

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

combined
with **inprecor**

Vol. 19, No. 21

June 8, 1981

USA \$1.25, UK 40p



U.S. envoy Philip Habib (left) joined Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in demanding concessions from Syria.

Middle East

ISRAELI REGIME PRESSES TOWARD WAR

Hunger Strikers to Run for Irish Parliament



*Exclusive Interview
With Anna Walentynowicz*

Poland's 'Struggle for Human Dignity'

Fidel Castro's Speech on Problems of Underdevelopment

Threat of war in the Mideast

By David Frankel

For the past month the Middle East has been on the brink of war. Striking a theme that has been repeated frequently in the capitalist press, *New York Times* reporter Bernard Gwertzman assured his readers May 30 that if war does break out between Israel and Syria, it will be "a conflict that neither side wants."

Unfortunately, it is quite clear that the Israeli regime is itching to strike at Syria and at Palestinian and leftist forces in Lebanon. That is where the war danger comes from, not from any misunderstanding among those involved in the current confrontation.

The most recent indication of the Israeli stance came on May 28. Barely twenty-four hours after U.S. envoy Philip Habib had temporarily returned to Washington, Israeli warplanes struck targets in northern, central, and southern Lebanon. Palestinian sources reported that at least eighteen civilians were killed in Damur.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin claimed that the murderous raids were aimed at missile emplacements operated by Libyan troops—an attempt

to mesh gears with the campaign against the Libyan regime currently being carried out by Washington.

As if it were the most natural thing in the world for Israeli jets to be bombing Lebanon, Begin asked indignantly, "What are the Libyans doing in Lebanon at all?"

And in case Syrian President Hafez al-Assad had missed the point of his demonstration, Begin said over the Israeli Armed Forces Radio: "One thing at a time. Today we took care of the Libyan missiles. We shall see later what's next."

One week earlier, on May 21, Begin had come out with the staggering demand that not only Syrian anti-aircraft missiles in Lebanon be removed, but that *those on the Syrian side of the border as well* be taken out!

As the Syrian newspaper *Al Baath* correctly pointed out in a front-page editorial the following day, Begin's demand to dictate the character of Syria's anti-aircraft defenses "constitute[s] a declaration of war, a war that only waits for the current diplomatic efforts to be exhausted."

The current crisis burst out on April 28 when Is-

raeli fighter planes shot down two Syrian helicopters in Lebanon. In response to this provocation Assad moved anti-aircraft missiles into the Bekaa Valley, which connects central Lebanon and Syria.

But the stage for the April 28 incident had been set by a step-up in Israeli military activity in Lebanon and increased Israeli aid to rightist forces there, who were encouraged to take the offensive.

An article in the April 30 issue of *Ha'aretz*, the most influential daily in Israel, declared: "The decision to let Israel's airforce give direct support to the Christians was taken on the basis of the belief that the U.S. administration has been showing understanding for Israel's view of the negative role played by Syria in Lebanon."

The previous day an editorial in *Ha'aretz* had said, "Some people even believe that Washington wants the Syrian forces out of Lebanon. Since it has failed to achieve this by diplomatic means, our politicians seem to think that the U.S. would approve of any Israeli measures in this direction."

An indication of the kind of thinking in some sectors of the Israeli government was contained in an interview given on April 17 by Gen. Avigdor Ben-Gal, the chief of the Israeli army's Northern Command. "If it wishes to get rid of the Syrians and crush the PLO's political power in Lebanon, General Ben-Gal suggests, Israel must help the hard-pressed Christians 'take over the entire country.'" (*Jerusalem Post*, April 21, 1981.)

Our new format, and our new price

Regular readers of *Intercontinental Press* will have noticed our new format. In addition to bigger headlines and the other innovations in our layout, we have gone over to a different type face.

We on the staff think the changes make the magazine look more attractive, and we hope our readers will agree.

Changing the format of *Intercontinental Press* in this way has been made easier by the new typesetting equipment that we have acquired. Our new machinery reflects the advances in technology made over the past decade, saving considerable time—and money—in typesetting and even in layout. For example, with this equipment the parallel rules in our new headline format can be set automatically by machine. Previously, these would have had to be put down by hand, a time-consuming process.

Nevertheless, we would have kept on with our old equipment if it had been possible. The problem was that these machines had been in daily use for the past seven years and had begun to break down with alarming regularity. The costs of repair—and often the difficulty of finding the proper spare parts—convinced us that we could not put off replacing them any longer.

This brings us to the question of money.

Careful readers will have noticed that along with our new format we are introducing a new price for *IP*. The increase from \$1 to \$1.25 is not something that we take lightly.

Intercontinental Press is a publication of the workers movement, and we want to reach the broadest possible audience among our class

and its allies around the world. Unfortunately, we have no choice but to raise our price if we are to continue publication.

The expense of new typesetting equipment is only one aspect of our rising costs. Like working people the world over, we are continually losing ground to inflation.

Since the beginning of this year international postal rates have jumped by 60-80 percent. First-class postal rates within the United States have leaped 25 percent.

Paper costs are also soaring at double-digit rates, as are phone and travel costs. Just about the only expense that we can hold below the rate of inflation is the subsistence that is paid to *IP* staff members. But there is a limit to that kind of savings.

Financial difficulties have not prevented us from continuing to publish the best weekly magazine of international news and political analysis.

As our readers may have noticed, the type size in this issue is rather small. This was an error on our part, made in the process of switching over to the new type style and layout format. We did not realize this, however, until after most of the issue had already been typeset. To have redone it would have meant extra cost and a four-day delay in the printing of the issue. So we reluctantly decided to print it as it is, with the aim of adopting a larger, more readable type size next week. We apologize to our readers for any difficulties they may experience with the current issue.

Our Managua bureau continues to bring *Intercontinental Press* readers regular reports on the progress of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions, along with such exclusive features as the recent interview with Colombian revolutionist Socorro Ramirez, and reports from inside Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica.

Firsthand reports from Cuba, Grenada, and other Caribbean islands will continue to keep our readers posted on developments in this front of the world revolution, which Washington once boasted of as an "American lake."

IP is in the process of carrying the interviews, articles, and other material brought back by a team of reporters who returned from Poland in May. We intend to continue this kind of coverage of the workers revolution currently under way there.

In the same way, we will continue bringing our readers on-the-spot coverage of events such as the working-class victory in the French election, the struggle of the republican political prisoners and the oppressed Catholic population in Northern Ireland, the developing labor radicalization in the United States, and the leftward evolution of the British Labour Party.

We intend to continue publishing the kind of magazine that has earned *Intercontinental Press* a worldwide reputation for excellence.

But we cannot do it alone. We need your help.

If you appreciate *Intercontinental Press* and think a magazine of this type is needed, lend a hand by sending a contribution. Mail it to: *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West Street, New York, New York, 10014.

With Israeli elections slated for June 30, Begin has been accused of manipulating events in Lebanon in the interests of getting reelected. Although he has made some immediate gains in the Israeli public opinion polls as a result of the crisis, there is widespread opposition among Israeli working people to the idea of a war in Lebanon, and there have been protests over Begin's belligerent stance.

In any case, the Zionist generals were not merely imagining things in regard to Washington's attitude of encouraging their actions in Lebanon. On April 3 the White House reaffirmed an April 2 statement defending Israeli raids into southern Lebanon.

On April 6 U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig denounced "the brutality of the Syrian action" in Lebanon as "unacceptable."

On April 9 a congressional committee voted to cancel \$130 million in economic aid to Syria.

On April 11 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee denounced the Syrian role in Lebanon and seventeen senators urged Reagan to call for the withdrawal of Syrian troops.

It was in this context that the Israeli regime attempted to provoke a confrontation with Syria.

However, when the confrontation threatened to escalate into an all-out war, Washington intervened to slow things down. From a conjunctural point of view, the U.S. rulers did not want to be placed in a position where it would appear to the whole world that they had encouraged the outbreak of another war in the Middle East. Habib's diplomatic mission has served to obscure U.S. responsibility for the crisis.

But a deeper consideration was also at work. Although Washington does want to put pressure on the Syrian regime, and would certainly like to see it overthrown and replaced with a more right-wing government, U.S. policymakers have no way of knowing that a war would accomplish that objective.

Not even the smashing Israeli military victory of June 1967 was sufficient to overthrow the Nasser regime in Egypt and the Baathist regime in Syria, although that had been a prime objective of both Tel Aviv and Washington at the time.

Instead, the 1967 war gave rise to the radicalization of the Palestinian population and the growth of an independent Palestinian liberation movement.

Today, after the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, with the impact of the Iranian revolution in the Middle East, and with the rise of revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean, the relationship of forces is far worse for imperialism than was the case in 1967. The results of a new Middle Eastern war might be even more disappointing for Washington.

Nevertheless, the U.S. diplomatic moves are being carried out in the context of an aggressive policy in which the threat of war is an essential component.

New York Times correspondent David K. Shipler said in a May 22 dispatch from Jerusalem, "Some officials here and in Washington have expressed regret that Israel was prevented from launching an air strike against the first missiles the day after the missiles were positioned. . . ."

Following the Israeli raids on Lebanon on May 28, Shipler reported, "In Washington, the State Department said the Israeli attacks did not seem to upset the diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis over the Syrian missiles in eastern Lebanon."

Under the circumstances, this was practically an

explicit endorsement of the raids. It did not even include *pro forma* regrets over the loss of civilian life.

Finally, Washington has endorsed the diplomatic formula used by Begin to cloak his war moves. This is the demand for the return to the "status quo ante" in Lebanon.

"Status quo ante, I tell you, is not only removal of the missiles," Begin declared May 21. At that time he demanded the removal of the Syrian missiles in Lebanon and those on the Syrian side of the border as well, and the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Zahle and Mt. Sannin in central Lebanon, which would establish Israeli-backed rightist forces in effective control there.

On May 27 a top State Department official summed up Washington's position by saying: "Our effort has been first and foremost to quiet the situation down to permit the parties to return to the status quo ante of the situation that prevailed from 1976 until recently."

With Habib back in Washington, there is currently a lull in diplomatic activity. Begin is using the time to make sure of his southern flank. He has scheduled a June 4 meeting with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, who has already declared that he will not turn back from the Camp David accords "under any circumstances."

The current Mideast crisis has once again highlighted three basic elements of politics in the area. First is that the Camp David accords work to free the Zionist regime for military moves against Lebanon and Syria, and thus serve to promote war, not peace, in the Middle East.

Second is that the Israeli regime continues to see war as the only way out of its economic and social crisis, and it is actively seeking to provoke a war with Syria.

Third is that this basic course—although not necessarily its implementation at any particular point—is supported by Washington, which provides the economic, military, and diplomatic means for Begin's provocations. □

In This Issue

Closing News Date: June 1, 1981

FEATURES	614	The OCI and Nicaragua—by Robert Dees and Fred Murphy
IRELAND	604	Nine Prisoners Run for Parliament in South—by Will Reissner
LAOS	605	U.S. Admits Military Raids—by Fred Feldman
POLAND	606	Interview With Anna Walentynowicz
SPAIN	609	Juan Andrade Dies—by Jaime Pastor
USA	610	Socialist Suit Exposes Attacks on Democratic Rights—by Tom Martin
	611	Trial Challenges Dissent Gags—by Tom Martin
	612	Reign of Terror in Atlanta—by Maceo Dixon
NETHERLANDS	624	Elections a Blow to NATO Missile Plan—by Will Reissner
JAPAN	624	Protests Against U.S. Nuclear Arms
DOCUMENTS	618	Fidel Castro's Speech to Congress of Third World Economists
NEWS ANALYSIS	602	Threat of War in Middle East—by David Frankel

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.

H-Block election campaign

Nine prisoners run for parliament in South

By Will Reissner

The June 11 parliamentary elections in the formally independent twenty-six counties of Ireland offer a big opportunity for supporters of the republican hunger strikers in Northern Ireland to force the issue of the hunger strike into the political life of the Irish Republic. Nine republican prisoners, including four hunger strikers, will run in the June 11 elections.

Because the Irish constitution does not recognize the British-imposed partition of Ireland, residents of the British-ruled six counties of Northern Ireland have full rights to Irish citizenship, which includes the right to run in elections in the South.

In recent months H-Block hunger strikers and their supporters have scored several impressive electoral victories. The election of Bobby Sands to the British Parliament from Fermanagh/South Tyrone on April 10, after six weeks of his fast, con-

clusively demonstrated the support the hunger strikers have in the nationalist population of the North.

Sands's victory also forced the issues of the hunger strike onto the front pages of newspapers around the world, and undercut support for British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's hard-line refusal to yield on any of the demands of the prisoners.

Electoral gains in North

On May 20, activists supporting the H-Block prisoners scored some important victories in the local government elections in the six counties of Northern Ireland. H-Block activists won wherever they ran for election against the reformist and proimperialist Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP), which has been the traditional electoral vehicle of the Catholic population of the North.

Who are the hunger strikers?

Thus far four republican hunger strikers—Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreech, and Patrick O'Hara—have died in the H-Blocks of Maze Prison at Long Kesh near Belfast. Their hunger strike was carried out in support of five demands: the right to wear their own clothes; the right to refrain from prison labor; the right to free association among republican prisoners; the right to organize their own educational and recreational facilities and to receive one letter, one visit, and one parcel per week; and the right to full remission of sentences (meaning the usual time off for good behavior).

With the death of each hunger striker, another has come forward to take his place. **Joseph McDonnell**, thirty, took the place of Bobby Sands, beginning his hunger strike on May 9. McDonnell, married and the father of two children, is serving a fourteen year sentence for firearms possession. He joined the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in 1971 and was arrested with Bobby Sands in 1976.

Brendan McLaughlin, twenty-nine, who is serving a twelve year sentence for possession of firearms, replaced Francis Hughes. But on May 27, after two weeks on his hunger strike, McLaughlin called off his fast due to the development of an immediately life-threatening bleeding and perforated ulcer. He was replaced in turn by **Martin Hurson**.

Following the death of Raymond McCreech, twenty-five year old **Kieran Doherty** began his hunger strike on May 22. Doherty joined the Provisional republican movement in late 1971 and was arrested in February 1973 and interned without charges or trial in the Long Kesh concentration camp until November 1975. In August 1976 he was arrested in Bel-

fast and spent seventeen months in jail before being sentenced on January 24, 1978, to twenty-two years' imprisonment on charges of possession of firearms and explosives and hijacking a car.

As soon as he arrived in Long Kesh, Doherty joined the blanket protest, under which prisoners refuse to wear prison uniforms, preferring to remain naked and wrapped in blankets.

Patrick O'Hara's replacement is **Kevin Lynch**, twenty-five. Lynch began his hunger strike on May 23. Like O'Hara, Lynch is a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and the Irish National Liberation Army.

In 1970, Lynch joined the Irish nationalist youth organization Na Fianna Eireann, which was then associated with the Republican Clubs controlled by the "Official" IRA.

In 1972, after the "Officials" called a ceasefire and continued their development away from emphasis on the struggle for Irish national independence and reunification, Lynch broke with the "Officials." From 1973 to 1976, he lived in England, where he worked as a bricklayer and took part in the anti-internment movement.

On his return to Ireland in 1976, he joined the Irish National Liberation Army, which is linked to the IRSP. The IRSP had been formed in December 1974 out of a split in the "Official" IRA.

Lynch was arrested on December 2, 1976, and held in prison until he was sentenced to ten years on December 14, 1977. The charges against him were carrying out an armed raid, carrying out a punishment shooting, and conspiracy to disarm members of the British forces. As soon as he entered H-Block, Lynch joined the blanket protest.

The election victories significantly undercut the claim that the "moderate" SDLP really represents the nationalist population of the North. For example, Gerry Fitt, a member of the British Parliament and for twenty-three years a member of the Belfast City Council, lost his council post to Fergus O'Hare. O'Hare is one of the leaders of the H-Block campaign and is a member of People's Democracy, the Irish Trotskyist organization. Fitt, who claims his proimperialist position stems from his position as a socialist and supporter of working-class unity in the North, campaigned on the slogan that a vote for him was a "vote against the gunmen."

Members of the Irish Independence Party and Irish Republican Socialist Party, as well as nonaffiliated H-Block activists, were also elected to local council seats.

The H-Block prisoners plan to use the elections in the South to force the issue of the hunger strikers to the fore. Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey of the Fianna Fáil party, traditionally the more nationalist of the two leading bourgeois parties in Ireland, has been unwilling to take an explicit position in favor of the five demands of the hunger strikers.

Instead, Haughey has made much of his supposed special relationship with British Prime Minister Thatcher, claiming this could lead to progress on the reunification of Ireland. Last December, Thatcher and Haughey met in Dublin to establish a joint Irish-British commission of civil servants to discuss such questions as border security, joint electoral grids, and the establishment of an Anglo-Irish council made up of members of the parliaments of each country.

The start of the hunger strikes in the North has been a great embarrassment to Haughey. The elections are taking place at a time of severe economic problems in the South, for which Haughey is being blamed by the opposition Fine Gael party led by Garret Fitzgerald.

Haughey had hoped to be able to undercut the economic issues by playing up his nationalist credentials to win votes. But the hunger strike has made the national question concrete.

The election campaign of the nine nationalist prisoners will try to force Haughey and his Fianna Fáil party to take a concrete position in support of the demands of the hunger strike and to force the prime minister to directly press Thatcher to grant those demands. The campaign also provides the H-Block movement with the chance to directly appeal to the ranks of Fianna Fáil and the entire population of the South to become more directly involved in the support for the hunger strikers.

Impact in Britain

Within Britain, the impact of the hunger strikes is beginning to make a dent in the traditional bipartisan policy of the Conservative Party and Labour Party with regard to Northern Ireland. Tony Benn, the leader of the left wing of the Labour Party, has called for an end to the British occupation of the North and for concessions on the status of the republican prisoners.

Merlyn Rees, who was the secretary for Northern Ireland under the Labour government of James Callaghan, stated on May 17 that Britain should reconsider its formal guarantee that the six counties of Northern Ireland would remain part of the United Kingdom as long as the majority of the population of that rump state wanted to preserve those

links. Significantly, Rees was responsible for ending the special political status that republican prisoners in Northern Ireland had until 1976.

Even David Owen, a leader of the right-wing split from the Labour Party that formed the Social Democratic Party, has called for an international conference to solve the status of Northern Ireland. Although Owen's proposal includes guarantees for British imperialist economic and military interests in Northern Ireland, and has no chance of solving the question, the fact that he made this proposal reflects the growing opposition to Thatcher's hard line among the British people.

On June 13 there will be a national demonstration in support of the demands of the hunger strikers in London.

The radicalization of the Catholic population of Northern Ireland, and the increasing involvement of people in the South in the struggle of the hunger

strikers, has clearly worried some of the more far-sighted proimperialist forces in the North. For example, Andy Tyrie, a leader of the paramilitary Ulster Defence Association, called on the Thatcher government to concede special status to the republican prisoners. Fearing that the involvement of the workers and farmers of the South will grow to the point that British rule in the North becomes untenable, Tyrie argued that since "there are special courts and special legislation" to deal with the republican prisoners, "why can't there be special prisoners?"

At present there are still more than 300 republican "special status prisoners" in Northern Ireland. These are prisoners who were incarcerated before the end of special status in 1976, and they continue to have the rights that the hunger strikers are demanding for all the republican prisoners. □

right to launch military operations in Laos, supposedly to search for MIAs. Deputy Secretary of Defense Catto pledged to do "whatever is appropriate" to put "an end to any captivity" of Americans in Indochina.

Ann Griffiths, president of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Action, suggested that failure of the raid to turn up any evidence of prisoners showed the need for more such actions. After all, she asserted, it "didn't rule out the existence of American prisoners of war in other areas."

The National League of Families works in tandem with the U.S. government's Interagency Task Force on POW-MIAs, "which includes members of the State Department, the White House staff, congressional staff, and the Department of Defense," according to the May 21 *Washington Post*.

Since the end of the war, this propaganda machine has ground out stories on 2,500 Americans whom the government claims are unaccounted for in Indochina. Cooperating closely with Washington, a few right-wing Vietnamese exiles have tried to give credibility to denunciations of Vietnam and Laos on this issue.

But even the Pentagon apparently gives little credence to the claims. All but twelve of the 2,500 have been officially classified as "presumed dead."

The aim of the propaganda is to turn the anger, bitterness, and sorrow caused by U.S. casualties in Indochina against the Vietnamese and Laotian peoples, rather than against the U.S. government that compelled Americans to fight there.

Much is made of the fact that Laos has not accounted for the body of every pilot reportedly shot down over its forests, jungles, and mountains. The demand is unrealistic—and Washington knows it.

Laos, a nation of 3.2 million people, was the target of a secret war launched by the U.S. government through the Central Intelligence Agency. Up to 1973, more than 3 million tons of bombs were dropped on the country. Its subsistence agriculture was shattered. Untold thousands of people were killed, and hundreds of thousands were driven into overcrowded cities.

In addition, the CIA organized and led mercenary armies against Pathet Lao forces who were fighting for national independence. About 30,000 troops from neighboring Thailand helped Washington occupy Laos.

The undercover character of the U.S. war in Laos adds to the difficulties in accounting for each U.S. casualty.

Laos is extremely poor (average per capita income is less than ninety dollars per year). It has no railroad and few modern roads. Means of communication are primitive in many areas. It is divided into forty-two ethnic groups speaking at least five languages.

With the victory of the liberation forces, U.S. aid—on which most of the urban population had become dependent—was completely cut off, producing a virtual collapse of the economy in the cities.

The new government has had its hands full since then trying to rebuild agriculture, expand industry, slash illiteracy, and build a united nation. In the face of Washington's continued hostility, some progress has been made.

It is not Laos that owes an accounting to the U.S. government, but the U.S. government which owes reparations to Laos for its brutal war against a small, underdeveloped country. □

Laos

U.S. admits military raids

New pressure on Indochinese revolutions

By Fred Feldman

[The following article appeared in the June 5 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

Reagan administration sources have acknowledged that the U.S. government has carried out military raids against Laos. The attacks were launched on the pretext that the Laotians may be holding hundreds of U.S. personnel (described as "missing in action" or MIAs) as prisoners.

The first attack was reportedly intercepted by Laotian troops and a firefight resulted, according to a *New York Post* quotation from an Associated Press dispatch. There was no confirmation of casualties on either side. There were no reports of fighting during a subsequent raid.

No evidence exists that the Laotians or Vietnamese are holding U.S. citizens—and the raids produced none. No trace of American prisoners was found in the Laotian base targeted by the invasion force. Even Deputy Secretary of Defense Henry Catto, Jr., conceded, "We have found absolutely no credible evidence . . . that there are any Americans being held."

The Laotian and Vietnamese governments say they released the prisoners of war in the aftermath of the 1973 peace agreements.

Their statements have gone unmentioned in the stepped-up media coverage about MIAs following the raids.

The invaders were mercenaries. Some were probably Laotian exiles, veterans of a mercenary army organized by the CIA during the Indochina war.

It was strongly hinted that American citizens also participated in the raids, which were financed, organized, and directed by the CIA.

U.S. military probes against Laos have nothing to do with the MIA issue. Washington is seeking to step up military, economic, and diplomatic pressure against Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea.



The violations of Laotian territory come when Washington is trying to forge a united front, based on the murderous army headed by ousted dictator Pol Pot, against the Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea.

Simultaneous with the raids, Peking is stepping up military activity along the Vietnamese and Laotian borders.

Washington is also seeking to block food shipments to Vietnam, at a time when the country faces the danger of massive malnutrition.

U.S. officials are using the attacks to assert the

'A struggle for human dignity'

Interview with Gdansk workers' leader Anna Walentynowicz

[The following are excerpts from an interview with Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing precipitated the Gdansk strike of August 1980 and who is now a national leader of the independent trade union Solidarity. Contrary to earlier reports in the international press, Walentynowicz was still a member of the Presidium of the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) based in Gdansk.

[The interview was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* at the end of April by DeAnn Rathbun and George Saunders. Two of Walentynowicz's co-workers, Jerzy and Maciej, pipefitters from her department of the Gdansk shipyard, took part in the interview. The translation was made at the time by a Polish student, a member of the Independent Student Union (NZS), who acted as interpreter.]

* * *

Question. Could you tell us your experiences working with the committee trying to establish the "Free Trade Unions of the Coast" in the years before the August 1980 strike?

Walentynowicz. With pleasure. The organization we called the Free Trade Unions of the Coast was formed on April 30, 1978. I heard about it on Radio Free Europe. (Laughter) It's unfortunate that I had to learn from so far away what was going on close by.

I didn't know the organizers of this group, and they didn't know me. But I kept trying to contact them. People didn't trust each other. It took me until June to get in touch with them.

The committee was founded by three persons: Andrzej Gwiazda and two others. [Gwiazda is now national vice-president of Solidarity.] One of the others was a secret police agent, but we didn't know that then. How this group survived we still wonder today. Of course there were some members of our group, and workers who collaborated with us, whose names were not made public. But we did publish many of our names and addresses and tried to assert our right to exist openly and legally.

We had constant difficulties, were constantly harassed by the authorities. Over the course of two years we were able to put out only eight issues of our paper *Robotnik Wybrzeza* [Coastal Worker].¹

The police would search our homes and confiscate not only published issues but also typewriters, typing paper, even ballpoint pens. In their reports they listed these as "criminal evidence." And they used other methods to harass us, such as temporary arrest for forty-eight hours.²

1. The Baltic Coast has had a tradition of workers' struggles since the revolts of 1970 in the port cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin, and Elblag.

2. Under Polish law, people can be detained for up to forty-eight hours without charges being filed. The police have used this to interfere with oppositional activity, while avoiding the publicity and embarrassment of public trials.



ANNA WALENTYNOWICZ

DeAnn Rathbun/Militant

Also they used to spread gossip about us. For example, that I was an alcoholic. And they tried to turn us against one another. They told me that Gwiazda was an intellectual—he was an engineer—who only wanted to use me, a simple worker, to do his dirty work for him.

Later they began to have people fired from their jobs. But we continued with our activities, and our influence began to grow. So the authorities transferred me out of the shipyard to another factory, illegally, and kept me there for three months. There was a difference between what I had been earning and what I was paid at the new place. The shipyard was supposed to make up the difference, but they wouldn't let me into the yard to collect my pay.

Finally they had to let me come back to the shipyard. When I came back, I tried to give every worker in the yard a leaflet telling about my case. They began searching me at the entrance to prevent me bringing in literature. The pretext for searching me was that supposedly I was "bringing alcohol" into the shipyard.

One day I managed to smuggle through some copies of *Robotnik Wybrzeza*, with our explanation of some changes in the work and payment system. I was fined for "disrupting work." My co-worker will tell how it happened:

Jerzy. First of all, she didn't hand out leaflets during work time. It was during the breakfast break. In every department of the shipyard there is a room where soup is served to the workers. We were all in this room when "Pani Anna" ["Mrs. Anna," as her fellow workers affectionately call her] came in and gave us leaflets. Then the manager of the department and the party first secretary of the department came in, and people started to hide the leaflets.

But Pani Anna stood up and said, "It's not a secret." She gave copies to the manager and the first secretary. After a while they left, and the rest of us took leaflets back to our work areas with us, because not everyone had come to breakfast.

Walentynowicz. After I was fined I appealed to the workers for support, but they didn't act because they were afraid. They thought that if someone is punished, there is nothing you can do about it. But I knew it was against the law, because our Free Trade Unions group had a legal adviser, a doctor of labor law, who is a great man; he is still our adviser. He helped me write an appeal. And everybody was very surprised, because I won in court. I was paid damages. The court document stating this was put up on the wall of every department of the shipyard by my friends.

We did this for a simple reason, to encourage people not to surrender their rights. The only reason the bosses were able to frighten and punish us was because we resigned ourselves, wouldn't fight back or appeal our cases. We were afraid and didn't see any possibility of winning. This democracy takes such a long time, and the workers didn't want to waste so much time. They would just resign themselves.

Still they continued with their reprisals against me. Sometimes they would lock me in the cloakroom at the main entrance to the shipyard for two or three hours. So that they could say I was late for work and punish me. This happened several times.

When they did this I started to shout as loud as I could to tell the manager of my department that I was being held there, that I was not late. This shouting was our mass media. When we had no leaflets, that was our mass media. (Laughter)

So they parked a truck next to the window, so that when I would yell no one could tell where the voice was coming from.

Another way they harassed me was to turn off the crane that I was operating. I had to stop work and climb down from the crane to find out what was wrong, and they used that as a pretext for charging me with leaving my work station. This happened many times. Such reprisals were intensified especially before each anniversary of the December 1970 events, which we always commemorated.

But every time I was fired, I fought in court and was reinstated. I had six trials. The judge was surprised that these cases kept coming to court, because the management had no legal basis for its actions. Later I learned that the judge was also surprised to see so many people coming to the trial, and so many police as well.

At one trial we appealed to the judge to guarantee our right to return to our homes from the court without interference, because the police used to arrest us as we left the court building. That was when the judge learned why there were so many police at the trial.

At the end of July 1980 I came to the shipyard

with the judge's ruling in my hands, against the manager. Still they wouldn't let me return to work. And for a whole week it was the same situation as before. After talks with the manager of the department and officials in the personnel and shipyard security offices I went to the general manager of the shipyard. After a two-hour discussion, he declared he did not have to honor the judge's ruling. I said I would then file suit against him.

But I felt so tired, mentally and physically, that I took a six-day medical leave with a doctor's permission. The manager tried to fire me for disciplinary reasons while I was on medical leave, although that was against the law.

The only way out of this constant harassment was to appeal to the workers at the yard. I had a meeting with the other members of the Free Trade Unions group, and we decided to issue a leaflet telling who I am, how long I had been working, how many trials I had won, why I had been fired, and what the manager was now saying. The leaflet also stated that the only thing I could count on was the support of my fellow workers. Bogdan Borusewicz, the only representative of the KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] on the coast, managed to hide himself from the police—I don't know where; I think in some cellar—and printed several thousand leaflets. Our friends handed out these leaflets on August 14, and that was the day the Gdansk shipyard strike began.

Jerzy. When we got these leaflets we started a lot of noise and commotion right away. A number of people gathered . . .

Walentynowicz. These were people who collaborated with the Free Trade Unions committee.

Jerzy. This first group, of about a hundred people, marched through the shipyard to the department, then to the main gate, where we demanded that Pani Anna be brought to the yard. It was a really beautiful action on the part of the workers. Just before she was brought to the yard, there was a meeting with the general manager and the first secretary of the party organization of the shipyard. There was an excavator which was used for people to stand on and speak.

Maciej. When the general manager got up on this excavator to speak—it was about nine o'clock in the morning; work starts at six—Walesa appeared on the excavator. Just the moment before, the manager had asked, "Who is leading this strike?" And Walesa appeared on the excavator and announced: "I will lead this strike." (Laughter) And he went into the manager's office to begin negotiations.

About this time there was great noise and cheering because Mrs. Walentynowicz was brought into the yard. The manager had sent a car for her, and greeted her with flowers . . .

Walentynowicz. I didn't know about all this, because I wasn't in the shipyard.

But I would like to tell about one other thing. That is, the first strike my friends organized in my defense. On January 31, 1980. It was during one of the times when I was removed from the shipyard. This was a purely "political" strike. The only demand was that I be left alone. It was a very short strike, about three hours, involving eighty persons from one department.

Now about my experience of returning to the

shipyard. When I learned that the manager had sent a car for me . . .

Q. You were at home?

Walentynowicz. No. I was hiding. To avoid arrest by the secret police, who kept me under surveillance. I was at the medical clinic of the shipyard, which is outside the gates, when I heard that the strike had begun. I went to the window in the third floor hallway and saw that the cranes were not moving. Alina Pienkowska [a nurse at the clinic and a leading activist of the Free Trade Unions group] and I locked ourselves in the ladies' room; we thought probably a strike had started and the secret police would try to seize us.

After a while—because it was very quiet, and there was no one in the clinic corridors—I tried to call my department in the yard to find out what was going on, but it was impossible; telephone communications had been cut off.

I ran downstairs to try to use the clinic switchboard, but the operator was afraid of trouble and asked where I wanted to call. I said "Warsaw." And she said, "I can't. They're watching all phone calls. They'll fire me. You know, there's a strike on."

I went outside, to try to make a call to Warsaw, and there I saw two familiar men from the secret police getting out of a car. I understood that I couldn't make any phone call, because they were coming for me. I hopped onto a street car and went to the part of Gdansk where I live. By now there were four secret policemen following me. I went into a shop, as though to do some shopping, but really hoping to be able to call Warsaw from the store. But they were too close behind me. So I ran across the street against traffic and rushed into a friend's house. From there I could see there were now six plainclothesmen standing outside the house, looking around nervously.

When the car from the shipyard arrived at my home, my friends there—who knew my usual hiding places—after they had made sure that it wasn't a trick, sent the car to where I was. And of course I went to the shipyard.

Why was I hiding? I was not afraid of being arrested for forty-eight hours. That was not a new thing for me. This kind of arrest had a good side to it as well; it gave us a chance to catch up on our sleep. (Laughter)

But this time I couldn't let them take me. Because the manager could say, "Well, you are striking for her to come back, but she doesn't come."

And that was the beginning of the Gdansk shipyard revolution of August 14, 1980.

I would like to say one other thing. When I was fired for disciplinary reasons, under Article 52, I had worked at the shipyard for nearly thirty years, and I had been given medals for exemplary work in the shipyard. And when I was given notice of being fired, the official from the personnel office said, "Do you know why you were fired? They were afraid you would make a revolution." And I said, "There will be a revolution." But I didn't know how it would come about.

Now about the strike itself. After I returned to the shipyard and joined the negotiating committee, it turned out that the manager really didn't want to come to an agreement with us. The first day there were two demands: return Walentynowicz to work and increase the pay of all workers at the yard one thousand zlotys a month. The next day our de-

mands grew: return Walentynowicz to work; return Walesa to work; and raise the monthly pay by two thousand zlotys.

The manager tried to impose certain conditions. He would agree to our demands if I would state in writing that I would retire on pension at my own request in January 1981. And he would give me a higher salary. But the shipyard said no.

On the third day of the strike there was a very short talk. "Manager, without any conditions, will you fulfill our demands or not?" He said, "But yesterday we made an agreement." And we said, "Yesterday was yesterday. Now we are tired and hungry. Our demands are within your power to grant. It is a question of your goodwill." My friends made sure I was put back to work in my regular department without any conditions. The manager made an agreement with the first secretary of the party at the shipyard. He said he had nothing against the "very nice and very pleasant Mrs. Walentynowicz."

Walesa was also allowed to come back, and the agreement was signed. This was on Saturday, August 16. The manager won one concession. The monthly raise was reduced from 2,000 to 1,500 zlotys. So the strike was over. The Polish national anthem was sung. The manager went to his office.

But as we were leaving the hall a large group of my fellow workers were waiting for me, and one of them said, "What have you done? You have fulfilled your private demands, that's all. Do you know why the manager agreed to your demands? Because the other factories of the seacoast are on strike." But we hadn't known.

Alina Pienkowska and I went running back to the hall to declare a solidarity strike, but the microphones were off. The shipyard loudspeakers were announcing that the strike was over and that everyone had to leave the shipyard by six p.m. The gates were open and people were leaving.

So Alina and I went running to the main gate. And I began appealing to them to declare a solidarity strike, because the only reason the manager had met our demands was that the other factories were on strike. I said that if the workers at these other factories were defeated, we would not be safe either. And the other strikers wouldn't forgive us for treating them that way. But somebody challenged me. "On whose authority are you declaring a strike? I'm tired. I want to go home."

I too was tired. And I started to cry, like a woman.

Now Alina is very small, a tiny person, but full of initiative. She stood up on a barrel and began to appeal to those who were leaving. "We have to help the others with their strikes, because they have helped us. We have to defend them. We have to guarantee their security and ours." Somebody from the crowd said, "She's right!" The gate was closed. Success. Happiness.

We went running to the next gate. There are three. The same thing happened at the second gate. Some young people organized a microphone and an amplifier. Then Walesa joined us. It had not been appropriate for him to call for a solidarity strike, because five or ten minutes before, he had announced that our strike was over. Now that the first two gates were closed, we went together and closed the third.

But out of 16,000 workers, maybe only 6,000 remained. We tried to make contact with other shipyards. About the time we did, I saw the general manager leaving in a motorboat. I made an an-

nouncement on one microphone near the gate. I told the workers' defense guard that the manager had left and that now we were the masters of the shipyard. We were responsible for it and had to keep the yard and its equipment in good order. A young woman began organizing the security service, signing people up.

A group of us then went to the neighboring shipyard. The workers there had welded their gates shut. They had heard that our strike was called off. They said, "We won't join with you because you are strikebreakers." We explained to them what had happened, but the local television was telling the public in the Gdansk region that the strike was over.

The only way to inform people about the situation was to hold a mass in the shipyard area. On Sunday morning, August 17, at nine o'clock, the mass was held. Many workers came with their families from all over the three-city region—Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot—so that the information was spread very quickly over the whole area.

And on Monday, the next day, we already had our twenty-one demands.³ Representatives of striking plants from all three cities came to the shipyard with statements that the workforces at their plants had declared solidarity strikes and were sending their demands to us. And people started collecting money.

Even on Saturday the 16th the demand for a monument to the workers killed in 1970 was added. On Saturday evening when the decision to hold a mass at the shipyard was made, a former navy officer arranged to have a big wooden cross made. It was put on the gate. After the mass, it was carried as part of a demonstration to an already prepared foundation. We considered it a step toward the future monument to the murdered workers [which was erected in December 1980].

The monument was made entirely by shipyard workers, from the original design through to the end. There were many difficulties, and they worked under very bad conditions, but the monument was erected exactly on the tenth anniversary of the 1970 events.

Q. Could you tell about the strike's further development and what the conditions have been since the strike?

Walentyowicz. Well, I was in the middle of events all the time. And I was the starting point. People would say to me, "You are a real revolutionary." Others would say, "You are a true proletarian." But the truth is that I was just the drop that filled the cup of national bitterness to overflowing. I was the spark that set off the explosion.

Because probably there wouldn't have been a strike if it was simply a question of economic problems. The main cause of the strike was the struggle for human dignity, which was being trampled on. There was no air to breathe. It was impossible to live.

During the long eighteen days of the strike we heard many reports—that Russian tanks were about to invade Poland, that Russian navy ships



Memorial for victims of 1970 massacre.

were approaching, and so on. And in fact there were about six Soviet ships nearby. Before the government agreed to send a commission to negotiate, we got information that there would be a paratroop landing in the shipyard. We have proof that it was being planned, because local prisons were evacuated and a special surgical hospital was evacuated.

But we kept one thing in mind: It is better to die standing than to live on our knees.

We sent two messages calling on the government to negotiate. A government representative came and suggested we send a delegation to the provincial offices to negotiate. But we didn't agree with that idea. We sent delegations there, but not for real negotiations, just to find out what the government's attitude was. Finally, as you know, [Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw] Jagielski came to the shipyard and real negotiations started.

My friends here would like me to emphasize that during the strike there was great order in the yard. People were very disciplined. Despite the fact that we could not communicate with the outside world. And did not know what tomorrow would bring. Every one of our representatives who went out of the shipyard was arrested; even first aid cars were searched. But we didn't let ourselves be provoked. The activity of the workers' security guard was one of the key things making it possible for the strike to end as a success.

I do want to say, though, that during the negotiations we lost some things. Certain demands were dropped. And since then certain gains have been eroded. Or some demands agreed to have not been honored. In spite of the fact that we are registered, we are not yet accepted.

Maciej. One thing you should understand, that made the people join together, was the church services, because most Poles are Roman Catholic. It made us united.

Q. Were services held every day?

Maciej. Every day at five o'clock prayers were held, and masses on Sundays. Of course the prayers always ended with the national anthem and a song that we might translate as "God Bless Poland," a national-religious song from the seventeenth century, which every Pole knows.

Another thing. When the government commission arrived in their bus at the gate, they didn't want to get out of the bus. Because they had to walk through two lines of workers. So the next time they came by way of the second gate.

Walentyowicz. Now I would like to say something about the official cheating that has gone on since the August strike. Every year since the workers were murdered in December 1970 there were people who tried to honor their memory, to put flowers on their graves, and we were always arrested. And on the tenth anniversary our group wanted to put flowers and light candles now that a monument had finally been erected. But we were not allowed to do that. The head of the province and the first secretary of the local party committee placed flowers and lit candles. There were flowers from Solidarity in general and from the families of the victims, but not from the group that had always honored their memory.

Maciej. They wanted to change the name of the monument. Mrs. Anna was the first person to oppose that, supported by others.

Walentyowicz. They wanted to call it monument of unification. We didn't know what that would mean. Who was to be united with whom? You have to know that in Gdansk three shipyard workers were killed near the gate, and in Gdynia there was a general massacre. And no one has been punished for that.

Jerzy. I'll tell you one thing that is important. You should know how they tried to cover up the killings in 1970. The families of the workers who were killed were paid to try to keep them quiet. If someone was killed, 20,000 zlotys; wounded, 3,000; beaten, 1,000.

We still don't know exactly how many were killed. We are still trying to find out. They were buried secretly during the night. I myself saw the indiscriminate shooting that was going on in Gdynia. Our strike in Gdansk ended at about 4 a.m. I was on my way home. I live near the Gdynia shipyard, and I saw the first shootings.

I was on a pedestrian overpass over the railroad tracks, and down below were police and soldiers. Over a loudspeaker someone, probably the officer in charge, told people to come down off the overpass. Immediately there was a shot and the woman right in front of me fell. There were more shots, so I ran down off the overpass and away from the shooting along the railroad tracks. I must have run for two kilometers. And all the time there were

3. The twenty-one demands were presented to the government by the Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) representing plants of the whole region. The MKS was based at the Gdansk shipyard. The text of the twenty-one demands were published in *Intercontinental Press*, September 8, 1980, p. 909.

bullets flying around me and ricocheting from the cement buttresses.

Walentyowicz. To this day we don't know how many people were killed in December 1970. It was between 200 and 900. Officially it was stated that only twenty-eight people were killed, including one policeman. The government wanted to put twenty-eight names on a black plaque on the monument. Including the policeman. But the shipyard workers didn't want the policeman's name on this plaque. So there was a compromise. No names at all.

In December 1970 people were buried at night, after curfew. We know drivers whose trucks carried the bodies. They were not allowed to drive into the Gdynia cemetery frontwards, with their headlights on. They were told to back in, and weren't allowed to get out of their cabs. They could tell there were several coffins in the back of the truck, but they couldn't tell exactly how many.

There were secret mass graves. We have checked the hospital archives, and we often find the note "NN," meaning "unknown." Another surprising thing is that many deaths in December are listed as caused by "drowning."

To cover up these crimes, they not only paid money to the families of the victims. They also provided widows with well-paid jobs and allowances for the children. And if necessary, they would provide them with a new place to live. The only condition was that they agree to list a different time of death and cause of death. That is why we still don't have an accurate list of the victims. Some people were afraid, and accepted these terms, and are still afraid to tell about it.

Q. Are the three crosses of the monument for the three workers who were killed near the gate of the Gdansk shipyard?

Walentyowicz. No. They symbolize the three workers' rebellions, the three crucified and unfulfilled hopes. 1956, 1970, 1976. The anchor on each cross symbolizes hope. Because everybody knows that strikes do not always end with success. The monument is very tall because it is a cry to heaven of the people's bitterness. And at the base of the three crosses, in the middle, is a fire symbolizing life. □

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.

Spain

Juan Andrade, 1897-1981

Early Trotskyist and founder of POUM

By Jaime Pastor

[The following has been excerpted from an article that appeared in the May 7-14 issue of *Combate*, weekly organ of the Revolutionary Communist League, section of the Fourth International in the Spanish state. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Juan Andrade died on May Day of this year. We have lost not only an old revolutionary militant but also a comrade and friend.

From quite early on, his life was bound up with the evolution of the Spanish workers movement in this century. After passing through radicalism and socialism, Andrade was a pioneer among the new generation that was inspired by the victory of the Russian revolution and that founded the Spanish Communist Party (PCE).

Soon, however, Juan Andrade was to voice his protest at the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and the terrible consequences this had for the Third International. That brought on his expulsion from the party and led him to adhere to the International Left Opposition led by Trotsky.

When he founded the Communist Left along with Andrés Nin and an important group of former PCE militants, a new stage opened in Andrade's political struggle. It coincided with the first years of the Second Republic. There is no doubt that his activity during this period, when he edited the magazine *Comunismo*, was what he always felt most strongly identified with.

Later, Andrade was a cofounder of the POUM [Workers Party of Marxist Unification], the product of a fusion between the Communist Left and the Workers and Peasants Bloc led by Joaquín Maurín.

In the POUM, Andrade lived through and participated intensely in the Spanish Civil War. In those years there was a widening gulf between Nin and Andrade and the positions that Trotsky was upholding. But above and beyond the disagreements that arose, Andrade would always recall with sadness the bitterness of the polemic and the break with the one who had been his "master" and whom he only recently referred to as "the Old Man."

As a result of the repression unleashed in May 1937, aimed at smashing the most combative sectors of the workers movement—principally the POUM and the CNT [National Confederation of Labor]—Andrés Nin was murdered. At the same time, Andrade and other POUM leaders were put on trial by the Court of Espionage and High Treason of the Republic. They were accused of seeking "to suppress the democratic republic in order to install a regime according to their own social conceptions." That accusation had been toned down from the one pressed for by the Stalinists; they had wanted to denounce the POUMists as "direct agents of Franco." As a result of the trial, Juan Andrade was condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment.

In 1939 he escaped and went into exile in France. When France fell under Nazi occupation, he was jailed again, accused—ironically enough—of being "an agent of the Third International." He was liberated at the end of the Second World War by a partisan commando squad from the Spanish group "Libertad."

From then on he lived in Paris, collaborating with the POUM's newspaper *La Batalla* and always following with interest and concern the development of the struggle against Francoism and the appearance of a new revolutionary generation.

Along with his role as a political leader, the task that most enthused him was that of journalism. Andrade served as editor or collaborator for many Spanish periodicals during the first third of this century. He managed publishing houses such as Cénit and Hoy, and assiduously attended the Madrid Ateneo, where he participated in colloquia along with such other intellectuals of his day as Valle-Inclán, with whom Andrade enjoyed a special friendship.*

Despite the fact that he was not a member of our party, Andrade always expressed interest in our activities and in reading our publications. *Combate* and *Comunismo* were continually the objects of his praise and criticism. As far as he was able, he collaborated with us whenever we asked. There was, for example, the letter he sent to *Comunismo* that we published in 1978, and the interview about the founding of the PCE in the first issue of the current series of that magazine. *Combate* also had the honor of receiving his final written collaboration—his article in homage to his old comrade Pedro Bonet.

Juan Andrade, in sum, was a person of admirable human qualities.

His friends, his comrades, the revolutionary left—we all should remember him as someone who dedicated his entire life to the cause of the emancipation of humanity and to the search for a revolutionary road to make that possible.

*Ramón María del Valle-Inclán (1869?-1936) was an outstanding Spanish novelist, poet, and playwright; he was considered the greatest stylist of his day.—*IP*

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.

A government at war with its people

Socialist lawsuit exposes attacks on democratic rights

By Tom Martin

NEW YORK CITY—If you're a criminal then you have certain rights. But if you're a "subversive"—forget it. That was the blunt testimony of former Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent Arthur Greene in court here on May 15.

Greene had been called as a trial witness by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), who are suing the United States government and its agencies for \$40 million damages in compensation for illegal acts against them. The Trotskyists are also seeking an injunction to bar further illegal government activity against them.

Greene's job was to break in to the YSA national and local offices in New York. In court he openly admitted to carrying out between seventy-five and ninety such "entries" in the period 1960-66. But then he ran into a problem, because Judge Thomas Griesa insisted on a little background information.

The judge wanted to know how FBI agents were trained to acquire information. Which methods were considered proper, and which improper? Didn't you need search warrants before breaking into private premises?

Greene replied that, yes, when investigating criminal matters they were told that a search warrant was required. But he didn't "recall such instructions" in relation to domestic security. He understood that the FBI's authority here came from the executive powers of the president, starting with Roosevelt in the late 1930s.

This was pretty serious stuff. So the judge asked what evidence of illegal activity had been uncovered. Did the FBI find that the SWP was planning to throw bombs, organize kidnappings, embark on sabotage, or similar activities?

Well, said Greene, "one of our highest objectives was to ascertain if the party was in violation of a federal statute in regard to its connections with the Fourth International, whether it be the original Voorhis Act or subsequent federal statutes." The Voorhis Act, passed in 1940, makes disclosure of membership lists compulsory for any organization with international affiliations; as a result, the SWP does not pay dues to or cast decisive votes in the Fourth International, although it otherwise collaborates to the fullest degree possible.

Greene's story about the Voorhis Act keeps cropping up whenever government agents take the stand. And the judge feels he's being taken for a ride.

'They never prosecuted anyone'

When FBI official Charles Mandigo took this line the previous day, Judge Griesa could hardly conceal his impatience: "Nobody would even contend that you have to have a forty-year-long surveillance of the SWP and YSA in order to determine whether they violated the Voorhis Act or the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and it is quite clear that the FBI didn't have the slightest interest in



those subjects. They never prosecuted anybody for it."

This was not Mandigo's first time on the stand. He initially testified in April in connection with an affidavit he had prepared summarizing the FBI's findings. After Mandigo explained that a file had been opened on the SWP in early 1940, Griesa asked: "Well, what would you be looking for? Would you be just looking for, among other things, any specific acts as distinct from just ideas?"

Mandigo replied: "Well . . . basically this directive was to conduct strictly intelligence investigations of subversive activities to determine if people's acts were, in some way—could lead to encroachment on the Constitution." "Subversive activities being defined as what?" asked Griesa. And Mandigo just could not answer this apparently simple question. Time and again he tried to slide around it. Eventually the judge exploded: "I won't permit the witness to testify. If he won't answer questions, he can go away."

Shoddy cover-up

The extent to which the FBI pursues its cover-up was revealed when Mandigo took the stand again on May 14. SWP leader George Breitman had already ridiculed many of the so-called facts in the original affidavit. But the FBI's supposed trump card is a second affidavit prepared by Mandigo which is so secret that it can't even be shown to the SWP and YSA lawyers.

It is kind of difficult to expose something you can't even read—although Mandigo's testimony that he was just as "thorough and careful" in preparing the secret affidavit as the public one certainly has not strengthened the FBI's case! But when he took the stand for the second time he really blew it in spectacular fashion.

Mandigo had been forced to produce the files from which he compiled his public affidavit. That was bad enough for the defense, exposing a series of lies and distortions. But then SWP attorney Margaret Winter came to an alleged statement made by SWP leader James P. Cannon in 1950. Mandigo really began to sweat. "I inadvertently took that statement out of a classified document," he told the court. That's all very well, said Griesa, but the allegation has been made publicly. What do you base it on? "We can't disclose classified information," bleated the defense attorney. "Well, you are going to disclose it to me *right now*," retorted Griesa.

It then turned out that the report had reached the FBI at about fourth-hand. Hearsay evidence does not carry much weight in law, and as the judge commented, "how many hearsays have we got there?"

But Mandigo's woes were still not over. Confronted with an alleged statement by SWP leader Joseph Hansen, he confessed that this was another "inadvertent" inclusion from classified material. Again the judge demanded to see the relevant document. And this time he was even more mystified, because the statement allegedly came from a speech at a *public* meeting. How come it was classified, Griesa asked the defense attorneys. After hurriedly conferring, they announced that the FBI was in the process of declassifying it!

But how did this "classified" material come to be in Mandigo's public affidavit? Well, he explained, the document was classified *after* he reviewed it! So another shoddy cover-up was exposed.

'Who's on the side of this government'

But if events in court sometimes resemble high farce, what lies behind them is deadly serious. Former FBI agent Greene really spelled out what the government means by "subversive activities" when he explained that the FBI "would want to know who is on the side of this government and who was not."

The implications of this are staggering. It is no secret that only a quarter of the American electorate voted for Reagan. Polls show less than 20 percent support for Washington's intervention in El Salvador. And the latest budget proposals, which include cuts in retirement benefits, are cutting into Reagan's limited support still further.

What is more, the opposition to the administration is increasingly coming out onto the streets. Every demonstration, whether its specific focus is El Salvador, nuclear power, the racist killings in Atlanta, the Equal Rights Amendment, the rail cut-backs, or the miners' strike, becomes a general outburst against the way society is ordered today.

All these people are "subversives" according to Greene's definition. And other developments confirm this with no slip of the tongue.

Just days before the SWP suit opened, FBI

agents Mark Felt and Edward Miller were pardoned by Reagan after being convicted of illegal break-ins in the early 1970s.

According to acting White House press secretary Larry Speakes, Reagan "clearly felt . . . that the decision of the jury and the decision of the court was not correct." But as the attorney who led the case against Felt and Miller commented, this amounted to overturning "the central proposition of democracy: that the government is second to the people and its powers are limited by the Constitution."

Reagan's statement explained that "America was at war in 1972." That is not formally true: no such bill had ever passed Congress, nor had the American people voted to go to war. But it is true in one important sense: the American government was and is waging war on the democratic rights of its people.

In response to the socialists' legal challenge against this offensive, the government attorneys

have tried to question the "loyalty" of the SWP and YSA. But that accusation, like others, has really rebounded on them. As SWP leader Barry Shepard put it in court: "We regard ourselves as very loyal to the people of the United States. For example, we regard those who were opposed to the Vietnam War as more loyal to the people of the United States than those who prosecuted it."

The U.S. government has no such loyalty. On the contrary, as this trial has shown, it tries to trick and cheat the people of the United States on every possible occasion. This government is the "executive branch" of the wealthy few who run this society, and it is loyal only to them.

Every day the trial goes on is an education in how the capitalist class rules—and how working people can fight back. In that sense, getting out the facts about this case is a historic opportunity to advance the socialist cause today.

May 16, 1981

Trial challenges dissent gags

By Tom Martin

NEW YORK CITY—It could not have been predicted back in 1973. But the lawsuit filed then by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance is today highlighting some of the most crucial issues in American politics.

When the trial began on April 2, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes declared: "We are fighting not only for our rights and our ideas, but for the rights of all working people—of the miners now on strike against the coal operators, of the people of El Salvador fighting for the right to run their country . . . and of the Americans who do not want another Vietnam." That's how the US government sees it too.

Measures to stifle dissent

As opposition to its policies grows, Washington has floated a series of measures to gag dissent. But every single one is currently at issue in the SWP and YSA suit here.

- The White House is proposing a new executive order on intelligence activities which, in the words of the *New York Times* (May 21), would "authorize, rather than restrict, the collection of information and the use of such techniques as searches, surveillance and infiltration. . . ." The paper has speculated that a prime target could be the solidarity movement with El Salvador.

The socialists are arguing in court that the whole apparatus of unlimited presidential powers, as embodied in such executive orders, is undemocratic and unconstitutional.

- A new Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism has begun open hearings. "Terrorism" is the new code word of the Reagan administration to justify every repressive action it commits or supports. And where do you draw the line? Senator John East explained at a subcommittee hearing: "Many of these support activities that are necessary to successful terrorism are in fact legal and nonviolent . . . yet it would seem that in order to track terrorism adequately and for an intelligence or law enforcement agency to predict the occurrence of terrorism, it would have to have some sur-



Robert Keuch

veillance of legal and nonviolent support."

The government's case in the SWP and YSA lawsuit provides a perfect example of this type of smear technique. Defense attorney Edward Williams cross-examined Jack Barnes: "Isn't it true, Mr. Barnes, that you headed up an international operational center of the Fourth International in Paris from 1972 to the start of 1973?" Dismissing Barnes's denial that any such body existed, Williams returned to this theme again and again. He even claimed: "There are many documents which have been produced to us by the plaintiffs from their own files which refer to the operational center of the Fourth International . . . those very words are used."

The obvious implication to be drawn was that the Fourth International and the SWP are involved in some sort of secret military "terrorist" operation for which their political activities are merely a front. But in pursuing this innuendo Williams overplayed his hand. Pressed to specify where "those very words are used," the nearest he could

come was a reference to the "operating expenses" of the Fourth International's center!

The government's humiliation was complete when Judge Thomas Griesa announced in court last week: "I think you can assume that there are no documents in the public record that talk about the operational center and that Mr. Williams' statement was incorrect. He hasn't come forward with anything, so he was wrong."

- President Reagan's pardoning of two FBI agents convicted of illegal break-ins has been followed by a more general defense of such activities. In a letter released on May 14, a White House representative told the American Civil Liberties Union that "it would be neither necessary nor prudent" to prohibit what the FBI calls "black bag jobs," citing the President's "sworn duty to preserve and protect the national security of the United States."

SWP offices were systematically burgled for forty years by the FBI (the national headquarters alone were raided over ninety times in one six-year period); a primary aim of the lawsuit has been to demand that all such activities be declared illegal.

- A sustained attempt is under way to dismantle the Freedom of Information Act, under which the government was forced to release some of the files detailing its disruption of the legitimate political activities of the SWP and YSA and many other groups and individuals. Already antisecrecy guidelines governing disclosures under the act have been repealed. But that is not enough for Reagan's attorney general, William French Smith, who has asked all federal agencies to suggest "reforms" which would remedy "demonstrated flaws" in the act. It can safely be assumed that the ammunition which the act has given the SWP and YSA suit is one "flaw" Smith has centrally in mind.

- A measure called the Intelligence Identities Protection Act is currently working its way through Congress. The specific aim of this piece of legislation is to protect informers—such as the hundreds who spied on the SWP and YSA since the FBI's investigation began in 1938.

According to the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, the bill "would prevent an organization from exposing and expelling an FBI informer discovered in its midst." This goes to the heart of the issues raised in the SWP and YSA suit. Despite the formal termination of the FBI investigation in 1976, a member of the SWP's National Committee was unmasked as an informer only in June 1980, and there can be little doubt that others are still in place.

All these moves boil down to one thing: The Reagan administration is openly prepared to ride roughshod over democratic rights in order to crush opposition to its war drive. This was made abundantly clear in court with the testimony of Justice Department official Robert Keuch last week.

Keuch went through what he listed as "seven bases of authority" for the FBI investigation of the SWP and YSA. Much of this was pretty tenuous stuff. As Judge Griesa commented at one point: "I am not getting much of a basis. It is minutiae. . . . Now, if the investigation wasn't justified on more broad grounds, believe me, it is in trouble. . . ."

The judge perked up when Keuch got on to criminal statutes such as the Voorhis Act, which prevents the formal affiliation of the SWP to the Fourth International. FBI agent Arthur Greene had testified only the previous week that one of the "highest objectives" of the FBI's break-ins had

been to detect violations of this act.

But Keuch, an official in the Justice Department for over twenty years, is a lot smarter than Greene. He knows, and he knows the judge knows, that no one has ever been prosecuted under the Voorhis Act. So he was quite prepared to dismiss such legislation as "one of the more minor bases of authority for those investigations."

The judge wanted to clarify this: "You are saying that the basic, the real reason, the important reason for the investigation . . . over all these years, was not any of those Acts?" Keuch replied, "I think that is correct."

So what was the "real reason, the important reason"? Keuch referred to a court opinion some years ago on "the inherent power and responsibilities of the President," which noted "that the President of the United States has a fundamental duty under Article 2, Section 1 of the Constitution to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. Implicit in that duty is the power to protect our government against those who would subvert or overthrow it by unlawful means."

Keuch explained with reference to the SWP and YSA: "I believe it was that inherent power that the President was exercising in 1936 and the successive Presidents and successive Attorneys General have exercised and utilized in authorizing investigations into those organizations and individuals who could potentially fall into or who could indeed take unlawful or unconstitutional means to change the form of government. . . ."

In other words, the government can do what it wants, when it wants, and to whom it wants. And it isn't accountable to anybody. No wonder a growing number of people aren't too happy about this "form of government" and want to change it. Even Judge Griesa thought Keuch's arguments lacked public credibility. His response was to say: "Yes, but—look, I have read the Constitution but I mean, what is the practical reason? . . . if it is not primarily to conduct criminal prosecutions, what is it to do?" To which Keuch merely responded with more flannel about needing to know "the activities and the aims and intentions of groups who potentially could be acting inimically to our form of government."

And then the judge scored a bull's-eye. OK, he said, these are the authorities you cite for *investigating* the SWP and YSA. But what about the disruption program? "All I can say," replied Keuch, "is that the Department of Justice was not aware of those activities." And Nixon didn't know about Watergate, right?

If Keuch's testimony lacked a certain public credibility, that is merely a sign of the general problems facing the Reagan administration at this time. Its right-wing political solutions simply do not find a significant echo among American working people.

When the government resorts to police-state methods it therefore does so from a position of weakness and not strength. And every twist and turn it is forced to make in court in response to the charges of the SWP and YSA only undermines its position further.

May 26, 1981

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

United States



Funeral for Jerry Mathis, one of slain youths.

Reign of terror in Atlanta

Officials obstruct search for killers of Blacks

By Maceo Dixon

[The following article appeared in the May 29 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

* * *

ATLANTA—A heinous crime is being perpetrated against the Black community in Atlanta.

Twenty-seven young Blacks have been murdered and there have been no arrests. There are no clues. No suspects. And no end in sight to the kidnappings and killings.

Many questions need to be answered by Atlanta's police, city hall, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Reagan administration.

Why, after one year and nine months since the first child was murdered, are there no clues and no suspects?

What does the police department, FBI, and city government have to hide?

Why is the public kept in the dark?

Why haven't the major news media in Atlanta or nationwide asked these questions?

Simple. There is a racist cover-up by the city, state, and federal governments.

Worse than that, they are attempting to blame the slain victims for their own deaths.

A brief summary of the facts shows this:

The FBI, cops, and city officials have refused to inform the public of the progress or details of the investigation.

The capitalist media has featured articles about how the slain youth had been out "selling their bodies," "hustling," or "running drugs." And how the parents "weren't looking out for them." And how they "came from broken homes."

These racist slanders have been echoed by the cops, city hall, and the FBI. In fact, this has been their consistent policy in conducting the investigation.

Cops refused to respond to a call for help from Patrick Baltazar, who telephoned to report that a white man had tried to lure him into a car.

The Black youth was found dead shortly afterwards.

A Black man was arrested for firing at a car that had tried to pick up another Black youth. Yet the white driver was not arrested or even considered a suspect.

Nor did the cops investigate published reports that a man in a police car, with a police uniform in the back seat, has repeatedly tried to pick up Black youths.

Many Blacks have suspected a cop may be involved. Yet there have been no questions asked by the special police task force.

Klan in local police

City officials and the FBI have not even asked their agents in the Klan to turn over information about the activities of this racist group—which has training camps in Alabama to prepare for "race war," and seeks to recruit white police in Atlanta. One Klan leader has bragged on national TV that the KKK already has several members in the city's police force.

The cops have not asked any questions of the Nazis or of the National States' Rights Party, headed by racist J. B. Stoner, whose headquarters is right outside Atlanta.

Instead of seriously investigating the killings and taking adequate steps to protect the Black community, these local and federal officials have been investigating and accusing the mothers and those trying to protect the children.

They even denounced the formation of several community patrols, consisting of residents volunteering to watch out for neighborhood children.

Camille Bell, mother of slain Yusef Bell, has correctly described the official attitude as "a smoke-screen" being used to cover something up, "to keep me from knowing."

Another aspect of this smokescreen is the lie spread by the media and Atlanta officials that the killings are not racist—just a reflection of violence

in American society today.

Police Commissioner Lee Brown proclaimed, "It is difficult for local people to separate what is happening in Atlanta from the killings of Blacks in Buffalo, the Vernon Jordan shooting [Jordan, a prominent Black leader, was shot by a sniper in May 1980] and other incidents. There is a temptation to believe there is a major conspiracy against Blacks, but I certainly don't buy that."

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson was even more blunt. Speaking to a news conference on March 17, two days after 1,500 people marched there to protest the killings, Jackson told residents to "lower their voices" and "stop trying to pin the blame" for the murders on "any racial group."

Millions of Blacks and other working people may not know the "racial group" of the killer or killers, but that's not the point.

The issue is still racism.

We know the color of the *victims* is Black—the same color as the victims in Buffalo, the man lynched in Mobile, Alabama, and the joggers shot in Salt Lake City.

If the victims had been white, the national guard and the army would have been sent immediately to Atlanta to find the killers. They would be patrolling the banks of the Chattahoochee River, where several bodies have been found.

Working people—Black and white—across the country recognize that this is racism. That's why there has been a massive outpouring of solidarity with Atlanta. Demonstrations have occurred in Harlem, Newark, Jersey City, Atlanta, and on the West Coast.

The attempt of the cops, the city officials, the FBI, and the federal government to deny the racist character of these killings—like their attempts to blame the mothers and slander the victims—is part of a campaign to demobilize and confuse Atlanta's

Black community. It's part of a cover-up to get the heat off the Reagan and Jackson administrations for their failure to conduct a serious investigation, and to catch the killer or killers.

They fear that when the murderer's identity is disclosed, the Black community may explode in a rebellion like Miami—especially if the cops are involved.

Maynard Jackson admitted this.

"You would string us up," he said, "if we told you all we knew," the March 28 *Pittsburgh Courier* reported.

This is also why the Jackson administration is attempting to divert attention from the issue of racism.

Clamp down on community

How? Clamp down on the Black community just as any good capitalist mayor would do.

The city has instituted a curfew, requiring youths fifteen years and under to be off the streets by 7 p.m. under penalty of jail or fines.

The state legislature is trying to pass new bills on the death penalty.

Instead of solving the crimes, emphasis has been placed on beefing up the police force. That's where our Federal tax dollars have gone. Police patrols have increased in the city by 33 percent. Mayor Jackson is campaigning to hire 400 additional police. Yet at the same time, he wants to take cops off the murder investigation to spend more attention on "normal crime."

But Jackson has some additional worries. The killings have put his pro-capitalist administration in a bind.

The murders come in the context of the racist, antilabor offensive coming from the White House and being carried out by every city administration in the country—including Jackson's

which is primarily Black.

Like a Black foreman or supervisor who administers a plant or a department for a white boss, Jackson administers the city for the entire boss class—the owners of the corporations and banks—who profit from discrimination against Blacks.

The last thing these rulers of Atlanta want is a Black rebellion, and Jackson knows that.

And, like a good foreman, he certainly doesn't want to "lead a strike" by mobilizing the Black community to demand an end to the racist attacks.

The Jackson administration needs to keep the illusion alive that Black Democrats and Republicans in office are different than whites—and that Atlanta is, in fact, the "Black Mecca."

That's why you have not seen the same outpouring of support for the Black community by unions and civil rights groups in Atlanta.

Racists emboldened

But, by demobilizing the Black community to save their own hides and do the rulers' bidding, the Jackson administration is actually emboldening the racists in Atlanta and across the country.

That's why mobilizations of the Black community and its supporters are crucial.

More demonstrations like the May 25 rally in Washington, D.C., are needed around the country—including in Atlanta.

The green ribbon campaign, a constant reminder that the eyes of America are on Atlanta, is also critical. [The wearing of green ribbons has become a symbol of solidarity with the Black community in Atlanta.]

Such actions are the only way to force the Reagan administration and Atlanta officials to find the killer or killers.

The support of several national unions in this effort is particularly important.

Miners' support

The United Mine Workers, currently on strike and in the forefront of the fight against the employers' offensive, is conducting a special wreath-laying ceremony on May 25—to help focus national attention on the murders in Atlanta and to show their solidarity.

On May 14, District 65 of the United Auto Workers in New York City held a special membership meeting of 2,000 to 3,000 people to show solidarity with Atlanta.

The Philadelphia and New York Transit Workers, and other unions, have given green ribbons to their members.

Such a movement of the Black community and the unions, as well as other supporters, can demand a public investigation—an end to all secrecy. It can call for opening up the files of the cops and FBI, and making public all details of the investigation.

In addition, the racist cover-up in Atlanta necessitates the formation of an independent Black commission of inquiry—led by the mothers of the victims, labor, and civil rights leaders—to investigate for itself, and to take the steps it feels necessary to end the murders and find the killer or killers.

In this way, the national outrage over these racist killings can be organized into a force that can put an end to these attacks. □



Lou Howort/Militant

Part of demonstration of 5,000 in Washington, D.C. on May 25 to demand action to stop racist killings in Atlanta. Although the reformist leadership in the Black community refused to build the action, thus limiting its size, there was a significant participation by Black trade unionists in the protest.

The OCI and Nicaragua

Sectarians abstain from defending revolution

By Robert Dees and Fred Murphy

As the second anniversary of the downfall of the Somoza dictatorship draws closer, defense of the Nicaraguan revolution should still be high on the agenda for all those in the international workers movement who consider themselves Trotskyists.

The mounting threats to Nicaragua's sovereignty from the imperialist-backed gangs operating from Honduras and Miami should make this especially clear.

Nonetheless, one current among those who consider themselves Trotskyists continues to seriously default on this crucial task.

The current in question is the so-called Fourth International (International Committee), known until recently as the Parity Committee for the Reorganization (Reconstruction) of the Fourth International. It was formed in late 1979 following a split from the Fourth International by the Bolshevik Faction and the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency.¹ The latter currents joined with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International to form the Parity Committee, which subsequently converted itself into the Fourth International (International Committee).

This article will take up in particular the positions on Nicaragua developed by one of the International Committee's key components: the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization) of France, which is headed by Pierre Lambert.

The hallmarks of the OCI's position on Nicaragua have been open hostility toward the leadership of the Nicaraguan revolution, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); chronic inability to recognize and embrace the deepgoing revolutionary changes initiated by the FSLN; and a signal failure to carry out the elementary duty of defending Nicaragua against the threats and pressures of imperialism.

'Classic popular front'?

As the dramatic revolutionary struggles of 1978-79 were being waged in Nicaragua, the OCI paid little attention. *Informations Ouvrières*, the OCI's weekly paper, did hail the fall of Somoza as "a new defeat for imperialism," but it saw little to praise in the actions of the new revolutionary regime. An article in the August 8-22 *Informations Ouvrières* asserted that "the objectives of the Government of Reconstruction" were as follows:

"Protect private property, the latifundists, and the imperialist enterprises; disarm and demobilize the masses; restart the mechanisms of exploitation that were devastated by the civil war; reconstruct the bourgeois state."

The OCI considered the Government of National Reconstruction (GRN) a classic popular front; that is, a political bloc between reformists in the workers movement and bourgeois forces, in which

the needs of the workers and peasants are subordinated to the interests and prerogatives of the capitalists.

The OCI pointed to the presence of individual bourgeois figures in the GRN junta and in various ministries of the new government. It put great stress on the slogan, "All bourgeois ministers out of the government!"

When the Nicaraguan government was reorganized in early 1980, and the FSLN consolidated its control over several key ministries, the OCI reiterated: "The FSLN is using all its weight to reconstruct the bourgeois state against the masses. . . .

"The purpose of the ministerial changes is to reinforce the direct power of the bourgeois government against the interests of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants" (*IO*, February 9-16, 1980).

When the two bourgeois members of the original government junta (Violeta Chamorro and Alfonso Robelo) resigned their posts in April 1980, *IO* said this was "an undeniable victory for the workers and peasants" that expressed "the failure of the policy of the FSLN, which aimed for months at blocking the development of the proletarian revolution, respecting the limits of the alliance with the bourgeoisie, and avoiding a confrontation between the classes" (*IO*, May 3-10, 1980).

The OCI carried this analysis further on the occasion of the first anniversary of the revolution: "In order to apply its 'plan for economic reactivation,' the FSLN had to launch an offensive against the masses and against their democratic rights and the freedoms of the workers" (*IO*, July 26-August 9, 1980).

The same article even implied that similar tasks were on the agenda in Nicaragua under Sandinista rule as in El Salvador and Guatemala under brutal military dictatorships: "In Nicaragua, El Salvador, in Guatemala—the question of power is directly posed."

What really happened

Let's step away from the OCI's distorting mirror and review what really happened in Nicaragua.

On July 9, 1979—ten days before the overthrow of Somoza—the FSLN and some sectors of the bourgeois opposition to Somoza announced their agreement on what a new government would look like. It was to be composed of a five-member junta and a thirty-three member Council of State. The junta, already appointed by the FSLN with the acquiescence of some of the bourgeois forces, had a three-to-two FSLN majority from the outset: Commander Daniel Ortega; Prof. Moisés Hassán, a leader of the urban insurrection in Managua; and Dr. Sergio Ramírez, a prominent Nicaraguan intellectual and novelist. The latter three, all Sandinistas, were joined by Violeta Chamorro, widow of opposition publisher Pedro Joaquín Chamorro; and Alfonso Robelo, a leading cotton planter and industrialist.

Unlike the junta, however, the Council of State was to have had a substantial majority from the various bourgeois parties and employers' organiza-

tions. The council was not only to have shared all legislative powers with the junta, but was also to have held veto power over any junta decision. It would also have been able to pass laws of its own with a two-thirds majority, draft a constitution and electoral laws, set up a judicial structure, and oversee the Interior Ministry and all the country's police forces.

But such a bourgeois-dominated institution never came into existence.

The upsurge of the FSLN-led urban workers and poor in the final days of the civil war swept away the whole apparatus of the Somoza dictatorship. FSLN troops and militia units victoriously entered Managua, while the bourgeois forces were heaping discredit on themselves with last-minute maneuvers to secure direct intervention by other Latin American regimes, with Washington's tacit backing.

The FSLN National Directorate immediately began exercising power in the country, in cooperation with the Sandinista-majority junta. The two bourgeois figures had no choice but to go along. They had no power of their own with which to counter the FSLN: armed might lay entirely in the hands of the Sandinista-led workers and peasants.

In the first months after the victory, convocation of the Council of State was repeatedly postponed, over the protests of the bourgeoisie. When finally convened in May 1980, its composition was quite different from that stipulated in the original agreement: the bourgeois forces wound up with a small minority of seats, unable to affect council decisions in any significant way.

Basing itself on the armed and mobilized masses, the FSLN from the outset established its control over the Interior Ministry, the army, the police, and the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA).

The old bourgeois army, the National Guard, was totally routed and dismantled in the course of the insurrection. In its place the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) was built, based on the revolutionary fighters who brought down Somoza. After the initial contingents of militia forces were integrated into the EPS, a new Sandinista People's Militia (MPS) was launched. The revolutionary government has set a goal of organizing 200,000 Nicaraguans into the militias on a voluntary basis, with training and organization based on the workplaces, high schools, universities, neighborhoods and farms.

Marxists use the term "popular front" to describe a government or political bloc of nonrevolutionary workers parties and bourgeois elements. The latter's presence provides an excuse to the reformist workers leaders for refusing to advance along a class-struggle course. However, just as such bourgeois elements are merely an excuse and not the real reason for a reformist policy, so too in Nicaragua the presence of a few bourgeois figures in the workers and farmers government under the revolutionary leadership of the FSLN could not hold back the anti-imperialist, anticapitalist course

1. See *Intercontinental Press*, December 24, 1979, p. 1277.



Fred Halstead/Militant

New military bodies, based on the Sandinista fighters who overthrew the Somoza regime, completely replaced the old bourgeois army in Nicaragua.

of the process. Once again, the OCI's view was purely formal, blind to the actual class content.

If the GRN had ever been the bourgeois coalition or popular front the OCI still claims it is, the elementary question of class survival would have made it impossible for it to consent to the wide-ranging measures that have been taken in Nicaragua in the interests of the workers and peasants. But since July 1979 the GRN has not just acquiesced, or responded under mass pressure—it has led in organizing the workers and peasants to defend and extend their revolution.

Among the new government's first acts were the expropriation of all Somoza and Somozaist assets in agriculture, real estate, banking, industry, commerce, transportation, and other holdings. The country's banking system was nationalized.

The Somozaist lands—some 60 percent of the big holdings under cultivation—were placed under state administration.

In the countryside, FSLN activists set about organizing agricultural laborers and small peasants into the Rural Workers Association (ATC), an independent mass organization that served to guarantee that the toilers' interests would be respected as the agrarian reform was carried out.

The confiscated lands were used both to set up big state farms and agricultural enterprises, in which workers organized by the ATC are increasingly sharing management responsibilities; and to establish peasant-run cooperatives in areas where the plot sizes involved did not allow for large-scale agriculture.

For five months in mid-1980, tens of thousands of student youth from the cities were mobilized to

go into the countryside to teach reading and writing. As a result of this National Literacy Crusade (which never received the slightest mention in the press of the OCI) illiteracy in Nicaragua was drastically reduced.

Among other things, the literacy drive helped lay the basis for the formation in early 1981 of an independent organization of small farmers. That in turn has helped to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance that the revolutionary government is based upon.

Alongside the sectors affected by the agrarian reform, a substantial sector of large private agriculture has been allowed to remain in existence. However, the government has established a monopoly on the export of agricultural products, imposed steep taxes on the profits from such exports, decreed sharp cuts in land rents, and ordered the big producers to grant wage increases and improve working and living conditions for laborers.

In the nationalized industries, production committees elected by the workers share responsibilities. In private factories, the Sandinista-led trade unions exercise a considerable measure of workers control through close monitoring of production, accounting, raw-materials inventories, working conditions, and so on. A number of private enterprises have been put under state management ("intervention") after the unions have denounced de-capitalization maneuvers by the owners.

Price controls, enforced by the neighborhood-based Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs), have been decreed by the Ministry of Domestic Trade.

The revolutionary government adopted from the

outset an anti-imperialist foreign policy, opposing Washington at the United Nations and other international forums on questions such as Indochina, the Middle East, southern Africa, Cuba, El Salvador, and Afghanistan.

Democratic rights underwent a vast expansion with the revolutionary victory. In August 1979 the Junta decreed a Statute on the Rights of Nicaraguans that not only guaranteed basic political freedoms such as speech, press, and assembly, but also women's equality and the priority of the social and economic rights of the toilers over the property and prerogatives of the capitalists.

Discussions, debates, and the election of representatives and leaders take place continually in the trade unions and other mass organizations.

Besides the daily *Barricada* and other publications of the FSLN, periodicals and literature of other political currents circulate freely in Nicaragua. (One exception to this was the suppression in early 1980 of the small daily *El Pueblo*, which expressed the views of an ultraleft sectarian current known as Frente Obrero [FO—Workers Front]. The FSLN and the FO had been in sharp political conflict owing to the FO's view that the course of the revolution should be rapidly accelerated. The FO had acted in a provocative fashion to try to impose its views, and the government released photographs of arms caches discovered along with batches of FO material.² As of this writing, *El Pueblo* has not resumed publication, although the conflict between the FSLN and the FO has diminished greatly and the two organizations are collaborating closely at the trade-union level. The OCI raised a great hue and cry over the FSLN's move against the FO and *El Pueblo*, but has said not a word about the political collaboration that has since begun.)

The OCI has been particularly irked that the FSLN has allowed the bourgeois daily *La Prensa* to continue publishing. The Sandinistas view this as a tactical question. In January of this year, for example, then-junta member Moisés Hassán explained that it is less damaging to the revolution to allow *La Prensa* to continue publishing its lies and slanders—which are widely recognized as such in Nicaragua—than to feed the counterrevolutionary propaganda mills abroad by shutting the paper down.

Another key democratic right that Nicaraguan workers have won through the revolution is the right to organize trade unions. Many of the new unions that arose spontaneously in the first days after the victory joined the new Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). Other unions that had already managed to organize somewhat under the dictatorship joined the CST as well, breaking with the old Stalinist, Christian Democratic, and proimperialist federations.

Rather than hail the rapid growth of the CST, though, the OCI found it downright alarming. "What is involved is creating a single union federation linked to the structures of the state apparatus," Luis Favre wrote in the December 1979 *La Vérité*. Noting that some of the Stalinist-led unions also supported the CST, Favre concluded, "The road to

2. For further information and analysis of the FSLN's handling of relations with its political opponents in the Nicaraguan workers movement, see articles by Fred Murphy and Pedro Camejo published in *Intercontinental Press*, November 12, 1979; February 18, 1980; and July 7, 1980.

integrating the Sandinista federation into the state passes through its subordination to the Stalinist apparatus, which upholds the reconstruction of the bourgeois state."

Trade-union unity and independence

In fact, the CST adopted a clear stand in favor of trade-union independence. "We understand that it is one thing to participate in the state as the bearers of class consciousness, but it is something else to be totally absorbed by the state." CST General Secretary Iván García told *Intercontinental Press* in a November 1980 interview. "The trade union movement must maintain its autonomy and independence in order to safeguard the interests of the workers."

"We do not receive any aid from the government, nor will we accept any when the government is in a financial position to provide it. We do not think that would be convenient. The working-class organizations must support themselves on the basis of what their own members contribute."

The latter is the express policy not only of the CST, but of the FSLN itself. "We don't want an official or progovernment union organization," Commander Tomás Borge told an assembly of construction workers in February 1980, "but a union organization that responds to the interests of the workers." Borge added that unions "must be able to confront . . . the Government of National Reconstruction itself when that is necessary."

In late 1980 the CST took the lead in organizing the Nicaraguan Trade-Union Coordinating Committee (CSN), a body which came to include all union organizations in the country with the exception of two small federations whose leaders have close ties to the counter-revolutionary bourgeois parties. Several points from the CSN's founding platform are worth quoting to further clarify how out of touch the OCI is with the real situation of Nicaraguan trade unions today:

II. Basic Principles of the CSN:

1. The CSN will collaborate with the affiliated federations to unite and mobilize the workers and the toilers as a whole in carrying out all the tasks we have set for ourselves under the revolutionary banners of the working class, to defeat and isolate from the masses the forces of imperialism, of the creole oligarchy, and of the parties of the bourgeoisie. . . .

4. The CSN develops according to the principles of the right of the workers to freely choose their leaders and revoke the latter's mandates when they fail to comply with their duties; collective discussion and democracy in union affairs; and the utilization of criticism and self-criticism as a means of correcting defects and overcoming errors, deficiencies and weaknesses in carrying out union functions.

5. The CSN does not form part of the state apparatus; as a broad organization of the workers, it has its own leadership.

6. The CSN is not the organization of any political party. National union federations and organizations belong to it, with equal rights and obligations, independently of their political orientation.

Besides seeking to unite the workers movement in support of a revolutionary policy (while at the same time upholding the right of non-Sandinista unions to function), the FSLN also made special efforts to win over small farmers and urban middle-class layers such as technicians, administrators, and intellectuals to the side of the revolution. They have had considerable success in breaking the influence of the bourgeoisie over the latter.

In the early months of 1981 supporters of the

FSLN waged a battle for influence inside the Nicaraguan Council of Professional Organizations (CONAPRO) and succeeded in gaining a big majority. A new leadership that supports the revolution was elected, CONAPRO withdrew from the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), and the procapitalist minority walked out of the organization.

In April 1981 the founding congress of the Nicaraguan Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) was held; the new organization represents most small and many medium-sized private agricultural producers. Its formation dealt a big blow to the Union of Agricultural Producers of Nicaragua (UPANIC), the COSEP-affiliated organization of big capitalist growers that had pretended to speak for the entire "private sector" in agriculture.

Silence and lies

In the face of all these facts that confirm the FSLN's character as a leadership that consistently defends the interests of the working class and its allies, how can the OCI leadership justify its hostile attitude before its own membership? By and large, they do not even try to do so: rather they simply do not let their own members know what is really happening in Nicaragua. *Informations Ouvrières's* coverage of the revolution has been nonexistent for the most part, especially since mid-1980. Aside from silence, the OCI press has consistently distorted the facts or engaged in outright lying about Nicaragua and the FSLN.

In the May 3-10, 1980, issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, for example, the OCI asserted that in El Salvador "the FSLN has given unambiguous support to the junta, presenting it as 'democratic' and forbidding all demonstration of solidarity with the workers and peasants of El Salvador."

This was simply a lie. More than a month before, tens of thousands of Nicaraguans had gathered in the Plaza of the Revolution in Managua to express solidarity with El Salvador and protest the murder of Archbishop Romero. At that rally, the FSLN National Directorate denounced "the oligarchs and exploiters that are seeking foreign intervention in [El Salvador] to hold back the desires of the majority for liberation." The FSLN's statement went on to assail the junta for having "left intact the paramilitary organizations of the right wing and the reactionary oligarchy." The FSLN, the statement said, "rejects and condemns this genocide being committed against the Salvadoran people and denounces the efforts at military intervention and strengthening of the Salvadoran junta by the U.S. government or any other force. . . ."

The Sandinistas have stood firmly by the Salvadoran people in their struggle and continue to do so. Nicaraguans have mobilized repeatedly to express this solidarity and to back up their leaders' assertions that "any aggression against [El Salvador] will be like an aggression against our own country" (Commander Tomás Borge, April 2, 1980); that "we have to see an aggression in El Salvador as an aggression against Nicaragua as well" (Commander Daniel Ortega, December 17, 1980).

'Socialism by decree'?

Another example of the OCI's dishonest reporting on Nicaragua was its assertion in the February 23-March 1, 1980, *Informations Ouvrières* that "the bourgeois government of national reconstruction had to renounce its plans to return to their former owners certain lands . . . occupied by poor pea-

sants who had obstinately refused to render them."

The events the *Informations Ouvrières* was supposedly reporting involved precisely the opposite. The FSLN-led Rural Workers Association organized a demonstration of 30,000 poor peasants and farm workers in Managua on February 17, 1980. ATC General Secretary Edgardo García told the demonstrators that "we demand that intervened lands that could not be confiscated now pass over to the People's Property Area and that not a single inch of land be returned. . . ."

The demonstration was not, however, against the government, as *Informations Ouvrières's* coverage implied. It was against the landowners, and it had the full support of the government. Agriculture Minister Jaime Wheelock shared the ATC's platform with García and told the campesinos that "the revolution is not only not going to return a single inch of land, it is not going to return a single speck of soil."

Rather than a concession wrenched from the GRN, the decision regarding intervened land exemplified the way the FSLN seeks to elevate the revolutionary class consciousness of the masses. Instead of administratively decreeing a measure in the interests of the peasants, the FSLN—through the ATC—mobilized the peasants to give expression to their demands. This educated them as to their participatory role in the process and at the same time sent a message to the landlords that the FSLN is acting from a position of strength and has the support of the people. As Wheelock told the February 17 rally, "We know your demands are just, and this march gives us confidence to advance, to make further transformations."

It is typical of sectarians like the OCI to view the process of socialist revolution as resulting from administrative decisions by a determined leadership, rather than the conscious mobilization of the toiling masses in anticapitalist struggle. As a result, the OCI cannot understand why the FSLN doesn't simply proclaim socialist decrees that "set up" a workers state. Since the FSLN failed to do this the day after seizing power, the OCI considers it to be betraying the revolution.

Fortunately, the Sandinistas have ignored the gratuitous advice and warnings of impending doom that have characterized the views on Nicaragua of sectarians like the OCI.

The FSLN's course, details of which have been outlined above, can be summarized as follows:

- Since before taking power, the Sandinistas' central preoccupation has been to organize, educate, mobilize, and arm the workers and peasants and their allies among the urban middle classes.

- Since July 19, the FSLN has acted decisively to prevent the remaining Nicaraguan capitalists from regaining political power. At each point when the bourgeois forces have sought to reassert influence over the government and state, the FSLN has responded by mobilizing the masses against them.

- In order to rapidly restore economic activity, gain international aid, avert an immediate economic blockade by the imperialists, and thus buy time in which to further the process of organization and education among the masses, the Sandinistas refrained from expropriating the opposition capitalists outright. Instead, through tax and credit policies, monopolization of foreign trade in major exports, and initial steps toward economic planning, the revolutionary government has curtailed the prerogatives of the capitalists and transferred a sub-

stantial portion of their profits toward meeting the needs of the workers and peasants.

The coming confrontation— where will OCI stand?

Obviously, the revolutionary process in Nicaragua is by no means complete. Sharper confrontations with imperialism and the Nicaraguan capitalists are on the agenda. It is for these that the Sandinistas have been consciously preparing—arming and training tens of thousands of workers, farmers, and students in the Sandinista People's Militias; collaborating with other currents in the workers movement to strengthen and unite the trade unions; winning small farmers to the side of the revolution and organizing them independently of the landlords and the big capitalist growers; countering the capitalists' influence among technicians and professionals; vigorously debating the procapitalist ideologues of *La Prensa*; and campaigning abroad for diplomatic support, material aid, and solidarity in the unfolding confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its reactionary allies in Central America and in Nicaragua itself.

The responsibilities of revolutionary socialists in the current situation should be obvious: to contribute as much as possible toward an outcome favorable to the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

But it is on this task of building solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution—irrespective of one's opinions on the caliber of its leadership—that the OCI has most badly defaulted. In fact, since the overthrow of Somoza the OCI has organized just one big public meeting in Paris around the theme of Nicaragua—and that one, on September 28, 1979, was devoted to a sectarian attack on the FSLN for allegedly repressing working-class militants.

The OCI has not lifted a finger to defend the Nicaraguan revolution from the mounting attacks by imperialism, much less to publicize the gains and victories scored by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

Against Lenin, against Cuba

At bottom, this reflects the OCI's longstanding disregard for the teachings of Lenin on imperialism and the anticolonial struggle. The OCI's approach to such struggles has always been to focus 99 percent of its efforts on denouncing their (real or imagined) "petty bourgeois nationalist leaderships" while failing to recognize that the main duty of revolutionists in the imperialist countries is to unconditionally defend such struggles against imperialism.

This sectarian deviation from Leninism dates back to the OCI's attitude to the Cuban revolution in its early days. In fact, it is only very recently that the OCI has acknowledged—albeit quietly—that capitalism was indeed overturned in Cuba. It happened long before the OCI took note of it—they were far more concerned with denouncing the alleged shortcomings of the Castro leadership. (In fact, when the Castroists were in sharp political conflict with the Stalinist Communist parties in Latin America in the 1960s, the OCI tended to side with the CPs; the latter, after all, were "working-class parties" and not "petty bourgeois nationalists"!)

The same logic still permeates the OCI's thinking on Cuba. A full page of the May 17-24, 1980, *Informations Ouvrières* was devoted to an article on Cuba taken from *Opción*, the organ of the Socialist Workers Party (PST) of Argentina. It ex-

pressed the view—of which the OCI obviously approved—that "the Castroist apparatus" has now "assimilated itself completely to the Stalinist and counterrevolutionary bureaucracy of the Kremlin." The result of this could be "summed up in two notions: demobilization of the masses and the ascent of the bureaucracy."

Even as that issue of *IO* was coming off the press, half the population of Cuba was mobilizing in the "March of the Fighting People," in which five million Cubans marched on May 17, 1980, in response to slanders and threats from Washington. Since then such mobilizations have continued, and Cubans have also joined by the tens of thousands to build the new Territorial Troop Militias established to defend the revolution against any new imperialist military adventures.

Instead of the "ascent of the bureaucracy" in Cuba, we have seen big blows being dealt to bureaucracy by the working people and their leaders. The OCI failed to take note of it, but in the Main Report to the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party Fidel Castro explained that before the big 1980 mobilizations, "there were increasing signs that the spirit of austerity was flagging, that a sof-

tening-up process was going on in which some people tended to let things slide, pursue privileges, make accommodations and take other attitudes, while work discipline dropped." Such dangers "even affected the Party to a certain extent," Castro said. "Was our Revolution beginning to degenerate on our imperialist enemy's doorstep? Was that an inexorable law for any revolution in power?"

The Cuban leader answered his own question: "Under no circumstances could such a thing be permitted." On the basis of that conscious antibureaucratic attitude by the leadership of the revolution—something the OCI consistently has ignored and covered up—the mobilizations of 1980 and 1981 have been carried out.

In the unfolding battle against imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation in Central America and the Caribbean, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and the Cuban Communists are living up to their responsibilities. It is unfortunate indeed that the same cannot be said for the self-styled "Trotskyists" of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.

April 1981

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.

Send \$1 for sample copy.

The fight against world poverty

Castro's speech to congress of Third World economists

[More than 1,000 economists, the bulk of them from underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, attended the Second Congress of the Association of Third World Economists, held in Havana, Cuba, April 26-30.]

[Cuban President Fidel Castro gave the opening address, touching on many of the most important problems facing underdeveloped countries, their causes, and some of the necessary measures to overcome them. His address at the congress came about a year and a half after he spoke on similar topics before the United Nations General Assembly in October 1979 in his capacity as chairperson of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries. (The text of his UN speech can be found in the October 22, 1979, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.)]

[Also notable at the congress was the growing international recognition of the Cuban revolution's example. This was highlighted by a special resolution of the congress expressing solidarity with the Cuban revolution, and by an interview with the Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma* granted by Gunnar Myrdal, the well-known Swedish economist. (See boxes.)]

[The following is Fidel Castro's speech to the congress on April 26. The text is from the May 10 issue of the English-language weekly edition of *Granma*.]

* * *

Distinguished Guests and Members of the Association of Third World Economists:

We highly value the fact that the 2nd Congress of Third World Economists is being held in Havana. This Congress has brought together very notable personalities in the fields of economics, the social sciences in general and economic management from almost all countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Many distinguished guests from Europe and North America are also present. This outstanding group of experts has the unique opportunity to discuss the most important topics of international economics in a scientific atmosphere of mutual respect.

The idea to gather together the economists and sociologists of our countries was, indeed, a most brilliant initiative of our unforgettable friend President Houari Boumediene, who was always greatly concerned about our common destinies. (APPLAUSE) On choosing Algeria for its host country, the 1st Congress acknowledged such an important merit and paid tribute to the glorious Algerian people who, under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, set an example in the struggle for the liberation of their homeland.

Our peoples have to pay an extremely high price for the opportunity to deliberate over our independence and our right to development. Thirty years ago this type of Congress would have been inconceivable! No one has presented us with this right; we ourselves have won it! Our cultures have flourished; our approaches have become richer; our respective national personalities have reasserted themselves. We are ready to think for ourselves.

The United States sometimes wants to arrogate to itself the right to determine who can and who cannot participate in international events and even where to hold or not to hold a specific negotiation. Just a few weeks ago, the United States pressed allied oligarchies and dependent groups to oppose the holding of the 6th UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development] in Havana in 1983, as was recommended by the Group of 77 and endorsed by the 6th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries.

This unacceptable and extremely irrational pressure matches the consistent opposition of the United States to any proposal that does not imply subordination to the selfish objectives of its monopolies. We cannot allow the United States to impose its humiliating conditions and to establish itself as the arbiter and dictator of what we must do!

The acceptance of such a policy would lead to compromise, to concessions in matters of principle and to the loss of our decorum and the rights of our nations.

Without respect for the dignity of underdeveloped countries, no honorable, effective ways out will be found!

Taking into account the experience of all peoples who have freed themselves from imperialist domination and colonialist oppression, we must ex-

press our own thoughts and rid ourselves of the pseudoscientific tutorship of direct or indirect representatives of transnational monopolies.

The theory of the so-called North-South dialogue emerged in the past decade. According to it, the affluent North deals with the wretched, impoverished, backward South.

It is not hard to see that geographic symbols conceal the well-known phenomenon of the relations between the countries that have great riches and the dispossessed countries. It is a brief, polite way of forgetting the past, striking out the present, and sweetening the future.

Some have sought to extend the concept of North to the developed socialist countries, which neither had nor have anything to do with colonial, neocolonial and imperialist practices. For us, "the North" is fully identified with the

The repercussions of all the economic ills of the developed capitalist societies are magnified in most African, Asian and Latin American countries . . .

former colonizing countries that, generally speaking, are now neocolonizing and imperialist and still dominate the economies of many states in Africa, Asia and Latin America—the symbolic South, of course. (APPLAUSE)

The socialist countries do not have transnational enterprises, nor do they own mines, oil deposits or factories beyond their borders. Not one single socialist country exploits a worker or a peasant in another country. The truth about the North-South dialogue is that the North wields economic power that materializes and expresses itself in its almighty industry, in its vast financial reserves and in its control of advanced technologies; while the South has, generally speaking, the largest amount of raw materials and cheap manpower, and is inordinately indebted to financial institutions in the North.

The economic crisis of capitalism has entered an endemic stage. Since 1973 things have gone from bad to worse; there is no evidence that the problems will diminish, much less disappear.

The developed capitalist countries' economies present a picture of stagnation; their overall growth rate was a meager one percent in 1980 in comparison with 1979. Thus they are continuing their downward cycle.

Inflation, the other attendant phenomenon, developed in the member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 1980 at a rate of 13.9 percent, according to their data. The same symptoms persist at present. Unemployment, both an economic fact and a social disease, has become a mass phenomenon. Thus, over five percent of the available labor force in those countries is totally unemployed, and a large part, which is not officially recorded, works part-time or seasonally.

Aside from cold statistical considerations, the number of unemployed is perhaps more than 20 million in this group of countries. In the United States alone, over eight million men and women willing to work cannot make an honest livelihood. This situation affects that country's youth and the black and Latin American population even more.

This bleak panorama sharpens the political and moral crisis in those countries and provokes the increase of crime and other social problems.

We labeled the panorama in the developed capitalist countries as bleak, but when dealing with the colossal problems of the underdeveloped countries, tragic might be the most appropriate adjective.

The repercussions of all the economic ills of the developed capitalist societies are greatly magnified in most African, Asian and Latin American countries. There is no reasonable correspondence between economic stagnation and retrogression, rampant inflation and growing unemployment, and what is happening on the other side. The capitalist crisis has sharpened the permanent features of underdevelopment that all of us know so well.

By contrast, the transnational monopolies keep increasing their dividends and achieving impressive financial accumulation. Let us take some figures

from the official international literature, in this case from UNCTAD. For example, during the 1970-78 period, the total flow of these monopolies' direct investments in underdeveloped countries amounted to 42,200 million dollars. During the same period, the transnational enterprises remitted 100,218 million dollars in repatriated profits to their home countries. This means that, during the period under discussion, for every new dollar invested in underdeveloped countries, an average of about 2.4 dollars was withdrawn in repatriated profits.

During the same period, U.S. investments in the Third World amounted to 8,701 million dollars, and 39,685 million dollars were repatriated to their sources as profits. This represents an average 4.5-dollar income into the U.S. balance of payments for each new dollar invested in the underdeveloped countries.

As may be seen, the lion's share going to the U.S. transnationals nearly amounted to 40 percent of total monopoly profits. What's more, the effectiveness of U.S. capital was virtually double that of capital coming from similar enterprises in other nations.

Transnationals exert impressive control over trade in commodities. They market 50-60 percent of sugar and phosphates; 70-75 percent of bananas, rice, rubber and crude oil; 75-80 percent of tin; 85-90 percent of cocoa, tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, cotton, jute, timber and copper; 90-95 percent of iron ore and bauxite.

Marketing these products provides huge profits, tens of thousands of millions that are sucked into the transnationals' coffers, dispossessing and decapitalizing underdeveloped countries even more.

The intensification of the concentration, centralization and internationalization of transnational capital in the past 20 years has produced an extraordinary strengthening of state monopoly capitalism, that is, the fusion of the huge monopolies with the state apparatus of developed capitalist countries. The general policy of those states, and economic policy specifically, is formulated on the basis of those monopolies' interests.

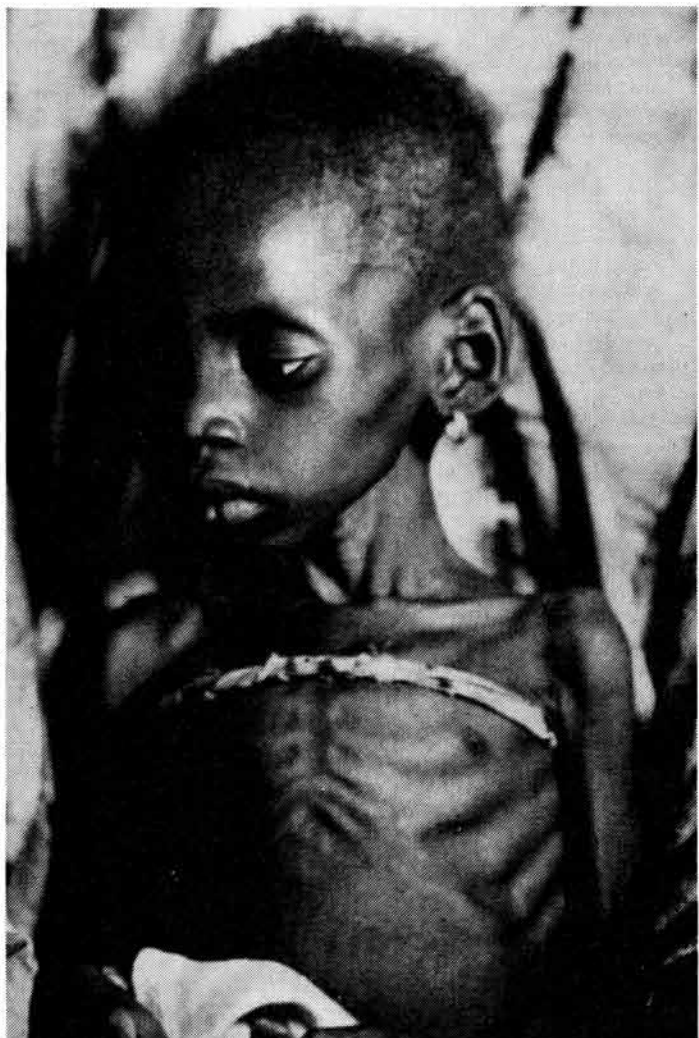
An outstanding example is the prices set by these monopolies for basic commodities in the underdeveloped countries, thus deepening unequal trade, the main cause of those countries' indebtedness. The underdeveloped countries are further plundered by this unfair trade. On the other hand, industrial products sold by the developed capitalist countries to the Third World, besides adding to inflation, also transfer to it the growing costs of energy. Such trade relations represent a vicious cycle from which there is no escape under the present circumstances.

Credit orientation is another aspect showing the hand of transnationals, for the governments that represent them and the private companies subordinated to them follow the policy of conditioning such credits to complementary investments in imperialist countries, thereby blocking any legitimate development. Credits are nearly always politically conditioned to favor the metropolises. This policy leads to the loss of access to technology beneficial for development, that is, the technology that liberated states need and ask to be provided with.

On the other hand, the underdeveloped countries' industrial products are discriminated against through the establishment of quotas and high tariffs that prevent their being sold in developed markets.

As if this were not enough, a calculated and persistent policy prevails aimed at winning over scientists, technicians and skilled workers from underdeveloped countries. It is particularly aimed at those people with the highest scientific qualifications, and it is widely known as the "brain drain."

The chronic shortage of specialists and technicians in the underdeveloped countries has become more acute. According to United Nations data, in one



Malnourished child in Mali. "Of the 122 million babies born each year, 10 percent die before they are a year old; an additional 4 percent die before they are five years old."

This deprives the Third World of the possibility of managing its own development and reproducing its skilled manpower.

It is within this framework of pressure and plunder that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund operate. These institutions, dominated by the metropolises, unscrupulously manipulate the monetary and financial crisis which particularly affects the Third World. The way the International Monetary Fund operates has been exposed and condemned even by public figures and institutions alien to the Third World who have seen, in the burdensome political conditions IMF imposes, the danger of mass rebellion and of the system's total bankruptcy. The International Monetary Fund sets itself up as a gendarme of the transnationals and their governments to deepen the international crisis and underdevelopment.

Although the exact data are not known, the underdeveloped countries' foreign debt stands at or exceeds the fabulous and almost incredible figure of over 500,000 million dollars. Furthermore, their industries are scarce and their productivity generally low; they are chiefly producers of intermediate goods or foodstuffs and light industry articles, and generally belong to the labor-intensive category. Nonoil producing countries are in the worst position of all, for they lack the fuel they need, spend a good many of their few resources importing it and, consequently, do not compensate this drain with the sale of their products.

The public debt of the underdeveloped countries grew at an average annual rate of approximately 21 percent during the '70s. For debt servicing alone, our countries paid 44,200 million dollars in 1979.

It is easy to see that this is bankruptcy. The unbearable burden of the debt and its servicing unsettles the life of Third World nations and ties them more

The International Monetary Fund sets itself up as a gendarme of the transnationals . . .

year alone, for example 1967, the United States welcomed 5,189 scientists, engineers and physicians from abroad, mostly from underdeveloped countries. That same year, of a total of 100,262 foreign students in the United States, 70 percent came from the underdeveloped world. Of this 70 percent, 42.6 percent remained in that country after finishing their studies. The most dramatic effects of the "brain drain" are seen in the field of medicine. During that same period, there were already 20,000 foreign doctors in the United States. The growing demand for physicians from the Third World, and especially from Latin America, is accountable for the fact that nearly 10 percent of the graduates (usually the most capable) from all the schools of medicine in Latin America go to that country.

and more to the owners of financial capital. The greater part of humanity is hungry and is in need of clothing, housing, schools, hospitals, factories in which to work, and means of agricultural production.

It is true that a small group of underdeveloped countries have great financial wealth for the time being by virtue of their rich oil deposits. The oil producing countries have used those resources to help developing countries in proportions greater than those devoted to that end by developed countries, but nevertheless, they are still outrageously insufficient. On the other hand, large financial surpluses derived from oil are put into purchasing shares of transnational companies or deposited in transnational banks, through which the neocolonial objective of the latter is reinforced.

South-South cooperation is still insufficient, and the surpluses created by oil exports can and must play a more active and important role.

One of the main factors in the crisis, and which serves to aggravate it, is the unbridled arms race, which is hitting the whole world hard.

Experts on this topic have estimated that this year war expenditures will amount to over 500,000 million dollars—taking into account direct arms budgets and other related expenses. This figure is comparable only to the foreign debt accumulated by all the underdeveloped countries put together.

If a substantial part of what is wasted on arms were used for development, it would have a sizable effect on the economy of all states; it would ease tensions and open prospects for rational understanding on new bases.

One of the most dangerous manifestations of state monopoly capitalism is the so-called military-industrial complex. Production for war provides its promoters with substantial profits. It employs hundreds of thousands of the best talents and millions of technicians and skilled workers.

The arms race is a suicidal policy. If it continues, the weight of it will worsen the international economic crisis incalculably. The arms race leads inevitably to war, and war, under the present conditions, will be a holocaust.

In the circumstances I've described we cannot think of dialogue on an equal

The arms race is a suicidal policy. If it continues, the weight of it will worsen the international economic crisis incalculably . . .

footing unless the underdeveloped countries close ranks and apply a consistent policy of solidarity among themselves.

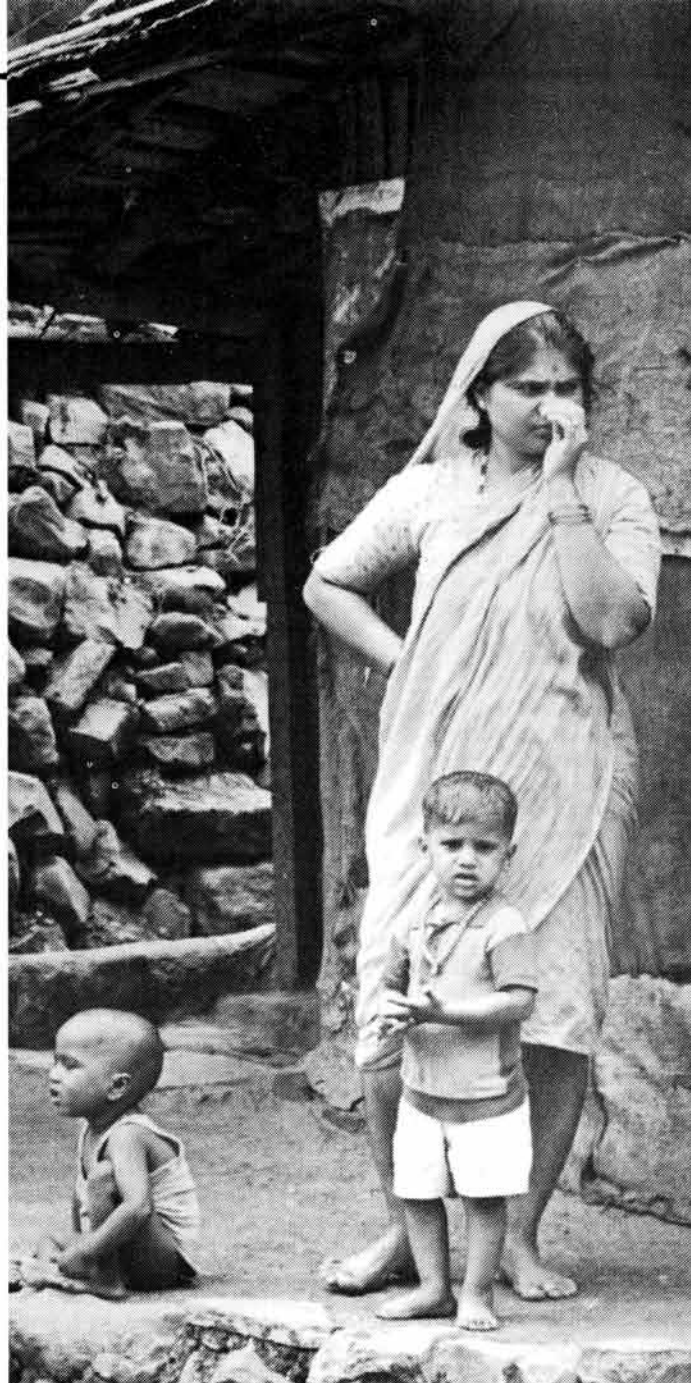
In recent years the need to establish a New International Economic Order has been taking shape, although opinions are not unanimous as to all aspects of it. The essence of this new order should be, however, to enable our countries to achieve real economic independence and to create material and spiritual conditions which would raise the living standards of the population in keeping with present-day scientific and technological achievements. Since we reject the model of hypertrophic societies, known as consumer societies—which are intrinsically superficial, wasteful and absolutely inapplicable to the Third World—it is to be concluded that we must build our own societies on the basis of work and social equity.

I think we all agree that, in the first place, our countries' natural resources must belong to the nation and serve the people.

Second, in trading with developed capitalist countries, the sale or exchange of these resources and their industrial results must be carried out on fair terms which would prevent unequal treatment and trade, that is, halting the present deterioration of the terms of trade.

On a previous occasion I said that there won't be peace without development. This means that the struggle for peace is the struggle for development and that there cannot be peace or development without an era of large-scale cooperation among all nations on the basis of respect for the free determination of every people in choosing the social regime in which they want to live. In the memorable words of Benito Juárez, a great Mexican who deservedly won the title of Worthy Son of the Americas, "respect for the rights of others is peace." (APPLAUSE) For our part, we have confidence in the laws of history, and we are convinced that, sooner rather than later, the peoples will choose an increasingly democratic social organization and finally opt for a system with no exploiters or exploited.

If the peoples in the underdeveloped countries do not work for development, there will be no development. Development is not only economic but also social. Distorted or dependent economic growth can occur, but it does not serve this objective nor does it lead to the desired goals. Correct economic and social policy must focus on and be concerned with man. If policy-making does



Barry Sheppard/Militant

Poor neighborhood in Bombay, India. "Over 1,000 million people—25 percent of the world population—live in poor, overcrowded and dangerous conditions."

not abide by these principles, there will be no development, nor even peace.

In many of our countries it is essential that rural relationships be restructured. In many places, archaic feudal fetters and imperialist domination have kept latifundia in the hands of nationals and of foreign monopolies. The land must belong to those who till it, be they agricultural workers grouped in state-owned farms, cooperative farmers or individual farmers who do not exploit the work of others. In many of our countries, where the majority of the population lives in the countryside, agrarian reform or revolution means giving millions of people a new life, producing the necessary food and raw materials, and expanding the domestic market, which promotes industrial progress. There cannot be economic and social development without the liberation of the rural masses and the liquidation of traditional relations of production in the countryside.

Development also means industrialization. We might ask ourselves, what kind of industrialization? Needless to say, setting up industries takes a long time, especially when diversification is undertaken. Every country has and

will have its own industrialization policy. It depends on economic, social and educational factors.

When speaking of industrialization in developing countries, "industrial redeployment" immediately comes up. This is a clever means big transnationals have devised to promote apparent industrialization while tightening neocolonial ties in the countries where it is implemented, and likewise reinforcing "private initiative."

Redeployment establishes a certain kind of new international division of labor that turns the backward South into a depot of industries of relatively low technological level and abundant manpower, and of industries whose polluting effects are not tolerated by the peoples of their respective metropolises. Thus, abundant cheap manpower is also exploited. Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and so on are concrete examples of this fictitious and deforming industrialization. This, of course, is not the industrialization to which we aspire.

In order to gain access to modern production methods and master advanced technologies, it is indispensable to train the men and women who are going to direct them, to upgrade their knowledge in their own fields and to provide

Development is not only economic but also social . . .

them with social, patriotic and internationalist awareness, thus enabling them both to carry out national economic and social projects and to contribute to the development of the underprivileged who suffer the consequences of a colonial past more acutely.

In our case, from the very day the Revolution triumphed, we gave priority to educating the people. The year 1961 was one of the hardest for Cuba, since the United States unleashed its most brutal aggressions then, as shown by the fact that the economic blockade was made official; the CIA organized armed counterrevolutionary bands; acts of sabotage and other crimes were carried out, as was the attack defeated at Playa Girón; the international diplomatic siege began as a result of the U.S. Government's pressure and bribery. In spite of all this, it was precisely during that year that we waged our great battle against illiteracy, with the participation of more than 100,000 adolescents and young people and the support of the revolutionary people as a whole. That was the great starting point. We believed then, as we believe today, that education is the foundation for socioeconomic development. How could we manage to have thousands or even millions of experts, technicians and skilled workers? This would be possible only if we undertook the task of educating the whole population. The profound national roots of our Revolution and our loyalty to José Martí's ideas helped us make a reality of his premise to the effect that "to be educated is the only way to be free."

The education battle is both necessary and difficult. It cannot be won in a decade or in a generation. We, for example, who have earmarked major economic resources and a great deal of energy to this end, are still engaged, after just over 22 years of Revolution, in an effort to raise all workers' educational level from the sixth grade they have already reached, to the ninth grade. This is no longer necessary with the new generations born after 1959, because all our children, adolescents and young people have studied or are still studying. More than 200,000 people are enrolled in our universities and higher education centers. In the last five years more university students graduated than in all previous years in the history of our country; and in the present five-year period more will graduate than in all the previous years put together. (APPLAUSE)

Our concern over the health of our people, our efforts to prevent suffering and to cure disease are fundamentally of a social and moral nature; but they also have an economic aspect, since it is the men and women of the people who produce, and a healthy, strong working population is indispensable to development.

One of the most backward aspects of Third World societies is their health services. Endemic diseases and epidemics scourge the population. Infant mortality is almost always appalling. The lack of hygiene and preventive measures is coupled with chronic undernourishment, which makes the people easy prey to all kinds of diseases. There are not enough hospitals, polyclinics or even first-aid stations. Medicines are either scarce or very expensive, and therefore out of reach for those who need them. In short, the sanitary and health infrastructure is nonexistent.

According to data from the World Health Organization, over 1,000 million people—25 percent of the world population—live in poor, overcrowded and

dangerous conditions. Of the 122 million babies born each year, 10 percent die before they are a year old; an additional 4 percent die before they are five years old. While in the developed countries one out of 40 children runs the risk of dying before adolescence, the proportion is one out of four in African countries, and even one out of two in certain areas in the Third World.

Each year, throughout the world, over 18 million children under five years of age die, 95 percent of them in underdeveloped countries.

There is no doubt that the hardest problem to solve is the need for doctors, nurses and other kinds of health technicians, without whom this situation could not be solved—even if facilities did exist. The training of doctors is a long process that starts in elementary school and goes on for at least 18 years, and a specialist must study a few more years after this initial training.

If it takes a lot of time and money to train doctors and other health technicians, it is even harder in some societies to guarantee that those professionals will live and work where they are most needed, and this is invariably in places far from cities or in remote and inhospitable areas. Moreover, in many hospitals, teaching centers and research institutions in developed capitalist countries we can find thousands of doctors and other scientists who have been lured away from their underdeveloped peoples. This happened to us immediately after our Revolution triumphed. More than 3,000 doctors emigrated to the United States, encouraged by the criminal action of the U.S. Government. We were left with only 3,000 doctors. We learned a great deal from that exodus. With the conscientious, patriotic and humanitarian doctors left to us, we began to train new revolutionary and internationalist doctors. Today we have more than 15,000, and in 1985 there will be 24,000. (APPLAUSE) This will mean one doctor per 435 inhabitants. Thousands of our doctors, dentists, nurses and other health workers are fulfilling their duty in many Third World countries, and they can be found in the farthest, wildest and unhealthiest places. (APPLAUSE)

If the decisive power of a state and a society is not in the hands of the great majority of workers, none of these prerequisites for development will materialize. The kind of socioeconomic policy we need can only be the result of a political leadership representing the most genuine interests of the working people. It is illusory to believe that the local political instruments of transnational oligarchies and feudal exploiting minorities will take those steps toward transformation. Therefore, democratization of society is the fundamental prerequisite for all changes and the expression of the will to develop. Political

'Solidarity with Cuban revolution'

[The following is the text of a special resolution adopted by the participants in the Second Congress of the Association of Third World Economists. It was presented by Mohamed Benbouta, an economist and professor at the University of Algeria.]

We the participants in the 2nd Congress of the Association of Third World Economists, meeting in Havana, Cuba, April 26-30, 1981:

warmly thank the political leadership of the Republic of Cuba for the fine material resources provided and the efforts made to contribute to the success of the work of the Congress;

express our deep gratitude to Commander in Chief Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba and current chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries for his participation in the opening session and the important guidelines contained in his opening speech;

express deep appreciation for the friendly welcome of the Cuban people and reiterate our admiration for the multiple victories won in the heroic struggle for the economic and social liberation of their country;

reiterate our solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, which in spite of the constant attempts by imperialism to destroy it, remains in the vanguard of the Third World countries committed to the process of genuine economic and social development;

support the right of the Cuban people to choose their own political and social system, and fully support their demand for the return of the territory illegally occupied by the Guantánamo naval base;

condemn the unjust blockade imposed by imperialism on the Cuban Revolution, and especially denounce the hostile acts, pressure and threats against it.

power must go from the hands of a few to the hands of the creative majorities. And this obviously implies putting an end to the discrimination of women and to the intolerable blight of racial discrimination. (APPLAUSE)

The United States, where more than 26 million blacks are absolutely discriminated against and where more than 14 million Latin Americans are treated in practically the same way, is an outstanding example of this disgraceful social practice.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are only too familiar with the many forms of racial discrimination inherited from colonialism and that

We are convinced that, sooner rather than later, the peoples will choose an increasingly democratic social organization and finally opt for a system with no exploiters or exploited . . .

still exist. The most scandalous and flagrant case, as is well known, is that of South Africa, which also maintains a stranglehold over Namibia.

For decades, and even more in the past few months, we have heard the spokesmen of international reaction express the theory that revolutions are being promoted as a result of astute maneuvers on the part of international agents. According to these spokesmen, these agents are so skillful that they have worked the miracle of making millions revolt and convincing whole peoples to rebel against oppression, against the denial of their most elementary national and social aspirations, against hunger, unemployment, poverty, disease and ignorance. These ridiculous statements are repeated endlessly.

And who among you, economists and sociologists of the Third World who are so well informed about your countries and regions, could accept the imperialist fable about the causes of national liberation wars and revolutions, and not see them as the just response of our peoples to the permanent violation of the most elementary and sacred rights of human society? (APPLAUSE)

If we want a clear picture of the stark realities in the so-called Third World countries, suffice it to say that the world population already amounts to 4,400 million inhabitants, 75 percent of them in underdeveloped countries. However, developed countries—25 percent of the world population—enjoy 83 percent of the world's GNP; they consume 75 percent of the energy and 70 percent of the grain; they own 92 percent of world industry and 95 percent of all technological resources; they use up 89 percent of all the money spent on education.

Per capita consumption of animal proteins in developed countries is six times greater than in underdeveloped countries. Between 400 and 500 million

Gunnar Myrdal on the example of Cuba

One of those attending the Second Congress of the Association of Third World Economists in Havana was Gunnar Myrdal, the internationally known Swedish economist who has conducted extensive research into problems of economic underdevelopment. His book *An American Dilemma* is widely used as a text in U.S. universities.

While in Havana, Myrdal granted an interview to *Granma*, pointing to Cuba as an example for other underdeveloped countries.

"Cuba is an outstanding success among underdeveloped countries. It is notable from an economic point of view, for it has carried out the greater part of the transformations which I as an economist would recommend to developing countries," he stated.

"One thing which I think is very important: in Cuba there has been a true agrarian reform. Secondly, you devoted your attention to what I think is most vital—feeding the people, educating the people, including eradicating illiteracy, and public health. Moreover, you have gotten rid of unemployment.

"For these reasons, if anyone were to ask me where there has been success in development, I would tell them to look at Cuba. Not that you don't have difficulties—you do; but what is special to Cuba is that you have coped with these problems in the most difficult circumstances that any underdeveloped country has had to face, including the terrible U.S. economic blockade, which has lasted for more than 20 years."

people suffer from hunger in underdeveloped countries. And we must not forget that in 20 years' time—in other words, at the end of the century—the world population will exceed 6,500 million inhabitants, of which present-day underdeveloped countries will account for 80 percent; and that the gap, far from closing, grows wider.

These are the consequences of centuries of colonialist, imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation.

In October 1979, when I addressed the 34th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in order to report on the agreements of the 6th Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, I made a proposal to be included in the strategy of the decade beginning in 1980. I expressed the imperative need for an additional contribution of no less than 300,000 million dollars (at 1977 real values), to be distributed right from the beginning in yearly installments of at least 25,000 million dollars for investments in underdeveloped countries. This assistance should be in the form of donations and long-term, low-interest soft credits. That figure possibly amounts to about 400,000 million dollars today. What we asked for in 1979 was equal to military expenditures; but those expenditures have now increased by about 100,000 million dollars.

In that Assembly we said, and today reiterate, that: "Unequal exchange is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!"

"Inflation, which is being exported to us, is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!"

"Protectionism is impoverishing our peoples; and it should cease!"

"The imbalance that exists concerning the exploitation of sea resources is abusive; and it should be abolished!"

"The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient; and should be increased!"

"Arms expenditures are irrational. They should cease, and the funds thus released should be used to finance development!"

"The international monetary system that prevails today is bankrupt; and should be replaced!"

"The debts of the least developed countries and those in a disadvantageous

The land must belong to those who till it. Agrarian reform or revolution means giving millions of people a new life . . .

position are impossible to bear and have no solution. They should be canceled! "Indebtedness oppresses the rest of the developing countries economically; and it should be relieved!"

"The wide economic gap between the developed countries and the countries that seek development is growing rather than diminishing; and it should be closed!"

"Such are the demands of the underdeveloped countries." (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

However, no constructive decisions have been reached in the North-South dialogue or in any other forums; and we are already in the second year of the decade.

All these problems, of course, are now more serious, and a realistic approach to this staggering situation is not in sight. Moreover, international political and economic relations have seriously deteriorated. A cold war atmosphere is emerging; détente is vanishing; and U.S. threats against the countries that do not toe the line predict a further worsening of tensions and the danger of war.

The period comprising the next two decades has been considered by many as a stage of vital significance for the future of mankind. Without dramatizing or sharing in catastrophic notions, we can conclude, in view of facts and figures, that should the present course be maintained, the future is uncertain and fraught with catastrophes. These catastrophes will be infinitely worse for the poor of the earth, but the countries of the wealthy North will certainly not escape their terrible consequences.

The world of today has changed its appearance. National-international links have become indissoluble. No country is exempt from this relationship; no issue in this sphere can be examined from a purely national viewpoint. The economy has become internationalized and continues this trend at a quick pace. In the immediate future, and ever after, solutions will not be found if this premise is ignored. This is the truth, and it is being gradually accepted by those who deal with socioeconomic and political problems.

Ours is an era of democratic struggle within the context of universal cooper-



"There cannot be economic and social development without the liberation of the rural masses and the liquidation of traditional relations of production in the countryside."

ation among nations. There is no other valid and rational choice. Any policy opposed to it leads to world war, whose foreseeable aftermath is the annihilation of thousands of millions of inhabitants of the planet and the destruction of most centers of civilization and contemporary productive forces. Science fiction writers might well figure out how mankind would live after these developments. That is why we believe that the solution to present evils affecting the Third World cannot be partial. Appropriate and comprehensive measures must be taken. Problems are not exclusively monetary or financial, commercial or related solely to energy, population or ecological and environmental factors, etc.; nor are they only caused by socioeconomic and political changes. They make up an integral whole that should be taken into consideration as such.

Political power must go from the hands of a few to the hands of the creative majorities. And this obviously implies putting an end to the discrimination of women and to the intolerable blight of racial discrimination . . .

This whole must also be seen within the framework of economic and political relations with the rest of the world.

This is the dilemma of our time, which we must all help solve. Clarifying concepts, discussing ideas, formulating adequate theses and theories represent a very effective way to blaze the path to progress.

As we have stated on other occasions, the recognition of the difficulties we face will never weaken our deeprooted and profound optimism. The problems may be immense, but greater still is our determination to seek and find solu-

tions. If we all unite, if we succeed in promoting international cooperation so urgently needed, we are certain to overcome any obstacle and move forward.

This is a worldwide event. The General Assembly of UNESCO held in Belgrade last November agreed to give this Congress its full support.

More recently, in February of this year, the Ministerial Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi, India, unanimously gave the event its full support.

The confidence placed in you is an incentive for reflection, meditation, study and action. I firmly believe that the Association of Third World Economists will draw strength and inspiration from the ideas that engendered it.

The future poses a difficult but exciting challenge to our countries, and to mankind as a whole. In the face of this challenge, the role of economists is increasingly important. I might say that never before have economists been in a position to exert so much and so positive an influence on the course of world developments. You, the distinguished participants in this Congress, represent a significant part of the talent, the experience and the noteworthy values that the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean have been able to develop. There is no doubt that this meeting will provide a wide and fruitful course for your wisdom. There is no doubt that this Congress will prove once again the essential unity and cohesion of our countries on many vital problems. There is no doubt that your discussions will be beneficial not only for economics but also for the just cause of independence, development and cooperation among the peoples.

Esteemed and honorable friends, we wish you great success in your Congress. May your discussions and agreements help us find the path we must follow together. May progress and peace be the fruit of the talent, spirit and noble will of the human race.

Patria o muerte!
Venceremos!
(OVATION)

Elections a blow to missile plan

Strengthens opposition in other NATO countries

By Will Reissner

The May 26 parliamentary elections in the Netherlands dealt a stinging setback to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's plan to place 572 U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, targeted on the Soviet Union.

Because the governing coalition of Christian Democrats and the rightist Liberal Party was denied a parliamentary majority, it is now virtually certain that it will be unable to gather the votes needed in the Dutch parliament to push through a decision to deploy forty-eight of the nuclear missiles in the Netherlands.

NATO voted in December 1979 to place the missiles in West Germany, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy. The Dutch government went along with the plan only after intense pressure from the Carter administration and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. At the time, a nonbinding vote of the Dutch parliament had already flatly rejected putting any missiles on Dutch soil.

Because of intense public opposition to the missiles within the Netherlands, the Dutch government hedged on its support for the NATO plan. It voted at the NATO meeting to accept missile deployment in general, while postponing until December 1981 a final decision on whether to deploy the weapons in the Netherlands.

Public opinion polls indicate that the Dutch people are overwhelmingly opposed to placing U.S. nuclear missiles in their country. A poll in April showed that only 8 percent of the population favored deployment without qualification. Another 16 percent would accept the weapons only if arms control talks with the Soviet Union accompanied the deployment decision, while 18 percent would take the missiles only if arms limitation talks should totally fail. But 58 percent of the population rejected the missiles under any circumstances whatsoever.

Within the Christian Democratic Party itself, at least a half-dozen members of parliament are adamantly opposed to the missile plan and would break with their party on any deployment decision, as they did in the December 1979 nonbinding vote.

The likelihood that the Dutch parliament will not accept the missiles places the entire NATO decision in jeopardy. At the time of the NATO vote, the Belgian and Danish governments, facing intense opposition to the missiles among their own populations, accepted the measure only after heavy pressure from their NATO allies.

The NATO governments tried at the time to cover over the fact that the decision was an escalation of the arms race. They claimed that the deployment plan made arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union more likely; therefore, they said, the missiles probably would not have to be deployed at all.

The public posture of the Reagan administration, which has announced that it does not even consider itself bound by the SALT I and SALT II treaties already negotiated with the Soviet Union,

has undercut the argument that the missile decision will actually lead to a reduction in armaments.

This has strengthened opposition to missile deployment throughout Europe. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has been a strong advocate of accepting the U.S. missiles. But he has stated that they cannot be placed on West German soil unless at least one other NATO member besides Britain also accepts them. With the Netherlands, Denmark, and Belgium now very unlikely to take the missiles, that leaves only Italy, which is currently undergoing a profound governmental crisis.

In Britain, despite Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's strong advocacy of the missile plan, massive opposition to deployment exists. The Labour Party has stated that if it is returned to office it will send back any missiles Thatcher accepts.

There is mounting pressure within West Germany as well to reverse the decision to accept the U.S. missiles. In recent weeks Schmidt has tried to still opposition within his own Social Democratic Party by threatening to resign unless criticism of the missile plan stops.

In an attempt to bolster his position, Schmidt journeyed to Washington for talks with President Reagan in mid-May. Schmidt explained to Reagan that the only chance for the missile deployment decision to gain acceptance with West Europeans is if it is strongly and publicly linked to the possibility of arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union.

Japanese protest U.S. nuclear arms

When the U.S. aircraft carrier *Midway* returns to its home port of Yokosuka, Japan, in early June, its presence is expected to become the focus of huge demonstrations demanding the withdrawal of U.S. naval vessels from Japan. As many as 100,000 protesters are expected to meet the ship, which has been at sea since February.

Intense protests have been sparked by the disclosure in early May that Japanese officials have been permitting U.S. ships carrying nuclear weapons to dock at the country's ports for more than two decades, in violation of Japanese laws against the introduction of such weapons into the country.

The warships of the Seventh Fleet, including the *Midway*, are thought to carry as many as 100 nuclear weapons. The Seventh Fleet is based at Yokosuka, at the entrance to Tokyo Bay.

The government of Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki has been under intense public pressure to stop the practice since it came to light. Thus far, however, Suzuki continues to deny that Tokyo ever agreed to the introduction of nuclear weapons, despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

The mayor of Yokosuka asked the U.S. Navy to delay the *Midway's* return, and called on the Japanese government to make a similar request. Suzuki's government did, in fact, ask U.S. offi-

Schmidt's point was underscored just before he left for Washington, when he was presented with a petition signed by nearly 800,000 West Germans, calling on his government to refuse to accept the 108 Pershing II and 96 cruise missiles scheduled for placement in West Germany.

Although Schmidt succeeded in getting Reagan to make some statements about the need for arms talks with Moscow, the White House's constant emphasis on the need for an arms buildup is unlikely to make Reagan's perfunctory remarks convincing to many West Germans.

As a result of the Dutch elections, forces opposed to the NATO decision will be strengthened throughout Europe. NATO strategists are now trying to figure out how best to contain the damage done to their deployment plan. One Western diplomat quoted in the May 28 *New York Times* argued that it would now be counterproductive to keep pressing the Dutch government on the issue. Instead, the diplomat argued, Washington should concentrate on finding "a way to build two kinds of firebreaks—one to stop any further erosion of [the Netherlands'] commitment to NATO, the other to prevent this kind of rejection from spreading beyond the Netherlands."

But the Reagan administration faces an uphill battle in this regard. As time passes, opposition to the missile plan is growing stronger in Western Europe rather than weakening.

A collapse of the agreement to place the nuclear missiles in Europe would deal a severe setback to the Pentagon's attempts to establish a first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union. In particular, it would compound the Reagan administration's own growing problems in selling the MX missile system to working people in the United States. □

cial in Tokyo if it would be possible to postpone the ship's docking. But the U.S. embassy turned down the request.

Yokosuka Mayor Kazuo Yokoyama told the U.S. Navy that the *Midway's* return should be delayed because of the "deep concern" of the city's residents.

The *Midway's* return is likely to intensify the political problems of the Suzuki government, which has been reeling since the disclosures about the presence of nuclear weapons in Japan. Even before that, Suzuki had come under heavy fire for the communiqué he signed with President Reagan during his May 7-8 visit to Washington.

The communiqué, which referred to the "alliance" between the U.S. and Japan, touched off a storm of protest, leading to the resignation of Suzuki's foreign minister.

In addition, there have been protests over the recent conduct of the U.S. Navy in Japanese waters. In April a U.S. nuclear submarine rammed a Japanese freighter and left the scene without giving aid to survivors. Two crew members of the freighter drowned. In May, U.S. warships damaged Japanese fishing vessels. As a result of these incidents, naval maneuvers involving U.S. and Japanese ships were abruptly canceled by the Japanese government. □