

Intercontinental Press

combined with **imprecor**

Vol. 19, No. 13

April 13, 1981

USA \$1

UK 40p

Worldwide Protests Against Attacks on Women's Rights



An Phoblacht
International Women's Day demonstration at Armagh jail in Northern Ireland demands political status for women republican prisoners.

Support Builds for Irish Hunger Strikers

***Nicaragua Condemns
U.S. Loan Cutoff***

**Torture and Death in
El Salvador's Jails**

Colombia Breaks Diplomatic Relations With Cuba

By Will Reissner

When the Colombian government announced on March 23 that it was breaking its diplomatic relations with Cuba, Colombian President Julio César Turbay Ayala claimed the move was in retaliation for alleged Cuban support for guerrillas in his country.

But the Bogotá regime's move is part of an orchestrated attempt by Washington and its allies to again isolate Cuba from Latin America and the rest of the world.

The Colombian action coincided with a decision by the Costa Rican government to close its consulate in Havana, threats by the Ecuadoran government that it may break relations with Cuba, and a chilling of relations with Portugal following revelations that the Portuguese chargé d'affaires in Havana had been implicated in CIA plotting.

Colombian President Turbay launched a major propaganda campaign claiming that Cubans had trained guerrillas of the April 19 Movement (M-19) and transported them to Colombia.

The charge of Cuban aid to the M-19 struggle was based on the "confession" of one guerrilla said to have been captured by Colombian troops in the southwestern region of the country. But a statement by the National Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR) of Colombia on March 24 noted that the Colombian mass media had reprinted the charges "without checking to see if they were extracted through torture or threats" and "without asking why this 'guerrilla' refused to explain why he made these statements."

Rather, the PSR stated, the media simply took the charges "as good coin and exhorted their readers to do the same."

The Cuban government has categorically denied the Colombian charges. An official statement by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out that "the revolutionary guerrilla movement in Colombia has existed for many years, even before the victory of the Cuban Revolution. The movement has continued for this long period of time and gradually developed as the social and political situation became more unbearable for the Colombian people. Cuba is in no way to blame for that situation."

The Cuban statement added that Cuba has not provided a single weapon to the M-19 or any other organization in Colombia, had nothing to do with the landings of M-19 fighters on the coast of that country,

and "neither directly nor indirectly, in any way connected to the entry of weapons into Colombia, by any means."

The Foreign Ministry added that "the stand taken by the Colombian authorities suspiciously coincides with the imperialists' campaign against Cuba and their wretched threats of aggression against our country."

Ricardo Alarcón, the Cuban deputy foreign minister, pointed out that President Turbay had personally played a major role in the witch-hunt against Cuba nearly two decades ago, during which every government in the Western Hemisphere with the sole exceptions of Mexico and Canada broke relations with Cuba.

In its statement issued one day after relations with Cuba were broken, the national leadership of the PSR pointed out that the "diplomatic and commercial relations with the fraternal Cuban people and its revolutionary government have yielded immense benefits for Colombians. The cultural, tourist, commercial, diplomatic, and political spheres in Colombia have benefitted from such relations."

The Colombian government in 1961 turned "its back on Cuba," said the PSR, "when that country needed our support because it was under massive attack by

the U.S. government, which organized an invasion and a material and political blockade that remains a total moral disgrace to this day. . . ."

Turbay's accusations of Cuban involvement seek to justify the repressive wave launched by the Colombian government in recent weeks under the pretext of an anti-guerrilla struggle.

In late March the Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez, one of Latin America's best known writers, had to flee the country after receiving reliable reports that he was about to be arrested. If a figure of such international prestige feels forced to flee the country, the situation of the hundreds of workers, farmers, and students already in government hands can be imagined.

But Washington also stands behind the Colombian, Ecuadoran, Portuguese, and Costa Rican moves against Cuba. The Reagan administration is trying to punish Cuba for its support to anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world, from Namibia in Africa to El Salvador in Central America.

But, as the statement by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs concluded:

"We are much less alone and isolated than the Yankee imperialists imagine, and our Revolution is stronger today than ever before. We know how to struggle and defend ourselves, as has been shown in 22 years of heroic and victorious resistance to the most powerful and aggressive imperialist country on earth. . . ."

"Times have changed, and Latin America will never go back to being a flock of nations submissive to the dictates of the empire." □

Pakistani Dictatorship Cracks Down

By Janice Lynn

Following the recent hijacking of a Pakistani airliner that forced Pakistan's military dictator Gen. Zia ul-Haq to release fifty-four political prisoners, a severe crackdown against opponents of Zia's martial law regime has intensified.

At the same time, the new Reagan administration in Washington announced that it was offering Pakistan some \$1 billion worth of military and economic aid over the next two years.

The March 2 hijacking was carried out by three men who claimed to be members of a group called Al-Zulfikar—named after former Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was hanged by the Zia regime in April 1979.

Using the hijacking as a pretext, Zia rounded up members of the late Bhutto's party—the Pakistan People's Party (PPP)—including Bhutto's widow and daughter, who now lead the PPP. As of

March 21, close to 1,000 political activists and students had been arrested.

The arrests began in February following marches and demonstrations throughout Pakistan by students and teachers protesting martial law. On February 7, a nine-party Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) was formed, in opposition to the Pakistani dictatorship.

The hijacking provided Zia with the excuse to go after this newly formed anti-government alliance, in which the PPP plays a predominant role. The MRD was demanding an end to army rule and press censorship, and called for general elections.

The latest crackdown temporarily succeeded in thwarting the opposition's momentum. But, as the *Washington Post's* Islamabad correspondent Stuart Auerbach noted March 22, "Nonetheless, most observers here emphasize it is only a short-

term victory for Zia." The Pakistani military dictatorship is deeply unpopular with the Pakistani masses.

Students in the PPP called for large-scale protests March 23 against the Zia dictatorship. But the massive police crackdown had an intimidating effect and the antigovernment actions were small. Police in Karachi arrested one opposition leader as he began to denounce military rule. Another was detained before he could even speak.

The Zia regime's crackdown went as far as Pakistan's chief justice and eight other top judges. On March 25, the nine judges were dismissed when they refused to take an oath giving Zia unfettered freedom to change the constitution as he saw fit.

Zia had issued a sweeping decree which, in addition to asserting Zia's power to amend the constitution, proclaimed that judges would not be allowed to consider any case that challenged the government. The decree also restricted habeas corpus proceedings and denied civilian courts the right to hear cases of persons under preventive detention.

In addition, Zia was given authority to ban any party that stepped out of line and to confiscate its assets. All political parties not registered with the election commission were immediately outlawed.

This affected not only the PPP, but all but one of the nine parties in the MRD.

In the midst of Zia's stepped-up repression, the Reagan administration revealed March 23 that it was offering the Pakistani military dictator about \$500 million in military and economic assistance for the next fiscal year.

This military aid would go for new jet fighters, modern tanks and antitank missiles, and a sophisticated air defense system for the border with Afghanistan.

Besides seeking to strengthen the military regime against the Pakistani masses, the White House hopes to use Pakistan to funnel more arms to the rightist Afghan guerrilla groups. President Reagan even stated that Washington was considering direct and open aid to these Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

Zia himself noted March 27 that strengthening the Pakistani regime and assisting "Afghan freedom fighters" were complementary.

With the overthrow of the shah of Iran two years ago, the U.S. rulers lost one of their most loyal allies in the area. Washington is now banking on the Pakistani military dictatorship (along with the Saudi monarchy) to help protect its oil profits in the Middle East and contain any new revolutionary upsurges in the region.

Along with military aid, the Reagan administration announced March 27 that Washington was planning to resume military training for Pakistan's armed forces.

The Zia regime is conscious of the massive opposition among the Pakistani masses to openly forging closer and closer

ties with U.S. imperialism. The example of the powerful anti-imperialism of the Iranian revolution is still fresh in Zia's mind. For this reason, the Pakistani dictatorship has so far publicly taken its distance from the Reagan administration's aid offer.

But whatever Zia's public stance at the moment, the Pakistani masses know that he is closely allied with the imperialists.

Hatred of the martial law regime runs

deep and Zia's latest crackdown cannot stifle popular opposition for long.

An indication of this came on April 4, the second anniversary of Bhutto's death, when demonstrations took place throughout Pakistan. Some 4,000 people demonstrated in Larkana, several hundred medical students rallied in Karachi, and students in Jamshoro burned an effigy of Zia. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: April 5, 1981

FEATURES	356	Women's Rights Under Attack—by Janice Lynn
USA	348	Coal Miners Say "No" to Employer Attacks—by Will Reissner
	348	Railway Workers: "We Must Take to the Streets"
	349	Reagan Shooting—Product of Capitalist Violence
NICARAGUA	350	Condemns U.S. Loan Cutoff —by Arnold Weissberg
	351	FSLN Answers U.S. Plans for "Strategic Offensive"—by Matilde Zimmermann
EL SALVADOR	354	Report From Inside Santa Tecla Jail
IRELAND	355	Activists Build Support for Hunger Strikers —by Gerry Foley
GRENADA	360	Country Mobilizes for Agricultural Development—by Mimi Pichey
POLAND	362	European Communist Parties React to Poland—by Jacqueline Allio
	368	Union Wins New Concessions—by Ernest Harsch
STOP NUCLEAR POWER!	358	100,000 March Against West German Nuclear Plant—by Marc Levy
NEWS ANALYSIS	346	Colombia Breaks Diplomatic Relations With Cuba—by Will Reissner
	346	Pakistani Dictatorship Cracks Down —by Janice Lynn

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

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

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

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

Business Manager: Sandi Sherman
Copy Editor: David Martin.

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

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

material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

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

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

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

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

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

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

U.S. Coal Miners Say 'No' to Employer Attacks

By Will Reissner

On March 31 the 160,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) voted by a more than two-to-one margin to reject a contract negotiated between the union's elected leaders and the coal industry body, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

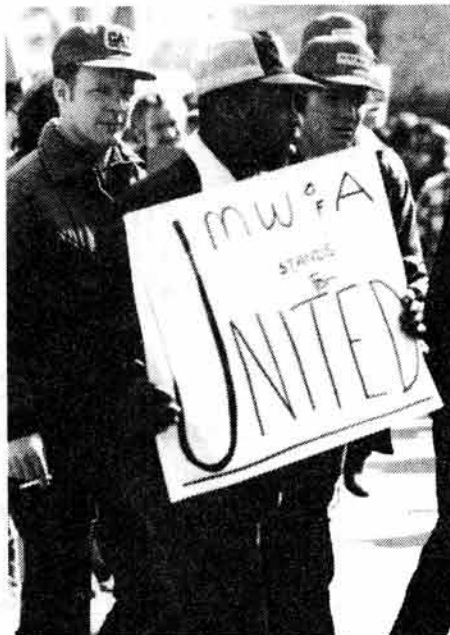
The stinging rejection of the proposed contract has dealt a blow to the BCOA's attempts to take back gains won by the union in previous contracts and to severely weaken the union itself.

The miners' vote came after a thorough, democratic discussion of the proposed contract by the ranks, discussion made possible by the democratic contract ratification procedures established in the UMWA through a virtual revolt among the union's ranks in the 1960s and 1970s.

In West Virginia and Kentucky, two centers of the UMWA, the contract was rejected by margins of as much as seven-to-one.

After the vote results were made known, union pickets began closing down non-union mines in Kentucky and Indiana. The UMWA mines had already been shut down since March 27, the day the old contract expired.

The miners had good reason to vote down the proposed contract. Although they had succeeded in compelling the coal bosses to drop demands to run the mines on a seven-day workweek and eliminated provisions that would have gutted union pensions, the agreement contained other



Nancy Cole/Militant

provisions that would have seriously weakened the union.

These provisions would encourage non-union mining operations and weaken the union's power to protect members on the job.

Among the provisions that would have strengthened nonunion coal operations was the elimination of the 1978 contract clause forcing UMWA-organized coal com-

panies to pay the union pension fund \$1.90 for every ton of nonunion mined coal they processed.

Clifford Martin, president of UMWA Local 8454 in West Virginia, stated that approval of that provision would "put the scab mines on twenty-four hours a day. If we let the nonunion coal go through the union tipples, in five years there won't be a United Mine Workers."

The rejected contract would also have allowed BCOA operators to close down union mines and then lease them to non-union operators.

The union's negotiating team claimed that these provisions were forced on the union by court rulings that the previous contract was in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act.

The miners, however, were unimpressed by the argument that they had no choice but to accede to the court's ruling. One miner in Beckley, West Virginia, stated that the miners were willing to "strike the Supreme Court" if necessary to win on that issue. Ben A. Franklin of the *New York Times* observed that "whether or not the courts required it apparently made no difference to the rank and file."

During the 110-day coal strike in 1978, miners similarly refused to yield to "back to work" court orders filed by President Carter under provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. As the miners succinctly put it at the time, "let Taft mine it and Hartley haul it."

Railway Unions: 'We Must Take to the Streets'

The Railway Labor Executives Association, an organization of fourteen U.S. railway unions, has called for a march on Washington April 29 to protest the Reagan administration's budget cuts, in particular plans to cut federal funding for the Conrail line. Such cuts would threaten the jobs, wages, and working conditions of tens of thousands of Conrail employees.

On March 28, Donald Sweitzer of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks spoke before a crowd of nearly 15,000 antinuclear demonstrators in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to appeal for participation in the April 29 march and to express the railway workers' backing for the movement against nuclear power.

Excerpts from Sweitzer's speech:

"I am here on behalf of fourteen railway unions representing over a million railroad workers in this country.

"The only way that we can oppose nuclear power, the only way that we can oppose the Reagan budget cuts that would destroy the nation's railroad system, is for us to particularly stand out in demonstrations such as this. These demonstrations bring awareness to the public of what the Reagan administration is doing in relation to nuclear power and also the transportation industry in this country, especially in the Northeast.

"In that connection I am here to invite every single person who is here today to come to Washington for another demonstration on Wednesday,

April 29.

"This is a march on Washington of railroad workers to point out to this administration that we will not stand for the cuts in the railroads that this country so sorely needs.

"We invite all of you to appear because we are all in this together.

"We must fight nuclear power together.

"We must fight the Reagan budget cuts together.

"Let me thus finish by saying that we are happy to be allied with this group. The nuclear energy industry in this country has been too long coddled by the federal government. It must stop, and it will stop with demonstrations like this.

"We must take to the streets."

There was also broad opposition to provisions that would have instituted a forty-five-day probationary period for newly hired miners. The UMWA members realize that if a probationary period were in effect, the threat of being fired could force newly hired miners to do dangerous work that would endanger everyone underground. The probationary period could also be used by coal companies to institute speed-ups.

West Virginia miner Manuel Ojeda summed up the view of many miners when he stated that adoption of the proposed contract would "cause more suffering than another 110-day strike."

When the miners turned down this contract by a vote of 68,937 to 32,299, they broke with the pattern of "give-backs" that have been extracted by the bosses from such major unions as the United Automobile Workers and United Rubber Workers. Leaders of both those unions had agreed to management demands that workers forego

some of the raises due them under existing contracts.

The mine workers are in the forefront of the fight against the attacks on the living standards of working people in the United States. On March 9, coal mines closed as 8,000 miners demonstrated in Washington, D.C., against Reagan's plans to cut benefits for victims of black lung.

The UMWA also spearheaded the March 28 demonstration of nearly 15,000 people against nuclear power in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

The miners are in for a long, hard struggle. The bosses and their government in Washington are determined to inflict heavy cuts on the living standards of working people, and will try to make an example of the miners, who are known for their militancy and solidarity.

The coal companies have stockpiles of coal that could last months. Mouthpieces for the ruling class, like the editorial writers of the *New York Times* and *Wash-*

ington Post had already complained that the rejected contract was unduly generous to the miners.

All working people in the United States have a high stake in a victory by the UMWA in the coal strike. If they win their battle against take-backs and attacks on their union, all workers will be strengthened in the struggle against the bosses' offensive.

Already the spirit of the miners is inspiring other workers. For example, a coalition of fourteen railroad unions has called an April 29 rally in Washington to protest budget cuts in transit funding. And they have asked all others under attack by the Reagan administration's programs to join them.

Labor solidarity with the miners will help to spread the example of how to fight back. And a victory by the miners would be a stinging defeat for the austerity policies of the Reagan administration and the employers. □

Statement by U.S. Socialist Leader

Reagan Shooting—Product of Capitalist Violence

[The following statement was released March 30 by Andrew Pulley, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for president of the United States in the November 1980 elections. It is taken from the April 10 issue of the U.S. socialist newsweekly *Militant*.]

* * *

The shooting of President Ronald Reagan, his press secretary, James Brady, and two guards is another product of the violence and hatred spawned by the decaying capitalist system in this country.

The U.S. government is in the hands of the most bloodstained ruling class in history.

Washington is pouring in arms and "advisers" to prop up the junta in El Salvador, which has butchered more than 10,000 workers, peasants, and religious figures over the past year alone.

The same government that incinerated Hiroshima and Nagasaki is spending billions upon billions of dollars each year on new nuclear weapons that can annihilate humanity.

The CIA has admittedly plotted the assassination of Cuban President Fidel Castro for years. The government has engineered a massive cover-up of the assassinations of Black leaders Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

Belonged to Nazis

The racist and antilabor policies of the U.S. rulers and their government agencies encourage stepped-up violence by cops and

by rightist scum. John Hinckley, the son of a wealthy oil executive, was arrested in the Reagan shooting. He had been a member of one of these ultra-right-wing outfits—the Nazi Party of America.

Last year, an all-white North Carolina jury acquitted a gang of Klansmen and members of the Nazi Party who had gunned down five antiracist demonstrators while television cameras rolled.

On the very same day that Reagan was shot, the body of the twenty-first victim of racist murders in Atlanta was discovered there.

Reagan himself has been a prime contributor to the bigotry and downright meanness that breed such violence.

He has proposed slashing funds for food stamps, Social Security, and black lung benefits, to name just a few social programs vital to working people—while simultaneously escalating the military budget to historically unprecedented levels.

Reagan's outspoken opposition to busing gives encouragement to the racist mobs that hurl stones at schoolchildren and victimize Blacks on the streets and in their homes.

The bipartisan offensive against the working class and unions goes hand in hand with stepped-up antilabor harassment and violence by cops, company security guards, and hired thugs.

As usual, the government will attempt to use the shooting of Reagan as another justification to beef up the FBI and other police agencies and further trample on

political rights.

But the cops and spies are a major source of terrorism and violence in this country, not the solution to them.

Murder With Impunity

Recently, for example, FBI Director William Webster publicly stated that it is within the department's "guidelines" for undercover agents to commit murder with impunity! As an example of "informant" activity that would be protected by the FBI guidelines, Webster cited FBI informer Gary Rowe's role in the racist murder squad that gunned down civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo in 1965.

Hinckley, in fact, fits the profile of the type of person the FBI and local police agencies rely on for their informers against Black groups, unions, socialists, and other dissenters from government policies. Many of these finks are recruited from rightist outfits like those Hinckley hung around with.

Documents have proven that the U.S. Military Intelligence and Chicago police "Red Squad" actually funded and armed a rightist group called the Legion of Justice in Chicago. The cops even stood watch while these thugs carried out violent attacks on the SWP and other groups in 1969 and 1970.

Violent attacks continue against the SWP and many other organizations. Beginning in December, for example, SWP members, candidates for public office, or headquarters in eleven cities have been the targets of firebombings, gunshots, vandal-

ism, or bomb threats.

This kind of activity, which violates the most fundamental constitutional rights of every resident of this country, is what the SWP is fighting through our lawsuit against the FBI and other federal cop agencies. Findings in the case, which is going to trial this week, have already proven that such violent attacks are among the many aspects of what the FBI delicately calls "surveillance."

A recent government document submitted as part of this lawsuit asserts the "right" to conduct "surveillance" against anyone the authorities choose!

Not an Aberration

Racist attacks, violence, and undemocratic practices are not the policies of just one individual politician, political party, or government agency. They are not an aberration. The tiny handful of bankers and businessmen who rule this country, and the Democratic and Republican parties that serve their interests, *must use* these practices to preserve their profits, property, and political rule.

Violence will only come to an end when capitalist robbery and misrule have come to an end. That is what the Socialist Workers Party is fighting for—an end to imperialist militarism, racist oppression, and the whole inhuman system that puts profits above people.

But the SWP does not believe that the interests of the working class can be realized through acts of political terrorism or assassination. Opposition to these methods has been a basic tenet of Marxism since its inception.

"Political terrorism, like suppression of political freedom, violates the democratic rights of all Americans and can only strengthen the forces of reaction," explained Farrell Dobbs, then SWP national secretary, at the time of the assassination of President John Kennedy in 1963.

"Political differences within our society must be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard."

The kind of society the SWP is seeking to achieve can only be established when the American working people have replaced the current government of warmakers, racists, and union-busters with one that represents the interests of the vast majority.

A workers government would open the road to a socialist society free from violence, a society based on human solidarity and collective effort. □

You won't miss a single issue if you subscribe.

'A True Act of Aggression'

Nicaragua Condemns U.S. Loan Cutoff

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA—Once again rejecting the Reagan administration's charge that it is supplying arms to rebels in El Salvador, the Government of National Reconstruction declared April 2 that Washington's decision to cut off loans to Nicaragua was rooted in "the very existence of our revolution and its consolidation, because it shows the world—the poor and the humble—the real possibility of building a new country, a sovereign and independent country, and winning the respect of all worthy nations."

The day before, Washington terminated the remaining \$15 million in U.S. loans that had previously been pledged to Nicaragua. State Department spokesman William Dyess claimed that Nicaraguan



Anibal Yáñez/Perspectiva Mundial

DANIEL ORTEGA

"arms traffic may be continuing" to the El Salvador rebels and that "other support very probably continues."

Dyess stressed that "important United States security interests are at stake in the region."

This aid cutoff was "a true act of aggression against Nicaragua," declared Commander Daniel Ortega, the coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction, in the April 2 statement, which was read to a crowd of reporters, government officials, and leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The statement was signed by all three members of the junta.

The statement went on, "We have never

considered the economic cooperation offered by the United States in our reconstruction as a gift. We must remember that our country was impoverished through indiscriminate sacking by foreign companies and the greed of a family that protected itself and justified its power with the support the U.S. government always offered. In any case, the loans we received represented only a small first installment of the huge bill that the U.S. owes us."

In a separate statement the same day, the National Directorate of the FSLN explained, "While they are cutting off our credit, cutting off our bread, and threatening a country trying to recover from the wounds of Somozaism . . . the very same U.S. government is introducing into the Caribbean and Central America vast quantities of arms, military supplies, and military personnel."

The statement, read by Commander Bayardo Arce, coordinator of the FSLN Political Commission, went on, "We have been trying to construct a society that is truly independent—with a genuinely popular orientation and the participation of all sectors—beginning only with the ruins we inherited from Somozaism. The U.S. government's aggression serves to sabotage this great national effort, to hold back our people's free exercise of the right to sovereignty conquered at the cost of so much of our own blood."

The junta's statement explained that although Nicaragua had sought "stable and positive" relations with the United States, Nicaragua was instead threatened with new armed aggression being organized on U.S. territory.

"Today, once again a small and poor American country has started down the difficult road of constructing its own destiny based on progress and happiness," the FSLN statement said. "Once again, imperialism threatens, pressures, and carries out aggressions to obstruct these efforts."

The FSLN appealed to "democratic and progressive governments and to all the world's peoples to energetically repudiate the unjust, offensive, and dangerous action" by Washington.

The government noted that it was preparing international denunciations of the U.S. aid cutoff, including at the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and the organization of Non-aligned countries.

"The suspension of U.S. loans will undoubtedly have a negative effect on the economic goals we have set," the FSLN

statement said, "but we are absolutely convinced that our people are ready to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to insure our sovereignty and independence."

The reaction of the overwhelming majority of the Nicaraguans—workers, small and medium agricultural producers, students, and women—has been to close ranks behind the revolution. "We will never give in to anybody or anything," one worker told the FSLN daily, *Barricada*.

A concrete response the FSLN has proposed is the strengthening of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs), which are organized on the block and neighborhood level. In a speech to 2,000 members of Managua's CDSs April 1, Omar Cabeza proposed that the committees begin to exercise revolutionary vigilance—that is, begin to take on responsibility for combating terrorist activities.

"The CDSs must organize the tasks that are most important," Cabeza said, "and

number one is defense of the revolution." His proposal that the Managua CDSs enroll 40,000 new militia members was greeted with a standing ovation.

In addition, the Revolutionary Patriotic Front (a grouping of prorevolutionary political parties that includes the FSLN) and the Trade-Union Coordinating Committee of Nicaragua (which includes all of the country's major trade-union federations) are circulating a protest petition. The petition, called the "Letter of Dignity and Sovereignty," denounced the U.S. government's action and appealed for worldwide solidarity against imperialist attacks. The petition will be circulated in factories and neighborhoods.

There has been international criticism of the U.S. action. The Mexican daily *El Dia* condemned it, and the Canadian government announced that it would continue its programs of aid to Nicaragua. A group of thirty Americans living here protested

outside the U.S. embassy April 3, in an action that received widespread publicity.

For its part, the remnants of Nicaragua's capitalist class are divided in their response. As of April 4, the reactionary daily *La Prensa* had yet to condemn the loan cutoff, nor had COSEP, the big-business group. *La Prensa's* headline for the story on the loan cutoff said, "U.S. says: there are good signs," and since then it has done its best to convince Nicaraguans that resumption of the loans may be just around the corner.

However, several procapitalist parties, including the bitterly anti-Sandinista Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), have issued statements criticizing Washington's action.

"They won't stop us!" declared *Barricada's* front page April 3, and that seemed to capture the spirit of the Nicaraguan people in face of the latest aggression from Washington. □

Step Up Worker Participation in Militias

FSLN Answers U.S. Plans for 'Strategic Offensive'

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—There are individuals here in Nicaragua—and certainly elsewhere—who say the Sandinistas' warnings about threats from U.S. imperialism are just radical paranoia or an attempt to find a foreign enemy to blame for Nicaragua's problems. Reactionaries here have talked about the "fantasy" of U.S. imperialist aggression.

They were definitively answered March 20 in a major policy speech by Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce, the head of the Political Commission of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Relying heavily on direct quotations from Reagan's top advisors, Arce drew a chilling picture of Washington's drive toward war in Central America. He documented the Pentagon's escalating military support to right-wing governments in the region.

"And while they are giving millions of dollars to Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, while they are turning over airplanes, helicopters, aid, and armament, what is happening with Nicaragua? They suspend the PL-480 contract we had to finance the purchase of \$9.6 million worth of wheat to make bread and feed our people. They suspend payment of \$15 million of the \$75 million loan appropriated for 1980, which was to be used for building schools and other public works. They capture Nicaraguan pilots and make us pay a fine of \$350,000, besides confiscating the two civilian helicop-

ters we had purchased to improve our military transport."*

Why this difference? Why ten or fifteen modern armored helicopters for some countries while another is fined for buying two regular helicopters?

A Conscious Plan

As Arce pointed out, some people blame the revolutionary government of Nicaragua for provoking U.S. hostility through its radical actions. But he stated categorically—in one of the major themes of his speech—that Washington's tough stance is not a response to anything specific the Nicaraguans are doing. Rather, Reagan and his advisors are simply putting into practice plans they set forth in writing a year or more ago.

Arce read long quotes from the reports of the Heritage Foundation, Committee of Santa Fe, and other right-wing think-tanks to give Nicaraguans a picture of the Reagan administration's game plan. He quoted the Republican Party platform in its calls for "peace through strength," for using foreign aid as a vehicle to export American ideas,

*Two Nicaraguans were arrested by U.S. Customs agents January 18 in Bulverde, Texas, and accused of attempting to "smuggle" to Nicaragua two helicopters purchased in Texas. The helicopters, it seems, were on a U.S. "munitions control list" for bidding arms exports to Nicaragua. In an effort not to jeopardize U.S.-Nicaraguan relations, the Nicaraguans pleaded "no contest" to a lesser charge and were fined \$350,000.

for unleashing the CIA. This platform, he pointed out, calls for ending aid to Nicaragua and promises to support efforts to replace the Sandinista government with a "free and independent" government.

"This is the platform of the government we are up against. We would like to think this is just campaign propaganda and not actions a government in power would actually carry out. But present-day reality tells us something different."

The reality is that the day before Arce's speech Secretary of State Alexander Haig told Congress the government had cut \$1 billion from its foreign assistance budget and added \$1 billion in loans for foreign governments to buy military hardware in the United States.

There are still some who refuse to believe the U.S. government could possibly be as belligerent as it appears from Arce's selection of quotations. They argue that reports like the Heritage Foundation's are just academic studies and not government policy. But Arce refuted this by listing the current positions of power of about a dozen of these right-wing "scholars," like Cleto Di Giovanni, Roger Fontaine, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Richard Allen.

All the members of the Reagan team agree that the Monroe Doctrine is still the cornerstone of U.S. policy toward Latin America—that Washington has a right to intervene in Latin America, its "sphere of influence," to prevent governments it does

not like from coming to power. They all criticized the Carter administration for "excessive" concern about human rights. Arce quoted their proposals for stepping up arms shipments to El Salvador and supporting "the responsible right" in Guatemala.

Arce showed in considerable detail how every aspect of Washington's current anti-Nicaragua campaign was outlined in advance by people like Di Giovanni and Kirkpatrick. The three aspects of this campaign are economic destabilization, support to reactionary elements within the country, and, as a final phase, military aggression.

'A Strategic Offensive'

As Arce stated, Di Giovanni, now a State Department consultant, called almost a year ago for "outlining a strategic offensive for overthrowing the Sandinista government and wiping out the insurgents in El Salvador."

"In spite of its show of military force," Di Giovanni claimed, "the Sandinista government is actually weak and could be overthrown by a determined, coordinated, and sharply focused effort."

"We should pay less attention," Di Giovanni went on, "to the exact character of Nicaraguan society and government and more to the direction it is going and its ability to serve as a source of support for revolutionary Marxists in other parts of Central America."

Di Giovanni even named some of the forces he thought could be relied upon to help overthrow the Sandinista government: the Catholic Church, opposition political parties, the Permanent Commission for Human Rights, *La Prensa* newspaper, the big business council COSEP, and "workers who are more loyal to their employers than to the government."

Here Arce interjected: "Listen to this! I want all you workers to listen to this. Does anybody know who these employers are that workers here are supposed to be so fond of?"

Arce continued with the quotations. Di Giovanni, he said, admitted that the Sandinista government could not be overthrown except through military action. But the American adviser insisted that there were people willing to take such action. The only problem with them was that they were former members of the National Guard, "associated in the popular mind with ex-president Somoza who was unpopular among many Nicaraguans." Di Giovanni left open, however, the possibility that the Somozaists could overcome their "bad reputation" and rally popular support.

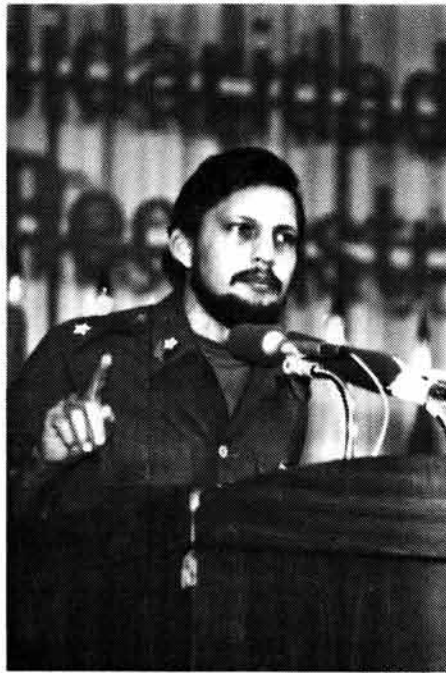
Arce commented: "The problem we face is that the individuals who are formulating these policies do not have the faintest idea what is really happening in Nicaragua. But the policy they set turns into governmental action. In other words, we are being threatened by irresponsible madmen."

Arce showed the relationship between economic pressure and military aggression with quotations "explaining" how economic

hardship and crises will generate popular support for the counterrevolution. Some of Reagan's advisers even specified the critical times for applying economic pressure, culminating with the harvest in the spring of 1981. Others suggested the specific techniques to be used, such as the withholding of food for political reasons.

"It is no accident," Arce pointed out, "that all these complications are appearing right now as we come to the end of the harvest."

Since the end result of all the imperialists' economic and political maneuvers must be military aggression, Arce explained, it is not surprising that "the State Department is constantly fretting about the fact that we are making preparations to defend ourselves." Jeane Kirkpatrick complained about "an enormous and completely new



BAYARDO ARCE

revolutionary army." State Department spokesman William Dyess said Nicaragua is building an army of 50,000.

Preparing to Meet Aggression

Arce answered the State Department: "We have already told everyone who would listen, in private and in public—we are not going to have an army of 50,000 people. Our professional army is small. Naturally I'm not going to do the CIA's work for them by giving its exact size.

"On the other hand, our plan is not to have 50,000 people under arms. It is to have 100,000 and if necessary two million, the whole adult population of Nicaragua. That is our right, to defend ourselves when faced with aggression.

"And now Alexander Haig, the one who ordered the bombing of Cambodia and Vietnam, says he is worried because we are getting antiaircraft weapons. All this means is that he's worried that if he sends planes to

bomb us we'll have the equipment to shoot down his planes. He's not worried about the countries around us getting more war planes. Airplanes are offensive weapons. We don't have planes, and we're not thinking about going to attack anybody. Antiaircraft weapons are purely defensive. We are simply getting ready to defend ourselves."

There are still some who insist that all the tough talk from the imperialists does not mean much because politicians talk a lot.

Training Camps in U.S.

But Arce pointed out that right on U.S. territory training camps operate openly in which former members of the National Guard are getting ready for a war against the Nicaraguan government. He offered to help the CIA out, in case it really wants to do something about international terrorism, and listed the exact location of some of these armed counterrevolutionary groups.

Arce concluded his speech with a revelation that drew gasps from his audience. He displayed a letter dated January 6, 1981, from Reagan's national security adviser, Richard Allen, to Edmundo Chamorro Rappacioli, the leader of one of the Somozaist exile armies.

Writing on behalf of then-President-elect Reagan, Allen thanked Chomorro for his "recommendations concerning the future" of Nicaragua, and promised to "make certain that the relevant policy people are made aware of your ideas and suggestions in this area.

"I will tell you something," Arce commented. "For months we have been wanting to talk to this Mr. Allen, and he hasn't even answered our requests for a meeting. But he answered Edmundo Chomorro, he answered him in the name of President Reagan."

Arce's speech has had a big impact here in Nicaragua. Much of the discussion has revolved around the necessity of Nicaraguans defending their country and their revolution, which flows from all Arce's documentation of imperialist aggression.

Unionists Respond

The Trade-Union Coordinating Committee of Nicaragua (CSN), a body that unites the major trade-union federations, had a special meeting a few days after Arce's speech to discuss ways of increasing participation by workers in the popular militias. Pointing out that many workers joined the militias in their neighborhoods rather than at their work places, one delegate to the CSN said that workers "must participate as a class and not just as individuals, and for this to happen the trade unions as such have to play a role in organizing the militias."

At the other end of the class spectrum, there is very little enthusiasm for the militias. Several leaders of capitalist parties and institutions of big business were interviewed on the subject by the FSLN daily *Barricada* after Arce's speech.

The head of the Union of Agricultural Producers (UPANIC)—the big-growers as-



Fred Halstead/Militant

"Our plan is not to have 50,000 people under arms. It is to have 100,000 and if necessary two million, the whole adult population of Nicaragua."

sociation—when asked if he was in the militias, pointed to his civilian clothes and answered, "Can't you see what I'm wearing?"

"If he thinks militia members go around in special uniforms," *Barricada* commented, "then obviously he isn't one."

Adán Fletes, the president of the Social Christian Party, told *Barricada* he "hadn't had time" to join. When the interviewer pointed out that there were extremely flexible training schedules for shift workers and others with special responsibilities, Fletes said, "The truth is I just don't like guns."

Jaime Montealegre, a leader of COSEP, said, "The best way to defend our country is through moral actions not military ones."

Continued Attacks

Following Arce's speech, opponents both inside and outside Nicaragua have continued their attacks on the revolution exactly along the lines outlined by the Sandinista leader.

The U.S. government, despite formal protests by Nicaragua to the State Department and the United Nations, has refused to take any action against the right-wing commando groups in Florida and other states.

Terrorist raids by ex-National Guardsmen based in Honduras continue in the northern part of Nicaragua. On March 19 a peasant militia leader was killed and a priest with him beaten and tied up. On

March 25 another member of the militia was tortured, castrated, and buried alive.

Economic pressure has not let up. Before Reagan's recent cut-off of all aid, Managua papers reported that he had proposed \$35 million in loan aid for Nicaragua in 1982. But this appropriation included preconditions, like the insulting phony demand that Nicaragua promise to allow more than one political party. (There are no fewer than ten political parties—not counting the FSLN—in Nicaragua. The American Embassy here is certainly well aware of their existence, and in any case could look them up in the Managua telephone book.)

Some Nicaraguan capitalists continue to attempt to sabotage the economy through decapitalizing their enterprises and attempting to create an atmosphere of general panic. When it rained in the cotton-producing areas March 23, *La Prensa* falsely announced in screaming headlines the loss of the entire crop. The head of the Chamber of Industry (CIN), in an interview published March 27, warned that if businesses did not get the financing they were demanding, many of them would close down by June. He blamed this impending disaster on "the problems of labor discipline and political tension."

La Prensa and other reactionary forces come up with new stories almost every day

about alleged Russian and especially Cuban influence in Nicaragua. This only provides an excuse for Washington's hostility and aggression.

José Esteban González, the president of the misnamed Permanent Commission on Human Rights (CPDH), has spent \$8,000 recently for full-page advertisements in Venezuelan newspapers saying that a state of civil war exists in Nicaragua. Such ravings are designed to convince Washington and the ex-National Guard terrorists that they will find some support for a military counterrevolution in Nicaragua.

The proimperialist political parties, still reeling from the political defeat they suffered when massive protests forced them to cancel an antigovernment rally March 15, insist that FSLN is losing support and that all hope of achieving national unity is lost.

This is particularly ironic, since the FSLN has recently taken several important steps to solidify national unity in defense of the revolution. Most significant is the growing involvement of peasant producers in national politics. In addition new efforts have been initiated by the Sandinista National Directorate to maintain a dialogue with all sectors of society, including the anti-Sandinista political parties.

An editorial in the March 23 *Barricada* suggested, however, that the patience of Nicaraguan revolutionaries is not limitless.

"Nicaragua is fast reaching the point at which we can no longer allow people in the name of 'freedom and democracy' to continue conspiring with imperialism against the interests of our country. And these advocates of intervention, these gentlemen who mockingly talk about the 'fantasy' of imperialism while people are being assassinated and attempts are being made to starve us into submission—they should realize they are playing a dangerous game. It is a game they will have a hard time winning. Because the masses already know all the cards they have in their hand." □

Your library should get *Intercontinental Press*.

Intercontinental Press is a unique source for political developments throughout the world. *IP* is the only English-language magazine with a full-time bureau in Managua, providing weekly reports on the development of the revolutionary upsurge in Central America. *IP* correspondents provide our readers with in-depth coverage of events such as the Iranian revolution, the freedom struggle in South Africa, and the workers struggle in Poland.

Many of the documents, speeches, and interviews we publish appear nowhere else in English. Why not ask your library to subscribe? Make sure others get a chance to read *IP* too.

Torture and Death in El Salvador's Jails

[The following article by Damien Kingsbury appeared in the March 20 issue of the *Melbourne Age*, one of Australia's major daily newspapers.]

* * *

SAN SALVADOR, 19 March—The Santa Tecla jail for political prisoners is a grim place. From the outside all that is visible are the high walls, painted a light blue over chipped plaster.

The entrance to the prison is an armoured door with a small peep-hole. The door is eventually swung open after a study of identification papers.

Inside, several prison guards stand armed with rifles of unknown manufacture. Then it is through another armored door and into the office of the prison commandant. The prison is dark and the odor musty.

The commandant forbids cameras or tape recorders. He is even surprised that a reporter has been allowed to enter the prison, but on verifying the source of the permission (the Minister, Colonel Guillermo Garcia), he is reasonably helpful with facts and figures.

The prison records show that there are 125 prisoners here. All are political prisoners. They represent various sections of the community, including the media, the trade unions and the schools and universities. I am allowed through to see the prisoners. They live four or six to a cell and are allowed out to a common area during the day. The common area is cramped, the facilities for cooking and the personal hygiene are primitive, but the men here spend a lot of time trying to make their environment as habitable as possible.

As many of the prisoners here represent the intellectual strata of El Salvadoran society, they are allowed to be fairly self-governing, within the confines of the space allotted to them and the hours they are allowed out of their cells. They make use of this limited freedom to organise activities, to help each other and to continue to work, in a limited way, in their pre-prison professions. That is, of course, where they have not been outlawed.

The following interviews with the three main groups represented in the prison was through a chemical engineer who spoke several languages. He was the owner of a successful small business before being imprisoned.

Journalists

Francisco Ramirez Avelar of 'El Independiente' newspaper, which has been closed, and Guillermo Diaz Ramos of the International Press Agency, were charged with subversive activity.

Speaking through the interpreter they

said: "The principal political crime that we were charged with was that of being middlemen between the media and the guerrillas. We deny that charge." They and three women reporters, including the owner of a newspaper, have yet to be brought before a court.

They said: "We were blind-folded and handcuffed and had guns poked into our chests when answering questions before a military judge. We are not criminals. We have not committed any political crimes. We do not know why we are here."

Questioned further, they said they believed they had been imprisoned because "we were working with the opposition media. We were being honest, we were telling the truth. In El Salvador reporters cannot tell of the authorities killing people."

They said they did not consider telling the truth to be an adequate reason for being imprisoned.

The discussion turned to prison conditions. They said: "We are locked up at 6 pm and are made to sleep with the lights on. We are under constant surveillance. The guards abuse us, they insult us and beat us and aim their rifles through the bars of the cell doors."

A listener to the conversation went away and returned with a man in his mid-20s. He was a high school teacher before being arrested. He said most of the teachers were now dead. Then he showed what the authorities had done to him.

Across his arms, legs, body and face, large areas of flesh were laid bare where, he said, interrogators had thrown sulphuric acid on him in an attempt to get a confession. He had also been indecently assaulted and had acid poured on his testicles, he said.

Fortunately, one of the prisoners here was a lecturer in medicine at the university and, with the poor facilities available, helped to clean up his gaping wounds.

The journalists said they received electrical shocks and beatings (as does everyone at Santa Tecla from time to time) but most of the torture was psychological.

The interpreter then said: "They gave me hallucinogenic drugs for 48 hours. It sent me crazy for a week. You will help me to still be alive in two months if you can publish my name in the Press of other countries."

The journalists said the prisoners received little food or supplies from the Government. "If you see us healthy it is because our families give us food. The wealthy people help the poor in this jail."

Despite the reasonable well-being of most of the prisoners, many were suffering from ailments caused by the unhygienic conditions and inadequate diet.

"On visiting day the police park their cars outside the prisons and they treat our fami-

lies badly so they get afraid and don't visit. This is to demoralise the prisoners," the journalists said.

"The only reason they treat us this well is because we went on a hunger strike and they were concerned that we would all die together.

"They have been more careful over the past two months because of the international Press. The whole world is watching."

The names of El Salvadoran martyrs are painted over cell doors. I was told they were put there by earlier political prisoners, most of whom were now dead.

The journalists said that before they were arrested, seven news people had been killed. They mentioned a production manager of the now extinct paper 'La Cronica' and a photographer who were found chopped into small pieces after being kidnapped last July.

The popular opinion in El Salvador is that the people who commit these types of crimes, the "paramilitary," are soldiers in civilian dress, but the two journalists would not say this. A sentence of death comes from such a statement.

They said that at about the same time that 'La Cronica' was closed, the offices of the 'Independiente' newspaper and the Catholic Church radio station YSAX were blown up.

"All opposition newspapers are now closed," they said. Some of the prisoners held here were printers and secretaries at the newspapers before they were closed. "They had no responsibility for the content of the papers."

They said the "revolutionary junta" had tried to modify the agrarian sector and the banking sector but had failed.

In the agrarian sector the National Democratic Organisation [ORDEN], similar in style to the Nazis, is preferred by about 60 percent of the big and middle farmers. "Violence and repression increased with this failure. They are mostly illiterate and those who can read are often ignorant of the injustice here."

The journalists made a final appeal. "We have only one means of salvation here—the international Press."

Unionists

Most of the unionists in the prison were members of the [executive committee of the union of hydroelectric workers]. This union represents the workers of the privately owned monopoly of the supply of electricity in El Salvador. Present were the general secretary of the union as well as four undersecretaries and other members.

They are in jail for a strike which disrupted electrical supplies in El Salvador for 24 hours.

They told me the linesmen had to work with 115,000 volts running through live wires. They were being paid about \$A65 [US\$76] a week for this very dangerous job. The union held discussions which resulted in 18 unionists being murdered in front of their families or workmates and a further 30 being dismissed.

Through an interpreter they said: "Then the Government declared the union unconstitutional. They also said, under decree 296, that we cannot talk about political subjects in any way, which includes workers' rights and the deaths of workers. This also included newspapers. That is when we went on strike."

The unionists were given the same sort of trial as the journalists but the disturbing thing about their case is that all documentation about it has been "lost" and that they no longer officially exist.

In El Salvador, such a situation has very ominous overtones. But as they were "true to the cause of the workers," they did not hesitate to discuss the politics of the country.

"This Government does not represent the people. This Government does not exist according to the constitution of El Salvador," they said.

"Repression is the first quality of this Government because this Government is not able to resolve the problems of this country by peace. The liberty of forming unions is no longer present. Most of the leaders of other unions are now political prisoners at other centres.

"Many unionists at the present time are either missing or dead. Including the teachers' union, several thousand have disappeared. The teachers suffer a lot from the Government. Most of the people you will find killed in the streets and the countryside are teachers."

The unionists went on: "We feel that the Democratic Revolutionary Front is the only representative of the people and their interests. We would like you to send a message to all of the workers, unionists and people in your country. We hope you sympathise with us in our situation."

Most of the unionists are not allowed to see their families on visiting day. All managed to smile and give me warm handshakes, although it is very likely that they will soon be dead.

Professors

Seven professors and a former employee of the university in San Salvador were the next group I spoke to. They were very suspicious that I might be a Government agent and questioned me closely before allowing me to question them. They included the director of the university, the head of the medical faculty, the head of the economics faculty and the head of the law faculty.

They said: "The real charge against us is that we belong to the consul of the university. This is the last action (by the Govern-

ment) in regard to the university as it is now closed.

"The campaign against the university was begun with the second junta, that is, the present one."

There had been systematic persecution, kidnapping and assassination of professors and students of the university. Hundreds of students and many professors have been assassinated.

The university had been surrounded by soldiers, who fired on it, killing many people.

Explosives had been detonated against the wall of the auditorium while there were students in it and the library was destroyed in a bazooka attack.

There was then the final assault on 26 June last year when the university was totally occupied by the troops. The result was 40 deaths. There had been no resistance to the troops by students or the faculty.

All of the equipment in the university had either been destroyed or stolen and then sold by the soldiers. A junta commission put the cost of the destruction and theft at about \$A7 million, but it is thought to have been

more.

On 26 October last year the previous director of the university and president of the International University Service based in Geneva, Felix Antonio Ulla, was taken about 100 metres from the university and assassinated by the paramilitary.

A senior academic was arrested while attending a reunion to mark the beginning of a new semester.

They said: "We were not working in political activity, we were working on university business. No charge can be considered against us within the constitution of this country."

The professors claimed that after they were arrested soldiers went to their homes and intimidated their families and said they had found weapons there.

"There was no explanation for our arrest," they said. "We have not appeared before a court."

They said it had been decided that all employees of the university will not receive any further salaries. "But we are still working with the same responsibilities from inside the jail." □

Despite Police and Army Intimidation

Irish Activists Build Support for Hunger Strikers

By Gerry Foley

DUBLIN—As the second H-Block hunger strike goes into its fourth week, the movement in support of the prisoners is continuing to demonstrate its depth and solidity. It has proven itself to be a powerful new force in Irish politics.

It is the second time in five months that Irish republican prisoners have been forced on hunger strike in their struggle to gain the status of political prisoners.

The men prisoners in the H-Block of Long Kesh prison and the women of Armagh jail have suffered years of mistreatment at the hands of the British authorities in Northern Ireland.

A fifty-three-day hunger strike by seven H-Block prisoners was ended last December only after the British promised concessions, which they later reneged on.

Despite the problems caused by the confusion following the end of the first hunger strike, a solid block of opposition by the church and the bourgeois nationalists, and an almost total press blackout, the organization that developed in the fall remains essentially intact and in some areas is even stronger.

That was the basic picture that emerged from a conference of action committee delegates held in Dublin on March 23.

The state of the H-Block movement is very uneven, however. In most cases the

level of activity is down somewhat from the last hunger strike, and there is general questioning going on. Most of the delegates at the Dublin conference wanted a political discussion that could clarify for them where the campaign is going. They got it, despite some attempts to limit the framework to technical problems of organization. These were a response to the fact that the discussion at the previous open national conference tended to be abstract and unrepresentative of the real forces in the movement.

The political discussion on March 23, however, seemed in general to reflect the real concerns of the activists in the movement, and centered on fundamental political questions. The main debate was over the relationship between exemplary actions, such as occupations, and mass actions. The Irish Trotskyists argued against "publicity stunts" that could interfere with the mass campaign or be seen as a substitute for it. A number of independent activists and one leader of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) took the same position. Most of the spokespeople for Sinn Féin, the political arm of the Provisional republican movement, argued that it was possible to combine both types of activity.

The generally lower level of activity did not mean that the movement was declin-

ing, it was made clear. After the intensity of the campaign in the fall, many of the activists are now pacing themselves, saving their main strength for the decisive weeks and days.

However, after the fright they got during the first hunger strike, the church and the bourgeois nationalists, as well as the imperialists, are determined to keep the second campaign from getting off the ground.

The editorial comment in the Irish national papers is all negative and there is very little publicity about all the protest. The main news is about violent actions supposedly carried out in the name of the hunger strikers, such as the wounding of a British Leyland executive while he was giving a lecture at Trinity College, or the destruction of a monument to Queen Victoria.

The National H-Block Committee has dissociated itself promptly from these actions and they do not seem to have had much effect in putting blame for violence on the H-Block protesters.

The main problems are the lack of publicity, the lack of a sense of momentum, and increased police harassment of H-Block activists. At the conference a North Dublin activist, Vera O'Hara, reported that the police came to her door and arrested her when she refused, as was her right, to give them her birth date.

In Cork, in particular, leading activists such as Jim Lane, Mairtin MacanGhoill,

and Michael McEldowney have been picked up, held, and threatened. MacanGhoill was physically abused.

In Derry the leading activists in the H-Block youth committee are constantly being picked up by the British Army and Northern Ireland police. This has recreated the feeling of active military occupation. For example, in early March I was sitting in a meeting of the local cultural center. It was discussing putting on plays and concerts in various areas. Then the word came in that the British Army was parked outside. Every male under the age of twenty-five made a frantic dash for the back door, assuming that the army was looking for him. They were the H-Block campaign youth committee leaders.

In this situation active international support is much more important for the success of the second hunger strike campaign than it was for the first. It is needed to reassure the local committees that they are having an impact, to break the wall of silence, and to counter the impression that the respectable world is indifferent or hostile to the H-Block protest.

In recognition of the importance of international support for this campaign the National H-Block Committee has called an international day of solidarity for April 18. It will coincide with the first national demonstration, which will be held in Dublin. □

Tens of Thousands Join Worldwide Protests

Women's Rights Under Attack

By Janice Lynn

Women throughout the world are being especially hard hit by the international capitalist offensive that is being waged against working people.

Not only are women disproportionately affected on the economic front—by unemployment, inflation, and drastic budget cuts—but the capitalist rulers are trying to roll back all the gains fought for and won by women over the past decade.

Women's right to abortion, the right to a full-time job, equal pay for equal work, government-financed child care, affirmative action in employment, and other rights fought for by women are all being challenged and eroded even further.

This is aimed at trying to divide and demoralize the working class and to prepare the way for demanding greater and greater sacrifices from all working people. It is part of the ruling class drive to try to make the working class pay for the capitalist economic crisis.

On March 8—International Women's

Day—some initial steps in responding to this offensive against women's rights were taken. In several countries, sections of the labor movement have come out in defense of women's rights, indicating the potential for bringing the power of the entire international labor movement into this struggle.

Attacks on Abortion Rights

One of the most severe attacks is against women's right to abortion. This was the focus of a number of the women's day demonstrations.

In the **United States**, capitalist politicians are carrying out a concerted campaign to undercut the landmark 1973 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that gave women the constitutional right to safe, legal abortion.

This decision had given impetus to the fight for abortion rights in many other countries, where significant victories were also won.

But in 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court dealt women a cruel blow. It upheld the constitutionality of a 1976 congressional ban on government funding for most abortions, known as the Hyde Amendment. This means that thousands of U.S. women are denied the right to abortion because they are poor—with Latinas and Black women being especially hard hit.

As a result of the Hyde Amendment, the number of U.S. government financed abortions dropped from 294,600 in 1977 to 3,985 in 1979. Today there are only nine states and the District of Columbia that provide state funding for abortions.

In yet another blow to women's right to abortion, the U.S. Supreme Court on March 23, 1981, upheld a Utah state law requiring doctors to notify teenage women's parents before performing an abortion. Capitalist politicians in other states immediately announced they would favor similar laws.

And more attacks are being planned.

A so-called Human Rights Bill is now before the Senate. This bill would legally define a fetus as a person. If passed, it would open the way for outlawing abortion altogether. President Ronald Reagan has endorsed this bill.

Growing numbers of U.S. women want to resist these attacks. The 100,000-member National Abortion Rights Action League reported 10,000 new members since the November U.S. elections.

In commemoration of International Women's Day, thousands of women's rights activists rallied and demonstrated in numerous states throughout the country to make known their opposition to these attacks on abortion rights and the other ruling class attacks on women.

There is a real danger that the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) will not be ratified. In order for the ERA to become part of the U.S. Constitution, it must be ratified by three more states prior to the new June 1982 deadline set by Congress.

The struggle for the right to legal abortion has sparked large demonstrations in a number of other countries. In **Italy** some 10,000 women's rights supporters marched through Rome March 8 in support of abortion rights and to protest the Vatican's reactionary anti-abortion stand. Another 20,000 protested in other cities throughout Italy.

In **Spain**, numerous meetings, rallies, and demonstrations took place in cities and towns throughout the country to mark International Women's Day. Abortion has been illegal in Spain since 1939 and divorce is still outlawed. The actions demanded women's right to a job, divorce, and abortion.

Some 1,200 women demonstrated in Vienna, **Austria**, March 7, calling for the right to free abortion throughout the world.

Demonstrations and rallies also took place in various cities throughout **France**.



International Women's Day march in Copenhagen, Denmark.

And 2,000 women's rights supporters demonstrated in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Labor Movement Enters Struggle

In Britain, the labor movement has taken an important lead in the abortion rights campaign. A successful labor movement conference on abortion was held in London on March 14.

The conference decided to fight for better facilities for abortion under Britain's National Health Service. Because of the general attacks on health services, abortion facilities are especially affected.

The labor representatives also agreed to work toward positive legislation for a woman's full, legal right to choose abortion. Although there are no anti-abortion bills pending in Parliament, neither are there any laws that fully guarantee women's right to legal abortions.

At the labor conference there were 183 delegates from trade unions, 23 from trades councils, and 70 from constituency Labour Parties. The conference was endorsed by the National Executive committee of the Labour Party.

An anti-abortion bill—the Corrie Bill—was defeated in Parliament last year primarily as a result of the involvement of the trade-union movement and the Labour Party. Mass marches and rallies drew up to 40,000 people.

The increasing involvement of the British labor movement in the struggle for women's rights is a powerful example of how to fight back against the ruling class antiwoman offensive, and how to win some victories.

'Women Against the Crisis'

In another important display of opposition to the ruling class offensive, nearly 10,000 women and their supporters demonstrated March 7 in Brussels, Belgium. The theme of the demonstration was "Women Against the Crisis."

What was especially significant about this action was that for the first time, the

Belgium General Federation of Workers (FGTB)—Belgium's largest trade union federation—played a significant part in the mobilization. Trade union women came from various factories, hospitals, department stores, and offices. There were also numbers of unemployed women.

This was an important first step in forging the unity necessary for the women's movement to struggle together with the labor movement against unemployment, the Belgian government's austerity policies, and in support of women's rights.

In addition to protesting the affects of the economic crisis on women, the demonstrators also called for free contraception, legal abortion, and free child-care centers.

Women's Right to Equal Employment

Actions in support of women's rights took place in dozens of other cities throughout the world as well.

In Canada, 4,000 women and men rallied in Toronto March 7, to demand child care and economic independence. And in Montreal, more than 6,000 marched the same day in a demonstration called by the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and three other union federations.

Issues addressed in the Montreal labor-sponsored action included the need for increased abortion rights and expanded child-care facilities, opposition to violence against women, and the demand for access by women to nontraditional jobs.

Women in Canada have recently won some important victories in their struggle for equal employment rights. Last year, women won the right to work at the Stelco plant in Hamilton. And in December 1980, six women won the right to work for Canadian National Railways in Montreal. These campaigns were actively supported by the various labor unions.

A similar victory for women was won in Australia, when one of Australia's largest industrial employers—the Broken Hills Proprietary company in Newcastle—was

recently forced to hire women. This victory followed on the heels of a major victory in Wollongong when the Australian Iron and Steel Company was also compelled to hire thirty-eight women who had filed complaints against its discriminatory hiring policies.

Women Against War

Throughout West Germany some 10,000 women participated in a week-long campaign of Women Against War. Highlighting the events was a protest march of 3,000 against the U.S. air base in Ramstein.

An antiwar message was also a major demand of the 3,000 demonstrators at the Women's Day protest in Stockholm, Sweden.

And in Athens, Greece, the 1,500 demonstrators marking International Women's Day on March 12 spoke out against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the arms race.

An important women's action also took place in Ireland. Some 1,000 people took part in a March 8 picket outside the Armagh Jail—the women's prison in Northern Ireland where Irish republican women prisoners are demanding political prisoner status.

Messages of solidarity were read from women's and labor organizations throughout the world. And solidarity greetings were sent by Bernadette Devlin McAlisney, who is recovering from a terrorist attack on her life, and actress Vanessa Redgrave.

In Chile, forty-one people were arrested for taking part in meetings to commemorate International Women's Day. And more than fifty women were arrested March 6 as they were preparing to occupy vacant land in northwestern Santiago to dramatize their need for housing.

In Switzerland, women mobilized in support of an upcoming constitutional referendum on equal rights for women. It was only in 1971 that Swiss women even won the right to vote in federal elections. A 2,500 strong demonstration took place in Bern on March 8.

These actions in support of women's rights the world over show the sentiment that exists both among women and men to fight back against the capitalist offensive and its effects on women.

More and more there is growing awareness of the need for the women's movement and the trade unions to link up and carry out a united campaign in defense of women's rights and in opposition to the ruling class attacks.

An international day of action on May 16 in support of abortion rights is being built in countries throughout the world. Massive participation by the international labor movement could play a major role in preventing any further setbacks in the abortion struggle and could pave the way for new and important victories for women's equality. □

STOP NUCLEAR POWER!

100,000 March Against West German Nuclear Plant

By Marc Levy

HAMBURG—On February 28 an estimated 100,000 demonstrators defied an official demonstration ban, massive police harassment, and subfreezing weather to march against renewed construction of the nuclear power plant in Brokdorf, some ninety kilometers north of Hamburg in the state of Schleswig-Holstein.

Work on the project was halted by court order in 1976 after massive protest demonstrations. But the Schleswig-Holstein State Superior Court decided in January of this year to lift the injunction against further construction and the state and federal governments declared that they were ready to grant necessary building permits.

The new action came in response to these moves. It was called by the Bundesverband Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz (BBU—National Union of Citizens Committees for Environmental Protection) and was supported by broad forces on the left and in trade-union circles.

Meeting in Hannover on February 14, the National Conference of the BBU called for a massive, peaceful, legal demonstration at the construction site in Brokdorf.

The call was countered by the Schleswig-Holstein government with a refusal to grant a permit for the demonstration and the imposition of an unprecedented three-day ban on any and all demonstrations within a large radius of Brokdorf. At the same time, the government launched a major campaign of intimidation and slander to justify its measures and discourage participation.

On February 21, the day the ban was issued, Schleswig-Holstein Minister President Dr. Gerhard Stoltenberg of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) claimed, "Various groups which have called for this demonstration have made known on several occasions that they plan acts of violence. . . ."

Needless to say, no proof of these allegations was produced. Instead, Schleswig-Holstein officials announced the most massive police mobilization in the history of the Federal Republic "to protect life and property." According to official figures released after the demonstration, 10,566 police and members of the Federal Border Police were deployed.

More direct means of intimidation were also brought to bear—police pressure on bus companies to get them to refuse to provide buses or cancel buses already promised for the demonstration.

Despite these measures and sporadic



Part of Brokdorf demonstration.

road blocks aimed at turning back car and bus convoys from the south and east, more than 100,000 demonstrators streamed onto the Wilster Marsh near Brokdorf starting in the early hours of February 28. The small access roads to the site were so choked with foot traffic that many demonstrators were forced to leave their cars and walk as much as ten kilometers through the freezing wind just to reach the village of Wilster, which was the starting point of the demonstration.

After a short rally, the first wave of demonstrators stepped off from the Wilster village square at 10 a.m. and began the ten kilometer trek to the construction site. An hour later the marchers, having picked up numerous reinforcements along the way, reached a bridge over a six-meter-wide ice-covered ditch. The bridge was blocked by a sand-filled waste container, a water cannon, and a police detachment. After lengthy negotiations with demonstration leaders, the police finally allowed the demonstrators to pass in single file after submitting to a body search.

Finally at around 2 p.m., after numerous marchers elected to try their luck crossing the thin ice on foot or gapping the "mote" with makeshift bridges, the police allowed demonstrators to clear the blockade and continue on. By this time, however, the bottleneck had accomplished its purpose, as many demonstrators succumbed to the cold or fear of an impending confrontation with the police and turned back.

Nevertheless, by late afternoon, several thousand demonstrators had assembled on

the terrain in front of the building site. The mass of demonstrators kept their distance from the barbed-wire fence surrounding the construction site itself, but a few people moved out of the crowd hurling rocks, fireworks, and slingshot projectiles at police, who answered with clubs, tear gas, and high-powered water cannons.

According to newspaper reports and eyewitness accounts, at most a few hundred demonstrators took part in the confrontation and their actions found no support among the mass of demonstrators who attempted to isolate or restrain those involved in provocations.

After a hasty rally organized around a sound truck provided by Aktionskreis Leben (Action Circle—Life), a trade-union antinuclear group, demonstrators attempted a peaceful retreat.

At this point several helicopters, which had menaced the crowd from overhead, set down and released a swarm of border guards who fell upon the rear of the demonstration. The sound truck, from which the trade unionists had constantly called upon the demonstrators to maintain the peaceful character of the demonstration, was overrun and the driver and passengers were taken into custody. Fleeing demonstrators were also singled out and clubbed to the ground.

When the tear-gas clouds had cleared, 240 demonstrators had been taken into custody (according to official figures), although only 6 were charged with criminal offenses. Others were eventually released, some after being fingerprinted and photographed. Police claimed 128 injured, 7 seriously. The number of injured demonstrators was difficult to determine, but at least 56 injured were reported by the demonstration first aid committee, 32 of these were still hospitalized on the following day.

Official reactions to the demonstration were mixed. CDU Schleswig-Holstein Minister President Stoltenberg claimed in an interview in the February 29 *Bild am Sonntag* that "the actual developments have shown that the mass march created a danger to life and limb in the Wilster Marsh." This, he said, proved that the ban was justified. He also announced that the Ministry of Justice would file civil and criminal charges against Josef Leinen, executive secretary of the BBU.

Bavarian Minister President Franz Josef Strauss of the Christian Social Union (CSU), the unsuccessful Union candidate

for federal chancellor last October, sent a telegram to an injured Bavarian policeman commending him for his efforts in turning back "brutal revolutionary terrorist violence."

More indicative of the real political climate were statements by figures in the governing Social Democratic Party (SPD)/Free Democratic Party (FDP) coalition, who were wary of trying to criminalize a movement with mass support.

SPD Federal Executive Secretary Peter Glotz, who had expressed his concern about violence at the demonstration beforehand, had nothing but "unmitigated praise" for peaceful demonstrators afterward. He also did not forget to express his "special thanks" to officers of the Federal Border Police and the police for their so-called prudence and restraint, which he claimed had prevented further escalation of the violence.

FDP General Secretary Günther Verheugen expressed himself in the same vein, praising the "sovereign and prudent conduct" of the police and adding that the demonstration had shown that the "vast majority" of the demonstrators rejected violence.

But perhaps the most apt comment was reserved, ironically enough, for Helmut Schirmacher, the president of the Policeman's Union: "When more than 50,000 people take the road to Brokdorf in this cold weather," he said, "that is an indication that something must have been lacking in the political discussion."

In other words, the people of West Germany are not about to allow nuclear power to be forced upon them by demonstration bans and police force. □

Denmark: Majority Oppose Nuclear Power

Since 1974 Denmark has had an active, nationally organized antinuclear-power movement. The work of the Organization for Information About Nuclear Energy (OOA) has had a big impact on public opinion in that country. Recent polls indicate that 48% of the Danish population opposes nuclear power, while only 31% favor it.

Although the leadership of the Social Democratic Party favors nuclear energy, in early 1980 the minority Social Democratic government was forced by public opinion to indefinitely postpone the introduction of nuclear power.

The ranks of the Social Democratic Party share the general population's opposition to nukes, despite the attitude of the party leaders.

The major bourgeois parties in Denmark support nuclear power.

Activists have called upon the government to hold a referendum before going ahead with the construction of any nuclear facility.

The OOA is involved in the national debate over the Danish North Sea oil and

gas. In 1962 the government gave full rights to all the oil and gas to a single private company.

In the ensuing years profits from that energy source have skyrocketed, leading the government to demand royalty payments. The company, however, is resisting.

Although the big bourgeois parties support the company's stand, public opinion polls indicate that the population as a whole does not. Fully 51% of the people want North Sea resources nationalized, while only 18% are opposed.

Another major campaign of the Danish antinuclear movement is one opposing the construction of the Barsebäck nuclear facility in Sweden. That plant is being built less than fifteen miles from Copenhagen, the Danish capital.

Japanese Government Faces Opposition to Nuclear Waste Plans

The Japanese government has had to postpone its plans to dump radioactive waste in the Pacific Ocean near Micronesia. Because of opposition in Japan and in the Pacific area, funding was not appropriated for the dumping.

The Japanese Union of Scientists

Against Nuclear Power Plants has issued a paper refuting the government's claims on dumping the deadly waste. The scientists studied the currents and tides in the area where the proposed dumping would take place and found that rather than remaining confined to a small area of the ocean bottom, as the government claimed, the waste was likely to be spread by upwellings and whirlpools.

People eating contaminated fish could accumulate bone and whole-body radiation exposure as high as twenty milirem a year. This could lead to 2,000-6,000 additional cancer deaths per year.

The scientists further state that should an upwelling mix with a whirlpool "as many as 100 thousand people will die of cancer in the Pacific Ocean Islands including Japan and the whole area along the Pacific Coast."

In Hawaii, a week of activities took place at the beginning of March, including a March 2 rally in Honolulu protesting the plans for radioactive dumping.

In Japan, some 1,000 people attended a February 28 rally in Tokyo against nuclear power and reprocessing plans and to demonstrate solidarity with the Pacific peoples' struggles.

To keep up with the liberation struggles in Central America . . . You have to read *Intercontinental Press*!

Intercontinental Press is the *only* English-language weekly in the world with a full-time bureau in Nicaragua. IP regularly carries:

- On-the-scene reports from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, Grenada, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, and other countries in Latin America . . .
- Speeches by revolutionary leaders like Fidel Castro, and translations of key documents such as the program of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front . . .
- Exclusive interviews with figures like Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, Sandinista Workers Federation leader Iván García, and Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco . . .

AND, every week *Intercontinental Press* does the same for the whole world. For the best coverage of developments in Iran, Ireland, South Africa, the Middle East, Western Europe, Poland, China—read *Intercontinental Press*.

Clip and mail today

Yes! I want to subscribe. Enclosed is \$35 for a full year of IP.
 \$17.50 for six months of IP. \$8.75 for a three-month introductory subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Postal Code _____

Canadian Rates: Canadian \$41 for one year; \$21 for six months.

Send for rates to other countries.

Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Grenada Mobilizes for Agricultural Development

By Mimi Pichey

ST. GEORGE'S—The Grenadian government has designated 1981 as the "Year of Agriculture and Agro-Industries." For this small Caribbean island, food production is integrally tied to the country's economic progress and thus to the advancement of the revolution.

Agriculture remains a cornerstone of Grenada's economy. When Grenada was still under direct colonial rule its British rulers maintained a law, until the late 1950s, banning the construction of industry on the island. While the last thirty years have seen an expansion of the urban working class, particularly in services, commerce, construction, transportation, and tourism, about one-third of Grenada's workforce is still directly involved in agriculture.

Capitalism left Grenada with an unequal distribution of land. As of 1972, ninety-three farms accounted for 49.2 percent of all arable land in the country, while 13,806 farms accounted for 23 percent.

Before the revolution, the majority of agricultural workers still used hand implements, and there was very little mechanization of agriculture. Transportation in the countryside was very difficult, with few adequate access roads.

In the face of such conditions, the revolutionaries who founded the New Jewel Movement (NJM) in 1973 proposed a national food strategy in their party manifesto. It called for organizing to grow local food on a large scale so as to reduce the need to import food. The authors of the 1973 manifesto recognized that to do this would require a fundamental change in the agricultural sector and called for "radically redistributing the land in Grenada into co-operative farms of not less than 40-50 acres in size."

Following the popular insurrection on March 13, 1979, that overthrew the dictatorship of Eric Gairy and put the NJM in power, Grenada's revolutionaries began to implement many reforms in the interests of the workers and farmers, including agricultural reforms.

In a welcome letter to foreign visitors during the recent second anniversary celebrations of the revolution, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop stressed the importance of "growing more food, laying the basis for industrialisation, building our economy and in so doing building our revolution. Agriculture and Agro-Industrialisation will help us to provide more jobs for our people and save much needed foreign exchange now being used on unnecessary imports.



A student at Mirabeau Agricultural Training School.

Wayne Carter

"In this way, we would become more self-reliant and self-sufficient, reduce the effects of imported inflation and be better able to cushion the devastating effects on our economy of the present crisis and recession in the advanced industrialised nations of the world.

"The agricultural basis of our country makes this link natural, but it is the revolutionary nature of our society that will ensure that all of our people will be involved in this drive for greater Agricultural and Agro-Industrial development."

'Idle Lands for Idle Hands'

Before the revolution, Grenada had an unemployment rate of 50 percent, one-third of Grenada's arable land was not farmed, and the country imported approximately three-quarters of its food.

To develop agriculture, both for domestic consumption and for export, the government has moved to expand food production and develop related industries—processing plants, canneries, etc. This will also include development of the rich fishing potential of the island.

In 1980 it launched a campaign under the slogan "Idle Lands for Idle Hands" to encourage production by all three sectors of the agricultural economy: privately-owned land, state farms, and cooperatives.

Already these programs have helped to reduce unemployment to about 35 percent over two years.

In the private agricultural sector, one-third of all 100 to 200 acre farms are underutilized and 68 percent of all land on estates of 200 to 500 acres is lying idle. The People's Revolutionary Government is encouraging private owners to cultivate their land by providing better marketing facilities and roads. To aid smaller private farmers, training programs and technical services are being offered.

The government owns about 40 percent of the land under production. Most of these were British Crown lands that were turned over to the Gairy regime when Grenada won its formal independence in 1974. With the triumph of the 1979 revolution they came under the control of the new government.

State Farms

On the land inherited from the Gairy regime were several state farms. The state farms vary in size: at Bon Accord fourteen workers now farm 140 acres; at Bellevue, one of the largest, sixty-eight workers farm 200 acres. In addition to the wages paid to the agricultural workers, the profits of these state farms are divided, with one-third split among the workers on the farm,

one-third reinvested, and one-third going to the government for schools, roads, and other development projects. This incentive program has already led to the doubling of production on some farms.

In February 1981, the Agricultural and General Workers Union (AGWU) signed a twenty-eight-point agreement with the government, bringing substantial benefits to state-farm workers. The agreement was discussed by more than 1,000 workers prior to acceptance.

Highlights included 25 percent pay increases; equal pay for equal work by men and women; sick-leave benefits and a pension plan for the first time ever; improved water, lunchroom, and toilet facilities; guaranteed time-off with pay to attend union meetings, seminars, and other union activities.

The AGWU has bargaining rights on thirty-eight estates, the majority of which are government-owned. Workers' assemblies on the estates encourage ongoing worker participation in making decisions on production quotas and targets. AGWU President Fitzroy Bain has stressed that union members will have to struggle to get the agreement implemented on all estates.

Cooperative Program

A third area of the agricultural economy is the cooperative sector. This is the result of a new program instituted by the government to involve young people in agricultural production. While the average age of Grenadian agricultural workers is more than fifty years, current unemployment is concentrated among nineteen to twenty-five year olds. Thus, the aim of the cooperatives is to attract these youths, as well as agricultural workers and small peasants, by showing them that these cooperatives can provide a better life and more efficient production.

The cooperative program encourages groups of five or more people to join together to farm. With government help, they establish a farm, manage it collectively, and divide the profits among themselves.

Currently there are fourteen of these agricultural cooperatives, most of which have been started in the last year. Most employ between five and ten workers on small plots of three to fifteen acres. The government expects many more to be established in 1981.

To aid this process, the government set up the National Cooperative Development Agency (NACDA). NACDA assists in the formation of these cooperative farms, as well as bakery, plumbing, furniture making, and fishing cooperatives.

NACDA has been instrumental in implementing the "Idle Lands for Idle Hands" program. It identifies lands that are not in use, does a feasibility study, and finally negotiates with the owners to buy, rent, or lease this acreage. The land is then turned over to a cooperative. NACDA trains the

young "cooperators" in the principles and practices of cooperative management. It makes low interest loans available for seed, fertilizer, and tools and provides ongoing technical and marketing assistance.

NACDA will also be involved with setting up cooperatives in Carriacou, one of the small outlying islands that are part of Grenada.

Agricultural Diversification

Grenada's major commercial crops are bananas, nutmegs, and cocoa. In August 1980 Hurricane Allen wiped out 25 percent of the nutmeg crop and 40 percent of the bananas. The effects of this are just beginning to be felt.

Crop diversification is central to the PRG food strategy. New crops such as pumpkins, eggplants, cabbage, carrots and other vegetables and fruits are being produced both for domestic consumption and export. In 1980 Grenada was able to export modest quantities of lettuce, grapefruits, oranges, and mangos.

The government is working to improve irrigation techniques and facilities. This will enable Grenada to produce crops throughout the year. Similarly, it is making efforts to obtain modern mechanized agricultural equipment, which will increase production and eliminate tedious tasks. The Soviet Union recently donated US\$3 million of such equipment.

The Mirabeau Farm Training School

has already graduated fifty young farmers who are now employed in the different departments of the Ministry of Agriculture. Forty-six more, including six from three other Windward Islands, are currently enrolled. Unfortunately, in January the school was heavily damaged by fire in a suspected arson attack.

The government is also funding young people to study agriculture abroad—forestry in Kenya and farm management in Cuba, Jamaica, and Trinidad.

In December 1980 a new EC\$1 million* agro-industrial plant was opened at True Blue. A state-owned factory employing thirteen workers, it will produce fruit juices, jams and jellies, pepper sauce, chutney, and ketchup. It is capable of processing 1,000 pounds of fruit daily.

In addition, a new coffee plant at Telescope is now producing "Spice Isle Coffee." The Produce Chemist Laboratory in Tanteen is currently experimenting with new techniques for processing all of Grenada's spices. Through these programs, the new revolutionary government of Grenada hopes to begin to turn around the agricultural economy—from a country that annually imports EC\$7 million of food, to a self-sufficient one. In the process, it hopes to inspire and mobilize the masses of Grenadians showing them the benefits of economic planning that puts human needs first. □

*2.64 East Caribbean dollars equals US\$1.

A Visit to a Cooperative Farm

To get to the Herbs and Greens Cooperative near Bylands, a group of visitors had to follow their guides down a rock-lined road, ford a stream, follow a serpentine footpath down through a banana grove, and cross another stream.

Neat rows of tomatoes and cabbages were planted in the clearing. Further up the hillside were the dense thickets of bamboo that the "cooperators" had been clearing. One of them, Michael Fredericks, said that the six members had been working for a year and a half and had cleared half of the three acres given them by the government.

We asked Michael about other difficulties they had encountered. He took a deep breath and grinned. The first thing he mentioned was that the prices for their produce were not what they had expected due to lack of national planning. But, he added, the cooperatives are working with the Ministry of Agriculture to alleviate this.

Other problems include irrigation. Currently, all water must be carried from the stream in buckets. But the cooperative plans to dam the stream

and install pipes so that they will be able to farm year round.

Other difficulties include the roads and transportation. These cooperators must carry the produce from their garden on their heads along the same route we had come. Then they must make arrangements with a truck to deliver the vegetables and fruits to market.

The average age of the six cooperative founders is twenty years. They are firm supporters of the revolution. Before the revolution, they worked as agricultural laborers. But with the advent of NACDA and the cooperative program, they are excited about owning and managing their own farm.

They have not yet started to turn a profit and are surviving through a EC\$1500 loan from NACDA. But they are confident that over time they will be able to expand. Already two women have volunteered to join them as soon as more land is cleared. They believe that through the example they are setting, they can encourage others to set up more cooperatives in the area.

—Mimi Pichey

European Communist Parties React to Polish Upheaval

By Jacqueline Allio

[The following article is taken from the March 2 issue of the French-language fortnightly *Inprecor*, published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"The Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to what is taking place in Poland." This little sentence is constantly repeated in a seemingly soothing manner, but it speaks volumes about the Soviet bureaucracy's nervousness. For more than six months the Soviet bureaucracy has been faced with a movement in Poland that, rather than dissipating, is deepening, reaching into all social layers, all areas of the country, into the furthest reaches of the countryside.

On February 9, 1981—the same day that the plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP—the Communist Party) placed General Jaruzelski at the head of the government, replacing Pinkowski—Piotr Abrassimov said in an interview on West German television that "all real Polish patriots state with fierce determination that Poland is and will remain an integral part of the great family of socialist countries."

If any "great family" is threatened, it is the family of Stalinist bureaucrats of all nationalities who, whatever their differences, always agree about lending a hand to a distant cousin whose privileges and power are threatened by the masses.

Over the past two months there have been an increasing number of Soviet statements on Poland. The number of communiqués, which alternate between declarations of "confidence in the Polish people" and more or less veiled threats of military intervention, are indicative of the Stalinist bureau-

cracy's great fear regarding the increasingly political demands the Polish working class is raising.

The Kremlin has less and less confidence in the ability of the current Polish grouping to withstand the waves that constantly break over it. It has reached the point where the initial Soviet "confidence" has been replaced by simple "hope" that the Polish people can solve this alone.

What bureaucrat could feel comfortable when not a day passes without its share of news on the latest personnel "changes," the latest "resignations," if not out and out firings of Polish local or national leaders accused of abusing their positions or incompetence. Especially when all this takes place simply because they can no longer keep the lid on reports of nepotism, petty arrangements, and big management errors, and when these gentlemen are found guilty by a population that knows what it is talking about.

The Polish leadership faces demands by the Polish working class that show increasingly clearly that the workers want to assume control of the situation in all arenas. The leadership also faces a crisis of questioning inside the PUWP itself, reaching into its highest levels.

In confronting this situation, the Polish leadership, which has been deeply shaken by the August 1980 explosion, is increasingly divided and unable to regain control through political means alone.

Since August, all the Warsaw Pact countries have simply been trying to control the damage. But the movement has spread, and its impact reaches far beyond the Polish borders. It has become an event of international scope, closely followed by newspapers,

radio, and television throughout the world. This has increased the obstacles that the Soviets would confront if they decided to intervene.

The Soviets have to consider the breadth of the resistance they would meet, and therefore the number of troops who would be pinned down in Poland for what could be a long occupation.

They also have to weigh the consequences that an intervention would undoubtedly have on political and economic relations between the Warsaw Pact countries and the Western countries.

In addition, they would have to take into account that an intervention could possibly cause new splits within the "socialist" camp.

All these factors make the Soviets hesitate about making any decision to intervene.

Blowing Hot and Cold

"The Warsaw Pact member countries are convinced that the [Polish] United Workers Party, working class, and working people will be able to overcome their present problems. . . . Poland is and will remain a Socialist state, a link in the chain of Socialist countries. It can count on the solidarity and fraternal aid of the Socialist countries." This was the message of the communiqué issued after a summit meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries on December 5, 1980.

The newspapers in the Eastern European countries have featured countless statements of this type in recent months. We should note that the slightly threatening tone of these statements of friendship has alternated with another kind of more direct threat. In November and December the



Strike by Polish workers at the Huta Warszawa steelworks last year.

sound of military boots could be heard on Poland's borders. Troops were placed on a state of alert. And Polish television has broadcast films of "exercises" carried out by one or another unit in the border areas.

These additional warnings have not escaped the notice of the struggling Polish workers.

In addition, the East German and Czechoslovak governments have taken measures to limit travel between their countries and Poland.

Since October 1980, East Germany has required that East German or Polish citizens who want to visit the other country must have a personal invitation. For eight years prior to that, movement between the two countries had been unlimited, not even requiring a visa.

On November 20, 1980, as a way of limiting travel between Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Czechoslovak authorities imposed a requirement that people could only change Czech money for Polish zlotys once every ninety days.

These decisions show the lengths to which the authorities in the "people's democracies" are willing to go to establish a quarantine around Poland in order to prevent the Polish "disease" from spreading to their own workers.

The Moscow summit itself, despite the benign tone of the communiqué quoted earlier, could only be interpreted as a threat of "protection by force." It is, moreover, significant that it caused quite a stir in Poland immediately after. There were reports that the Warsaw Pact leaders had given the PUWP until the beginning of February to show that it could regain control over the situation.

This kind of psychological warfare is typical of the methods that the Soviets have been using for more than six months—blowing hot and cold, alternating declarations of friendship with threats and political or economic pressures.

We should note that the summit declaration was unanimous. It was agreed to by all the Warsaw pact countries, including Romania, which had not attended a summit of this kind since 1968, and by Hungary, whose positions on the Polish situation differ somewhat from those of its neighboring states.

Searching for the 'Enemy'

"Different Communist countries have different opinions about the Polish crisis, reflecting a diversity in their historic relations and geographic proximity with that country," stated a Hungarian leader quoted in the *International Herald Tribune* on December 22, 1980.

But one of the fundamental problems they each have to face is the international character of the crisis and their inability to control the information that circulates. Therefore the leaders of the Warsaw Pact felt the need to close ranks and develop a common line for their respective parties. But this is difficult, given the different points of view put forward by the Soviet Union and Hun-

gary on what is now a very important question: the role of the unions.

The December 26, 1980, Soviet daily *Pravda* stated, for example, that "in a socialist society, there is no social basis or reason for a political confrontation between the unions and the state. As a result, the unions do not need to resort to strikes or other extreme measures to defend the interests of the working class. . . . The unions always act under the ideological and political leader-



Hungarian party chief Janos Kadar.

ship of the Communist Party and the workers parties."

In contrast, a report by Sandor Gaspar to the congress of Hungarian unions, also held in December, stated that "if the union participates, as the representative of the workers, in social power, it should not identify itself with the organizations of the state or party, nor be subordinated to these bodies."

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that at the Moscow summit, they had to reach agreement on the basis of the lowest common denominator—in this case denunciation of "antisocialist elements." And here too there are differences.

On December 8, 1980, the Soviet press agency Tass wrote that "several 'Solidarity' committees have begun a campaign to replace trade-union officials with individuals who hold firmly to antigovernmental positions. These facts, and many others, show that the counterrevolution has chosen to carry out progressive destabilization and to aggravate the political struggle."

But the Hungarian leaders, while claiming that certain forces in the West are encouraging the existence of antisocialist elements in Poland, at the same time place responsibility for the crisis on the authorities: "We are not looking for scapegoats in the other camp." This shows that even among the Warsaw Pact countries, "defense of so-

cialism" does not have the same meaning everywhere.

The Western CPs

The Polish situation, following Afghanistan, has highlighted the crisis of the Stalinist movement—and its "Eurocommunist" current—by giving more publicity than ever to the divisions within it.

The Yugoslav and Chinese Communists point an accusing finger at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which in turn criticizes the Italian Communist Party, which responds to attacks by the French Communist Party, which has just been blasted by the Chinese Communist Party.

Defense of "existing socialism" is a common theme that allows the Communist parties of the Warsaw Pact countries to maintain at least a minimal common position. But the same cannot be said of the Western CPs. While their ties to Moscow remain a decisive element of their political profile in distinguishing them from the social-democratic parties, defense of the Soviet model no longer plays the same role it did in the past.

Instead, their positions are determined largely by their relationship to the rest of the workers movement and the bourgeoisie in their own country. Mass CPs like those in Italy, Spain, and France do not determine their reaction to international events on the same basis as marginal CPs facing a ruling social-democratic party, like the Austrian CP.

The positions of the Western CPs share few common features. The small West German CP unconditionally follows the Soviet CP. The Italian CP maintains that the Polish crisis confirms its line of "Eurocommunism" and the "third road." The British CP and Swiss Party of Labor maintain embarrassed silence and restrict themselves to reprinting wire service dispatches.

Among the small Communist parties, like those in West Germany, Austria, or the United States, which remain dependent upon the Soviet Union for their very existence (especially on the material level), the West German CP distinguishes itself by the hysterical tone of its attacks against the "anti-socialist" elements. It picks up and expands upon the most virulent commentaries from East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

The Democratic Chorus

The parties that view themselves to one or another degree as part of the "Eurocommunist" current approach the question from a different angle. The Italian, Spanish, Belgian, Finnish, Swedish, British, Mexican, and Japanese CPs begin by acknowledging the undeniable economic bankruptcy of the ousted Edward Gierek leadership. They all agree that the main problem is related to the *lack of democracy*. This is a common feature of all of them.

In their battle to score points against the social democracy, many of these CPs face the problem of overcoming the "Stalinist" label, which tends to repel the mass of

workers in the Western countries and evokes visions of bureaucratic and authoritarian methods.

Many of these parties also try to play down the attacks against the "internal and external enemies," preferring to stress the past errors of the Polish leadership.

Several things are evident in the statements of these "liberal" CPs. One is the stress they place on the danger of any prolonged confrontation between the working class and the Polish bureaucracy. At each compromise they breathe a sigh of relief.

Another obvious feature of their coverage is the total absence of any perspectives regarding the forms through which workers can really take control over their affairs, whether in the East or West.

A Mexican CP communiqué in late August 1980 stated: "Far from having to be viewed as a sickness of socialism, the strikes could on the contrary consolidate the construction of a new system." But the Mexican party did not develop this point further.

All these CPs vigorously oppose any perspective of Soviet intervention. Their constant incantation is: "The Poles must solve their problems themselves." But very few report directly on the views of Solidarity members in their press, leading one to believe that none of their members has visited Poland since the August strikes began.

As a result, there is no explanation of the discussions going on in the independent unions, and no indication of the solutions that the workers themselves are putting forward. But this would be far more instructive for their readers than a series of articles commenting on developments "at the top," generally taken from the bourgeois press agencies.

While it is true that these CPs appear quite resolute on the question of Soviet intervention, the main reason is that an intervention would deal a blow to the image of the kind of socialism they claim to put for-

ward. They are more concerned with that than with the real interests of the Polish workers.

The Swedish Communist Party tends to go a little further than the others in its analyses. Acknowledging that the strike movement has a directly political dimension in addition to its economic side, *Ny Dag*, the Swedish CP daily, stated on August 20, 1980: "The workers are demanding democratization of society and greater participation in solving national affairs. These are justified demands, and the only fruitful response is the introduction of structural reforms that have both an economic and political character."

Ny Dag goes on to say that workers' participation in decision-making must not be solely restricted to production, but must also be concerned with the distribution of profits, which could only take place through "institutional forms," although the paper does not say what those forms might be.

The Spanish and Italian Communist parties have on several occasions carried super-progressive reports on the struggle of the Polish workers. The Spanish CP has gone so far as to challenge some of the traditional CP dogmas. But in doing so, these parties end up highlighting the bankruptcy of the "Eurocommunist" current. There is an immediate and obvious contradiction between the speeches in support of the Polish workers and the way these parties operate in practice in their own countries, and this contradiction can become explosive.

Carrillo's Theoretical Daring

Since the struggle in Poland began, Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo has maintained that the struggle does not stem solely from economic difficulties. It stems, he says, "perhaps also from the existence of a political system in which people do not feel that their leaders really listen to them."

'A Bureaucratic Layer Leads and Decides'

In a report to the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain in Madrid on September 8-9, 1980, Santiago Carrillo stated:

"We have always criticized the formal aspects of bourgeois democracy, but we cannot close our eyes to a reality: [in Poland] socialist democracy is basically democracy in form, democracy in the books, but nonexistent in reality. A bureaucratic layer leads and decides in the name of the working class, but without basing itself on that class. One cannot say that the working class as such has power just because those who lead are members of the Communist Party.

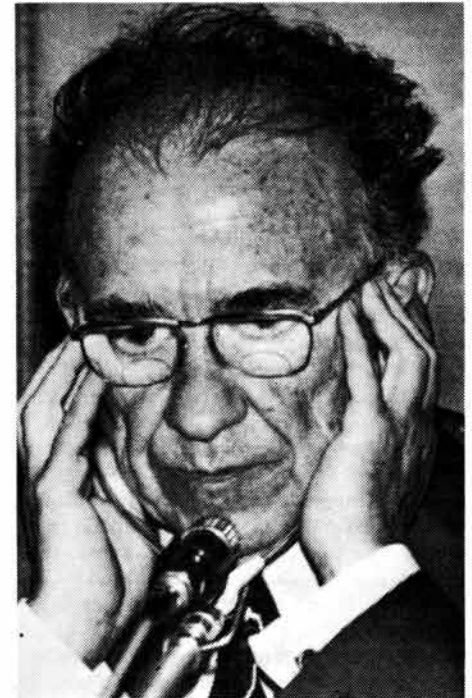
"The unions are transformed into transmission belts of the state, and I think that it is the same thing in terms of the party. The regime ends up no longer being an instrument of the party and the

unions, of the working class and the people, to lead the revolution well: A technocracy and a state bureaucracy arise that transform the party and the unions into simple gears of the state apparatus, through which it exercises its control over the working class and people. . . .

"The abolition of capitalist property, the reforms in the social sphere such as culture and health, that these systems have carried out, undoubtedly constitute great progress in the direction of socialism, but they have still not reached socialism much less the beginning of communism.

"The truth is that in these countries the worker does not feel like the real owner of the means of production. The means of production belong to the state and the worker still does not consider that state to be his own thing."

Basing himself on the views of the new PUWP leadership, Carrillo makes a very positive assessment of the Gdansk accords, and salutes in passing the moderate role the church played in this affair.



Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo.

Regarding the role of the elements accused of "antisocialism," Carrillo stated in *Mundo Obrero* on September 19, 1980: "It would be an aberration to view events of the depth and strength of those we have witnessed in Poland, or on previous occasions, as basically resulting from the enemy's activities. Above all they are the product of real contradictions, of the real and deepgoing malaise that exists among the workers."

Carrillo draws the following conclusion: "The events in Poland are confirming the Eurocommunist thesis that socialism must effectively apply, not restrict, democracy." (Statement to the press reprinted in the September 3, 1980 French daily *Le Monde*.)

He goes further, however, than these simple considerations in the *Mundo Obrero* article of September 19, 1980. [See box.] He attempts to lay out the fundamental causes that lead workers in a country dominated by collective ownership of the means of production, to nonetheless see themselves as deprived of any power on the political level. Of all the "Eurocommunists" who have dealt with this question, Carrillo is the only one, to our knowledge, to have so explicitly posed the question of the state as the central problem.

Nevertheless, several weeks later this same Santiago Carrillo reacted like a real bureaucrat against the questioning within the CP in Catalonia, which led to ousting the former (majority Eurocommunist) lead-

ership of the Catalan party congress in Barcelona.

He is the one who tried to push through a special congress—against the wishes of the new leadership of the Catalan CP [PSUC]—“so that the PSUC will regain its features and image.” His commentaries on democracy in the Eastern European countries are nothing more than words, which is what he reproaches the bureaucrats of the Eastern European countries for.

But the tensions that have begun to be expressed inside the Andalusian and Basque Communist parties—following what happened in Catalonia—and the resignation of some Andalusian leaders whose political orientation and bureaucratic methods were challenged by the ranks, shows that the members of the Communist Party in Spain are not indifferent to the consequences of the Carrillo leadership's policies, and that they are determined to dismantle that leadership in order to make their voices heard.

In this sense, the question of Poland cannot help but be a test for the various currents confronting each other within the Spanish CP.

Italian CP Threatens to Break with Moscow

The contradiction that the Spanish CP leadership finds itself in is perhaps even more evident in the case of the Italian CP, which was the first and most determined CP in stating that it would break with Moscow if the Soviets intervened militarily in Poland.

“The Italian Communist Party could not help but draw all the consequences from an outside intervention and use of force against Poland,” the CP daily *L'Unità* stated on December 10, 1980, on the occasion of Vladimir Zagladine's visit to Rome. Giorgio Napolitano stated that an intervention would have “irreparable consequences.”

The Italian CP began with a rather cautious approach to the events. Its Central Committee made an appeal to the Central Committee of the PUPW to respect the working class' freedom to organize. It later hailed the fact that the PUPW has “not condemned the strikers” and expressed hope for a rapid solution to the conflict.

But later the tone hardened and the Italian CP leadership again found itself involved in a polemic with the USSR and with the French CP, which accused it of supporting the “counterrevolutionaries.”

What did the Italian CP say that was so shocking, aside from its opposition to any intervention? It said that the Polish crisis revealed an absence of democracy not only in Poland but in all the countries of Eastern Europe. It said it supported the right of the workers to organize in independent unions, as well as their demand for the right to strike.

Other CPs had said the same things before or after. But in this case it was being said by the largest Communist Party in Western Europe. The Kremlin has to take

'We are Concerned by the Threat of Intervention'

In the August 27, 1980, issue of the Italian Communist Party daily *L'Unità*, party leader Giuseppe Boffa stated, “While a number of the problems posed are specific to Poland, one would have to be naïve and not very clear-sighted to see this as a purely Polish phenomenon. . . . This makes it necessary that the societies of Eastern Europe, their leadership mechanisms, and their methods of internal communications evolve, of course gradually, but in a real sense. This is a problem that does not date from today and that must not be forgotten.”

On August 29, two days later, the Soviet Communist Party daily *Pravda* wrote, “It should be noted that some of the statements of our Italian friends can only lead to prejudicing the atmosphere of cooperation that we spoke of in our joint communiqué of 1978.”

The next day *L'Unità* responded, “The

concerns regarding East-West tensions could not and still cannot lead us to pass over in silence certain policies of the USSR, which has underestimated the problems and difficulties of the countries of ‘existing socialism,’ which the Polish events of the last weeks show in a disquieting way.”

On December 10, an editorial in *L'Unità* declared, “We are convinced that it would be the worst form of shortsightedness to consider the pursuit and definition of a socialism that is different from the one that has been in place up to now as an attack against socialism. . . . That is why we are very concerned by the threat of military intervention. We are also concerned because we think that even the simple hypothesis of such an intervention, as it is now being discussed, is an intolerable attack on the sovereignty of Poland.”

the Italian party, and the impact of its positions, into account in the course of international relations, as it must with the positions of the French and Spanish CPs.

Furthermore, the Spanish CP—despite some slightly more daring theoretical considerations by Carrillo—was not so up front in blaming the Soviet Union. Its press has not gone so far as to publish articles favorable to the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), as the Italian CP weekly *Rinascita* did in November 1980: “Established as the Committee to Defend the Workers, the KOR later took on a more political structure, adopting a minimum program to try to develop ‘independent institutions’. . . . Today, many of its members think the time has come to change society (while respecting the political situation of the country and its socialist character) toward greater democracy

and pluralism. This is the program . . . that two young Communists, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, had put forward in their ‘Open Letter to the Polish Workers Party’ in 1964.”

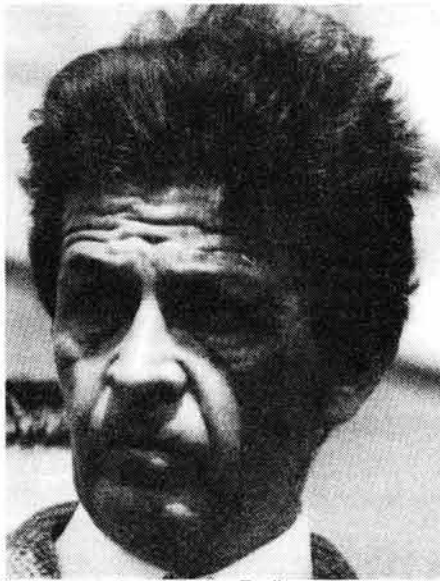
The Spanish CP has also not engaged in a direct polemic with the CPs of the Warsaw Pact on how to view the “instigators of anarchy.” In a report to the Central Committee of the Italian CP, published in *L'Unità* on December 18, 1980, Bufalini stated: “It is to be expected that the aspirations of the vast popular masses are first manifested even through tumultuous events. . . . One cannot look for an enemy of socialism in each dissident.”

Finally, when discussing the causes that led to the present crisis, the Italian CP does not just point to the usual considerations regarding the economic problems and the lack of democracy. *L'Unità* explicitly talks about the repressive policy regarding the church.

These are a number of elements that cannot please the Soviets. But one thing should reassure Moscow. That is the profoundly reformist vision and the prudent manner with which the Italian CP press approaches the question of how changes should be put into effect—by stages, without upsetting anyone.

The “Eurocommunist” line that Italian CP leader Enrico Berlinguer is so proud to find confirmed in the Polish crisis, is clearly expressed by his recommendation that the “workers movement [should] be led toward a greater economic and political co-responsibility, taking into account the difficult phase the country's economy is going through.” (*L'Unità*, December 12, 1980.)

On the other hand, while the Italian CP leadership questions the dominant monolithism in the East, it never stresses—for good reason—that the interests of the bureaucracy and those of the workers are radically contradictory. It never says that “exercising power” means—for the working class



Italian party head Enrico Berlinguer.

—exercising direct control over the economic and political decision-making on a national scale. It never indicates by what paths it is possible to move in that direction. It never lets the principals concerned, the members of Solidarity, speak for themselves.

The Italian CP press restricts itself to solemn declarations regarding the need to establish a separation between the party, the state, and the unions, without of course raising the question of self-management or workers councils.

None of this is surprising for a leadership whose entire problem in its own country is how to win acceptance for a line that advocates that the workers should take a “responsible” attitude toward the capitalist measures to deal with the economic crisis through restructuring the economy, a leadership that advocates the establishment of an authoritarian government in Italy to put an end to the “disorder.”

The Italian CP does all this while simultaneously trying to maintain its hold on the Italian workers, while guarding its image as the number one workers party, the party that “fights for democracy.”

Enrico Berlinguer’s entire policy—trying to make the Italian CP an “independent” party with regard to Moscow, his special relations with China and Yugoslavia, his flirtation with François Mitterrand and other leaders of the social-democracy—are all aimed at making the CP appear to be a credible governmental party. But they would have little weight in maintaining the cohesion of the party in the face of the earthquake that a Soviet intervention in Poland would provoke in the Italian CP and other CPs. This, in large part, explains the lack of consistency in the line adopted on the Polish question.

We should, however, note that the line put forward on Poland by CP members within the Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL) is a positive factor that should not be underestimated. This policy was expressed by the dispatch of a united trade-union delegation to Poland in late August and it made it possible to organize a united welcome for the Solidarity leaders in December in Rome.

Moreover, the position adopted by the Italian CP, along with those of the Spanish CP and other “Eurocommunist” parties, is an obstacle to Soviet intervention and, in the final analysis, works in favor of the Polish working class in that it wins them some time and lets them move ahead in organizing themselves.

But, aside from this, the Polish workers can expect little from leaders who, in their own countries, apply a line that, to say the least, does not arm the workers against their class enemy.

French CP on a Tightrope

The French Communist Party, in turn, hardly describes itself as “Eurocommunist” any longer. It would like people to think that it has different perspectives than its Italian and Spanish neighbors. The syste-

matic campaign it is waging against the French Socialist Party’s “turn to the right,” party chief Georges Marchais’s tough talk, the denunciations of “big business” (to which the CP counterposes the slogan of “let’s increase French production”), are all an attempt to give it the image of a “more revolutionary” party.

But in this regard the workers at Manufrance and other factories can testify that the CP’s line remains, as in the past, a line of class collaboration.

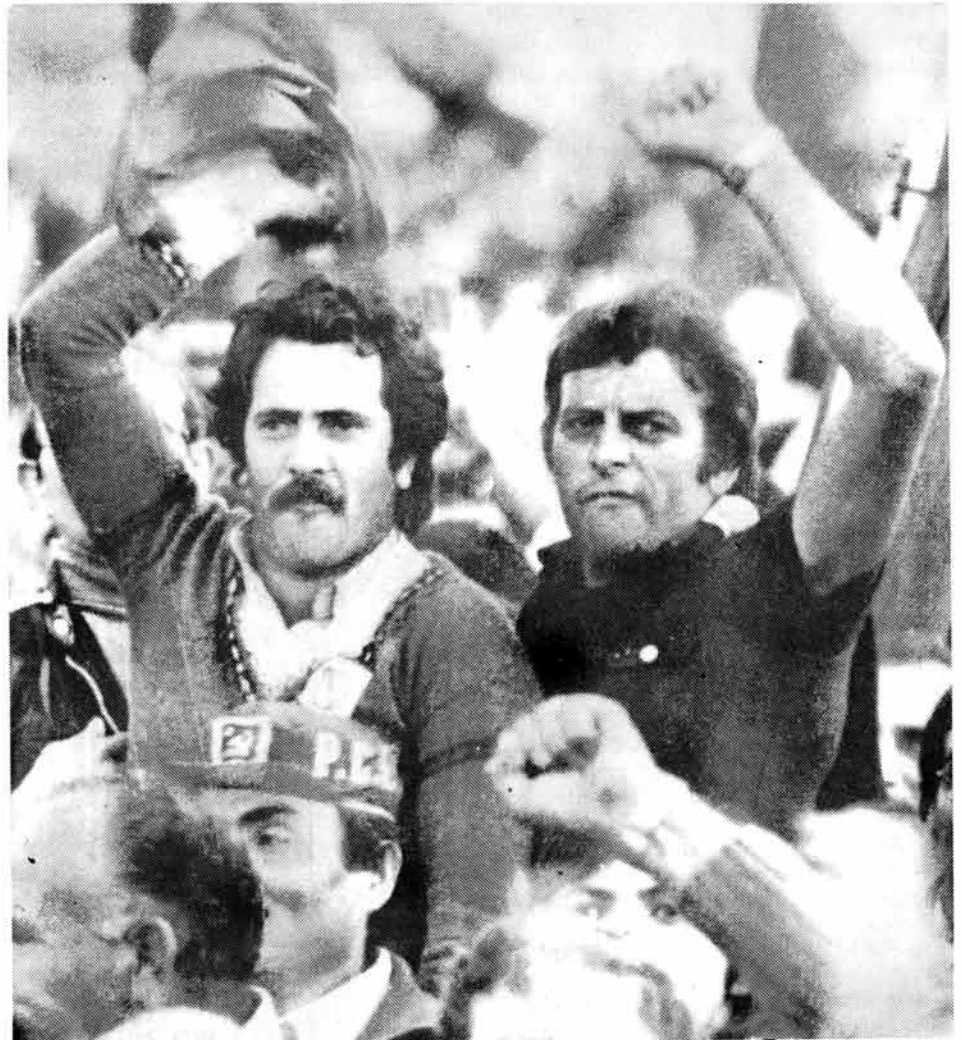
Despite these underlying similarities, Enrico Berlinguer and Georges Marchais divided on the question of Poland, as they had on Afghanistan. Not that Marchais would favor a Soviet intervention in Poland. When he is asked about this, he says he does not think it will happen and reaffirms the French CP’s position that “it is up to the Polish people, their government, the PUWP, and only them, to carry through the reforms.” He does not say whether he would oppose an intervention if one took place.

But the way in which the French CP continually refers back to the PUWP and the Soviet CP in commenting on the Polish crisis shows the close ties that Marchais wants

to maintain with the Communist parties of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Not only did the French CP daily *l’Humanité* unreservedly support Edward Giersek during the entire conflict and up to his resignation (as did the majority of the Western CPs), not only did the paper focus all its energies in that period on attacking the “antisocialists,” but three days after the Gdansk agreements we heard a leader of the French party stress in a television interview the absence of unemployment, the rise in living standards of up to 50 percent, and the opening of a dialogue without a word about the content of the agreements or the demands of the strikers.

When it had to change its coverage, after the accords, the leadership of the French CP hailed the agreement as a “victory for democracy.” Nevertheless, it remained totally silent about Solidarity for weeks, and tried to maintain the confusion between that mass organization and the so-called “new independent unions” (branch unions) put forward by the bureaucracy to try to stop the growth of Solidarity. In this regard *l’Humanité* followed the line the Polish press was putting forward during the entire



Italian CP members. Soviet intervention in Poland would rock party ranks.

month of September and into October.

This desire to minimize Solidarity's role was further seen much later in the report that three General Confederation of Labor (CGT) leaders gave about their visit to Poland in early January 1981, in which they stressed that "Solidarity is not the only trade-union force." The three union leaders, who are also CP officials, did all they could to give credence to the idea of "trade-union pluralism" by talking about the fifty-seven other unions outside of Solidarity, and claiming that the branch unions have 5 million members.

Based on the French CP's view of the "overall positive balance sheet of the Communist regimes," for all those months the party press congratulated itself that "the leading role of the party has not been challenged." Except, of course, by the "antiso-cialist elements," for whom it reserved all its venom.

In fact, *l'Humanité* loyally reproduced all the attacks against "fomenters of anarchy" and Solidarity that have appeared in the Soviet as well as the Polish press. By contrast, it has given minimal space in six months to the views of Solidarity members.

In its polemic with the Italian CP, the French party very specifically shows its desire not to be viewed as part of those who sow trouble and give credence to "the idea that there is an external threat to Poland." However, just as the Italian CP's thundering declarations against intervention barely conceal its anxiety not to break with the "home office," the French CP's professions of loyalty to the "Communist camp" barely conceal its nervousness regarding Soviet intervention.

Whatever the sectarianism the French CP has exhibited in recent months regarding other currents in the workers movements, the CP nonetheless is worried about its results in the upcoming French elections. This is seen in the indirect appeals for calm that show through the headlines of *l'Humanité's* articles on Poland, and the little tightrope act it carries out on this question.

In contrast to the Italian CP, which faces a very small social-democratic party, the French CP knows that its ability to cut into the SP's vote totals would be fundamentally undercut if it had to take responsibility for a Soviet intervention. That is why it prefers to state, against all evidence, that "they have no reason to intervene!" This is also why it avoids publicly stating what its attitude would be if there were an intervention.

In addition, although the CP leadership more or less voluntarily provoked the departure of many intellectual members, and undoubtedly even more rank-and-file members, who disagree with the positions the CP has adopted in recent months on the questions of immigration and drugs, the CP leaders are especially afraid of the ravaging effects that a Soviet intervention in Poland would have within its own ranks.

An intervention would undoubtedly increase the audience of oppositionists who



French party chief Georges Marchais under poster: "L'Humanité, the newspaper of truth and change."

are trying to prevent the CP leadership from maintaining that it expresses the views of all Communists. Although many party members could accept—even against their better judgment—the position adopted regarding Afghanistan, there is no doubt that thousands of members would quit the party if a Soviet intervention occurred and the leadership did not take a clear position in condemnation.

No matter how it was motivated, a Soviet intervention in Poland would have profound repercussions within the ranks of CPs in the East and the West.

It would have major repercussions within the CPs of the Warsaw Pact and other "socialist" countries, because they undoubtedly would be confronted with movements of solidarity with the Polish working class, which everyone expects would fiercely resist an intervention and because there is every reason to believe that an intervention would strengthen the opposition currents inside as well as outside the ruling CPs.

And the Western CPs—especially the "Eurocommunist" parties—would be affected because an intervention would wipe out

the desperate efforts that they have been making for years to reconcile the irreconcilable: remaining within the "socialist camp" and continuing to hold to peaceful coexistence without challenging the theory of "socialism in one country," while also trying to present themselves as parties that defend democracy, pluralism, "another socialism."

February 18, 1981

Africa, a continent in revolt.

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

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

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

Polish Union Wins New Concessions

By Ernest Harsch

Once again, the privileged bureaucrats who rule Poland have been forced to back down from their attacks against the workers movement.

When the police in the northern city of Bydgoszcz brutally assaulted several dozen unionists and farmer activists on March 19—sending three of them to the hospital—the government's initial response was to back up the police and deny any wrongdoing.

But then came the March 27 four-hour "warning" strike called by the ten-million-member independent union federation, Solidarity. The entire country was shut down, and Solidarity conclusively demonstrated its ability to rally the vast bulk of the Polish people behind its struggle for socialism and workers democracy.

Solidarity also warned that it would launch an indefinite general strike on March 31 if the government continued to resist making any concessions. One hour before the union deadline was to expire, the government gave in. In response, the general strike was called off.

The agreement—which was approved by a large majority of Solidarity's National Coordinating Commission—contained several points:

- The government admitted that the beatings by the police in Bydgoszcz were unjustified and agreed to punish those held responsible. It also agreed to withdraw special police units that had been sent to the city. Two deputy governors, who had played roles in calling in the police against the unionists, have tendered their resignations.

- The government pledged to stop obstructing the activities of Rural Solidarity, the 1.3-million-member independent farmers organization, which is fighting for its right to official recognition. The government also agreed to set up a special commission to draw up proposals on Rural Solidarity's demand for recognition.

- The government agreed to guarantee Solidarity's security and to set up a commission including union representatives to examine charges of police harassment and frame-up of political activists.

- The millions of workers who participated in the national strike on March 27 will receive full pay for the time they were out.

Soviet Response

In making such concessions, the Polish government placed itself at variance with Moscow, which had justified the police brutality in Bydgoszcz and had sought to

pressure the Polish authorities into carrying out a sweeping crackdown against Solidarity.

The reaction of the Soviet bureaucracy was fast in coming. Tass, the official Soviet press agency, and *Pravda*, the newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, continued running articles that slandered Solidarity and the left-wing Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), many of whose leaders play important roles in the union. At the same time, however, they also made indirect criticisms of the Polish Communist Party leadership.

On April 2—after the Polish government had acknowledged the police beating in Bydgoszcz—Tass claimed that Solidarity leader Jan Rulewski had received his injuries in a car accident.

The next day, *Pravda* printed a dispatch from Warsaw that implied strong disapproval of Polish Communist Party chief Stanislaw Kania's willingness to make concessions to Solidarity.

Combined with Moscow's repeated threats of a possible Soviet military intervention, such statements constitute a violation of the Polish people's sovereign rights.

Tactical Debates in Union

While the Soviet authorities were critical of the new Polish agreement because they thought it went too far, many Solidarity leaders thought that it did not go far enough.

Lech Walesa, a central leader of Solidarity, admitted that "not everything was fully settled, perhaps only 70 percent."

An important factor in Solidarity's decision to call off the scheduled general strike without complete agreement on all its demands was the government's threats to declare a state of emergency. "It was made clear that a general strike would have meant total confrontation including some bloodshed," Solidarity spokesperson Janusz Onyszkiewicz told a news conference April 2.

Onyszkiewicz added, however, that Solidarity was still ready to use its ultimate strike weapon if necessary and that its ten million members would be prepared for any confrontation.

How to respond to this situation has led to the emergence of tactical differences within the Solidarity leadership. Four members of the union's National Coordinating Commission voted against approval of the new accords and six abstained (against twenty-five who voted for approval). As a result of the dispute, Solidarity

press spokesperson Karol Modzelewski resigned from his position on April 1 and Anna Walentynowicz was relieved of her union post at the Gdansk shipyards.

Differences over specific demands and over how quickly to push ahead are inevitable in any mass movement such as Solidarity. When discussed democratically, they can do much to help clarify the union's course and avoid any serious tactical errors.

Since its inception, Solidarity has been an extremely democratic organization. Unlike most other institutions in Poland, its leaders are freely elected. Decisions are discussed and voted on, often with considerable participation by the rank and file.

In a major step toward keeping Solidarity's ten million members—and its millions of other supporters—informed about what is going on in the country, the union has begun to publish its own newspaper. On April 4, the first issue of *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* (Solidarity Weekly) went on sale.

Ferment Among Party Ranks

It is this example of workers democracy in action that is becoming increasingly attractive to broader sections of the population—including members of the Communist Party (more than a million of whom already belong to Solidarity).

After a stormy debate within the party Central Committee March 29-30, the top leadership was instructed to conduct a tour of factories and workplaces to meet with rank and file party members.

The PAP, Poland's official news agency, reported that the meetings were often "heated" and that one in Warsaw between Kania and party activists "at moments broke into sharp disputes." Party members, it reported, objected to the leadership's repeated use of terms like "counter-revolutionary" and "antisocialist" to describe Solidarity.

When Stefan Olszowski, the secretary of the Central Committee, arrived at a rally of miners in Katowice April 2, he was told, "You came five years too late."

Throughout the country, party leaders were confronted with demands by factory workers for democratization of the party, including the introduction of secret ballots and an unlimited number of candidates for major posts.

So far, organized groupings of rank-and-file dissidents have emerged in Gdansk, Torun, Pulawy, Radom, Poznan, Pabianice, and Lodz.

Under such pressure, party authorities have been forced to agree to the holding of a special congress of the party by July. □

You won't miss a single issue if you subscribe.