaganda package to every United Mine Workers member in the United States.

It caused strong reaction.

"People looked at it, read some, got mad, and tore it up. It was lying around the floor. Everybody read a little. Some read the whole thing. Everybody was mad."

This is how Phil Scott, a miner from northern West Virginia, described the gray, twenty-page pamphlet.

Phil Scott said he almost stopped reading on page 1. That's where the companies

subtly remind the miners: "Over 20,000 miners are laid off. Many mines are closed. . . . The American economy suffered a severe slump in 1980 and there are no reliable indicators that we can expect much of a recovery in 1981.

"Autos, and the steel from which they are made, have been particularly hard hit. Chrysler, as we all know, is fighting for its life. . . ."

"I hope they don't expect us to take a pay cut and help them build new facilities. That Chrysler thing turned me off right away," Scott said. "Other miners didn't have any trouble getting the message either."

For the coal companies to point to their weak brothers at Chrysler Corporation is a joke and the miners know it.

"The biggest mine owners are the oil companies. And they're making plenty of money," Rich Poling, another miner, told me.

And he's right. The oil companies are getting bigger and bigger shares of coal, and their profits are skyrocketing. Of the top fifteen coal producers, those owned by oil companies produce 34 percent of the coal.

Get Rich From Black Lung

Some miners I talked with had read the whole gray book. They said what got them

the maddest was about pensions and black lung benefits.

On page 17 the companies explain that a West Virginia miner who retires and gets black lung benefits would make \$27,927 a year, "or 157 percent of his income after taxes while working."

It's a damn lie.

And it isn't the first time the operators floated this story. Although, like other fish stories, the amount keeps getting bigger.

The January and February issues of the *United Mine Workers Journal* have a series of articles by staff writer Mike Hall defending the black lung benefits program against attacks from company doctors.

Dr. W.K.C. Morgan wrote an article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* last year claiming that miners suffer lung damage from smoking too many cigarettes, not from breathing coal dust. He calls for gutting or eliminating the black lung program.

"A sixty-two-year-old single miner from Pennsylvania who qualifies for black lung benefits . . . [has] an annual income of \$20,530," Morgan claimed, "and only his pension is taxable. The annual wage under the 1978 contract is \$18,500."

The medical establishment was so scared by the specter of miners making a decent living when they retire that they editorially endorsed Morgan's lies.

But the *UMWA Journal* pursued the question. They called Morgan to get the name of any miner getting that big a pension. Morgan said that an attorney for Bethlehem Steel, a major coal company, had told him about it.

The UMWA writer then contacted Bethlehem. They said it was not unusual for retired miners to get over \$20,000, and they

Socialist Miner Hails Union Stand

[The following is a statement by DeAnn Rathbun, a member of United Mine Workers Local 1190 at Bethlehem Steel's Ellsworth Mine. Rathbun is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh.]

In calling a two-day walkout against Reagan's proposed cut in black lung benefits, my union has taken a big step that aids all victims of the new White House budget—from those who will lose food stamps, to the children denied school lunches, to the jobless workers threatened with no more unemployment compensation.

I'm proud that the mine workers are also in the forefront of the March 28 national demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a march that will demand no Three Mile Islands, support to the miners, and jobs for all.

It took massive strikes and demon-

strations for us to win black lung benefits in the first place. The same kind of action is called for today to defend these and other rights.

Miners are up against a tough contract battle this month. Just like Carter the Democrat, Reagan the Republican is backing the coal bosses all the way.

The bipartisan assault on miners and the rest of labor points up the need to match independent action in the streets, like on March 9 and March 28, with an equally independent course in politics. The union movement needs to form a labor party.

Such a party would fight to extend black lung benefits, not cut them; it would campaign to arrest the killers of Black children in Atlanta, not protect them; it would fight for more schools, hospitals, and housing, and favor *not one cent* for the warmakers in Washington.

promised to provide examples.

A month later they told the union that they would not provide examples. But, they assured, "many" people get that much.

The *UMWA Journal* did its own calculations. "If all maximum figures are used, the highest black lung award, the maximum UMWA pension and \$400 Social Security retirement income, that adds up to \$16,548 a year. . . . More reasonable figures add up to \$13,735 a year.

"But even that so-called lower figure is more than most retired miners actually receive after decades of toiling underground, risking life and health."

Miners know the truth about pensions. Most retired miners live in poverty. They can't keep up with inflation. They have to fight, scrape, and pressure to get any of the benefits they are entitled to, especially black lung. And benefits or not, black lung is killing them by the tens of thousands. It is incurable.

Rich Poling said, "The young miners respect the old ones; they built the union, fought together for what we have now. It's our obligation to fight for them. These company lies get every miner I know mad as hell."

Safety

"I don't like that part about 'there is more than enough safety,'" Poling said. He was referring to page 19. The companies claim, "The UMWA-National Agreement and the Federal Mine Safety and Health Act and regulations issued under that act contain more than enough provisions on safety and health." This follows a sentence that says "Safety, productivity, and cost effectiveness should go hand in hand."

But they don't.

Phil Scott gave an example.

"When you get to an area where it looks like the roof is about to fall, you stop. If the boss wants you to go on, you call for a safety committeeman. The way it works the bosses are supposed to get him. They call up. But then they tell you to keep working until he gets there. If we wanted to keep working we wouldn't have stopped in the first place. Safety is a big part of mining."

1969 Mine Safety Law

Company figures in their gray book say that mine fatalities have gone down dramatically since 1969. That is true. But the companies don't mention why.

It took a gigantic effort by coal miners to force the West Virginia legislature and the U.S. Congress to pass watered-down versions of the safety and health laws miners needed. It took the outrage over the death of seventy-eight miners in the Consol mine disaster at Farmington, West Virginia, in November 1968 to finally push the law through. The companies fought it every inch of the way, as did the reactionary

company man who was union president then, Tony Boyle.

The company gray book fails to report the different safety records between union



Earl Dotter

Coal mining is the most dangerous of all U.S. industries. If bosses have their way, it will get more dangerous.

and nonunion mines and that it's the union safety committees which forced compliance with the laws.

Injuries and Medical Care

But there is also another side. While fatalities are down, the continued push for productivity and some training provisions lost in the last contract have resulted in increased disabling injuries. In about the same period of time that fatalities declined from 1.03 per million work hours to 0.34 (from 1969 to 1979), disabling injuries increased from 48.41 to 50.47 (in 1978).

The gray book is effusive about how well paid miners are and what great benefits they have.

Miners have won some important medical benefits in the past, although they have been cut back since the last contract. They are not as great as the companies pretend.

For example, Phil Scott pointed out, "We have no dental coverage, so if you get hit in the mouth by something, you are not covered as if you were hit in the arm. That shows what the companies think of us."

Overpaid?

The companies' booklet has charts pretending to show that miners' average hourly income is increasing faster than inflation.

But according to the UMWA bargaining bulletin dated February 2, 1981, "By the time the contract expires, the consumer price index will actually have grown some

40%. The two 70-cent-per-hour wage increases during that time increased wages only an average of 16.5%."

The companies also claim that UMWA miners are paid 63 percent more than the average for other workers. It's a false comparison. Unionized steel, auto, construction, trucking, rail, and refinery workers all make more than coal miners. Figures don't lie but company liars can afford to print their figures in hundreds of thousands of gray booklets.

Productivity

Another focus of the gray book is productivity. The operators claim that high wages have kept them from increasing productivity.

Their productivity claims are full of lies and distortions. In the first place even industry figures indicate that productivity in union mines in 1980 shot up 7.7 percent. Since they keep raising their prices also, this boost is pure profit.

There is a good explanation of productivity for the coal industry in a report prepared by the U.S. Congress Office of Technology Assessment. The report, called *The Direct Use of Coal*, was issued in April 1979. It points out, for example, that tonnage, employment figures, and the number of hours per shift are reported according to different criteria for each company. They can easily manipulate the reports to show productivity gains or declines.

The improved environmental protection requirements for strip mine reclamation and the sulfur content for coal burned in power plants has lowered productivity. Companies have to devote time and money in meeting these standards.

Why does the gray book compare figures for productivity today with 1969?

That was the year the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act was passed. The results of that law were referred to earlier in the dramatic drop in mine fatalities. The improved safety measures did cut into productivity.

Union mines, where safety regulations are enforced, are safer than nonunion mines. They may produce less coal per miner because of this, but that is only bad for the blood-thirsty coal companies. They are telling the miners, through this gray book, that profits come before the lungs and lives of coal miners.

The operators and their government are right now face to face with their most formidable opponent among unionized workers. A fight against the program contained in the gray book and Reagan's budget cuts of black lung benefits means a big class battle.

That is what the stakes are in the coming miners' contract. It is a fight affecting every miner and every working person.

"I hope they don't think they're going to impose a Chrysler settlement on us," Phil Scott said. "There's no way we'll take it."

Iranian Socialist Nemat Jazayeri Released From Prison

By Janice Lynn

A victory has been won in the campaign to secure the release of Iranian socialist worker Nemat Jazayeri. On March 3, Jazayeri, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran was released from Evin Prison following a six-month campaign to win his freedom.

The HKE is now concentrating its efforts at winning back the jobs of eight socialists who have recently been fired from three different factories in Iran.

Jazayeri had worked as a lathe operator at the Ray-O-Vac battery factory in Tehran prior to his arrest. He was imprisoned

September 8 after having been sent by Ray-O-Vac managers to the Organization of Nationalized Industries, which is in charge of nationalized factories such as Ray-O-Vac. He was questioned there about his socialist views.

Upon hearing the news of Jazayeri's release, Ray-O-Vac workers as well as workers in other factories celebrated by passing out candies and chocolates. Jazayeri's case had become a pole of attraction for workers who had been victimized by the bosses.

Socialists went to the Tehran bus termi-

nal where workers line up to travel to their jobs and announced the victory. They quickly sold 100 copies of the HKE newspaper *Kargar*.

No charges were ever brought against Jazayeri and when he was released he was informed that no charges were being filed. He plans to return to his job at Ray-O-Vac.

During the campaign for Jazayeri's release, HKE members spoke before hundreds of workers at Tehran's Workers' House and at meetings of various factory *shoras* (committees) and Islamic *anjomans* (associations). They countered the lies and slanders being spread about Jazayeri and the fired HKE members.

Unlike the campaign last year for the release of fourteen socialists imprisoned in Ahwaz for their ideas, the so-called liberals in Iran did not support the campaign for Jazayeri's freedom. In fact, many of these figures are prominent in the nationalized industries and have been directly responsible for such acts of repression against workers. Former Iranian prime minister Mehdi Bazargan—who has been protesting loudly about jailings and suppression of freedom—used his newspaper to spread slanders about the socialist workers.

It was the Iranian workers who spoke out most clearly for Jazayeri's release. Many of them saw the campaign for Jazayeri's release and for the reinstatement of the fired HKE members as an important test of the right of all workers to express their views without being victimized.

Hundreds of workers, not necessarily affiliated with any political party, have been fired from their jobs for just expressing their opinions or for standing up to the bosses. They were inspired by the socialists who were the ones fighting back against these unjust dismissals.

The release of Jazayeri comes in the context of the new opening up of the political atmosphere in Iran. Political groups are able to function more openly and workers are taking initial steps in fighting back against the government's attempts to make the workers pay for the country's economic problems.

For the first time in many months, there has been a workers' strike around an economic issue. On February 20, the Tehran bus drivers refused to drive their buses to protest management's refusal to pay them their New Year's bonus. In some of the large factories, where the workers' *shoras* are stronger, the workers were able to organize to obtain the bonuses.

Despite a government-organized media

'My Firing Is a Warning for Everyone'

During Nemat Jazayeri's imprisonment, various government officials slanderously hinted that Jazayeri and other members of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) who had been fired from their jobs, were American agents. They brought up the fact that some of the HKE workers had degrees from universities in the United States.

Jazayeri, like many HKE members and many of Iran's present leaders, spent years in exile during the shah's regime. Jazayeri served as national secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) which helped to win the release of political prisoners held by the shah's torturers.

One of the fired HKE workers, Bahram Ali Atai, responded to some of these charges in the February 2 issue of the HKE newspaper *Kargar*.

Atai noted that about ten years ago he graduated from an engineering course in Seattle, Washington. "I never even got a copy of the diploma from the college," Atai wrote. In the heat of the struggle against oppression, I never thought that this document would be of any use."

Atai compared the government's kid-glove treatment of rightist thugs to its repression against socialists. He protested that, "We, whose only weapons are our socialist ideas, and who have stood shoulder to shoulder with our Islamic brothers of the factories in the trenches, against the enemy, are attacked in such a way. . . ."

Atai and Mohammed Reza Arefpour, another fired worker, had helped to enlist workers at the Iran National auto



BAHRAM ALI ATAII

factory in the military mobilizations against the Iraqi invasion. Both Atai and Arefpour were themselves part of the factory unit that fought at the front. They had received a letter of recognition from the Islamic Revolutionary Committee of Iran National "for the defense of the sanctity of the Islamic Republic in service in the south of the country."

Atai noted, "My firing is a warning for all revolutionary Muslims who are concentrating their activities among the oppressed people. Today—threats, firings, and attacks against socialists. Tomorrow—the revolutionary workers, Muslim brothers, Students Following the Imam's Line, Islamic *anjomans* [associations], and so on, will come under the same attack."

campaign against the bus drivers that charged they were counterrevolutionary for going on strike, and despite arrests, the bus drivers won widespread sympathy and solidarity for their demands from many Tehran workers.

Although some workers felt uneasy about there being a strike in the midst of Iran's struggle to repel Iraqi aggression, the strike provoked much discussion in the factories. The workers were thinking out how the country's economic problems could best be solved.

It is to prevent these types of workers' struggles that HKE members and other worker activists have been fired.

In mid-January, two HKE workers at the large Iran National automobile factory in Tehran—Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Reza Arefpour—were dismissed from their jobs. Both workers had been fighting at the front against the Iraqi invasion in the military unit raised by their factory.

Following an investigation by the Labor Ministry, the workers were told they had been fired because there were too many workers. This was despite the fact that some 200 workers had recently been hired. Their dismissal has been widely discussed in the plant.

In Isfahan, HKE member Khosrow Movahed was fired from the Isfahan Oil Refinery. The shora of oil refinery employees passed a motion for his reinstatement and a workers commission was formed to investigate his dismissal.

On February 23, two women HKE members were fired from the Behpoosh garment factory in Tehran. Rezvan and Mahnaz, as they are known to the workers,

Iraqi Communist Party Head Condemns War Against Iran

The head of Iraq's Communist Party, Aziz Mohammed, declared February 28 that Iraq should withdraw from Iranian territory. In a speech delivered in Moscow, Mohammed condemned the war against Iran as a "ruinous military adventure."

"Thousands of sons of our fatherland are dying in the war," Mohammed declared, "the economy and major industrial projects our people's labor has created over the decades are being destroyed, and living conditions of the broad masses of the people are getting worse."

Mohammed also accused the govern-

ment of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein of launching a "campaign of the cruelest repressions and persecutions" against Iraqi Communists as well as "against democratic forces of the country and against the Kurdish people."

Mohammed was in Moscow for the Twenty-sixth Soviet Communist Party Congress. No representative from Hussein's Arab Baath Socialist Party attended, unlike in 1976 when a full delegation was present.

Moscow halted arms shipments to Baghdad shortly after the beginning of the Iraqi invasion.

were both leading activists in the shora of military mobilization at the factory, helping in the campaign for military training and first-aid instruction.

Then on March 2, three more HKE members were fired from Iran National. Bagher Falsafi, Farhad Keshavar, and Hormuz Fallahi were given no reasons for their dismissals. This provoked more discussion in the factory.

At the Ray-O-Vac factory, several right-wingers tried to convince workers at a shora meeting that HKE member Faranak Zahraie should be fired. But she spoke up and defended her right as a worker and revolutionary to express her views and recalled the jailing of Jazayeri, which the workers at Ray-O-Vac had opposed. She

won the workers at the meeting to her side and the right-wingers were not able to succeed in their campaign.

Although there is not yet a unified leadership of the working class that can carry forward the workers' struggles for their social and economic rights, the Iranian workers continue to discuss all these questions. They are looking for solutions.

The right of workers to express their views, as exemplified around the struggle for the release of Nemat Jazayeri, is an important step in the process of workers being able to form their own, independent, mass organizations. It will be these kinds of organizations that can form the basis for a political alternative to the present capitalist government—a workers and farmers government. □

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Irish Political Prisoners Resume Hunger Strike

By Gerry Foley

BELFAST—More than 8,000 people marched through the heart of the Catholic ghetto here March 1 to express their support for Irish nationalist political prisoners.

Contingent after contingent marched by behind bright banners. The chants rose: "One, two, three, four, open up the H-Block door; five, six, seven, eight, open up the Armagh gate."

The men held in the infamous H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison, and the women in Armagh jail, have suffered years of mistreatment at the hands of the British authorities. A fifty-three-day hunger strike by seven H-Block prisoners was ended last December only after the British promised substantial concessions.

Now, however, the Thatcher government has reneged on its promises and the prisoners have initiated a new hunger strike. The March 1 demonstration coincided with the renewal of the hunger strike.

Jim Gibney of Sinn Féin, the political arm of the Provisional republican movement, was the first speaker at the March 1 rally. He spoke about Bobby Sands, the commanding officer of the H-Block prisoners, who has begun the hunger strike. Sands will be joined later by other prisoners as necessary.

The prisoners have vowed that they will remain on hunger strike until their demands for political status are met or until they starve to death.

"Those prisoners," Gibney said, "do not have a death wish any more than you or I. Bobby Sands is not unique. He wants to live to be an old man. But like many others he has faced the challenge. . . ."

"The British government has thrown down the gauntlet to the prisoners. . . ."

The second hunger strike is beginning on a desperate note. Many here fear that Sands will have to give his life before the campaign for political status wins.

Previous Hunger Strike

The first round in the hunger strike in the fall scored important points, but not a decisive victory. That was essentially for two reasons. First, while the support that was mobilized in the South of Ireland represented a major advance it was only a beginning. The decisive contingents of the masses there barely started to move.

The second reason was that the British were able to take advantage of a basic contradiction of the campaign. The hunger strike campaign was a mass movement of tens of thousands of people. But it was focused on, and depended on, a few heroic

individuals isolated behind prison walls.

In the culminating phase, these individuals, already on the verge of death, had to decide by themselves whether to continue the protest to the end or accept the British terms. The document given the prisoners clearly opened the way for granting the demands, but it also left the British plenty of loopholes for renegeing, which is what they did as soon as the mass movement stopped.

By hindsight, it is clear that the British officials deliberately tried to reduce the concrete issue to something that seemed trivial.

The leaders of the hunger strike were put in a position of either calling the action to an end, or letting hunger-striker Sean McKenna die for what looked like a fraction of a demand.

In the tug of war that followed the end of the hunger strike, the prison officials permitted the prisoners to have their own outer wear, but not their own underwear and socks. Thus they tried to put the

prisoners in the position of having to resort again to a strike to the death for the sake of an apparently tiny material difference.

The prisoners were also misled by the example of the way in which the 1972 hunger strike was resolved. This action, which won political status for political prisoners at the time, did not end in instant victory. The prisoners' demands were granted gradually. But at that time the whole mass movement was not focused on the hunger strike. There was also a powerful movement on issues of discrimination and repression in general which continued after the end of the prisoners' protest.

In December 1980, however, the hunger strike campaign was the only movement going on, and once it was demobilized the British government was relaxed. Moreover, once such a movement is stopped, it is not easy to get it going again.

In particular because of the isolation of the prisoners by the British jailers, what



H-Block protest in Dublin December 18.

An Phoblacht

actually had happened was not clear to participants in the mass movement.

The British authorities refused to let the independent and non-Sinn Féin leaders of the H-Block campaign into the prison, restricting the prisoners' contact to Sinn Féin representatives. In this way, they sought to sow divisions in the campaign and make it look like a mere auxiliary to the republican movement. The H-Block campaign and the prisoners are still paying dearly for the confusion caused by this situation and the British government's maneuvers.

Victory or Death

However, this time the issue has been clarified by the cynical intransigence of the British. Even the *Irish Press*, the newspaper of Dublin's ruling Fianna Fáil party, which opposed the resumption of the hunger strike, admitted March 2:

"The British government has reneged on the agreement that followed the ending of the last hunger strike. Let there be no doubt about that. The undertaking was that if the men would take steps to conform to prison regulations, these would be matched by concessions toward their demands for civilian clothing, recreation, education, visits, etc. The prisoners made the first move, but the concessions were refused or haggled over."

So, now the issue is clear. It is political status. There can be no illusion that the British are prepared to grant it. The stakes for the prisoners are victory or death. Defeat would mean a humiliating end to a struggle that has gone on for five years and entailed terrible suffering and deprivation for hundreds of men and women.

As the new hunger strike begins, the prisoners face a solid block against them by the British imperialists and the neocolonialist Irish bourgeoisie and its traditional front men, the Irish Catholic clergy.

At the end of the last strike such figures as John Hume of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, Bishop Daly of Derry, and the Primate of Ireland, Cardinal O Fiaich, brought heavy moral pressure to bear on the prisoners, urging them to compromise. Now when the British have obviously betrayed the prisoners, these same figures are denouncing the second hunger strike.

Bishop Attacks Hunger Strikers

Speaking to a Catholic youth rally in Derry, Daly appealed to the young people who suffer British repression:

You have grown up in years dominated by violence and injustice. Some of you have experienced the humiliation of being searched by soldiers, of having your home raided, or being questioned by the police, or being intimidated by paramilitaries at various times. . . .

If you are truly followers of Jesus Christ, you must not become involved with groups that have murder and destruction as a policy in our society here in the North of Ireland. . . .

Have nothing whatsoever to do with such groups, have nothing to do with any campaign with which they are associated.

Daly went on to say: "I do not believe that it is justified to endanger health or life by hunger strikes in the present circumstances."

Obviously it is impossible to exclude the organizations the prisoners support from the H-Block campaign. Daly's call on Catholics not to support the campaign because Sinn Féin is in it, in fact parallels the British argument against political status.

It amounts to morally anathematizing those who are driven to violent protest by repression and discrimination, to accepting the moral superiority of those who

defend this repression and discrimination over those who suffer from it.

This block of the neocolonialist bourgeoisie and the imperialists at the start of the second hunger strike does threaten to isolate the prisoners and the organizations to which they belong. But this block cannot be maintained if mass support for the prisoners is mobilized. That was shown during the last campaign.

For that reason, international support now takes on an even greater importance than it did during the last hunger strike.

Gibney hit on this point at the March 1 rally. He told the crowd that the British government could be defeated, that the British miners had shown that, and that the nationalist population in Ireland should take heart from their victory. □

'A Hunting License' From Reagan

Argentine Regime Seizes Human Rights Activists

Two of Argentina's most prominent human rights activists were among those arrested February 27 following a police raid on the Buenos Aires office of the Center for Legal and Social Studies. Plainclothes police also seized files on more than 6,000 missing persons.

José Federico Westerkamp, a physicist and human rights worker, was one of those arrested at the center. A few hours later police arrested Emilio Mignone, the president of the center and one of Argentina's best-known human rights lawyers.

The Center for Legal and Social Studies receives complaints from relatives of missing persons, investigates the cases, takes legal action, and provides documentation on human rights violations in Argentina.

In February Mignone appeared before the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva where he presented evidence on the disappearance of thousands of people abducted by government forces and never seen again. The UN commission's report concluded that Argentina alone accounted for more than half of the 11,000 to 13,000 people the commission lists as missing around the world.

Westerkamp had attended a January meeting of North American and Latin American scientists held in Toronto, where a resolution was adopted condemning attacks on "scientific freedom and basic human rights."

Both men have children who are among the thousands of Argentines who were arrested or have disappeared since 1974. Mignone's daughter had worked as a paramedic in a poor neighborhood before she was seized by security forces in 1976. Westerkamp's son has been in jail without

formal charges since 1975. Amnesty International said in its recent annual report that he had been tortured and kept in an unheated cell during the winter.

Others reported arrested in the raid were Carmen Lapaco, the center's treasurer and a member of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (a group of women whose children have disappeared); Gabriela Iribarne, an Argentine resident of Canada; and lawyers Marcial Parrili, Lidia Salazar, Reynaldo Andres Saccone, and Boris Pasik.

The U.S. State Department has remained silent on the arrests of these human rights activists. Reagan has made it clear that he wants to improve ties with the Argentine military dictatorship and that human rights rhetoric is to be toned down.

"They saw the change in American policy literally as a hunting license," commented one Argentine in regard to the country's military rulers.

But the U.S. bourgeois press felt compelled to speak out on the Reagan administration's silence. "By standing mute, the Reagan Administration says it doesn't really care," commented a March 5 *New York Times* editorial. And the editors of the *Washington Post* wrote March 3 that the least the State Department could do "is to make plain that it disapproves of people's being locked up for trying to help the victims of an overweening state."

Robert Bernstein of Helsinki Watch—an American group that monitors repression of Soviet dissidents—commented, "I don't see how United States protests over Soviet violations can be taken in good faith if the Administration is silent over violations against people whose only goal is to protect human rights." □

Kampuchea Makes Big Strides in Economic Recovery

By Fred Feldman

The policy towards Indochina pursued by Washington, the Thai military government, and their allies in Peking has been sinking deeper and deeper into crisis.

The latest setback: the steady recovery of Kampuchea from a decade of civil war, massive U.S. bombing, famine, and repression.

As correspondent Jim Laurie put it in the February 27 *Christian Science Monitor*, the "unpleasant fact" for Washington is "that the nation is doing surprisingly well under the government headed by former battalion commander Heng Samrin."

Rice Crop

The rice crop harvested recently was better than expected—leaving a shortfall of 200,000 tons that must be made up through international aid. About 1.3 million acres are being harvested, half the 1969 total.

The price of rice has dropped 40 percent on the free market since October 1980, an indication of the easing food situation.

The recovery in food production has been aided by the wide latitude given the peasants by the government. They are "grouped into Krom Samaki ('solidarity groups')," wrote Iain Guest in the January 18 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. "These comprise between ten and 15 families, and by sharing resources and labour they build on traditional Khmer communal living. They have also acquired greater importance because of the number of widows and orphans that survive Pol Pot. Many have been absorbed into samakis." The peasants also work private plots.

The improving food situation, made possible by a massive aid program from international relief agencies, Vietnam, and the Soviet bloc, is making possible further steps in the recovery of social life.

"Medical workers and other sources confirm a surge in births since conditions in Cambodia stabilized," reported Barry Wain in the February 5 *Wall Street Journal*.

Kampuchea once again has a functioning education system. Education, along with most medical care and other human services, was suppressed under the Pol Pot regime.

The Heng Samrin government "says that 1.4 million children are enrolled in primary school, or about 60% of those eligible, while 19,000 attend secondary school. A technical college is functioning in Phnom Penh," Wain reported.

Some eighty-one factories are reported to

have resumed operation. Most of those in Pnompenh are government-controlled and, according to Laurie, are "managed by an uneasy alliance of committee cadre with no discernible experience and trained managers who served industry under Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the 1960s."

Pnompenh, depopulated like all other Kampuchean cities by Pol Pot's forces in April 1975, now has a population of about 500,000. "Now it is alive with shops, food stalls, markets, and schools. Streets are clogged with traffic. Both pedicabs and a public transport system have returned," writes Laurie.

"The artificial infusion of large quantities of international relief and a flourishing black market fed by easy free trade across the border with Thailand have made centralized planning difficult," reported Laurie. "So while theoretically following a Vietnamese communist model for economic management, the Phnom Penh government has allowed a free market economy to prosper."

The virtual destruction of communications and most public transportation facilities under Pol Pot, and the bare existence still being eked out by most Kampuchean, also press the regime in this direction.

However, there are signs of recovery in this area as well. Tens of thousands of bicycles are now used for travel between hamlets and villages.

On another front, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported December 19 that the "Electricity supply is four hours daily at Battambang, Kompong Thom, Kompong Cham, Siem Reap and Svey Rieng, and 24 hours a day in the central district of Phnom Penh. Figures for other cities—Takeo, Prey Veng, Kompot and Kompong Som—could not be ascertained precisely, but daily supply was said to be about two hours at Kompong Chhnang.

"This is an improvement, since in April there was no electricity except in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap."

Vietnamese Presence Supported

Along with the inspiring sight of a people mobilizing to restore a viable economy and society come continuing reminders of the grisly past.

"The villagers of Chueeng Ek, 15 miles from Phnom Penh, first noticed the musty smell during the monsoon," wrote Guest. "Later they started digging up the mounds. After they had turned up 2,000 decomposing corpses from just two of the mass graves, they broke off for the har-

vest." Such mass graves pock mark Kampuchea.

More than two years after massive numbers of Vietnamese troops entered the country—along with 20,000 Kampuchean insurgents—the Kampuchean people continue to accept the Vietnamese presence as necessary to defend what they have gained.

"Contrary to expectations, I found no appreciable increase in resentment of the continued Vietnamese military occupation," Laurie wrote.

"The Kampuchean never invited in the Vietnamese as such," one relief official in Pnompenh told Guest. "But if they'd been able to pick up a phone in their forced labour camps and dial Hanoi, the lines would have been jammed in seconds."

The government and its Vietnamese backers are highly sensitive to avoiding actions that might be seen as bearing any resemblance to the brutal compulsion that characterized Pol Pot's reign. "Everywhere, the emphasis is on the voluntary—even enrolment in the army is voluntary," reported Guest.

Rightist Strength Declines

Washington counted on a massive concentration of refugees at the Thai-Kampuchea border, drawn by hunger, to provide the base for opponents of the Heng Samrin regime. But with the revival of Kampuchea, hundreds of thousands have flowed back into the country.

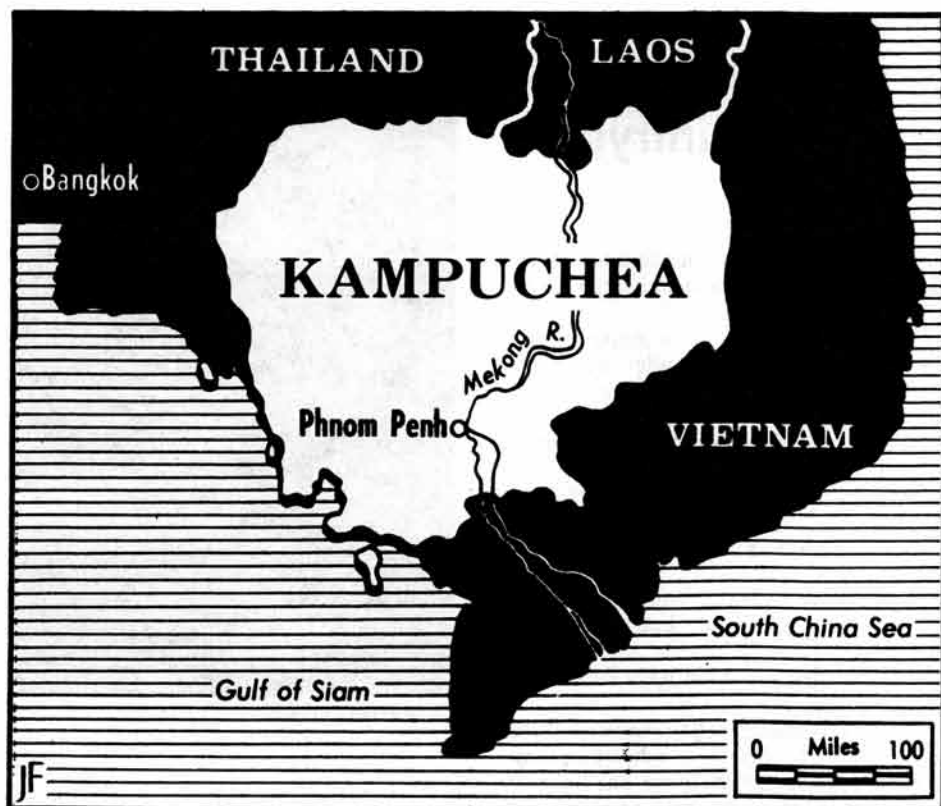
"Today the entire border area has fewer than 130,000 Cambodians, a fraction of the half million who once crowded the region," Elizabeth Becker reported in the February 1 *Washington Post*.

The result has been further weakening in the position of the counterrevolutionary forces, above all the Khmer Rouge army led by Pol Pot. It is reported to have between 20,000 and 40,000 soldiers.

Progress inside Kampuchea and the failure of the promised Khmer Rouge offensive last fall to make any headway is speeding up tendencies toward disintegration in the counterrevolutionary camp.

"Already," reported Frederic A. Moritz in the February 3 *Christian Science Monitor*, "there are reports of anti-Vietnamese guerrillas defecting to the Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh.

"In Sakan, a colorful leader of the anti-communist, anti-Vietnamese resistance movement known as the Khmer Serei, defected last month with about 100 armed guerrillas, to the Heng Samrin side accord-



ing to Thai press accounts.”

Washington is trying to stem the advances in Kampuchea by imposing a tighter economic blockade. It hopes to take advantage of what the February 5 *Wall Street Journal* called the nation’s “extremely fragile” condition.

Aid organizations are being pressed to shut down operations in Kampuchea on the grounds that the Kampuchean people are no longer entitled to assistance as they are not on the verge of starvation.

Economic Boycott

“International aid,” Guest reported, “is hamstrung by the insistence of ASEAN and its Western allies that Kampuchea should get only emergency, not development, assistance. . . .”

“The reasoning here is relatively straightforward: if a country is not recognized by the UN, it should not get UN aid. The effect of this ban has already been felt. American voluntary agencies working in Phnom Penh have been refused licenses by the US State Department to import jeeps, earth-moving equipment, iron for the axles of ox-carts, or even to hire American consultants to service American machinery in cotton mills, on the grounds that it would contravene an archaic law, the US ‘trading with the enemy’ act.

“Britain, too, has played its role, objecting so strongly to educational aid that UNICEF has cut its budget to re-equip schools from \$5 million to \$2.1 million.”

The Japanese government has also threatened to cut off its aid contributions.

Tommy Koh, the Singapore regime’s ambassador to the United Nations, most openly expressed the antihuman spirit of the boycotters.

“How can the establishment of ice plants and fish-net factories, the training of doctors, pharmacists and nurses, the establishment of teacher training centres, the printing of teaching manuals, the provision of school equipment and materials be conceivably justified as emergency humanitarian relief and assistance?” Koh asked.

At the same time, Washington and Peking are speeding up efforts to cobble together a united front of counterrevolutionary groups under Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Such a united front has thus far been blocked by Sihanouk’s awareness that any association with the Khmer Rouge would be the kiss of death to his hopes of regaining a popular base inside Kampuchea. However, the logic of Sihanouk’s opposition to the Kampuchean revolution continues to push him toward a rapprochement with the Khmer Rouge.

At the end of 1980, according to Nayan Chanda in the January 2 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Sihanouk sent a taped message via the Thai border for distribution inside Kampuchea indignantly denying the “claim that Sihanouk has been and still is an accomplice of the Khmer Rouge and the Chinese. . . .”

Subsequent events showed what his denials were worth. Sihanouk and Khmer Serei commander Son Sann, who is re-

ported to have up to 5,000 rightist guerrillas under his leadership, began dropping hints that they would collaborate openly with the Khmer Rouge if Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, and other top leaders went into exile.

Sihanouk hoped he could then pretend that the Khmer Rouge no longer existed, while trying to ride the murder-gangs back to power.

Backing Khmer Rouge

But both Peking and Washington fear that sweeping changes in the Khmer Rouge leadership could spur bloody faction fighting, or lead to demoralization and desertions in its ranks.

During a visit to the Thai border late last year, Reagan adviser Ray Cline made a demonstrative gesture of support to the Khmer Rouge. According to the December 19 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, he “stepped into a Khmer Rouge camp across the border [in Kampuchea] to be received by Ieng Sary’s wife, Minister of Social Affairs Ieng Thirith.”

On February 9, Sihanouk publicly declared his intention of forging a front with the Khmer Rouge. “We must accept the Khmer Rouge,” the former monarch declared. “It is a necessity.”

The “necessity” is likely to escape the millions who suffered the reactionary terror of the Khmer Rouge.

Other Indochinese rightists are being integrated into the counterrevolutionary front as well. “A picture obtained by the *Review* shows former Lao defence minister Gen. Phoumi Nosavan standing with Khmer Rouge Defence Minister Son Sen and a second man identified as Ke Pauk, under-secretary of the general staff in the supreme committee of the national army of Democratic Kampuchea,” reported John McBeth in the December 19 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

“The Vietnamese in the colour photograph are not named but are thought to be emissaries from the tribal resistance organization in southern Vietnam known as Fulro. . . .” Fulro was organized by the French rulers of Indochina, and was maintained by the CIA after the French withdrew.

Whatever shifts are made to provide Sihanouk with cover, the basic command structure of the Khmer Rouge army will remain intact if Washington and Peking have their way. The Reagan administration views this corps of highly-experienced mass murderers as indispensable for keeping military pressure on the Indochinese revolutions. □

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Report From the Salvadoran Countryside

By Lars Palmgren

SAN SALVADOR—Small, desperate, and deeply divided groups, led in large part by foreign mercenaries—that is the way the Salvadoran government describes the guerrilla forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The regime also claims that the army has total control over the whole country.

To prove that the guerrillas have been defeated, officials point to the "amnesty" period that started at the beginning of December and ends March 11. The government claims that guerrillas in massive numbers are taking advantage of the amnesty law, having realized that they were tricked by the revolutionary leaders.

But what is the truth of the matter?

As long as you stay in the capital, in San Salvador, and draw your information from radio, television, and interviews with various ministers, the official version seems a relatively coherent or at least possible description of the current situation. But as soon as you start to investigate the facts yourself, as soon as you go to the scene of the crime, so to speak, you see the official stories crumbling before your eyes.

Let's take two examples, Zacatecoluca and San Vicente, two towns in the central part of the country.

A fifteen-year-old soldier who looks more like thirteen shows us the way to the military garrison in Zacatecoluca.

"There were at least 1,000 guerrillas here," he tells us, "when the general offensive began January 10. We were surrounded in the garrison; we couldn't do anything. . . . There were at least 1,000 of them, in uniforms, with better weapons than ours. . . ."

The colonel in charge of the garrison says the guerrillas attacked the town at four points with at least 200 in each group. "It was about 5:30 in the afternoon, and we were totally surprised," he tells us.

Zacatecoluca is a major market town. At 5:30 on Saturdays—and the tenth of January was a Saturday—the town as well as the roads around the town are full of people. In spite of this, 1,000 guerrillas in uniforms, with heavy weapons, managed to assume their battle stations in plain daylight without anyone in the garrison knowing about it.

This not only reveals the incompetence of the military, but even more the support the guerrillas enjoy among the townspeople. A lot of people must have seen the guerrillas take their positions, but no one informed the army.

The fighting in Zacatecoluca continued

for three days. Throughout this time there were demonstrations and meetings in the town.

"We were sure they were going to take the garrison," the commander says, "but when we finally got reinforcements, they retreated."

"How many of them did you manage to kill?" I ask.

"One hundred and fifty," he answers rapidly.

"And how many civilians died during the fighting?"

"Well, what I meant was that most of the 150 were guerrillas, but a few were civilians."

"In that case you must have captured a lot of weapons, too."

"Not very many," he answers reluctantly. Then he shows us what they captured: one FAL (a Belgian submachine gun), one Chinese rocket-launcher, and perhaps eight grenades. That's all.

The same day that I talked with the colonel at Zacatecoluca, his troops and those from San Vicente were involved in an eight or nine hour battle with guerrilla forces not far from San Vicente.

"There are battles every day," the colonel at the San Vicente garrison tells us. "The guerrillas are everywhere around here."

Traveling the road between San Vicente and Zacatecoluca we can see for ourselves that this is true. There are trenches across the road about every 100 meters. Many of the telephone poles are down. "We fix the road during the day and they destroy it overnight," the colonel explains.

In San Vicente there is also a small refugee camp for members of ORDEN, the right-wing paramilitary organization, who have fled from their villages. "We can't leave the town," they say, "because everywhere around here they look on us as informers. They have lists with our names, and if we go to any village around, they will kill us."

I ask them if everyone in their village had to flee.

"No, many of them joined up with the subversives, so only those of us who didn't want to change sides had to run away."

"So now the subversives are in control of the villages around here?" I ask.

"Yes, they are everywhere. That's why we asked the armed forces for support and protection."

These ORDEN refugees get all the help they need from the Red Cross. But the refugees in the Archbishopric of San Salvador, who have fled from the terror of the



Government troops.

army and ORDEN, don't get any help from the Red Cross. They aren't even allowed to fly the Red Cross flag as a means of protection.

Inside the San Vicente garrison, the colonel shows me the weapons captured from the guerrillas in this area over the last few weeks. There are more than in Zacatecoluca—about twenty submachine guns, some bombs and mines—but none of Russian, Cuban, or East German manufacture. Most of them come from the United States or Western Europe.

"They have factories where they produce these bombs," the colonel explains. He sounds quite impressed. The bombs and the mines he shows us are not simple mechanisms. The colonel obviously knows that the official propaganda is a lie, and it is difficult for him not to show it.

In the San Vicente garrison there are five "subversives"—the official term—who have asked for amnesty. The colonel tries to sound proud when he tells us about them, and he wants us to interview them. I expect to meet a group of deserters who, just because they are deserters, will be more counterrevolutionary than the junta itself.

But the people we meet are not soldiers. They are refugees, not guerrillas. Most of them were informants who were exposed by the guerrillas. They then fled to the garrison to save their lives. They had never been part of the guerrilla army. In fact, they had been against it.

One of those seeking amnesty tells me he was a member of one of the revolutionary groups, "for two months, but they forced me into it." He doesn't even know what the initials stand for in the name of the group

he claims to have belonged to.

"Everyone would seek amnesty if they weren't afraid of retaliation," the colonel says. But he doesn't sound as if he believes it himself. He can't be totally blind to the real character of the individuals he has presented to us as guerrillas seeking amnesty.

And what about the foreign mercenaries? Nothing! The only time anyone talks

about foreigners fighting with the guerrillas is to express admiration for the kind of "revolutionaries who would fight so much, for nothing. . . ."

When we leave the San Vicente garrison we take some pictures of the fifteen- and sixteen-year-old soldiers standing outside. One of them gets so nervous that he drops his G-3 gun. It isn't our cameras that are making him nervous. □

Can Junta 'Steal the Thunder From the Revolutionaries'?

El Salvador: 'Agrarian Reform' in Action

By Lars Palmgren

SONSONATE PROVINCE, El Salvador—San Isidro is a hacienda here in the western part of El Salvador. It is one of about 2,000 agricultural units of more than 500 hectares (1,235 acres) affected by the land reform plan initiated by the Salvadoran junta on March 5, 1980.

About 4,000 people live here in San Isidro. Some 800 of them are members of the cooperative that according to the land reform law will eventually own the hacienda.

But the cooperative doesn't yet have the title. The hacienda is now owned by the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation (ISTA).

When ISTA has finished paying the original owners of the hacienda, then theoretically the cooperative will pay the same amount to the state over a fifteen-year period. Only at that point will the agricultural workers here become owners of the hacienda.

The president of the cooperative meets us in front of the main building. "We are going to make this a model hacienda," he tells us proudly.

And then, without pausing, he tells us how much production is going to go up next year, about how grateful they all are to the junta, about the film projector they recently bought, and about how the hacienda's soccer team recently made it into the semi-finals.

But there is something strange about the meeting. The president carries a gun and is flanked at all times by a couple of bodyguards. Who is he afraid of? Surely not the soldiers who have a small garrison next to the main building, and with whom he jokes around in a familiar way when he introduces us.

The explanation is rather to be found in the story of how this cooperative started, told to us by an old farmworker who lives in a hut outside the high walls of the main building.

"Well, one day in early March, there was

suddenly a crowd of soldiers here," he tells us.

"They called us to a meeting and said they were going to start a cooperative because they were going to take over the hacienda. And then they told us that four of the foremen and five of the administrators of the former owners were going to be the executive committee of the cooperative. Since that time, they have been making all the decisions."

"Has anything gotten any better?"

"Well, it's not much worse than it was before."

When the president comes toward us, the old farmworker disappears into the shadows between the houses. "You shouldn't talk with him," the president tells us. "He's an old troublemaker."

There is something strange about the whole situation. It is difficult to detect any feeling of cooperation in this cooperative of San Isidro. And how can the president of the cooperative drive around in his own new car while the other members live in shacks that look like they might fall apart at any minute?

Later, when I meet with the director of ISTA, Jorge Alfaro García, I have a lot of questions for him. But Jorge García is a difficult man to ask questions to. He likes to talk, but he never directly answers a question.

"We do have problems that we should admit," he tells me. "We still aren't able to extend credit, for example, except for the direct costs of bringing in the harvest."

"But in spite of any problems," he says, with a sweeping gesture towards the map where all the 2,000 land reform units are marked in yellow, "we—unlike all the other countries that have tried land reform—have managed to raise production of basic foodstuffs. Our peasants are highly motivated, and our technicians have done a wonderful job."

It sounds impressive, but how much real basis is there to Jorge Alfaro García's enthusiasm? It is not only the strange

feeling I got at San Isidro, or the other cooperatives where members of ORDEN (an ultrarightist paramilitary organization) or the former owners' right-hand men are leading the new cooperatives.

There is another thing that makes me suspicious. Even though the officials claim that production of basic foodstuffs is at a record high, El Salvador has had to import huge amounts of corn and beans for the very first time in many years.

University economists have calculated that even greater imports are necessary if serious shortages of basic foodstuffs are not to appear as early as May of this year.

At the same time, disposable income has dropped drastically. And capital flight has reached catastrophic levels. Therefore it is difficult to see how the necessary imports of foodstuffs are going to be financed or how the former owners of the haciendas are going to be paid.

About 200,000 agricultural workers are affected by all the land reform units. This is only 10 percent of the agricultural population. The 2,000 land reform units only affect 133 landowners.

Alfaro García explains with the same enthusiasm that "this is only the first stage. The second stage will be really sweeping."

"When is the second stage going to begin?" I ask.

"That isn't decided yet."

The real question is whether there is ever going to be a second stage. Some of the haciendas have already been turned back over to their old owners.

Technicians and employees of ISTA explain to me that nothing really works.

One of them says, "of course there are some haciendas that can be held up as good examples. But the repression, the corruption, and the peasants' total lack of confidence, guarantee that this land reform will never work."

Strikes and a number of resignations by ISTA employees show that lack of confidence is not confined to peasants.

Not enough time has passed to be able to draw up a full balance sheet on the economics of land reform in El Salvador. But it is difficult to see how it can work.

The reason can be found in a recent statement about the goals of the land reform by Antonio Morales Ehrlich, the junta member who is now responsible for ISTA.

I interviewed Morales Ehrlich at the beginning of the land reform last spring. "Our land reform is designed to steal the thunder from the revolutionaries," he told me.

And that is the point. The goal of land reform in El Salvador is not to solve the problems of the peasantry, but to stop an ongoing social revolution. It is part and parcel of the junta's policy of terror and repression in the countryside. That is why the land reform in El Salvador cannot succeed. □

El Salvador—Lessons of the Offensive

[The following interview with Commander Alejandro Montenegro was conducted by Lars Palmgren in El Salvador during the last week of February. The interview lasted two hours. This version has been edited and shortened.]

[Alejandro Montenegro is one of the founders of the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—People's Revolutionary Army), and a member of its staff. He is also a member of the Central Committee of the Party of the Salvadoran Revolution (PRS).]

[During the general offensive that began January 10, Montenegro was a member of the operations committee of the joint staff of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).]

[The interview was conducted in Spanish. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What were the most important goals of the January 10 offensive?

Answer. First of all it must be emphasized that it was our first big military experience. Before, the people in general and the left had challenged the bourgeois state many times, but never before had we offered a military challenge like that of January 10.

In the second place, it must be emphasized that this challenge would not have been possible without coordination of all five [guerrilla] armies.

There was coordination at the level of the Joint Directorate, which set the date and the time, and also reviewed the tactical plans and set into motion the operational commands. Moreover, there was a combining of forces in some places, where our own forces and those from other organizations fought under a single command.

Q. What about concrete military experiences?

A. The experiences vary from front to front, as the forms of war vary, according to conditions. On the western front, mainly in Santa Ana and Chalchuapa, we achieved the highest level of mass participation in the uprising, giving it an insurrectional aspect.

In these places it was through military activity that the masses were able to join in: they built barricades and helped the combatants as best they could. Many people joined the militias.

On the central front, San Vicente, Cabañas, and Zacatecoluca, as well as on the eastern front, Morazán, and in the north Chalatenango, the fighting has been different.

There the fighting has taken on characteristics of regular combat. Our forces came down out of zones that were practically liberated to attack military garrisons.

That's what January 10 was. Our forces attacked garrisons in San Vicente, Zacatecoluca, Chalatenango, San Francisco Gotera, and many other villages. The enemy had converted these villages almost into armed camps, with trenches and guard posts and so on, and we had to break through this defense to take the villages.

And we succeeded. For us, it was our first experience at moving entire platoons and companies. From this point of view it was an excellent experience.

The best military experience we had was the fighting in Gotera. They were hard battles, but we think that if we had been able to hold our positions one more day the Gotera garrison would have fallen.

Q. You said that the masses joined the fighting most, giving the fighting an almost insurrectional character, on the western front. On the central front, which includes San Salvador, however, this didn't happen. Why was that?

A. It is true that San Salvador hasn't had that experience, which has been basic for the people. There have been battles: in Mejicanos [on the outskirts of San Salvador], for instance, they fought for almost a

whole day with big participation by the people. But, it is true, such examples are rare.

In the capital it would be necessary to hold positions against the enemy for three days to have time to organize an insurrection. What happened is that our forces were a little too weak in the capital, and were not well coordinated.

Q. Is that the reason the general strike never really got off the ground?

A. Yes, but it must be emphasized that the call for the strike was answered right away. What happened is that it was a situation that required a military response from us.

There were, for example, public employees who blew up telephone cables, damaged machines and went home. But because our forces weren't present it was easy for the enemy to break the strike. They militarized factories and offices and arrested union leaders.

But if the military actions had continued and coincided with the political demands of the strike, then both aspects would have been more effective.

What must be understood is that in our country it is no longer possible to raise the idea of a strike without also discussing military protection for the strike. Here they don't grab you to arrest you, they grab you to kill you. And now the workers tell us that if there is military backing they will go on strike, but while there is none the enemy will come and massacre them.

So the people feel that they are caught between a rock and a hard place. It's not



FMLN liberation fighters.

from a lack of will. And on the day that we have the military capacity and at the same time organize a strike, the level of popular participation is going to be something astonishing.

Q. What lessons have been drawn from the January 10 offensive?

A. I think the most important is this: that we have to improve our coordination, particularly in the area of tactical military actions in order to become more effective. We want to be able to defeat the enemy at all points and let them know that they can't concentrate all their forces on one point because we will attack them wherever they are.

There has to be a deepening of coordination. That is what is most important and I think that is something all the forces in the FMLN agree on.

Q. And the unity of the revolutionary forces? Are there still problems with that?

A. It is evident that there are still political problems. There has never been a unification anywhere that worked perfectly.

Fundamentally, what is under discussion are strategic conceptions, the question of the pace and shape of the war. The question of a prolonged war or a shorter one with an insurrection as a central aspect.

We are for a shorter-term view. Not because we are spontaneists, but because of current conditions, because an extreme lengthening of the war would favor the enemy and not us. But these discussions have gone on smoothly and haven't interfered with the general offensive.

Q. The junta, which totally controls the press, is now claiming that it is in the process of liquidating the guerrillas. They say you are in retreat, and that the offensive, which they call the "final" offensive, has failed. Has all this had an effect on the masses, on their morale, especially since there is no way to offer a massive propagandistic response?

A. Right from the beginning we thought that this might be the thing that would have the most negative impact on the population. It also has to be kept in mind that the population is a little weary from the repression and the massacres and so there are hopes for a quick victory.

For these reasons, the enemy's propaganda is playing a key role right now. Our propaganda is also playing an important role in answering them. In this, our Radio Venceremos is our best weapon.

But I think that the people understand what the offensive meant, despite the erroneous interpretations at the beginning of the offensive. Especially the workers, the unions, and the peasants understand that we are heading toward a new date, a new offensive.

Q. Then you have agreed to launch a new offensive fairly quickly?

A. Yes, we are discussing a second offensive. After the current phase, which we could define as a period of reorganization and resupply, or as a tactical retreat, what will come is a new offensive movement. So we have to have a broad discussion and reach agreement on a deeper tactical coordination.

Q. When you speak of a new offensive, how far off is it?

A. I personally see it as a matter of two months.

Q. On the international level, various initiatives have been undertaken toward a

dialogue with the junta. How do you see this?

A. We think that we have to carry out, in every sense, a war plan. To contest the enemy's power on all fronts, trying to break it and decisively take power for the revolution.

However, we have to consider alternatives, we have to consider the possibility of a dialogue, but only from the point of view of a political and military vanguard organization. This is not backing down, but it is a flexible approach. We have to see what they propose and analyze it concretely.

We think that the FMLN has to have flexibility and never shut itself off, and we think that the FMLN is doing just that. If you delude yourself with a scheme instead of trying for a victory, you can end up with a defeat. □

Sends Arms to Chilean Junta

British Government Refuses Aid to Grenada

The British government has admitted that its refusal to provide economic and other aid to Grenada is based on political grounds.

Nicholas Ridley, the British Foreign Office minister responsible for Latin American and Caribbean affairs, declared during a tour of several Caribbean countries in January that the British government aided only its "friends" and those who viewed life "as we do."

Ridley was explaining why the British government planned to exclude Grenada from the Eastern Caribbean countries that will receive British assistance in rehabilitating their banana industries following the damage caused by Hurricane Allen last year. About 40 percent of Grenada's banana industry had been destroyed by the hurricane.

Although the British government had also refused to sell two armored cars to Grenada in December 1979, Ridley defended British arms sales to the repressive Chilean junta. "We sell arms to all countries not likely to use them against us and countries not likely to use them against their own people," he claimed.

The February 7 issue of the *Free West Indian*, published in St. George's, Grenada, commented, "It is clear that the British Foreign Office is part of the imperialist effort to isolate Grenada from its Caricom [Caribbean Community] neighbours, even to the extreme of pitting Caricom governments against each other."

On February 2, following Ridley's visit to St. Lucia, St. Lucian Foreign Minister George Odum spoke out against the British government's stance toward Grenada. He also revealed that he had been asked to

criticize Grenada on the grounds that it had not held elections since the overthrow of the Gairy dictatorship in 1979.

Odum refused to do so, stating, "Caribbean governments should be mature enough not to dance to that tune." □

Barbados Telephone Workers Win Victory

More than 400 telephone workers on the Caribbean island of Barbados scored a victory January 30 after a three-week strike against the U.S.-owned Barbados Telephone Company.

The strike was sparked by the dismissal of a shop steward after he had posted a notice concerning a current wage contract on a company bulletin board.

The company was forced to back down and reinstate the union activist after the telephone workers declared at a January 26 mass meeting that a general strike would take place.

The strikers, organized in the Barbados Workers Union (BWU), mobilized more than 6,000 members and supporters in mass demonstrations in Bridgetown, the country's capital city.

The strikers received solidarity messages from the Bank and General Workers' Union on the nearby island of Grenada, which organizes workers at the Grenada Telephone Company. The phone companies on both islands are owned by the giant U.S. multinational Continental Telephone Company.

Although the BWU won its main demand, it had to accept the concession that the workers would not receive their full salaries for the days on strike.

Murders of Black Children in Atlanta Provoke Outrage

By Janice Lynn

Twenty Black children, ranging in age from seven to fifteen, have been brutally murdered in Atlanta, Georgia since July, 1979.

The racist murders have brought an outpouring of concern from working people throughout the United States. Rallies, vigils, and memorial meetings organized by churches, student groups, civil-rights organizations, and unions are taking place in many U.S. cities.

Coretta Scott King, widow of slain civil-rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has called for a national Moratorium on Murder demonstration in Atlanta on March 15.

The most visible expression of solidarity is the wearing of green ribbons or arm-bands. Black radio stations in a number of cities are publicizing this effort. Green ribbons can be seen on the job and in the streets of many cities.

Georgia Dean, a Black grandmother from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, initiated the green ribbon idea. She felt that the authorities in Atlanta weren't doing enough to investigate the murders. "If we can wear yellow ribbons for the hostages we damn sure can wear green ribbons to protest the murders in Atlanta," Dean said.

In Philadelphia, the overwhelming majority of the Black community and thousands of others are wearing the green ribbons.

One thousand members of Transport Workers Union Local 234 in Philadelphia, many wearing green ribbons, began their contract meeting March 1 with a minute of silence for the slain Black children in Atlanta. The meeting heard a report on Atlanta and a press release was read expressing solidarity with the Black community.

Unionists in other cities are also expressing their solidarity with the families of the slain and missing Black children in Atlanta. Members of the Amalgamated Transit Union in Washington, D.C. are wearing green ribbons and plan to send a delegation to Atlanta for the March 15 demonstration.

Steelworkers in the pipe mill at the huge Bethlehem Steel Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore, Maryland, are putting green tape on their hard hats. Members of Steelworkers Local 14019 at Baltimore's Glidden Plant voted overwhelmingly to send a donation to Atlanta.

At the Ford Motor plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, the United Auto Workers women's committee began distributing

green ribbons. By the end of the third shift on March 3, hundreds of workers, Black and white, were wearing them.

Machinists in a department at the Lockheed plant in Marietta, Georgia have also been donning green ribbons.

Protests have taken place in a number of cities. In Chattanooga, Tennessee, some 2,000 people demonstrated to show their solidarity. At St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, more than 800 people participated in a March 1 memorial mass and heard the mother of one of the victims.

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 100 people gathered February 28 for "A Memorial Service for the Children of the City of Atlanta." Rev. G.G. Campbell told the audience, "We don't understand how the defense budget is increased by \$30 billion and they can't defend twenty Black children in Atlanta."

A similar memorial service brought 150 to 200 people to the Christ Church Cathedral in St. Louis, Missouri, February 27. And more than 600 people participated in a "Coming Together for Survival" march and rally in Cincinnati, Ohio February 28.

In Cleveland, Ohio, a \$50,000 "Save Black Children" fund was launched. In Philadelphia, weekly vigils are held by the newly formed African American Mothers organization. The Philadelphia city council passed a resolution to be sent to every state and major city in the United States, urging people to wear green.

In Atlanta, 150 people attended a March 1 rally sponsored by the Association of Christian Student Leaders (ACSL).

"It is no mere accident that Black men have been slaughtered in Buffalo," declared ACSL leader Ken Flowers. "It is no accident that four Black women were shot in Chattanooga. It is no accident that two Black men were shot dead while jogging in Salt Lake City.

"It is no accident that these things have happened, and the child killings in Atlanta are tied hand in hand with them," Flowers pointed out.

These are but a few of the examples of the wave of racist killings that have taken place in cities across the United States.

In almost every case, no suspect in the racist killings has been arrested and charged for these attacks. It was only after intense outrage from the Black community in Salt Lake City, Utah, that police were forced to apprehend a known racist for the killings of the two Black joggers there.

Joseph Paul Franklin, a former member of the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis, and the National States Rights Party, openly

bragged about his hatred for Blacks and about how easy it was to kill Blacks and get away with it. On March 4, Franklin was convicted on federal charges of violating the civil rights of the two slain Black youth. He also faces Utah state charges of first-degree murder.

The Socialist Workers Party's candidate for mayor of Atlanta, André Kahlmorgan, issued a statement at the March 1 Atlanta rally. Kahlmorgan is one of fifteen workers at the Lockheed-Georgia aircraft plant fired for her union activity.

"The racist killers feel emboldened by government assaults on the gains of the civil rights movement," she declared. "They must be put on notice that millions will not sit idly by. . . ."

Kahlmorgan charged the government with trying to place blame on the victims, their parents, or the Black community, while refusing to produce a single suspect. The police refuse to investigate obvious suspects—known killers of Black people like the Ku Klux Klan and the cops themselves.

"The federal government must immediately fund the measures needed by Black parents and children," Kahlmorgan said. She called for twenty-four-hour childcare centers and recreation facilities, and funds for the efforts of the Black community to defend itself.

Under the growing pressure from Blacks and other working people throughout the United States, the federal government announced March 5 that nearly \$1 million would be sent to Atlanta to aid in the search for the killer and to help finance needed social programs.

The racist child murders have also received international attention.

Iranian television featured coverage of the March 1 Atlanta rally, including interviews with Black participants.

The February 13 issue of *Contrast*, the Canadian Black newspaper published in Toronto, editorialized on the Atlanta murders and other racist killings.

In West Germany, the February 19 mass-circulation weekly magazine *Stern*, carried a four-page spread on the Atlanta killings.

The February 27 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* carried a major story on the Atlanta murders, including interviews with residents of the Black community there. □

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Pentagon Pushes Ahead With Nuclear First Strike Plans

By Will Reissner

On March 5, the Reagan administration presented the U.S. Congress with proposals that would increase arms spending by \$33.8 billion in 1981 and 1982. To present those proposals in the best possible light, at a time when social spending is being drastically slashed, Reagan claims that this spending surge is needed to stand up to Soviet "expansionism."

In fact, in a March 3 televised interview, Reagan went so far as to state that "it is rather foolish to have unilaterally disarmed, you might say, as we did, by letting our defense margin of safety deteriorate."

Far from "unilaterally disarming," in recent years U.S. military planners have instituted programs intended to provide the Pentagon with the means to launch a crippling nuclear "first strike" attack against the Soviet Union.

These measures were codified in Presidential Directive No. 59, signed by Jimmy Carter on July 25, 1980, and leaked to the U.S. press in August of that year.

P.D. 59 instructs the Pentagon to develop plans and strategies for fighting and winning prolonged but "limited" nuclear wars. The underlying thesis of P.D. 59 is that the Pentagon would fight such a war by launching a first strike nuclear attack against the Soviet Union, crippling the USSR's ability to retaliate.

U.S. First Strike Capability

But P.D. 59 is not simply words. It is based on the development of four new weapons systems that make a first strike possible. Those systems are the MX missile, the Trident II submarine-launched missile, the Cruise missile, and the Pershing II missile.

The Pentagon has always wanted to be able to fight limited nuclear wars, *limited* in the sense that U.S. territory would escape damage. In fact, the United States is the only country in the world that has *already waged* a "limited" nuclear war, when it used atomic bombs on two occasions against Japan in 1945.

Even after Washington's nuclear monopoly was broken by the development of a Soviet atomic bomb in 1949, the Soviet Union still had no delivery system that could reach the United States until it developed its first Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) in 1957. That entire time, however, Washington had bombers that could reach Soviet territory from bases in Europe and elsewhere.

As Flora Lewis noted in the August 15, 1980, *New York Times*: "When the United States had a nuclear monopoly, its willing-

ness to use the weapons in dire circumstances was credible. The threat alone was power, as proved by the disclosure that President Truman got the Soviets out of Iranian Azerbaijan in 1946 by secretly introducing the menacing possibility of a nuclear attack."

The *New York Times* also reported that Truman twice considered threatening the Soviet Union in 1952, during the Korean War.

In 1957, the development of the Soviet Union's first ICBM changed the situation, placing the United States within range of Soviet nuclear forces for the first time. From then on, the Pentagon had to recognize that any U.S. attack on the Soviet union would be met with a retaliatory attack. This new situation came to be known by the acronym MAD—"mutually assured destruction."

But with the development of the MX, the

\$3 Billion Reactor for New Nuclear Warheads

In order to provide the nuclear materials needed for the new generation of weapons to be produced by the Pentagon, a \$3 billion production reactor will have to be built, according to a study by an interagency committee of the U.S. government.

The new reactor would be the first built for the weapons program in more than a quarter-century.

The committee, which was established by the Departments of Defense and Energy in late 1979, also recommended an expenditure of \$500 million to upgrade existing production facilities.

At present the U.S. has three reactors at Savannah River, South Carolina, producing weapons-grade plutonium and tritium for what the *Washington Post* described on May 5, 1980, as "the biggest weapons-building program the country has undertaken in 20 years."

Over the next six years the Pentagon plans to produce new warheads for the Minuteman III and Trident I missiles; a short-range Lance missile; an air-launched Cruise missile; a new tactical nuclear bomb; a new strategic nuclear bomb; the Pershing II missile; and the ground-launched Cruise missile.

Work is also proceeding on warheads for the MX missile and on a new 8-inch nuclear artillery shell.

Trident II, the Cruise, and the Pershing II, the Pentagon feels that it can eliminate the Soviet retaliatory threat in a crippling "first strike."

In line with this, P.D. 59 instructed the Pentagon to change the targets of U.S. nuclear weapons from Soviet cities to Soviet military targets. This is known as moving from a "counter-cities" to a "counter-forces" strategy.

Why P.D. 59 is So Dangerous

Although at first glance P.D. 59's "counter-forces" targeting might seem to be a more "humane" strategy because it spares civilian targets, in fact its effect is just the opposite. A "counter-forces" strategy makes nuclear annihilation *more* rather than less likely.

Underlying MAD's "counter-cities" emphasis was the fact that the primitive guidance systems of early missiles made it impossible to use them against small military targets. They could only be used against cities, where pinpoint accuracy was not needed.

Once the Soviet Union developed its own missiles, the United States and the Soviet Union in effect held each other's cities hostage against a first strike. No matter who struck first, the other country could retaliate and wipe out the attacker's cities. Any use of nuclear weapons would therefore lead to mutual annihilation.

The same year that the Soviet Union developed its first intercontinental missile, Henry Kissinger wrote *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* in which he called for the development of new methods of fighting "limited" nuclear wars that would not lead to the MAD scenario.

Over the years this theme has been echoed by Secretaries of Defense Robert McNamara, Melvin Laird, and James Schlesinger. In fact, the now official "counter-forces" strategy was presented to the U.S. Congress by Schlesinger on March 4, 1974. But in order to *implement* the new strategy there had to be major improvements in the accuracy of strategic nuclear weapons to make them capable of wiping out small and protected military targets.

Technological Basis of New Strategy

During the years that Reagan claims the U.S. was becoming "unilaterally disarmed," the Pentagon was actually perfecting a new generation of nuclear weapons capable of knocking out Soviet missile sites and command bunkers. The Trident I submarine-launched missiles and

Mk 12A warhead for the Minuteman III can now do this.

To fully implement the "counter-forces" strategy, however, the Pentagon needed the four new weapons systems mentioned earlier.

The MX missile, the Trident II missile, the Cruise missile, and the Pershing II missile, taken together, will make it possible—or so the Pentagon hopes—for the U.S. military to launch a massive nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union that could wipe out Soviet nuclear forces on the ground and cripple Soviet ability to retaliate.

The MX system, which the Pentagon estimates will cost \$34 billion and others claim will cost up to \$106 billion, is the cornerstone of P.D. 59. As Richard Burt of the *New York Times** explained on August 11, 1980, the MX will "give the United States the ability, for the first time, to threaten all of the Soviet Union's land-based missiles." It could also knock out fortified Soviet command bunkers. On August 13, 1980, Burt acknowledged that the MX "not only is designed to escape a first strike, but has the accuracy needed for such strikes."

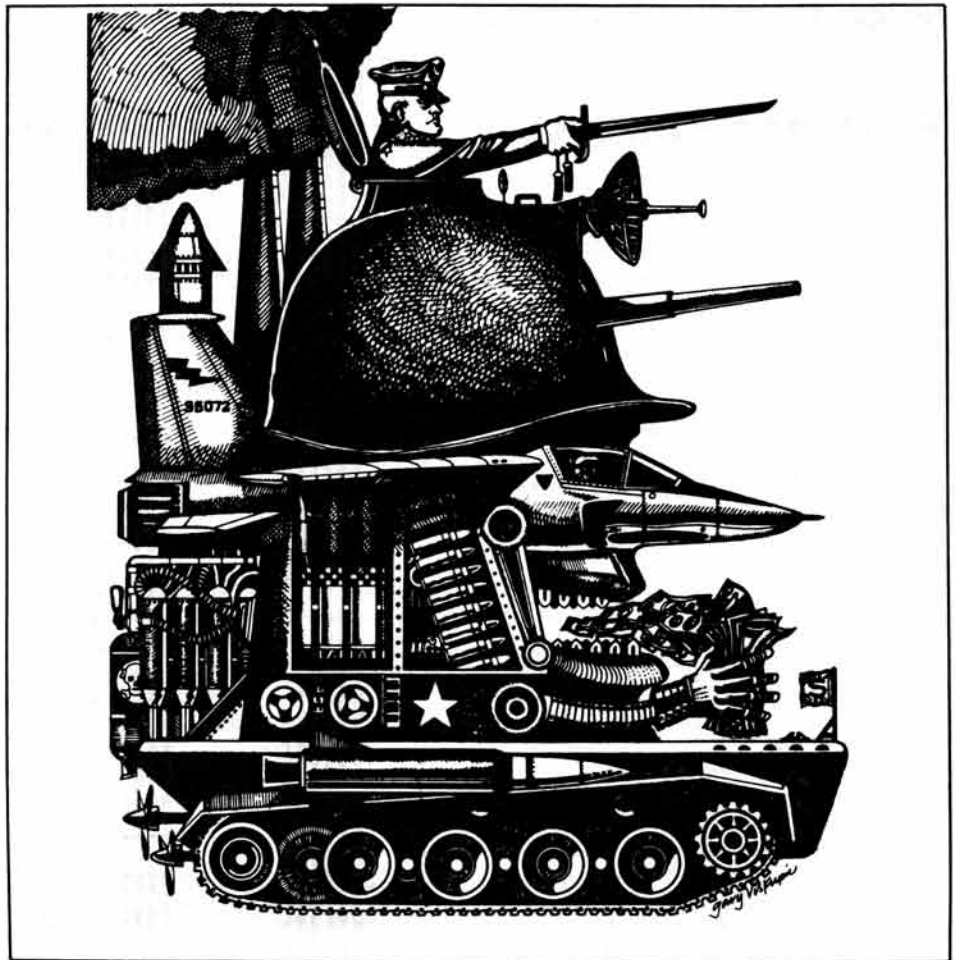
As Michael Getler wrote in the August 14, 1980, *Washington Post*, Carter administration officials stressed that the MX "is vital to the new strategy."

Armed with multiple warheads that can be targeted to hit different sites, the MX missile is far more accurate than any previous missile system. With 10 warheads on each missile, and a range of over 6,000 miles, each MX warhead would land within 100 yards of its intended target, and would destroy everything within two-and-a-half miles of its impact area. This accuracy and destructive power mean that it could destroy the most heavily reinforced concrete missile silo.

The MX would be deployed over huge areas of the states of Nevada and Utah. It would consist of a giant network of underground railways, with 200 to 275 MX missiles constantly shuttling between 4,600 firing silos. A gigantic version of the old "shell game," the MX would be invulnerable to attack because more than

* At the time, Richard Burt was the *New York Times* national security correspondent. Since then he has been named director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs. The close ties between the *Times* and the military and political establishment in the United States can be seen from the fact that the man Burt replaced as director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs was Leslie Gelb, who in turn took Burt's job at the *Times*.

In fact, Gelb began his career at the State Department, then left the State Department for the *New York Times*, then left the *Times* in 1977 to become head of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, and then again left the State Department in 1981 to return to the *Times*.



4,600 nuclear warheads would be needed to definitively destroy it.

Trident, Cruise, and Pershing Missiles

The second new weapon required for implementing P.D. 59 is the submarine-launched Trident II missile. Employing a new and extremely accurate guidance system, and with a range of up to 7,500 miles, the Trident II missile can destroy small military targets.

In the past, all submarine-launched missiles had to be used as "counter-city" weapons because they were not accurate enough to get close to their intended target. The Trident I and II changed that.

The Pentagon plans to deploy thirteen *Ohio* class nuclear submarines, each containing 24 Trident missile tubes. The program's cost is currently projected at more than \$30 billion for the U.S. Navy, with the British Navy also planning to spend up to \$14 billion for four or five new Trident submarines.

The third new weapons system, the Cruise missile, can be launched from airplanes, submarines, surface vessels, or the ground. The Cruise is particularly well suited for a nuclear first strike because it is so small and flies so low that it cannot be detected by radar.

In contrast to ballistic missiles, which

must fly in a straight line once they are launched, the Cruise has a guidance system that allows it to continually change course to avoid obstacles and to maintain a constant distance above the ground, even when crossing mountain ranges. Skimming along barely above tree-top level, the Cruise would sneak through Soviet air defenses to destroy military sites.

The Cruise is also extremely cheap, as missile systems go. At a cost of \$750,000 each—less than the price of a modern battle tank—current U.S. plans call for the production of 4,000 to 5,000 of these tiny but deadly nuclear missiles.

On December 12, 1979, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) voted to deploy 464 of the Tomahawk version of the Cruise missile in Western Europe in 1983. With a range of over 2,000 miles, the Tomahawk Cruise could hit major cities in the Soviet Union from West European launching sites.

The fourth new system, the Pershing II missile, is also scheduled for deployment in Western Europe. A highly accurate missile, carrying a cluster of individually targeted warheads, 108 Pershing II missiles are to be based in West Germany. From there they could hit Soviet targets in as little as *four minutes*, compared to the

30 or more minutes it would take a missile launched from the U.S. to reach the Soviet Union. This obviously increases the Pentagon's ability to launch a surprise attack against the USSR.

New Blow to SALT Treaty

By agreeing to the placement of a total of 572 Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe—the first European-based missiles that can hit the Soviet Union—the Pentagon's European allies are helping Washington implement its first strike strategy against the Soviet Union.

It should be noted that although these weapons will be on European soil, they will remain under the sole command of the U.S. military, to be used when the U.S. government decides.

The deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe is also a blow to the SALT II arms limitation treaty, which was signed by Washington and Moscow although never ratified by the U.S. Senate.

Under the provisions of SALT II both sides agreed to specific limits on their strategic nuclear arsenals. The Pentagon claims that the Cruise and Pershing II missiles do not fall under the provisions of SALT II (even though they can hit targets deep in the Soviet Union) because they are "European theater" weapons rather than "strategic" weapons.

Needless to say, the Soviet government, faced with an additional 572 missiles aimed against the USSR, is not impressed by this fine semantic distinction.

In addition to the MX, Trident II, Cruise, and Pershing II systems, the Pentagon is also hard at work on other weapons to improve U.S. first-strike capability. Plans for the Stealth bomber, for example, were revealed by Carter during his unsuccessful reelection campaign.

The Stealth bomber is being designed to be invisible to Soviet radar. Once it sneaks through Soviet air defense systems, it could either drop bombs on its intended targets or launch Cruise missiles from a considerable distance away.

Right now, "military planners believe that 75 percent of the [existing] B-52's in an attack could get through Soviet defenses," the February 22, 1981 *New York Times* reported. But that's not good enough for the Pentagon.

Plans for the Neutron Bomb

The development of the neutron bomb is also part of the new U.S. "counter-forces" strategy. The neutron bomb is known as the ultimate capitalist weapon because it kills the maximum number of people while destroying the minimum amount of property. It does this by spewing out huge amounts of short-lived radiation, with relatively little blast or heat.

In line with P.D. 59, the neutron bomb is being touted for use in a limited war in Europe.

But in addition to its possible use in Europe, the neutron bomb has another and more likely mission. By spewing out huge amounts of short-term radiation over a large area, the neutron bomb would be an ideal weapon for Washington to use against liberation forces in some future Vietnam.

It is easy to imagine how the neutron bomb could have been used against National Liberation Front camps in Vietnam. Even if the U.S. military did not know the precise location of the guerrilla camps, a couple of neutron bomb artillery shells dropped into the general area would kill every guerrilla around, not to mention their supporters among the local population.

In April 1978, following protests against the deployment of the neutron bomb, Carter was forced to cancel plans to place the weapons in Europe. But the Pentagon is still producing the neutron bomb, and Reagan's Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger recently renewed the call for placing them in Europe.

In Weinberger's own words, the neutron bomb "is a valuable addition to our forces, which we shall probably want to use."

'Limited' Nuclear War in Europe

In September 1979, Henry Kissinger warned that under the MAD doctrine the U.S. government would be unlikely to use nuclear weapons in a European conflict and risk retaliatory destruction of American cities.

The alternative he proposed, and the one Carter pushed through and NATO approved, was to place the Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. Then, in the event of war in Europe, Washington would have the option of fighting a "limited" nuclear war by launching its "European" missiles against the Soviet Union.

And presumably the Soviet Union would respond in a "limited" way by destroying Europe while refraining from launching missiles against the United States. In turn, the Pentagon would not send its American-based missiles against the Soviet Union.

That may sound like an insane scenario, but that is exactly how the question is being discussed within NATO planning groups and at the Pentagon.

A representative of the Soviet press agency Tass, Anatoly Krasikov, responded to the announcement of P.D. 59 by warning on August 8, 1980, that the USSR did not plan to play the game according to that scenario. Krasikov stated that as the U.S. develops new generations of weapons to implement P.D. 59, "it would be naïve to think that the Soviet Union would be idle."

He added that "certain persons on the other side of the ocean have not yet given up the idea of a 'first strike,' believing that they can escape retribution. The same calculation was made by Hitler, and everyone knows how his venture ended. An even sorer fate will befall those who dare

to be the first to push the button in our nuclear era."

What Past Experience Shows

P.D. 59, and the new weapons systems needed to implement it, are the latest in a long string of Pentagon escalations of arms systems aimed at achieving and maintaining a first strike capability. But over time, every U.S. escalation of weaponry has been matched by the Soviet Union.

The U.S. built its first atomic bomb four years before the Soviets; its first long-range bomber four years before the Soviets; its first medium-range missiles six years before the Soviets; its first intercontinental ballistic missile two years before the Soviets; its first nuclear submarine six years before the Soviets; its first submarine-launched ballistic missile nine years before the Soviets; its first multiply targeted warheads five years before the Soviets.

If Reagan and the Pentagon succeed in deploying the MX, the Trident II, the Cruise, the Pershing II, and the neutron bomb, and succeed in building the Stealth bomber and an ABM system, the record clearly shows that the Soviet Union will respond by building similar systems to defend itself.

Once that happens there will be a temporary return to the MAD doctrine, until the Pentagon is able to build a whole new generation of weapons to reestablish its first strike capability for a short time.

Workers Will Have Final Say

But Reagan's ability to deploy these new weapons systems is not at all assured. There is massive opposition in Europe to the introduction of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles and the neutron bomb. European workers are not impressed by the Pentagon's desire to fight "limited" nuclear wars that would turn Western Europe into a radioactive graveyard.

Neither are American workers particularly enthusiastic about spending billions of dollars on the MX missile system while facing cuts in real wages and social welfare programs.

Plans for the MX system have run into a storm of protest, in Utah and Nevada in particular. Many residents of those states recall how the U.S. government lied to them about the safety of above-ground nuclear tests there in the 1950s. These are now resulting in an epidemic of cancer deaths.

Confidence in the government has not been restored by Pentagon officials who describe Utah and Nevada as "giant sponges" for soaking up Soviet missiles.

The U.S. rulers will find that the technical problems of designing their first-strike system will be far smaller than their political problems in actually setting it up. □

STOP NUCLEAR POWER!

West Germany: 100,000 Demonstrate at Brokdorf

Despite a government ban, some 100,000 demonstrators gathered near the West German town of Brokdorf to protest the construction of a 1,300 megawatt nuclear power plant on February 28.

Fighting between police and demonstrators broke out when the authorities tried to prevent the marchers from approaching the construction site. Despite police attacks, some 40,000 protesters actually reached the site.

Work on the power plant has been virtually halted since 1976, when ongoing demonstrations led to a court order stopping construction until the question of removal of nuclear wastes could be resolved. A decision to resume construction was made on December 1, 1980. The plant is being built jointly by the city of Hamburg and the state of Schleswig-Holstein.

According to the March 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, the demonstrators were met by "the largest police force in West German history—10,500 gathered from all over West Germany and West Berlin. . . ."

Despite the antidemocratic court ban on the demonstration, it was sponsored by more than fifty organizations. The march received the support of the youth groups of both parties in the ruling government coalition—the Social Democrats and Free Democrats.

The left wing of the Social Democratic Party is strongly opposed to nuclear power, although Social Democratic Chan-

cellor Helmut Schmidt is pushing the construction of nuclear plants.

The Social Democratic Party in Hamburg, Schmidt's hometown, voted recently to seek a three year moratorium on construction work at Brokdorf until the problem of nuclear wastes is solved.

New South African Atomic Test

For the second time in a little more than a year, an unacknowledged nuclear test has been conducted in the Atlantic Ocean, southwest of South Africa. The telltale flash of the explosion was secretly recorded on December 15, 1980, by U.S. monitoring devices.

For more than two months, the U.S. government attempted to keep news of the test a secret. But some details of it finally leaked to the press, and were reported in a February 18 dispatch by syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak.

Washington had also tried to cover up the previous nuclear test, which was detected by a U.S. satellite on September 22, 1979. The official report on the sighting issued by the Carter administration tried to explain it away as a meteor striking the satellite.

However, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), which drew up a counter report, insisted that the "event" in September 1979 was in actuality a low-yield nuclear weapons test. The DIA, together

with the CIA, believes that the test was conducted jointly by the South African and Israeli governments.

The DIA's report was never officially released.

One reason for Washington's eagerness to downplay the significance of the blasts is its own complicity in the development of the South African nuclear program. Many top South African nuclear engineers and scientists were trained in the United States, and Washington has supplied the apartheid regime with enriched uranium fuel, which can be used for weapons production.

Harrisburg Farmer Tours Netherlands

Jane Lee, a farmer who lives in the shadow of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, carried out a speaking tour of rural areas of the Netherlands in late February at the invitation of Dutch farmers.

The farmers, from the Northeast polder, an agricultural area reclaimed from the sea, oppose government plans to build two 1,000 Megawatt nuclear reactors in their area.

Fifty percent of the population of the Northeast polder earns a living from agriculture. Nearly two-thirds of what they grow is exported. The Northeast polder farmers worry that they will face the same situation as farmers around the French nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at La Hague, who find that they are unable to sell some of their produce due to consumer fears of nuclear contamination.

Since 1975, long before the Three Mile Island accident, Jane Lee, other farmers, and a veterinarian in her area have been keeping records of birth defects, spontaneous abortions, and illnesses among their livestock. Their records show that since the March 1979 accident, there has been a significant increase in premature births, animals too weak to stand, blind animals, and similar problems. The closer the farmer lives to the reactor, the greater the problems with their livestock.

Because animals live in more direct contact with the natural environment than humans, the effects of radioactivity are more quickly manifested in livestock.

On the first evening of Lee's speaking tour in the Netherlands, some 1,500 people crowded into a hall in the small Northeast polder town of Emmeloord to hear her.



Resistance to Soviet Troops Increases Inside Afghanistan

By Janice Lynn

In the fifteen months since tens of thousands of Soviet troops entered Afghanistan, Washington has continued to wage its reactionary propaganda campaign, trying to whip up fear about the threat of "communist aggression."

This campaign is now focused on the Caribbean and Central America, with President Reagan's propaganda offensive around El Salvador.

As examples of what the White House calls "the expansionism of communism throughout the world," Washington links the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan with its claims that there is Cuban coordination of "Soviet-bloc arms shipments to El Salvador."

The aim of Reagan's anti-communist crusade is to create a climate more favorable to increased war spending and military intervention around the world. Washington is using the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan to bolster its claims that the liberation struggle of the Salvadoran people is but another example of "communist aggression."

While focusing attention on the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, Washington is also seeking to cover up the extent of its own involvement in the region—especially its stepped-up military aid to the proimperialist Pakistani regime.

Major Influx of U.S. Aid

In the January 23 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Lawrence Lifschultz reported that in the Pakistani capital of Islamabad the possibility of a major influx of American military and economic aid—some \$4 billion worth—is being openly discussed. In conjunction with aid from the Saudi Arabian monarchy, this would go toward reequipping the entire Pakistani air force, as well as the tank and armored forces.

Lifschultz noted that some U.S. officials in Pakistan realize that this means support to a regime that is deeply unpopular with the Pakistani masses. On February 7, a nine-party Movement for Restoration of Democracy was formed, in opposition to the Pakistani dictatorship.

Also in February, three weeks of marches and demonstrations by students and teachers took place in cities throughout Pakistan, forcing the government to close universities in two provinces. The demonstrators were protesting martial law, press censorship, and the ban on political activity.

In Karachi, Pakistan's biggest trade union—the railway workers—called for a general election, an end to martial law, and a lifting of the ban on strikes.

More than 250 political leaders and their



Guerrilla force in northeastern Afghanistan's Kunar Valley.

supporters were arrested in the wake of the protests.

Since the overthrow of the shah of Iran two years ago, Washington has sought to prop up other regimes in the region it hopes will help protect its oil profits and contain any new revolutionary upsurges. The U.S. rulers are banking especially on the Pakistani military dictatorship and the reactionary Saudi Arabian monarchy.

A recent Rand Corporation study cited in the January 19 *Wall Street Journal*, advised the new Reagan administration, "the U.S. must make a fresh evaluation of Pakistan's value to U.S. interests."

But at the same time, the report warned, "The question isn't whether the present regime will fall from power, but when it will do so..." The Rand Corporation paper pointed out that Pakistan's cooperation is necessary for delivering arms and supplies to the Afghan rebels.

Washington claims that because of an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act banning any new aid commitments to any government believed to be developing nuclear weapons, it cannot legally provide large amounts of military aid to Pakistan. But this is easily circumvented by providing large amounts of arms to other regimes in the region, such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Egypt. This military equipment makes

its way to Pakistan, and then to the Afghan rightists.

And Washington has already collaborated with German, Japanese, and Saudi officials in working out significant increases in aid to Pakistan. The International Monetary Fund recently approved a US\$500 million loan to Pakistan—the biggest made to Pakistan in recent years.

The Pakistani government also garnered US\$1.2 billion from Saudi Arabia in exchange for providing thousands of Pakistani troops to guard the Saudi royal family.

With this large influx of aid, Pakistani dictator Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq provides counterrevolutionary Afghan groups with military equipment, as well as sanctuaries from which to conduct operations.

Aid From Egypt

The Afghan rightists have also received considerable direct aid from the pro-imperialist regime in Egypt. Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat announced in December that he would be doubling the aid already sent. This aid, consisting of more than 1,000 Kalashnikov (AK-47) rifles and other small arms and ammunition, has gone to the Afghan guerrilla groups based in Peshawar, the provincial capital of Pakistan's North West Frontier Province.

The new Egyptian aid to these Pakistani-

based groups will include antitank and anti-aircraft weapons, such as Sam-7 hand-held missile launchers. Four leaders of these guerrilla groups were feted recently during Sadat's "Afghanistan Week," on the anniversary of the Soviet occupation.

Lifschultz reported that Washington is also planning to give a hand to these four groups with US\$200 million in military and economic assistance. Several leaders of the Peshawar-based Afghan guerrilla groups visited Washington in early March to press their appeal for weapons.

In London, leaders of the Pakistan-based rightists recently held discussions with a military communications company, Racial Datacom, about obtaining electronic communications equipment. According to the February 10 *Le Monde*, the meeting with the Afghan counterrevolutionaries was held in the presence of an American representative and with the knowledge of Britain's Foreign Office.

Despite the aid from the imperialists and the proimperialist Pakistani regime, these Peshawar-based groups have little military or political significance within Afghanistan. And according to Lifschultz, what little influence they do have in Afghanistan is declining in favor of the Afghan-based groups.

Afghan-Based Resistance

In addition to the counterrevolutionary groups along the Pakistan border, there are significant rebel groups based inside Afghanistan. These are independent of the Pakistan-based groups, and have a different political character.

Writing from Peshawar, Lifschultz provided some new information on the character of these internal resistance groups, based on extensive interviews with Afghans and Pakistanis. He reported that a confederation of Afghan-based fronts seems to be emerging and gaining more support than the Peshawar-based groups, although the Afghan-based groups are not as well armed as the imperialist-supplied groups in Pakistan.

A clear majority of the groups operating from bases in Pakistan are made up of members of the Pushtun nationality—the dominant nationality in Afghanistan. This is not the case with the internally-based groups.

The most intense resistance within Afghanistan comes from the Nuristani and Hazara peoples. The Nuristani live in the northeast of the country and the Hazara inhabit a large area in central Afghanistan west of Kabul.

Representatives from both the Nuristan and Hazara fronts say that assemblies have been held where commanders and political committees have been elected. The Nuristanis say they are coordinating operations with twelve different internal regional commands. Sister fronts include the Badakshan, Hazara, Kunar, and Ghazni fronts.

Within the areas of Hazarajat and Nuristan there is no permanent presence of ei-

ther Kabul authorities or Soviet forces. Both fronts claim to be running their own autonomous administrations within their own regions.

Nuristani leaders have expressed their concern with the reactionary political positions of the Peshawar-based groups.

National Front

One of the Afghan-based groups, a front that links several resistance groups, is the Jebheye Mobarizin Mujahid-i Afghanistan (National Front of Militant Combatants). It includes several leftist organizations, most of which took a critical attitude toward the Soviet regime and both the Khalq (Masses) and Parcham (Flag) factions of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These leftist groups also operate within various regional fronts.

Lifschultz mentioned several other Afghan-based resistance groups:

- The Sazman-e Azadbaksh Mardom-e Afghanistan (SAMA, Organization for the Liberation of the Peoples of Afghanistan), which is most active in Kabul and other urban centers;

- The Grohe-Inquilabi-Kahlqhaie Afghanistan (Revolutionary Group of Afghanistan), which is particularly active in various rural areas, and;

- Millat (The Nation), which Lifschultz described as a leftist tendency that never regarded itself as either pro-Peking or pro-Moscow.

Lifschultz noted that while a number of these leftist groups are active within the various internally-based united fronts, none can be said to be taking a leading role.

"Given the reputation the Khalq, the Parcham, and the Soviet Army have collectively given the word socialist in Afghanistan over the past year," Lifschultz commented, "they recognize it will be quite some time before their concepts can again be discussed in anything like a positive context."

Peshawar-Based Groups

Among the Peshawar-based groups, the most well-organized and well-armed is the Hezb-i Islami (Islamic Party), led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. This group has stayed outside the paper federation known as the Islamic Alliance, which five of the other Peshawar-based groups formed last year.

The groups belonging to this Islamic Alliance include: the National Liberation Front, headed by Sebratullah Mojadidi; the National Front for the Islamic Revolution, led by Sayed Ahmad Gailani; the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, directed by Professor Burhanuddin Rabani; the Islamic Revolutionary Movement, led by Maulvi Mohammed Nabi; and a split from Gulbuddin's Islamic Party, which still retains the same name, led by Younus Khalis.

At least two of these—the National Liberation Front and the National Front for the Islamic Revolution—openly support the in-

clusion into their front of monarchist elements who propose restoration of the king in Afghanistan.

The bulk of these Pakistan-based groups are led by big land owners, whose property was confiscated by the PDPA's land decrees following the 1978 overturn of the regime of President Mohammad Daud. Many of these big landlords produced and traded in opium. The PDPA's first steps toward implementing its land reform program were also vigorously opposed by the wealthy clergy, money lenders, and opium merchants.

The leader of the National Front for the Islamic Revolution, Sayed Ahmad Gailani, a religious figure who claims descent from the Prophet Mohammed, was a big Peugeot dealer in Kabul. "Until the Communists dispossessed him of his lands and properties after their coup of 1978," Selig S. Harrison noted in the January 13, 1980, *New York Times*, "Gailani was more of a businessman than a practicing saint, and his two glamorous jet-setting daughters are better known in Arab circles in London and the Middle East than Kabul."

Gailani was one of the Afghan guerrilla leaders who visited Washington in early March seeking military aid, according to the March 5 *New York Times*.

Gulbuddin of the Islamic Party and Rabani of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan received military training from the Pakistani government during the regime of the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Between 1973 and 1977 a military force of some 5,000 Afghans was trained at secret camps in Pakistan—under the direct command and control of the Bhutto government.

Gulbuddin had fled to Pakistan's North West Frontier Province after having killed a student from a pro-Chinese tendency at Kabul university in 1972.

Other Afghan resistance groups accuse Gulbuddin's supporters of trying to violently establish their hegemony over all the other groups.

Moscow's Dilemma

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, far from crushing the resistance, has intensified it. As has been noted, it now includes not only reactionary opponents of land reform, but sectors of the population that were once a base of support for the PDPA, making it impossible for Moscow to accomplish its goal of consolidating a stable regime.

"Most significantly, the massive intervention of the Soviet army last year," Lifschultz wrote, "qualitatively changed the situation . . . into a national war against the presence of a foreign army. Thousands who otherwise might have remained neutral or aloof joined the various resistance groups."

"The dilemma, of course," Lifschultz noted, "is that while Soviet soldiers remain in large numbers on Afghan soil, the magnitude of the resistance is likely to grow."

For example, there were significant anti-government protests of university and high

school students in Kabul in April and May of 1980. Then in late December 1980, more anti-government demonstrations took place, marking the anniversary of the Soviet occupation.

In downtown Kabul there was a march to the Ministry of Information and Culture. Most shops closed on December 27, the first anniversary of the Soviet occupation. And many government workers went on strike.

The continued factionalism between the Khalq and Parcham factions of the PDPA has led to increased desertions and rebellions in the Afghan army. Army recruitment drives have not been very successful. As a result, tours of duty had to be extended, which has led to several barracks uprisings.

According to a report by Stuart Auerbach in the November 18, 1980, *Washington Post*, some Khalq members have actually begun allying themselves with rebel groups that are fighting Soviet and Afghan government troops. (President Babrak Karmal is a leader of the Parcham faction.) Others, Auerbach reported, have formed self-defense committees for protection against a possible purge.

According to several accounts, the Karmal government, faced with a disintegrating army, has offered subsidies to tribal leaders to fight the guerrilla resistance

Recent Initiatives

There have been several recent diplomatic initiatives aimed at trying to resolve the situation in Afghanistan.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi is promoting Pakistani-Iranian-Afghan talks with the active participation of the United Nations. Moscow has been calling for separate talks between the Afghan and Pakistani governments on the one hand and the Afghan and Iranian governments on the other.

Cuban President Fidel Castro, in his capacity as chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has offered to mediate discussions between the Afghan, Iranian, and Pakistan governments. Castro sent Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca to Kabul, Tehran, and Islamabad to explore the chances for settlement.

A Prensa Latina dispatch that appeared in the November 30 English-language weekly *Granma* noted that Cuban ambassador Raúl Roa Kourí, speaking in the United Nations November 19, explained that "the objective of the efforts undertaken by the Cuban foreign minister was to come up with a mutually satisfactory political settlement that would guarantee the legitimate interests of states in the region, help end foreign intervention and create the necessary conditions for the Soviet Union to do what it has publicly said it is ready to do, that is, withdraw its troops from Afghanistan."

Roa vigorously condemned the way the U.S. imperialists were manipulating events in Afghanistan and drew attention to Washington's new bases and increased military and naval presence in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Gulf.

In January 1980 and then again in November, the Cuban ambassador voted against U.S.-sponsored resolutions in the United Nations that called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

Urge Broadening of Campaign

Australian Metalworkers Push for 35-Hour Week

By Jaimie Doughney

[In 1980, as a result of rising unemployment in Australia, trade unionists launched a campaign for a thirty-five hour workweek. In the forefront of the campaign have been the metal industry unions, particularly the 160,000-member Amalgamated Metal Workers and Shipwrights Union, the largest in the country.

[Mass meetings of metalworkers took place throughout Australia in May 1980 and again in June. These meetings voted to work a thirty-five-hour week once a month, and to ban overtime during that week. The metalworkers later voted to extend their job actions.

[The following article on the campaign in the metal industry appeared in the February 18 issue of the Australian socialist weekly *Direct Action*.]

* * *

Industrial action in the metal industry for a 35-hour week is starting around the country despite pressure from ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions] leaders to downplay the campaign.

This ACTU pressure was revealed by Amalgamated Metal Workers and Shipwrights Union assistant national secretary Laurie Carmichael in the February 4 *Tribune*. It accounts for the low-key nature of the 35-hours campaigns so far this year.

The ACTU is hoping that by slowing the 35-hour week struggle it can make a new "indexation" deal with the government and Arbitration Commission.*

However, strong feeling in support of the 35-hour week among metalworkers has resulted in the commencement of industrial action in the engineering and fabrication, and foundry sections of the industry. Workers in the mining engineering area are continuing to work the nine-day fortnight they began last year.

Metal industry unions are organising the campaign under the auspices of the ACTU. Particular areas in industry were selected

*"Indexation" refers to a system, introduced by the Labor Party government in 1975, under which wages were supposedly increased in accordance with rises in the consumer price index. However, the real content of the plan was to impose wage guidelines on the labor movement that did not reflect the full increase in inflation. As a result, real wages fell during the 1975-1980 period.—IP

As Roa explained, "Cuba will always support—as it has always done, at the cost of its blood—the peoples' right to sovereignty, but it will never bring grist to the mill of reaction and imperialism." □

after industry-wide action was dropped late last year, again under ACTU pressure.

Workers in engineering and fabrication will commence working a nine-day fortnight from March 9. This was decided on in mass meetings in a number of major centres.

Foundry workers are also due to start working a nine-day fortnight soon. Shop stewards have endorsed this proposal in Sydney, and it is believed a similar position has been adopted in other cities. The proposal will soon go to mass meetings.

Steelworkers' delegates in the Port Kembla works have also voted to support metalworkers in their campaign. They have pledged to immediately stop work if contractors are used to do the work of metalworkers working a nine-day fortnight.

A common sentiment in the meetings that have taken place is one of dissatisfaction that the ACTU hasn't led the campaign with greater vigor. Many workers at these meetings also wanted across-the-board industry action to start again.

Mark Carey reports from the Brisbane engineering and fabrication meeting that "workers complained that they will be doing all the fighting while the rest of the metal industry is kept out of the campaign. After all, they reasoned, if the ACTU is behind the campaign why isn't the entire workforce fighting for it."

The same sentiment was expressed in a motion at a February 13 metalworkers meeting in Wollongong. Although the motion was defeated, it reflected strong membership moves to have the ACTU quit dabbling and involve all industries.

The Brisbane meeting also saw strong opposition to officially-recommended dropping of overtime bans, and the current limitation of the Queensland campaign to Brisbane.

What the dissatisfaction of metalworkers reflects is not unwillingness to fight for a 35-hour week. On the contrary it shows they want a more aggressive campaign involving larger numbers.

In other words, they want a campaign with a greater chance of winning. □

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DOCUMENTS

'We Want to Become a Shining Example for the Whole Continent'

Tomás Borge Speaks on Human Rights in Nicaragua

[The following is a presentation made by Commander Tomás Borge, Nicaraguan minister of the interior, to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (CIDH) on October 10, 1980. The commission spent a week in Nicaragua, meeting with representatives of the government, the armed forces, the judicial system, and the church, as well as with the ex-National Guard prisoners and their families.

[Upon its departure October 11, the commission announced that it would recommend international humanitarian aid to Nicaragua.

[Borge's remarks have been published as a pamphlet by the Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

We have listened with great respect and attention to your opinions. Perhaps I should start by saying that in every country there are only two possibilities. Either you are in favor of human dignity and respect for human rights, or you are against human rights. There is no other possibility.

Leaving aside the nuances that may exist, and without being mechanical about it—either you're for human rights or you're against them.

The political thrust of this revolution and this government is unshakably and irreversibly in favor of human dignity, of human rights. Obviously, in practice we have fallen short of perfection, but the most important thing is our strategic, historic decision to be in favor of human rights.

Our inviting you here was one result of this decision.



TOMAS BORGE

In order to talk about human rights, you have to talk about the Somoza dictatorship, and about all the governments Nicaragua has had. But especially about the Somoza dictatorship.

Over the last half century our people have been put in front of the firing squad without any legal niceties being observed. They have been put into torture chambers.

The Somoza government's specialty was violating all the laws—even those laws that existed in the country at the time, which are not the same as the laws that exist today. Now we see the contradictions between the laws of the past and the revolution that is under way. We haven't yet had time to change the entire judicial system, but we know that much of it is obsolete and not in line with our revolutionary principles. There was a legal framework under the dictatorship, but Somoza just did not pay much attention to it.

The abuses committed under Somoza are familiar to all of you—even though a criminal like Somoza does everything possible to hide his crimes. When he was in power, he was able to cover up a lot of things.

This government is unshakably and irreversibly in favor of human dignity, of human rights . . .

As a matter of principle we have not tried to hide anything, not even our mistakes, not even the abuses that have been committed. But in the days of the dictatorship, obviously, everything possible was done to cover up the worst aspects of the repression.

You never had a chance to talk to the peasants who had grease spread on their genitals so that the dogs would eat them. You could not talk to the men who were scalped alive with razors and had salt and vinegar rubbed into their wounds so they would suffer until they died. You certainly never had a chance to talk to the peasant women who were raped, as almost 100 percent of them were in some northern provinces.

Probably you don't even know about the peasants who were buried alive in the mountains. You don't know the incredibly horrible statistics on the number of victims. You have spoken of the large number of victims—we know that they numbered in the tens of thousands. More than 100,000 Nicaraguans were killed.

Think about the fact that there wasn't a single family in Nicaragua that escaped the repression, not even the family of Somoza himself. Because Edgar Lang, a Sandinista martyr and hero, was a relative of Somoza's; many members of Somoza's family were victims of repression.

Repression under Somoza went so far beyond the normal limits that it touched his own family and the families of his friends. There wasn't even a single Somocista family that escaped the repression. That gives you some idea of the magnitude of repression under Somoza.

Of course all this repression led to an enormous buildup of resentment and hatred in the Nicaraguan population. Everything that has to do with the National Guard is despised in this country. We made a big effort to save some members of the National Guard. We found them jobs, and in some cases the workers accepted them out of a sense of discipline. But they wouldn't talk to the Guardsmen—they turned their backs on them and made their lives miserable.

People will not put up with the *guardias* for the reasons I have al-

ready explained. Because besides being murderers, they were thieves. Besides being vile robbers, they were brutal. They killed a lot of Nicaraguans, and they stole the property of others.

They were murderers, thieves, torturers, and rapists. That's what they were. That's what they still are in the places they have fled to.

Perhaps the worst crime Somoza and his son committed was not that of killing Nicaraguans, not that of turning the National Guard into criminals, but that of turning *children* into criminals.

You refer to the youngsters who are in prison—the specialty of those children was gouging out prisoners' eyes with a spoon. This was one of the techniques of these children who were horribly deformed by Somozaism.

But the revolution has made a political decision not to put these youngsters on trial but to try to rehabilitate them.

Unfortunately some of them were taken to the facilities where the adults are. The revolution is setting up separate facilities for them, but in the meantime they have a separate section of the Modelo facility; they are not with the others. We want to get them out of there, and we will do so as soon as we have another place for them.

Right now we cannot afford the luxury of just turning them loose, because they would become delinquents. These youngsters—without work and with all the deformations they have suffered—would become murderers and thieves and would end up back in jail for new crimes. For this reason we wouldn't be doing them any favor. We are going to take them someplace and rehabilitate them.

Our revolution has historically had a policy of not executing anyone. Those were the instructions we gave during the war. It is not just something we decided after our victory, but a policy we followed during the war itself.

I don't know if the tape recording still exists of a speech I made to the National Guard when we had them surrounded in the barracks at Matagalpa. It went out over the radio, over our own radio. In it I told them to turn themselves in, that nothing would happen to them. The National Guard never believed us when we told them this.

I remember when I was taken prisoner. I was brutally tortured, kept with a hood over my head for nine months, and kept handcuffed for seven months.

I remember when we captured those who had tortured me. I told them: "I am going to get back at you; now comes the hour of my revenge, and my revenge is that we are not going to harm a single hair on your heads. You didn't believe us before, but now we are going to make you believe us."

That was our philosophy; that was the way we were. But take a minute to think about what it meant, what it means to have been in Nicaragua in those days.

You, Mr. President [commission President Thomas Farer]—just

imagine that they murdered your wife, the way they murdered mine. Imagine if they had brutally murdered your son or your brother, if they had raped your wife or sister or daughter—and then you came to power.

This will give you some idea of the moral stature of the leaders of this revolution, that we have not taken revenge against those who did us so much harm.

But we cannot demand the same consciousness from the great mass of fighters who saw their brothers and sons shot down, whose wives were raped, whose daughters were raped, whose loved ones

We have not tried to hide anything, not even our mistakes, not even the abuses that have been committed . . .

were tortured, who were themselves victims of torture, who lived through the frightening destruction of the bombs that fell in their cities and of the rockets that fell on their houses and killed children and old people.

They came to power with the sound of shots still ringing in their ears, still feeling the blood recently spilled and the crimes just committed.

The logical, natural thing to do was to turn the guns against those who had lived by the gun. But the immense majority of the National Guard were not shot; only a tiny minority of these murderers were shot. Even we ourselves don't know who they were. It was like in *Fuenteovejuna*—everyone was in it together.*

When the revolution won, they gave me a million córdobas [1 córdoba = US\$0.10] to start setting up the Ministry of the Interior. And I started spending this money to set up a police force and State Security, without bothering to ask for receipts. I don't know exactly what happened to this money. If I had to give an exact accounting, they would have to send me to jail.

You cannot have the faintest idea of the situation that existed in Nicaragua at that moment. I don't even know who was in charge of the La Pólvera barracks right then—and I don't think anyone

**Fuenteovejuna* is the title of a 1618 drama by the Spanish writer Lope de Vega. When an oppressive tax collector is murdered in the village of Fuenteovejuna, the king sends his prosecutor to demand of the townspeople, "Who killed the tax collector?"

"Fuenteovejuna, my lord," they answer, one after the other.

"And who is Fuenteovejuna?"

"*Toda a una*" (Every one of us).—IP

Slanderer Retracts Charges of Torture by FSLN

MANAGUA—On March 3, Judge Felix Trejos dismissed all charges against José Esteban González, the president of the Permanent Commission on Human Rights (CPDH).

González was set free after he presented a written retraction of some of his allegations about human rights violations in Nicaragua.

In what he presented as a "clarification" of his position, González said that he had never believed, and did not now believe, that the Sandinista government practiced torture, that he agreed with the government on the number of ex-National Guard originally taken prisoner, and on the number still in jail, and that he never meant in any way to defend the activities of the Somozaist prisoners who

were guilty of atrocious crimes against the Nicaraguan people.

González had been arrested February 19 and put on trial for charges that he spread slanders designed to undermine Nicaragua's economy and endanger peace.

In his written statement, González drew attention to the fact that his legal rights had been fully protected during the proceedings against him. This was reaffirmed in a public statement by William Butler, the president of the International Commission of Jurists, who attended the entire trial as an international observer.

Judge Trejos, while noting that González's retraction only confirms the evidence that he had disseminated false in-

formation about Nicaragua, ordered him freed as an example of the revolution's generosity.

This generosity has not been universally popular here. The day after the verdict, there were protest demonstrations of a few dozen people at a time, outside the government offices. Some handwritten signs have appeared around Managua complaining that González did not get the punishment he deserved.

The day after the verdict, the FSLN daily *Barricada* conducted a series of interviews with people in the streets. Their responses ranged from that of a market woman who praised the Christian charity of the judge's action to one mechanic's statement that "if it had been me, I would have locked the guy up for thirty years."

knows. People spent one week here and the next week someplace else.

All right, it is possible that if we were to make an investigation we might be able to find out who was in charge of La Pólvera.

But do we really have the moral right to punish those who fought alongside the people against the tyranny, who risked their lives, who perhaps were wounded, who saw their fathers and brothers and sons killed?

What right do we have to ask now that they be punished for things that happened at a time when there were no mechanisms of control in the whole country—when there existed neither judicial order nor military order.

These *compañeros* did not have a very clear idea of what they were supposed to be doing, and some may even have thought they were following the policy of the revolutionary government. The means of communication we had at our disposal to let people know what the

Everything that has to do with the National Guard is despised in this country . . .

policy was were not very good, and this was also true during the war.

It would be very difficult for us to track down who was responsible for the things that happened in the first months after the victory, extremely difficult.

We would be demagogues and liars if we told you we were going to punish these *compañeros*, if we told you that we were going to have a thorough investigation to find out who was responsible for the executions that took place in the days after the victory.

On the other hand, we have punished a lot of people. When we found out about something, we penalized those responsible. But we did not publicize what we were doing, and I don't even remember the names of those penalized.

We deported one fighter, whose name I don't remember, a South American, whom I found committing abuses. We immediately expelled him from the country.

We also put in jail some *compañeros* whom we found committing abuses. I don't know if they are out now.

But you don't have any idea of what those first months after the revolution were like: there wasn't the slightest bit of control over anything.

When we founded the Ministry of the Interior, there were six of us; and in the whole country there was no police force, no State Security, no judges, no courts, no Supreme Court, no nothing.

All we had were titles: "You're the Minister of the Interior." "You're the president of the Supreme Court." There was no infrastructure. We didn't even have offices. We didn't have files. We had nothing, absolutely nothing.

About the only thing we could do then was go around here and there trying to stop bad things from being done.

When they tried to lynch the prisoners who were in the Red Cross building, I personally went to see the relatives of our martyrs who were there ready to take their revenge.

I needed all the powers of persuasion I possessed. I didn't tape record what I said, but I think it was one of the most eloquent of the few eloquent speeches I have made in my life.

In any case, I managed to persuade them not to kill the National Guard. Mr. Ismael Reyes, who is a member of the Red Cross, was there; he was the one who called me.

There was a large crowd trying to break down the doors to get in and kill the murderers who were inside. We were able to convince them not to do it. We were able to convince them by saying that we could not kill them because we had made this revolution in order to put a stop to killings.

This was perhaps the most persuasive argument. I asked them: "So why did we make this revolution, if we are going to do the same thing they used to do? If that's the way it is going to be, we would be better off not having made the revolution."

We said the same thing to the police, to members of the State Se-

curity, to the *compañeros* in the army: "Don't commit abuses; don't be disrespectful to anyone; don't hit prisoners." Because often they did hit prisoners or kill prisoners. *We said to them: "If you do such things, then what did we make this revolution for?"*

It was a battle, a tremendous battle. We asked the Church to help us. For example, we asked the Church to help us improve prison conditions. One time a German clergyman came to this very office and expressed his admiration for the revolution and asked me: "How can we help you?"

We told him: We're going to tell you a secret; we want you to help us to improve conditions for the prisoners.

We didn't want to say it publicly, because several times when we did something to improve conditions, word got out. And people didn't like it.

If you were Nicaraguan and you had suffered all that Nicaraguans have suffered, you wouldn't be very sympathetic with the idea of doing something for the prisoners either. When we ask people what we should do with the prisoners, they say, "Shoot them." If we had gone along with the will of the people on this, we would have shot them all.

That is why we told this clergyman to help us improve the conditions of the prisoners. We told him: "Don't send us aid for our children, whom we love more than anything in the world. Send us aid for the prisoners, for the criminals we are holding in jail, for the murderers."

Some Christian businessmen came, some North American millionaires, including an astronaut who had been to the moon, and they asked us what they could do to help. We told them also: "Build us the best prison in Latin America, the most humane, because we want to set an example for the world in our treatment of prisoners."

They promised; we'll see if they keep their word. I hope they do, because they gave me the impression of being serious and responsible people. So far they have sent us 7,000 Bibles, which we have divided up among the prisoners.

We have serious problems with our prisons. There aren't very many of them, and they are in poor condition. There is overcrowding; there are shortages of foodstuffs. The staff suffers from these problems as well as the prisoners.

One time I almost started to cry—not for the prisoners, to tell the truth, but for the *compañeros* who were guarding the prisoners. It seemed like the *compañeros* were the prisoners and the prisoners were the ones standing guard. The prisoners were better off than the guards, who were sleeping on the floor, half-naked, with no shoes, half dead with hunger. It was a pitiful picture.

This is a country that was left in ruins. It is important not to forget this fact. This is a country reduced to rubble. We have extraordinary problems, yet efforts are being made to improve the prisoners' conditions.

We are battling not only to improve their material conditions but also to counter the hatred that the *compañeros* watching them feel toward them.

We are the ones carrying out this battle, because we have the moral authority to do it. But if I had been a National Guardsman or a So-

Our revolution has historically had a policy of not executing anyone . . .

mozaist, or one who was indifferent, I wouldn't have much moral authority to ask the *compañeros* to treat prisoners well.

But we ourselves were the victims of the National Guard, we were tortured, we and our families were victims. For that reason we do have the moral authority to ask that they be treated well.

No one can accuse us of having a selfish interest in having them treated well, because if we had any selfish interest it would be in having them treated badly.

We can expect some improvements. The problem of overcrowding can be reduced by building more prisons. That's the only way.

We built one new prison. We invested a million and a half córdos



National Guard aroused bitter hatred because of their atrocities against the people.

bas, and when it was finished it turned out the engineer—who was obviously incompetent—hadn't designed in sewers. And other experts we consulted came to the conclusion that it was impossible to put in sewers because of the condition of the ground.

So months of work came to nothing, along with our expectations of moving the prisoners into better quarters where we had planned for them to have conjugal visits and other basic rights we want to introduce into our penal system.

Now we have to begin looking for other possible locations for a place we can put them for at least a few months. The engineer inspector says that we can't take anyone over to the Granada facility. In the meantime, we have given instructions that the prisoners be permitted more frequent visits.

Yesterday I was in Jinotepe prison, and I found out that we need better communications. We still haven't perfected our means of com-

Why did we make this revolution if we are going to do the same thing they used to do? . . .

munication. They hadn't yet gotten the order we issued some time ago to allow more frequent visits, or the order to permit the prisoners to receive magazines and books and other things. We also found some prisoners who were being held unjustly and released them.

We agree completely with the idea of increasing the number of visits the prisoners are allowed. But you should be aware that there are administrative problems related to such visits.

The Tipitapa prison, for example, has a capacity of 700. That is, it should have 700 but it actually has more than 2,000.

It is difficult to control visits under such conditions. It can only be done by increasing the staff. This means spending more money, but we are going to find ways to allow more visits.

We have already authorized more frequent visits, as well as the right to walk freely through the halls, and to receive books, newspapers, magazines, cigarettes, radios, television, and other things that were prohibited before, such as bringing in lemons and oranges and other fruits. All this has now been authorized.

It is true that the *compañeros* in charge of the penal system have established some rules that are somewhat mechanical and sometimes even childish. One time I visited the prison in Granada, where I learned of a rule that every time an official came by, the prisoners

had to stand at attention.

One official named Leana went by 300 times a day. So every time she went by the women were supposed to stand at attention. It was ridiculous.

We still haven't straightened out things like that, much less perfected all the administrative and institutional norms of the country. But we are making a lot of progress.

We are going to release more prisoners. We have already released a lot. What happens is that we make the mistake of not letting peo-

If we had gone along with the will of the people on this, we would have shot them all . . .

ple know about the disciplinary measures taken against many *compañeros* for abusing prisoners, and we also have not made public the number of prisoners we have released. We have freed thousands of prisoners.

We only made it public in the first few days, when I freed more than 100 criminals, ex-Guardsmen, from Jinotega. Today, by the way, they are listed among the "disappeared"; actually, they fled to Honduras. We also have not publicized a lot of the disciplinary steps taken. Commander Cuadra has given you just a few examples of people disciplined under the law.

We are going to free all those prisoners whose physical condition prevents them from posing any danger, regardless of what they have done, unless the charges against them are very serious indeed.

I have been thinking that even though we had decided not to free a lot of the women prisoners until the Human Rights Commission left, that, given the productive discussions we have had, and the positive attitudes you have shown, we should free them immediately. And I am going to propose this to the government.

We are going to make a study. We will send lawyers to all the prisons to look into the possibility of freeing a lot more prisoners.

It wasn't possible in the very beginning to tell who was telling the truth and who wasn't. Many of the prisoners even changed their names. Their relatives come to the prisons and look for them under their real names, and they "can't find them."

These prisoners are deathly afraid of the revolution. They are afraid because of the crimes they committed. They have guilt complexes, and that's why they won't give their real names.

You will also find if you study the answers they gave to the Special Tribunals, that they were all cooks, typists, bartenders, barbers, and mechanics. Nobody ever fired a shot. You would think that we had just been shooting at ourselves.

Some would say, "they only recruited me three days before." Others claimed to have been in the army only a month; others said they had deserted; others that they were really in the FSLN. Ferreting out the truth in all these cases is very difficult.

We are, however, training groups of *compañeros*. We have given them instruction in judicial norms, in respect for human rights, in questioning prisoners, so that we can speed up the trials. Now more are being held than before.

In the beginning it was a big problem, but now we are getting more experienced in such procedures. Every day we do them a little better, and now we are preparing thirty-five new people.

As I told you, it's a hard job. We started out with no experience. Who were the judges in this country? Who had any judicial experience in Nicaragua? The Somozaists, and their experience was all in the framework of corruption.

The only thing we knew how to do was fight. We are still half guerrillas. We weren't judges, we had no legal experience. We weren't investigators, we weren't police, we weren't anything. We have learned all this under the gun.

It is little more than a year since the victory, and from a historical point of view this is only an instant, only a historical second. We ourselves have said that we are only beginning to normalize things, to

create a state apparatus.

We have special interests of our own. For example, we are interested in building the FSLN. But the FSLN is waiting on the sidelines while we take care of our immediate task of organizing the state apparatus. We can't do anything without a state structure.

July 19 came this year and we were just getting around to paying attention to the FSLN as a political organization. Why? Because we didn't have a state. We are just now beginning to have a real state.

And the first priorities of the state were not in the judicial system—they were in health care, the literacy crusade, and defense of the revolution.

Now that we've achieved some normalcy in defense and in health and education, we can start. We can start to give the legal system its proper importance. Up to this point it hasn't had a single vehicle, or its own building; now we're providing vehicles and giving them a

This is a country reduced to rubble. We have extraordinary problems, yet efforts are being made to improve the prisoners' conditions . . .

building. We're starting to give some encouragement to those in charge of the judicial system; we are meeting with them more frequently. Before we couldn't, because we had other things to do.

With the end of Somoza's dictatorship came the end of the legal structure and coercive forces that supported Somozaism. We were faced not only with the job of reconstructing buildings destroyed by the war but also of building a state apparatus, and the latter is sometimes as difficult as the former.

There are some people who feel nervous about what is happening, but perhaps the first thing we have to say is that there has been a revolution here. And a revolution makes some people very happy and others not so happy. There are some who feel very secure about it and others very insecure.

There is a new sense of security among the immense majority of the population, who used to live in fear. They were always afraid of being killed, of being thrown in jail, of being tortured, afraid their lands would be stolen, afraid they would lose their jobs or be kicked out of school. They lived in a state of extreme insecurity.

But who was responsible for this insecurity? The social groups that ruled the country. Now those who were insecure before have recovered a sense of security; they feel safe for the first time.

But those who before caused insecurity to the big majority of the population now feel insecure themselves—even though this revolution has been extremely flexible and has given everyone an opportunity. They feel insecure even though we have seriously proposed—and this is not just a tactical or short-term thing—that we maintain a mixed economy and political pluralism.

We mean it when we talk about political pluralism and a mixed economy. But what happens is that a thief thinks everyone else is like him. And these people think we are tricking them, when in fact we are going to great pains to show them that we are not lying, that in fact they are the ones who have historically been the liars. They can't concede the possibility that there might be people who aren't liars, and therefore they feel nervous.

Obviously this is a vicious circle, because this insecurity they feel causes them to decapitalize their businesses. But when they begin to do that, their workers become aware of what they are doing. And then the revolutionary government becomes concerned.

We are not prepared to allow them to decapitalize their businesses. Such a lack of confidence is a blow to this country. They are all in debt, which is the best proof. There is not a single private enterprise in this country which is not in debt to the financial system.

And it would not even be a radical step, but a simple business procedure, for us to say to them: "Gentlemen, either you pay us or you turn over your operations." But they aren't in a position to pay.

So what has the revolutionary government done? Has it taken away their businesses? No. In fact it has extended them more loans

in order for them to develop their businesses.

Unfortunately, we have a backward capitalist class. I want to be frank with you. I think that in the long run a certain segment of the so-called private sector is going to come to its senses. There are some people who don't show good sense now but may some day come to their senses. There are some who are half-sensible who may become sensible; just like there are some who already show some common sense in which this characteristic may become stronger.

We could have wiped these people out. We had the power to do it. This would only have shown that we had as little sense as they do. But we have learned something from history. People learn from experience. We have learned that in order to be revolutionaries and advance a revolutionary process, it is necessary to have one's feet on the ground.

We could have taken away all their businesses and we would not have been overthrown; I'm sure of that. But what is most conducive to the economic development of the country is what is best for the Nicaraguan people. So when we talk about a mixed economy, we mean it; and when we talk about political pluralism, we mean it.

This is not a short-term maneuver but our strategic approach. The political approach of the FSLN is to maintain a mixed economy and political pluralism.

We are not going to violate these principles. But we are not going to let them decapitalize their businesses, because that means taking resources out of the country and destroying those enterprises.

We want to see the development of private enterprise, private commerce, and private cultivation of the land. Furthermore, we have no interest in nationalizing the land. On the contrary, we are interested in expanding private ownership of the land. We think this should be basically in the form of cooperatives, but if there are also private enterprises involved in agricultural production, we want them to develop too.

We will give them whatever help they need, just like we did to the San Antonio sugar mill, for example, which is a million-dollar operation in private hands.

We are going to multiply the number of cooperatives, which is a form of private ownership of the land, and one that people only join on a voluntary basis.

Cooperatives are nothing unusual; they aren't communism, like some backward elements here think who don't have the faintest idea what a cooperative is. You only have to read half a page of a book on the subject to be aware that a cooperative involves private ownership.

There is political uncertainty among certain sectors. The traditional parties in this country—and I'm not talking about the traditional parties just to attack them—have ruled Nicaragua for more than 100 years and they have never been able to solve the country's problems. But they want to go on living. They stubbornly refuse to retire to a museum.

We are not going to prevent them from continuing to live. They are going to die a natural death, and new, modern, different parties need to come into being.

The Liberals [Somoza's party] don't dare to identify themselves, but there are those who are bold enough to suggest that the Liberals

There is a new sense of security among the immense majority of the population, who used to live in fear . . .

should be a political option in this country. This doesn't worry us.

What kind of influence can these parties have, either historically or among the masses? They are doing us a big favor by presenting themselves as our opposition. We'd rather have them for an opposition than some modern party with relevant ideas and a possibility of a future.

Better them than new sectors that aren't tainted with having been Somoza's yes-men, having made deals with Somoza, having been part of the reactionary hysteria that prevailed in this country.



Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior

Yelba Borge, wife of Commander Tomás Borge, was murdered by Somoza's National Guard in June 1979.

Tainted by complicity with the imperialist interventions in Nicaragua (with all due respect to our honored friend, the president of the commission [a U.S. citizen]). This is the kind of opposition we don't have to worry about. They are the ones who are worried.

At a certain time, they were demanding immediate elections. We said no, and one of the reasons was precisely because we favor political pluralism.

If we had held elections six months after the victory, or if we held them right now, those people wouldn't even get half a deputy. Political pluralism would disappear. If there were 100 representatives in congress, it would be 100 Sandinistas. And since we do favor political pluralism, we want them to have political representation; we would like them to be able to organize themselves into some type of party that would at least have the possibility of presenting itself as an option.

Besides that, we really didn't have time to spend holding elections right then. It would have meant an expenditure of energy and resources when our main job right then was to get our economy going again.

But elections will be held. We have already set the date. That will be the time to have a contest in the electoral arena. What won't be up for debate is whether or not there is a revolution in Nicaragua.

We have publicly criticized people in the private sector, but they have criticized us as well. They demand the right to attack us, but they don't think we have a right to attack them.

If they can attack us, why can't we do the same to them? If they call us communists, why can't we call them reactionaries? If they say we've sold ourselves for gold from Moscow, why can't we say they

are prostitutes who have sold themselves to imperialism?

If they have the same right to express themselves as we do, and they attack us in *La Prensa* and over Radio Corporación and other stations, then we can attack them in our media.

We can defend ourselves and we can criticize them. But we do it with the truth, and they do it with lies.

But all right, everyone has their own idea of what truth is. Some people think lies are the truth.

It is true that certain means of communication, such as Radio Sandino, belong to the FSLN, just like Radio Corporación belongs to the

The traditional parties in this country have ruled Nicaragua for more than 100 years and they have never been able to solve the country's problems . . .

reactionaries. It is also true that other means of mass communication, such as television, are in the hands of the state.

I wish you would ask the French why they control certain communications media. Television, for example, is in the hands of the state in France—and not only in France but in Spain too, just like in Nicaragua. The reason is that the television stations belonged to Somoza, and what was Somoza's passed into the hands of the new state. If there had been a television channel in private hands, it would still be in private hands.

But at this point we are not in favor of licensing a new commercial television station, because we are trying to transform Nicaraguan television. Traditionally, television has been very alienating. Alienating because it encourages pornography, because it glorifies crime and violence. We are making a big effort to transform television into something educational, because television is a very effective medium of communication.

What we can consider is opening up television to other political forces, such as the church. We have nothing against the idea of the church having access to television. The Human Rights Commission headed by Dr. Leonte Herdocia has already suggested it.

There has been some discussion about the scope of our laws on state security. The problem is that we don't have all the state structures we need in this country, and the laws that do exist aren't always useful. There is a contradiction between the new revolutionary structures that have arisen and the judicial system. For example, in the old days, criminals were arrested and then freed because they

People felt for the first time as if they were the bosses in their own country . . .

bribed the judges. The lawyers and legal experts all went along with this. The police went along with it. Because of all this, prisoners were set free.

In December we are going to issue some pardons. We are going to assign some people to make as careful a study as possible of each prisoner's case. We want to free those who are physically incapacitated and those who clearly are not guilty. We also want to study the cases of a lot of those who were tried in the first months, because some of them might have been given excessive sentences. It may be that in some cases we will reduce the sentences.

We don't have a new system of laws written since the revolution. This is a very big problem. We still have judges who aren't very honest. This is because in order to have honest judges you have to have honest lawyers. One day we went out with a lamp looking for an honest lawyer in Nicaragua. We found just one—we found Leonte Herdocia.

Maybe I am exaggerating. Maybe there are a number of honest lawyers, but the number is not very big. They were trained in a hor-

ribly corrupt school. The problem with Nicaragua is that corruption was so pervasive that being corrupt was not considered strange. In fact, it was being *honest* that was considered weird. Anybody who didn't steal was considered a fool.

I remember people talking about a man who worked in a bank and didn't steal, and they called him a blithering idiot. In other words, it was sort of a crime not to be a criminal. People acquired very negative habits. We need new generations to overcome this, to forge new attitudes.

A lot of lawyers bribe judges. They try to get money from the family of someone who is arrested. The police don't have very good investigative techniques, they don't produce evidence in time, so, as a re-

If we had given the slightest sign, not one Guardsman would have been left alive . . .

sult, someone walks off scot-free who is obviously a very dangerous individual. So someone who has raped a three-year-old girl goes free for lack of adequate evidence, especially since there is a tendency to consider crimes like this a private business.

Edén Pastora caught a man with a gun in his hand attacking someone. He took away his gun and arrested him, but the man was set free for lack of proof. There are people who sell narcotics, a crime for which we have a special hatred, and they go free for lack of evidence.

Sometimes there are protests because the people don't want to let such people go, because they know for a fact the criminals will go out in the streets and commit new crimes. So sometimes they try to take matters into their own hands. We find the same type of resistance on the part of the chiefs of police in the provinces.

We have had certain problems with the judicial structure, trying to come up with laws that are strict enough so that criminals will be locked up and not left to hurt people. But writing laws is a difficult undertaking. Changing the judicial structure of a country takes time.

In the case of the Special Tribunals, you shouldn't think we aren't concerned about speeding things up. And the way we go about writing new laws (which are already better than they used to be) is more careful every day, in terms of the types of legal solutions to the various orders and cases that come up. Remember that the Special Tribunals deal only with crimes committed before the revolution.

Regardless of what they say about us, we are operating within a certain legal framework. It is possible to behave in an intelligent manner and still be true to one's principles. It is also possible to be true to one's principles and behave stupidly. Our inclination is always to tell the truth. We have demonstrated that it is much better to tell the truth, because you get in less trouble telling the truth than you do lying. It is almost always smarter to tell the truth.

There is a tendency, however, to try to cover up mistakes, and to exaggerate. I remember when we were in prison and the Red Cross came to interview us. Even though we were honest—because it has always been a Sandinista tradition to be honest—some *compañeros* did exaggerate, a few did make up experiences.

I want to tell you something that will show how far we are prepared to go in being honest: I mentioned to some of you that the prisoners at Tipitapa now have it worse than we did when we were prisoners there. We were better off than they are. We were allowed weekly visits—I'm talking about Tipitapa.

Crazy things would happen. I remember one day they wouldn't let me have a book on psychic energy because they thought I would use it to escape. Another time they brought me a copy of *Capital* and said, "This one we'll let through because it's about capitalism."

We've already said that we are letting them have any kind of books except for comics and pornography. But we still were better off. Not me perhaps, since I was kept isolated, in a cell by myself, but the vast majority of us were better off than the prisoners are now. The main reason is that now there are so many people in jail. There

weren't so many before and obviously it is easier to provide for a small number than a big crowd. When we were imprisoned at the place you visited, El Chipote, we were kept with hoods over our heads, in handcuffs, and they beat us every day. We all wanted to be sent to Tipitapa, because for us being at Tipitapa was almost like being free. There was such an enormous difference that being transferred to Tipitapa was almost like being let out on the street.

Now the opposite is true. Those who are in El Chipote don't want to go to Tipitapa; and those at Tipitapa want to go back to El Chipote. That is the difference.

They would rather go back to the State Security facility, which is more comfortable because there aren't so many prisoners. At El Chipote they can make their own meals and get what they want, but not at Tipitapa. There conditions are much worse.

I am telling you this because I imagine a number of prisoners and their relatives have told you about abuses they have suffered. They exaggerate of course, although in some cases abuses have been committed, which have been inflated by the prisoners.

Someone was asking about the abuses we have committed. I have to say there isn't a pattern of abuse. One day I went to a jail and a woman prisoner told me she had been undressed and forced to do sit-ups in her underwear. I asked her to tell me who did it. The person she accused denied it, but she insisted.

I must say that the person accused was not a Nicaraguan; I think he was a Colombian. He was one of the remnants of the "Simón Bolívar Brigade." We immediately deported him; this happened in the first few months.

It was very difficult to arrest people and put them in jail. We already had plenty of prisoners to worry about without going around arresting our own people. Besides, if we had put everyone who committed abuses in prison, I think we would have had to jail half a million Nicaraguans.

People not only committed abuses. They also stole cars, and looted abandoned houses. There wasn't a house that wasn't looted. Who did it? The people did it, our *compañeros*, the police, members of the army. Incredible things went on in this country.

It seemed like the most natural thing in the world to grab everything you could in these houses and make off with it. It was like communal property.

We lost a lot economically through the looting and destruction of buildings. This very building was stripped down to the walls. Everything was taken—air conditioners, toilets.

The house of the millionaire Montealegre, out on the highway to the south, was torn apart. We sent people to try to save the house, a house where there was a million dollars worth of housewares alone. It was the house of a guy who spent three million córdobas on his daughter's wedding. It was a treasure.

Such houses should be taken care of. They belong to the people. This house became state property and we sent some people to guard it.

I went there a month later to see what there was, and everything was gone. They told me: "Someone came from the Ministry of Cul-

We want to become a shining example for the whole continent in the area of human rights, and we are going to do it . . .

ture and said you had given them permission to take things out."

I don't know if they really were from the Ministry of Culture. The most natural thing in the world was to gather up things and take them away. This is called looting; it is called theft; and it is against the law in every country in the world.

Totally by accident, I found a broken painting thrown on the ground. It was a Picasso. I have since verified that it was a genuine Picasso. They didn't take the Picasso. This makes me think they weren't really from the Ministry of Culture, they were stupid.

This happened. The truth is that there was no control over anything. We set up a body called Cooabe, but some of its members committed abuses. In those first days people would steal a car, and when it ran out of gas abandon it and steal another.

They wrecked a lot of Mercedes-Benzes, luxury cars. They totalled them, ran them into things. They would get out of a car after crashing it into something, and stop another car coming down the street, make the driver get out, and drive off in it. They would see a car parked and take it. Besides that, they would drive at incredible speeds. People were killed, there were accidents.

There is a psychological explanation for all this. People felt for the first time as if they were the bosses in their own country. It was a country that had always before been someone else's—it wasn't our country, it was almost a foreign country. We were like foreigners here; it was like we were visitors in Nicaragua. And besides, we were discriminated against by the real rulers of the country, who weren't even Nicaraguan. Then, all at once, our people felt like the country belonged to them—the streets, the highways. They began to kill themselves driving around like lunatics. They began to take the things they had always been denied. These were people who had never had anything, and they suddenly felt like they ruled the world. They did a lot of damage to the country's economy, but this situation could not have been avoided.

There was only one thing we could prevent—the killing of the National Guard. Some were killed, but nothing like the number that would have been killed.

If we had given the slightest sign, not one Guardsman would have been left alive. If we had gone along with it in the slightest way, every single one would be dead. But we were inflexible and took great pains not only to prevent them from being killed but even to see that they weren't mistreated. And we succeeded as much as possible.

This was a major historical accomplishment. We did it because that's the way we were taught. Carlos Fonseca taught us. The revolution teaches respect for other people. And we also did it thinking about Latin America.

If we had made a revolution here that was bloody and vengeful, with firing squads and beatings, we would hurt the chances of revo-

lutionary movements in other places. We would make it harder for them to find allies, we would frighten people in other countries.

Whenever there is revolutionary activity in Latin America, people will say—not simply that we wish the revolutionaries well—but that we are sending troops, that we are sending arms.

We have promised in all seriousness not to send arms or troops to help the Salvadorans, and we have kept our promise. Mr. Carter can rest assured that we are keeping our promise not to send arms to the Salvadorans.

There is not the slightest danger that someday it will be revealed that we sent arms, because we haven't sent arms. It would be irresponsible, completely irresponsible. Even if we don't have a tremendous amount of affection for Carter, we don't think the Salvadorans need them.

Just like we couldn't prevent looting, and couldn't throw the people responsible in jail, in the same way we couldn't prevent a certain number of prisoners from being killed or mistreated. Who did it? We don't know. The people did it; the people themselves did the looting; the people themselves did the killing. People who had suffered terribly over a long period of time. There was a virtual explosion in Nicaragua, and the only reason it wasn't worse was because of the good sense, maturity and respect for humanity that motivate the leaders of the revolution.

For the same reason that we decided to respect human rights, we also decided to offer you the greatest possible freedom of movement. Even though we had some reservations, even though we were not too sure that the commission would act with the necessary objectivity and understanding.

You probably also came into the situation with some prejudices against us. But we see that your attitude is positive, that you are not trying to put us on trial but rather to encourage us in our respect for human rights.

Just respecting human rights isn't enough for us. We want to become a shining example for the whole continent in the area of human rights, and we are going to do it. When people talk about human rights, when people talk about respect for human rights, we want them to say—"like in Nicaragua." You can help us with this. □

Nicaragua: New Governing Junta Named

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—A restructuring of the Nicaraguan government in the interests of greater efficiency was announced at a news conference here March 4. The new governing junta is made up of Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra, who will act as coordinator, Rafael Córdova Rivas, and Sergio Ramírez Mercado. All were members of the previous five-person junta.

The restructuring also includes the establishment of a Council of Government, or cabinet, made up of the members of the junta and key ministers. The task of organizing the cabinet was given to Moisés Hassán Morales, formerly a member of the junta.

The fifth member of the old junta, Arturo Cruz Porras, will be the Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States. At the news conference announcing the changes, Cruz read a statement expressing his complete confidence in the revolutionary government.

A second news conference was held a few hours after the original announcement to give reporters an opportunity to ask the three junta members questions.

Commander Daniel Ortega outlined some of the reasons for the change, which was originally proposed by the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and which the junta had been considering for some time. He explained that the changes would enable the government to function more efficiently and cohesively and improve its ability to confront the problems as soon as they arise and make sure that projects are actually carried out.

Ortega pointed to the emergence of bureaucratic attitudes and delays as one of the problems that needed attention. He noted that it was particularly serious when mistakes were made or problems not recognized in time in the economic sphere.

"We are a young government," Ortega reminded the press, explaining that the leadership was still learning how best to organize itself to deal with the problems Nicaragua faces.

Asked to comment on speculation that Cruz had in effect been exiled and Hassán demoted, Ortega said that the notion of per-

manent posts was alien to the revolutionary concept of the role of the individual in society. He expressed confidence that "Dr. Hassán as a good revolutionary, and Dr. Cruz as a good patriot" understood that the most important consideration was how they could best serve Nicaragua. □

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Why New Zealand Needs Affirmative Action

[Unemployment is on the rise in New Zealand, as in other countries around the world, due to the capitalist economic crisis. An estimated 60,000 workers are jobless in a country whose population is 3.1 million. Although Maoris make up about 10 percent of New Zealand's population, they are one-third of the unemployed.

[An editorial in the February 6 issue of the New Zealand fortnightly *Socialist Action* declared:

["Winning the right of jobs for all is a massive task that can only be achieved with the power of the workers' organisations—the Labour Party and the trade unions. The key demands around which this campaign can be built are an emergency public works programme at union rates and a shorter work week with no reduction in pay.

["Alongside this there has to be special attention given to the needs of the most oppressed workers—Maoris, Pacific Islanders and women. There needs to be preferential hiring and special training schemes for Maori youth."

[The following interview with Matiu Rata, the leader of the Maori organization Mana Motuhake, about this question was conducted by Susan James and appeared in the February 6 *Socialist Action*. The reference to "birch proposals" is in regard to a proposal for the flogging of those convicted of violent crimes—the government's response to the social problems caused by unemployment.]

* * *

Question: What do you think is responsible for the high rate of unemployment among Maoris?

Answer: First of all, the government must take responsibility for a major flaw in the whole scheme of things. Its economic plan has never worked and never will. Not so long ago the Treasury itself estimated that unemployment could reach the level of 300,000 by 1985.

The most disturbing feature about the problem is the racial aspect. One-third of the total unemployed in New Zealand are Maoris. This statistic is convincing proof that Maori people live in an unjust society. There are other aspects to that figure too.

There is the knowledge that for years Maori people have not succeeded educationally. The New Zealand education system has only a 30 percent success rate and with an expenditure of about \$970 million I consider that immoral. But the Maori success rate is only about 10 percent.

Another problem centres around the disparity of ages. The Maori population is very young, so the rate of young Maoris

unemployed is very high.

The figures four years ago showed that Maori people make up seven percent of the workforce yet 22 percent of that number are without jobs. The majority of these are women.

This points to another matter for concern. That is, that Maori women are perhaps the most depressed and oppressed section of the New Zealand community. Not only are they socially, economically and culturally oppressed, but, as the figures show, it is a glaring example of the inequalities and imbalances that women face.

In fact, in the whole area of unemployment, the state and private enterprise have failed us utterly. Despite the resources of the state, despite the good years for private enterprise, and despite the fact that at present this country is earning \$6 billion (more than we have ever earned before), we have at the end of 1980 the highest unemployment among young Maoris that has ever been recorded in this country's history.

The government has been negligent and the minister of Maori Affairs, Ben Couch, totally incompetent. His efforts in the areas of soft-nosed bullets and birch proposals have been an attempt to cover up what is happening to the Maori people.

The financial year which ended in March 1980 showed that the government had reduced expenditure in Maori Affairs by \$6 million—that is, 10 percent. With inflation at that time, the reduction was in fact 23.9 percent. This aggravated and intensified the situation. We want that money back because you can't hope to start training schemes without sufficient funds.

Ben Couch should not be leading a birching campaign—he should be taking the lead in a job creation campaign. He can fire all the bullets he likes there—soft-nosed or hard-nosed, we don't care.

Q: What are Mana Motuhake's proposals to deal with unemployment?

A: We believe there needs to be affirmative action. Some people say that special treatment for Maoris is contrary to the expressed principle of racial equality. But this is not true. It is desirable to get us over the hump.

We cannot do this by following the existing patterns. By the time you catch up to those who need jobs they will have lost the art of work discipline.

We believe that 10 percent of all employment opportunities should be channelled the way of the Maori people. And we ourselves can start by Maori land trusts

and incorporations voting some of their money to their own job creation schemes.

We also support very strongly the reduction of working hours. We support a 35-hour work week but our position is for 32 hours. Let's spin what work there is around. If a job is going to take 80 hours then split it three ways. We think people would also work more efficiently if they worked less and that it is a socially desirable policy.

Also, people work for too many years and do not live long enough to enjoy their superannuation. We think there should be voluntary retirement after 40 years of work.

Q: What do you feel about the Temporary Employment Programme?

A: The cutbacks and changes that are being made to the scheme are nonsensical. But I think that the scheme needs to be examined and to take on more of a job training aspect rather than the present time-filling one.

The trade union movement needs to be brought in on the discussions because I share its concerns about cutting across any working conditions and award rates of pay. The FOL [Federation of Labour] should take a major part in reconstructing it, along with the Labour Department and the employers, to provide meaningful work and the opportunity of training.

If you are going to spend untold millions then it should be used to train people to do useful jobs while still receiving a living wage. That is why the trade union movement should be involved, because they wouldn't tolerate anything less.

With the time-filling aspect to the scheme, we are now in danger of having the cleanest parks in the world, of ending up with the finest maraes—all looking beautiful and a very depressed people using them. □

U.S. Abstains on United Nations Vote Against Fascism and Nazism

The United States representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission was the only one to abstain on a resolution condemning "all totalitarian or other ideologies and practices."

The U.S. representative, Richard Schifter, claims he abstained from the vote because the resolution singled out only "Nazi, fascist and neofascist" ideologies, and passed over anti-Semitism.

The resolution was adopted February 23 by the U.N. Commission, 38 to 0.

Schifter also opposed, abstained, or voted against five other resolutions which called for action against South Africa because of its policy of apartheid and for support to the Namibian liberation fighters.