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Kremlin's Warning to Polish CP: 'Crack Down on Workers Movement'



Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa addressing March 20 rally.

**Bombers Over Baghdad
Mark Escalation of
Israeli War Drive**

**Special Feature on Poland
'Solidarity' Draft Program
Describes Aims of Workers**

Salvador 'White Paper' flops, but Reagan keeps on trying

By Fred Murphy

The "White Paper" on El Salvador issued by the U.S. State Department in February has reappeared in the news, much to the regret of its authors.

The White Paper, let's recall, claimed to present "definitive evidence" and "incontrovertible" information that "the established Government of El Salvador" is the victim of "a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers through Cuba."

Key to its conclusions were a "mass of captured documents" that included "battle plans, letters, and reports of meetings and travels, some written in cryptic language and using code words."

But now the State Department employee responsible for preparing the White Paper has admitted that "we completely screwed it up."

Jon Glassman, who received a promotion for his role in analyzing the alleged "secret guerrilla documents," told the *Wall Street Journal* in an interview published June 8 that parts of the White Paper may be "misleading" and "over-embellished" and that those who analyzed the documents made "mistakes" and were "guessing."

The result, as *Journal* reporter Jonathan Kwitny rather mildly put it, is that the State Department's claims of a "month-by-month arms buildup, of almost blitzkrieg proportions, described in the white paper with such emphatic detail and precision, may lose credibility."

The centerpiece of the White Paper was a document allegedly written by Shafik Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party (one of the five groups that make up the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front).

The document was said to detail a tour by Handal of Moscow, Havana, Hanoi, and other capitals in mid-1980. According to the White Paper, Handal received pledges of massive arms shipments and assurances that the Soviet Union would help in transporting them.

Now, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, "Mr. Glassman acknowledges that the report couldn't have been written by Mr. Handal."

"Mr. Glassman says that he doesn't know who wrote this report, which is central to the white paper."

Before the White Paper was released, *New York Times* diplomatic correspondent Juan de Onís received leaked copies of the "guerrilla documents." Last February 6, he claimed the documents described "how the highest levels of the Communist leadership in Eastern Europe and in Vietnam approved collaboration with the Salvadoran guerrillas."

Now, however, de Onís questions "whether

the white paper's interpretation of Mr. Handal's report on his travels accurately portrays the Soviet Union's role" (*New York Times*, June 10).

In fact, the *Wall Street Journal* said, "the only concrete instance of Soviet aid delivered to the Salvadoran rebels reported in the 19 documents was an airplane ticket from Moscow to Vietnam for one guerrilla. . . ."

Why all the lies? And why, after months of helping Reagan and the State Department propagate the lies, have some of the most important capitalist dailies in the United States suddenly begun pointing out just how shabby Washington's case is?

The *Wall Street Journal* now notes that "a close reading of the white paper indicates . . . that its authors probably were making a determined effort to create a 'selling' document, no matter how slim the background material."

What they were trying to sell was massive military aid and U.S. advisers for the brutal junta that rules El Salvador. But the American people wouldn't buy. Tens of thousands have participated in protests demanding that Washington keep its hands off Central America. Millions more agree with them.

Such sentiment was not blunted by the White Paper. Instead, it had the opposite ef-

fect: American working people have not forgotten the toll the Vietnam War took on their lives, and they rapidly grasped that Washington's propaganda was aimed at justifying new military adventures abroad.

Cutting the losses

When it became clear in early March that the hullabaloo over "Communist interference in El Salvador" was backfiring, reporters were called to the State Department and told that the story was "running five times as big as it is." They were admonished to "not make this thing such a big deal."

The media barons obliged, and El Salvador promptly dropped off the television screens and the front pages of the big U.S. dailies.

Now, the Reagan administration is apparently trying to cut its losses further, with Glassman taking the heat for the White Paper's "mistakes." But Glassman and his employers still stand by the document's main conclusions.

"I say throw the white paper away, ignore it," said James Cheek, who has been a key spokesman on Central America for both Carter and Reagan. "The fact remains all those weapons are there. You tell me how they got them?"

The Salvadoran rebels have answered this question time and again. They say that they capture growing numbers of weapons from government forces, and that they have also purchased arms on the black market. They add that they are ready to accept aid from any quarter in their struggle for liberation.

The FMLN's weapons are mostly of U.S. manufacture. Reporters who have visited the

Our Poland coverage—it takes money

Events in Poland are once again reaching a crucial stage. As George Saunders, who returned from a three-week stay in Poland in May, explains in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*, pressure from the Soviet bureaucracy is forcing another stage in the revolutionary process that has been unfolding in Poland for nearly a year now.

This issue of *IP* also contains the draft program being discussed throughout Poland by the ranks of the independent trade union movement, Solidarity. The contents of this program is one of the most effective answers to the slander that the Polish workers movement is counterrevolutionary.

This document, translated by *Intercontinental Press*, was first published in the April 17 issue of the Solidarity national newspaper. It is appearing in *IP* for the first time in English—a fine example of the kind of coverage that makes *IP* unique.

In addition to our regular news and analytical articles on the workers revolution in Poland, *IP* has carried exclusive interviews with Solidarity leader Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing sparked the August

1980 strike and the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, and with Jacek Kuron—one of the most prominent opposition figures in Poland.

Documents from the discussion inside the Polish Communist Party, reports from correspondents on the scene, and interviews with student activists and participants in the workers movement make *IP* an indispensable source of information on what is happening in Poland.

At the same time, we have covered the impact of the Polish events inside the working-class movement internationally.

We on the *IP* staff intend to continue paying this kind of attention to the struggle in Poland, and we know that our coverage is appreciated by *IP* readers around the world. But sending correspondents to Poland is not cheap. We need your help to continue providing the excellent coverage that *IP* readers have come to expect.

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rebel-held zones in El Salvador—foes as well as friends of the liberation struggle—have confirmed the FMLN's statements.

Another one in the works

While backing off from charging a direct role by the Soviet Union in El Salvador, Reagan administration officials have sharpened their attacks on Cuba and Nicaragua in recent weeks.

Cuba is "the principal threat to peace in this region," Vice-president George Bush said June 3. Thomas Enders, Reagan's nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, terms Nicaragua "a forward base of operations" for "an extraordinary covert war" by Cuba aimed at promoting the "Sovietization" of Central America and the Caribbean.

The fate of the February White Paper appears not to have deterred Washington from again using that method—a new one is reportedly in the works. The *New York Times* said June 9 that "a major State department study that denounces Cuba as the instigator of revolutionary movements in El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, and Costa Rica" will soon be released.

An ambitious new project for economic and military aid to shore up proimperialist regimes in the Caribbean and Central America is also being drawn up. Various described in the capitalist press as a new "Marshall Plan" or "Alliance for Progress," the plan is said to involve trade preferences, incentives for private investment by U.S. corporations, and direct aid for the development of light industry and tourism. The total cost has been put at about \$1 billion, but no U.S. funds are to be allocated until fiscal year 1983.

In the early 1960s the so-called Alliance for Progress served as the façade for counterinsurgency programs against mass struggles and guerrilla movements. The new project will be no different.

The *Christian Science Monitor* commented: "a long-term plan that emphasized economic aid as well as military assistance might take some of the heat off the administration. It might make its designs more acceptable to some of its friends and less objectionable to some of its enemies."

Thomas Enders, who is said to be responsible for drawing up the plan, has declared: "We will help threatened countries to defend themselves. Once insurgents take arms with outside support, there is no alternative to an armed response."

Prospective partners pose problems

Washington hopes to enlist the Mexican and Venezuelan governments as junior partners in the new aid plan. But it faces big obstacles in doing so. The Herrera Campins regime in Venezuela has indicated its willingness to cooperate, perhaps in return for the sixteen to twenty-four advanced F-16 fighter jets that Washington will soon sell to Venezuela's air force. But Herrera faces growing opposition at home owing to his support for the junta in El

Salvador.

Mexico poses a more difficult problem. President José López Portillo has often spoken out against U.S. military aid to El Salvador and other dictatorships in the region, and has maintained friendly ties with Fidel Castro and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

López Portillo visited Washington for talks with Reagan on June 8 and 9. On June 9 the *New York Times* cited a "senior Administration official" who claimed that the Mexican president was "indeed interested in participating" in Reagan's new Caribbean-Central American plan.

Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda told reporters later that López Portillo had put

three conditions on his country's participation: the plan "should not contain any military facet"; it should not be "conceived of as a plan to fight the Soviet Union or Communism in the region"; and no country should be excluded "in principle" from receiving aid.

Castañeda asserted that Reagan had agreed to these stipulations. In fact, however, they run totally counter to U.S. imperialism's real aims: to step up military efforts to suppress the revolutionary upsurge in Central America and the Caribbean; to justify this by brandishing the specter of a Cuban plot to "Sovietize" the region; and to isolate and pressure Nicaragua, Grenada, and other anti-imperialist regimes through economic blackmail. □

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Israeli bombers over Baghdad

Zionist war drive a threat to all humanity

By Janice Lynn

On June 7 Israeli war planes bombed a nuclear reactor near the Iraqi capital of Baghdad.

In carrying out this act of war against Iraq, Israeli jets flew more than 1,000 miles to their target, violating the airspace of Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

This latest attack is a sharp escalation of the Israeli regime's military adventures.

In recent months, the Zionist regime has repeatedly bombed and shelled towns and villages in southern Lebanon.

It has armed rightist forces in that country and incited them to step up their military operations against Palestinian refugees and Lebanese Muslims and leftists.

And it has provoked an increasingly tense confrontation with Syria, demanding the removal of Syria antiaircraft missiles in both Lebanon and Syria.

The Israeli regime, armed with nuclear weapons, has declared that it will prevent any Arab country from developing a deterrent.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin threatened June 9, "Israel will not tolerate any enemy—not Arab, any enemy—to develop weapons of mass destruction against the people of Israel."

And Israeli General Rafael Eytan similarly declared, "We will know what to do next time as well, and it is not definite that it will be in Iraq in particular. It may be somewhere else."

Even the editors of the pro-Israel *New York Times* noted that this "preemptive aggression is a reckless game." In a June 9 editorial, the *Times* asked, "If Israel's security justifies the destruction of one Arab reactor, why not every other? And why not take out other threatening technologies? Why not, indeed, slaughter potentially dangerous people. . . ?"

'A perpetual state of war'

A *Boston Globe* editorial the same day pointed out, "The Baghdad raid was, in effect, a statement that a perpetual state of war exists between Israel and its neighbors."

The implication of Begin's action against Iraq is that Israel has the right to determine what industries the Arab peoples can develop and what they can't. Military power today cannot be separated from the development of technology and industry.

According to Begin's twisted logic, if Arab countries build up a petrochemical industry as part of their attempts to modernize, it would be an act of self-defense for Israeli warplanes to bomb chemical plants. After all, such factories can provide the technological basis for developing chemical warfare agents.

Will Begin also justify bombing auto facto-

ries on the basis that they can be used to build tanks that might be used against Israel?

As the Iraqi government pointed out in a June 8 statement, "The Zionist entity understands that one of the most decisive factors in determining the future of the conflict the Arab nation is waging against it is the continued presence of the technical and scientific gap between it and the Arab nation."

Israel cannot tolerate industrial or technological progress by its neighbors. It fears this would endanger the Zionist state's grip on the territory it has seized from the Arab peoples.

Israel is arrayed against the economic development and progress of the entire Arab world.

The Israeli position is so clearly untenable that it brought protests from even the most pro-Zionist sources.

"Israel's sneak attack on a French-built nuclear reactor near Baghdad was an act of inexcusable and short-sighted aggression," wrote the editors of the *New York Times* on June 9.

An editorial in the London *Times* the same day stated, "The logic of the Israelis' position . . . condemns them to a perpetual struggle to prevent any Arab country from developing nuclear energy, on the grounds that the technology and facilities involved might at some stage be turned against Israel—an impractical and probably self-defeating course of action."

Worldwide condemnation

Arab governments held an emergency session to condemn the Israeli raid. The representatives of twenty Arab countries and the Palestine Liberation Organization called on the United Nations to impose "binding sanctions" against Israel. They also called on Washington to "put an end to Zionist aggression" and take "steps to terminate assistance" that encourages Israeli aggression and expansionism.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad issued a strong warning to Israel against attacking Syrian missiles. According to the June 10 *Washington Post*, Lt. Gen. David Ivri of the Israeli Air Force had "said the Iraqi operation is behind while the Syrian problem lies ahead."

Saudi Arabia's information minister denounced the attack on Iraq as the "peak of international terrorism practiced by Israel."

Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Aly said the Israeli raid was "irresponsible and unjustified" and the Egyptian parliament passed a resolution calling on Washington to reconsider its military aid to Israel.

One of the sharpest denunciations of Israel came from the Iranian government, which is still attempting to beat back an invasion by the Iraqi regime. The statement condemned Washington for inspiring the Israeli raid.

The New China News Agency described the Israelis as "arrogant gangsters."

Pakistan assailed the Israeli raid as "an act of international gangsterism."

Kurt Waldheim, secretary general of the United Nations, called the Israeli raid a "clear contravention of international law."

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher condemned the Israeli raid as a "grave breach of international law."

The Soviet press agency Tass declared that responsibility for the raid "is borne by Israel and the United States of America, which arms the aggressor and gives it every support."

The governments of France, Italy, and West Germany also protested the Israeli attack.

In defiance of this almost unanimous worldwide condemnation, Begin arrogantly declared over Israeli radio, "We are not afraid of any reaction by the world."

At a press conference on June 9, Begin said, "Despite all of the condemnation heaped on Israel in the last 24 hours, Israel has nothing to apologize for. It was a just cause." Begin declared he would do the same thing over again.

New step on an old course

The Iraqi bombing raid is a further step in the historical course pursued by the Zionist state since its foundation.

The setting up of a Jewish state in 1948, in a country where the majority of the population was Arab, necessitated the expulsion of the Palestinian majority from their own country.

Those Palestinians who remained became second-class citizens, discriminated against both economically and socially.

Surrounded by people it has expelled and oppressed, Israel is driven to continually lash out at its victims as they seek to fight back. The Israeli regime has conducted four major wars since 1948. In the 1967 war, it captured the West Bank from Jordan, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt.

Thus, Israel has systematically violated the boundaries of its neighbors. In the end, Israel's expanding borders have simply meant expanding war fronts—with new refugees beyond its borders and new victims of discrimination and repression within.

Along with its expansionist and racist ideology, the Israeli regime has a material drive to expand its economic and territorial base in order to support an ever-larger and more sophisticated war machine.

It is this that has led the Israeli rulers into forging a close military alliance with U.S. imperialism. Washington pushes the Zionist regime forward, using the Zionist state for its

own purposes—as a permanent military base against the Arab revolution. This is why Washington has armed the Zionist regime to the teeth.

Mild U.S. response

Not surprisingly, one of the mildest reactions to the Israeli aggression came from the Reagan administration. The U.S. State Department's first statement said the raid was "clearly a very serious development and a source of utmost concern."

Later, a stronger statement condemning the raid was issued.

But the only action Washington felt compelled to take was to suspend "for the time being" shipment of four F-16 fighter bombers that had been scheduled for delivery to Israel June 12. It was U.S.-supplied F-16 planes that bombed the Iraqi reactor. The Zionist regime has fifty-three F-16's and has ordered twenty-two more.

A June 10 letter to Congress on behalf of Reagan, written by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, contained absolutely no condemnation of the raid. Rather it gave credence to the Israeli rulers' assertions that the raid was carried out in self-defense.

"We are conducting a review of this entire matter," the Haig letter stated, "and will consider the contention of Israel that this action was necessary for its defense. . . ."

There has been no delay in the shipments of other military equipment scheduled to be sent to Israel.

Even a Washington official quoted in the June 11 *New York Times* described the U.S. action as a "very measured response."

On June 11, Reagan proclaimed that the Israeli aggression would not lead to any fundamental reevaluation of U.S.-Israeli relationships. As one official commented, this reflected Washington's "recognition that Israel is an important ally of the United States in the region."

New York Times Jerusalem correspondent David Shipler on June 11 noted the comment by one Israeli government official that the attack on Iraq "'underscores Israel's usefulness in the area' as a stabilizing force that can curb undesirable military advances by anti-Western countries."

While Reagan has followed previous U.S. policy in attempting to forge closer alliances with some of the Arab governments in the region, these regimes cannot be relied upon by the imperialists in the same way as the Israeli regime.

Unlike Israel, which is subsidized by Washington, the Arab countries are economically exploited and politically dominated by world imperialism. As a result, their regimes are subject to pressures from mass anti-imperialist sentiment at home, while continually being undermined by the world economic crisis, which hits the semicolonial countries the hardest.

Washington uses the Israeli regime to carry out counterrevolutionary actions that any U.S. government would have great difficulty taking

responsibility for.

This course has led the Israeli rulers to establish close ties with some of the most hated regimes around the world, such as the apartheid regime of South Africa, with which Israel has a joint nuclear development program.

An enemy of human liberation

The Zionist state of Israel has become known as the enemy of every people fighting for their liberation not only in the Middle East but in other parts of the world as well. It has befriended all of the world's most hated dictators—from the former shah of Iran, to former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The Israeli regime supplies arms and other military weaponry to the Salvadoran junta, and to the military dictatorships in Honduras, Guatemala, Argentina, and Chile.

Within Israel, however, there is growing op-

position to the regime's warlike and expansionist course. Even Israeli Labor Party leader Shimon Peres raised questions about the circumstances of the raid on Iraq, stating that it would isolate Israel "and lay herself open to similar attacks."

Such statements by Peres on anti-Arab military actions that usually enjoy wholehearted bipartisan support indicate strong pressures from Israeli working people.

Israeli workers are beginning to sense that a course that pits them against the aspirations and progress of the vast majority of the human race can only end in disaster. It would turn the Zionist state into a death trap for the Jewish people.

Furthermore, unless the Israeli rulers' reckless and desperate course is stopped, it will lead to new wars that will threaten all humanity. □

Grenada's 'Free West Indian' discusses Black liberation

[A rally to celebrate African Liberation Day was held May 24 on the Caribbean island of Grenada, with Prime Minister Maurice Bishop the featured speaker. The following editorial appeared in the May 23 issue of the *Free West Indian*, the Grenadian weekly.]

* * *

This weekend, as we demonstrate our support for our struggling brothers and sisters in Africa, let us spare a thought for their equally struggling siblings in the Western Hemisphere.

The sons and daughters of Africa, living in our hemisphere are, of course, not faced with a brutal apartheid regime and its elaborate and well-oiled war machine.

No, but they are struggling anyway—a daily struggle to make both ends meet, to get a job, keep it, look after a family, get a balanced diet, decent schooling, housing and medical attention.

In the United States of America, the descendants of African slaves still face discrimination and victimisation from a white-oriented Federal government, which is more concerned about securing the rights of an oppressive white minority in Namibia, than of its own black citizens.

Violence, too, against blacks is not unknown. The white supremacist Ku Klux Klan is once more openly at work, and the combined intelligence of the U.S. police force and the internal security agency, the super-efficient FBI, cannot find the murderers of about 30 young black males in Atlanta, Georgia.

Shabby, mice-ridden slum dwellings, lacking any modern conveniences, is the normal residence of many Afro-Americans in the most prosperous country in the world. And the residents of these ghettos, without jobs and empty pockets in a land where profits, even on

food, is all-important, often end up behind its mighty prison walls.

In Great Britain, the situation is little different. The black subjects of Britain's once vast empire, which still subjugates and suffocates the Catholic Irish, now find themselves unwanted "immigrants" in the "motherland".

Fascist groups like the National Front are making felt their belief that only WASPs (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants) have any rights in the so-called United Kingdom, and black British youths are rebelling in Brixton and other depressed areas, over their lack of opportunity to lead decent lives.

The government of "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher is now trying to push through a racist Nationality Bill that would, in effect, strip black citizens of their rights and make life more difficult for black residents.

Closer to home, in the English-speaking Caribbean, the victims of slavery, British colonialism and U.S. imperialism still have a long way to go in liberating themselves from the effects of such a history.

The militant people of Grenada have made the first step, in ridding themselves of the corrupt, backward Gairy regime and in embarking on a long road towards building a progressive and beneficial Revolution.

But in the other islands, the youths live without much hope, as they see jobs, food, houses and hospital beds become scarcer, and prices higher. Out of sheer desperation, they are turning to crime, prostitution, dope-smoking and dealing—cheap thrills and way-out cults.

This is the reality of depressed ghetto life of which Rastaman Bob Marley so poignantly sang.

And it is a reality which we can no longer ignore. □

New threats from Moscow

PUWP leaders caught between Soviet demands and Polish workers

By George Saunders

The approach of the congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP—the Communist Party of Poland) marks a critical new point in the ongoing Polish revolution.

At this congress, scheduled for July 14-19, the ruling party will have to make major political, social, and economic decisions under pressure from a mass workers movement demanding democracy and independence and expressing the aspirations of virtually every layer in the society.

Moreover, the strong reform movement which has grown up within the party in the last few months is sure to make its presence felt at the congress.

"Of the 428 delegates already elected so far—out of a total of 2,000 [to be elected]—a clear majority are strongly committed to the adoption of major economic and political reforms," reported Michael Dobbs from Warsaw in the June 12 *Washington Post*.

Most of these delegates, Dobbs reported, are "new faces" and one hundred and thirty of them so far are actually *members of Solidarity!*

The prospect is that this special congress will legitimize and carry forward the process of democratization which is transforming Poland from the bottom up.

Soviet letter

This prospect is what impelled the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to send a letter in early June to the Central Committee of the PUWP denouncing the present PUWP leadership in very harsh terms.

In 1968 a similar letter was sent to the reform leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, likewise on the eve of a congress that promised to carry forward the process of democratization in Czechoslovakia. A few days later came the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet leaders hypocritically proclaimed their concern for "Poland as a free and independent state." Then they complained that their repeated "friendly admonitions" were not "taken into consideration and were even played down." The result, according to the Kremlin, is that the Polish party now faces the danger of "counterrevolution," a danger that has reached a "critical point."

The real counterrevolutionary threat, however, comes from the Moscow bureaucracy itself. Its concern is for its own privileges, not for the socialist future. The Polish workers have every right to determine their own fate, to fight for democratization and control over their own economy and society, without being told

what to do by the Soviet Central Committee.

The bullying character of the Soviet statement was emphasized in the way it concluded. A quote from CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, made at the Soviet party's 26th Congress in March, declared, "We shall not let socialist Poland be harmed and we shall not abandon a fraternal country in distress."

Call for ouster of PUWP leaders

The Soviet Central Committee letter represented a clear call for the ouster of the present leadership of the Polish party. It criticized party First Secretary Stanislaw Kania and Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski by name for not doing what the Kremlin bureaucrats have told them to do.

"S. Kania, W. Jaruzelski and other Polish comrades expressed agreement with our point of view. But nothing has changed, and the policy of concession and compromise has not been corrected." Despite the fact that an alleged "counterrevolutionary threat exists," according to the Soviet letter, "no practical measures have been taken so far to counter it."

"What is needed now," said the Soviet letter, "is to mobilize all the healthy forces in society to resist the class enemy [i.e., the Polish working class in its millions] and combat counterrevolution. This requires, first of all, a revolutionary will within the party, among its militants and its leadership."

The immediate result of the Soviet letter, which was received in Warsaw on June 5, was the convening of an emergency PUWP Central Committee session for June 9-10. At that meeting, an open attempt was made by pro-Kremlin hard-liners, led by Tadeusz Grabski, to oust Kania and Jaruzelski.

Echoing the Soviet letter, Grabski declared: "In its present composition, under the leadership of Stanislaw Kania, the party is unable to lead the country out of the crisis."

The Central Committee adjourned after Grabski's speech and Kania prepared a reply. In the end, the Central Committee of 143 voted to retain the existing Politburo of eleven members. Kania was not removed, but neither were the hard-liners. The Polish party leadership also voted to go ahead with the convening of the congress on the scheduled dates of July 14-18.

Polish leaders in dilemma

The Soviet letter placed the Polish party leadership in a quandary. They have been following a policy of concessions to the mass movement because the alternative would be to provoke an all-out confrontation with the real possibility that the surviving structures of the

bureaucratic apparatus would be swept away by a mass upsurge.

The Soviet CP is demanding an end to concessions. Earlier, a tiny group of party hard-liners in the southwestern Polish city of Katowice expressed a similar point of view. Their statement provoked such a tremendous outburst of protest throughout Poland that this grouping, the Katowice Forum, announced it was postponing any further meetings.

Kania and company know that taking the kind of hard line Moscow demands would quickly end whatever political influence they still have within the country. Their hope, as Prime Minister Jaruzelski stated in a speech to the Polish parliament on June 12, two days after the Polish Central Committee meeting, is to work with "the constructive current of Solidarity" (as opposed to those who are trying to "push the union in an antisocialist direction").

At the same time Kania and Jaruzelski have expressed political agreement with the general thrust of the Soviet letter. That means that even the "reform" wing of the Polish bureaucracy shares the aims of the Soviet leadership—to preserve itself as an exclusive privileged caste in power. But their tactics differ. The Polish officialdom, directly on the scene, has to deal with the mass upsurge. The Kremlin's crude approach, they realize, could destroy everything for them.

As Kania said in his speech to the Polish Central Committee on June 9, the policy of concessions and seeking collaboration with Solidarity "has no sensible alternative."

At the same time, he stated in reference to the Soviet letter, "Our friends are fully justified in their reaction."

The Kania leadership clearly intends to use the Soviet letter to try to force back some of the gains made in recent months. Whether they can succeed in that attempt is another question. In particular their aim is to establish control over the uncensored press of the Solidarity union locals. The Soviet letter in particular demanded action to strengthen censorship and the Polish police.

Threats of crackdown

In his speech to parliament on June 12, Jaruzelski called for a massive campaign to stop circulation of "antisocialist" literature. He called for factory managers to clamp down on the printing of Solidarity newspapers containing criticism of the Soviet Union or of Polish authorities. He also ordered a "restoration of public order" and warned that "people making police work difficult will be treated severely."

The Polish Central Committee resolution passed at the June 9-10 plenum likewise

pledged to "resolutely punish" those who violate party discipline (i.e., reformers within the party), and to "bring to account all persons engaged in activities undermining the interests of the state," especially those circulating "anti-Soviet" leaflets.

Jaruzelski also dwelled at length on the severe economic difficulties (which his own government has allowed to develop) to try to turn public opinion against Solidarity.

He said Poland stands "on the brink of a great catastrophe." Industrial production in May, he said, was down 18 percent in comparison to May 1980; coal production was down 20 percent and absenteeism up 90 percent. Moreover, incomes had increased, creating an excess of \$16 billion of demand over supply.

"Polish workers work shorter hours, produce less, but earn more," he complained. "The mountain of money" in workers' pockets he described as "sucking almost every product out of the market. Lines are getting longer, chaos on the market deepens, and speculation grows."

The CPSU letter had cited Soviet economic aid, asserting that Soviet "deliveries of oil, natural gas, ores and cotton at one-half to two-thirds of world prices, is in fact provisioning the main branches of Polish industry." There was in this an implied threat to cut off economic aid.

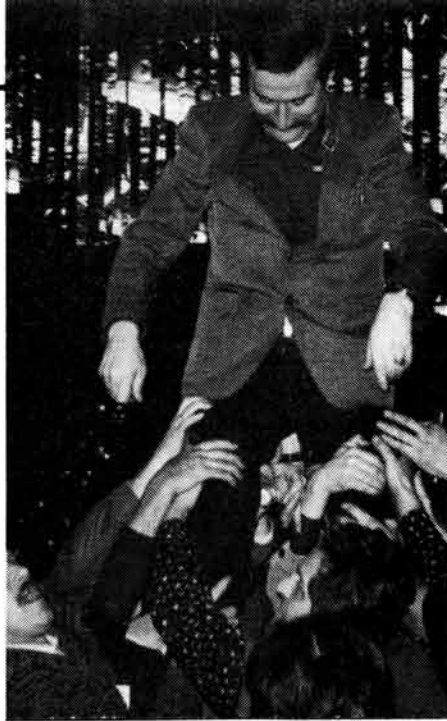
Jaruzelski warned that his government would not allow anti-Soviet agitation, which might have an adverse effect on economic aid from Moscow. "There can be no tolerance of madmen who can set our house on fire," he said. "Every anti-Soviet action on Polish territory is a slander to our honor, an affront to our integrity and abuse of the guest in the house of the host."

Attempt to divide workers

The Soviet letter is widely viewed as an ultimatum, on the pattern of Czechoslovakia. It lays the political basis for Soviet intervention in the same way. In this sense, it is more threatening than the military mobilizations carried out by Moscow three times since the revolutionary process began in Poland a year ago. Now, as then, the pressure is also meant to try to divide the Solidarity movement (by attacking "extremists" within it, instead of directly attacking the union itself). But this time Moscow is more desperate, and the danger from its point of view is greater.

Does this mean that Soviet intervention is imminent? Although that is certainly possible, the obstacles Moscow would face in making such a move are enormous. It would encounter the active and passive resistance of the entire Polish nation led by a powerful, confident, and well-organized working class (the membership of Solidarity is estimated at between ten and twelve million now).

The independent farmers, students, and other movements represent important additional forces. These organized movements are larger than the entire population of Hungary, which massively resisted a Soviet invasion in 1956.



WALESA

It is the general view in Poland today that a long drawn-out war of resistance, and certainly a total work stoppage, would result from any invasion. And the Soviet leaders must face the fact that the ultimate outcome of such a war is totally unpredictable.

A group of reform-minded intellectuals in Poland, who use the name Experience and the Future, issued a statement in which they pointed to some of the objective obstacles a Kremlin invasion would face. They warned, according to a report by Michael Dobbs in the June 11 *Washington Post*, that within Poland:

"Any attempt to resolve the crisis by outside force would split the party and lead to complete disruption of the economy and the formation of an underground guerrilla movement."

Worldwide support

Undoubtedly there would be worldwide protest. The sympathy of workers and the oppressed for the Polish workers has been manifested around the world. By striking coal miners, railroad workers, and others in the United States; by workers as far apart as Japan and Bermuda, Brazil and Iran; throughout Western Europe but also in Eastern Europe and China.

A Soviet invasion would put wind in the sails of the most rabidly reactionary forces in the capitalist countries. It would provide a huge propaganda boost for the imperialists in their militarization drive. It would weaken, confuse, and undermine the mass opposition to such militarization in the advanced capitalist countries.

In this context the remarks made by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa at an International Labor Organization meeting in Geneva on June 5 were particularly apt.

"I would like, from this international forum,

to tell everybody, all peoples of the world, that the Poles are capable of settling their own internal affairs by themselves and among themselves. It is in the common interest that external intervention should not become an obstacle to the process of consolidation now going on in Polish society." And he continued:

"Our union was born out of protest. Using the traditional methods of workers' struggle—demonstrations and strikes—it contributed in a definitive way to launching a profound transformation of the social and political life of the country. There is no area which has remained unaffected by this process of renewal.

"Even though we are aware this is only the beginning of these changes, no one in Poland has any doubt as to the fact that there is no way back to the previous methods of ruling the country and governing its economy."

Solidarity, he said, "has become the greatest, the largest social organization in the history of my country. Its members . . . are joined by one common striving . . . life in civic freedom, in freedom of thought and speech, in human dignity and national sovereignty. . . ."

Walesa added that "the principles of social justice, democratic freedoms and independent action that are the guidelines of Solidarity transcend the frontiers between states, blocs, or systems. They are the common property of the labor movement."

Economic crisis

As though to disarm the bureaucracy's tactics in advance, Walesa denied that Solidarity is responsible for the current economic crisis. Everyone knows, he said, that the crisis is the result of the "political errors and the irresponsible economic and social policies of the state leadership over the last [several] years."

Solidarity is prepared, he said, to cooperate with any "rational program for overcoming the economic crisis and of reconstructing the existing forms of organization of our social and economic life. We are conscious of the fact that to find a way out of the present difficulties will require sacrifices and self-denial from every Pole. . . ."

"We have also advised all the branches of the Solidarity union that they should not make any new wage demands or launch any new strikes without first consulting the central leadership."

But Walesa warned against any misinterpretation of his intentions. "We intend to fight so that no one in Poland goes without a job and to defend the vital interests of the poorest sectors of society in town and countryside alike."

Back in Poland, at the time of the Central Committee plenum Walesa explicitly rejected the demand in the Soviet letter that "radicals" and "extremists" within Solidarity be rooted out. But he reasserted his view that the union should not have a confrontationist line. "We are not set up to change the government or to politicize," he told workers at the FSO auto plant in Warsaw June 11. "But we have to serve the people." □

Close election shows instability

Two H-Block prisoners win seats

By Gerry Foley

DUBLIN—The growing instability in Ireland was pointed up by the June 11 elections for the Dublin parliament (the Dáil). The seats were divided up almost evenly between the incumbent party and the opposition coalition.

The incumbent Fianna Fáil party won 78 seats in the 166-member parliament, while the opposition coalition of the Fine Gael Party and the Labour Party holds 80. Six independents hold the balance of power.

Two H-Block prisoners—hunger striker Kieran Doherty and Patrick Agnew—won seats, effectively denying the Fianna Fáil party any possibility of assembling a stable majority. The H-Block campaign ran nine candidates in all.

At the same time, the Labour Party suffered such heavy losses that its very survival is threatened by a continuation of its coalition policy. It may be forced to reject the tempting fruits of governmental participation from the hands of Fine Gael and thereby leave no other possibility but that of a rickety minority government.

Whatever kind of weak government emerges from the intense parliamentary wheeling and dealing that has now begun, it will be much more vulnerable than the previous one to the pressures of rising anti-imperialist feeling focused on the H-Block issue and the economic disaster that is visible to all observers. The relative economic development of the past years was fueled and sustained by foreign borrowing, and a day of reckoning to the imperialist banks and financial institutions is fast approaching.

At the same time, the relative economic prosperity of the last years and the closing off of the traditional outlets for emigration has produced an explosive growth in the number of youth who are beginning to flood into an increasingly sluggish job market. Unemployment now stands at 10 percent, and inflation is at 21 percent.

In this situation, the Irish people are desperately looking for political alternatives. That was reflected by the wild fluctuations in the opinion polls during the election period as well as by the erratic pattern of the results. The Irish voters were caught between a rock and a hard place, and there was little opportunity for the working people to express their interests.

The national coalition of Fine Gael and Labour, which governed the country from 1973 to 1977, left an evil memory of repression and open capitulation to imperialism.

A repeat of such a government was not a very attractive alternative. But the incumbent Fianna Fáil regime has done nothing to deal with the increasing economic problems. And its traditional anti-imperialism did not go

beyond a little verbiage and some dubious publicity gimmicks such as the Dublin-London summit talks with a vague agenda and even vaguer purposes. In some respects, collaboration with British repression even increased under Charles Haughey's Fianna Fáil government.

The Cabinet, presided over by Haughey, has let four Irish political prisoners in Northern Ireland be driven to their deaths by the British government, without any official protest, or even an official display of concern and sympathy.

Since the Irish government failed to take the republican prisoners under its wing, the Irish people did this directly by electing two of them to membership in the parliament that is supposed to represent the entire nation.

The H-Block prisoners have now received recognition as political prisoners, as representatives of the oppressed Irish people, by the Irish people themselves.

When Bobby Sands was elected to the British parliament and Doherty and Agnew to the Irish parliament, it becomes more difficult for the Thatcher government to continue to claim that the Irish prisoners are criminals. It also undercuts the Irish government's claim that it is not the government's responsibility to defend them.

In a whirlwind tour in support of the H-Block candidates, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey stressed:

"When one-half of the population is under

Hunger strikers announce new tactic

Republican prisoners in the H-Blocks of Maze Prison in Northern Ireland announced on June 7 that they were changing tactics in their hunger strike over five demands regarding special status.

Up to now a new hunger striker has been added each time a prisoner died. Thus far four republicans in the H-Blocks have starved to death. But with the addition of twenty-three year old Tom McIlwee as a fifth hunger striker, more prisoners will join the strike each week until the British government agrees to grant special status.

A statement issued by the prisoners declared: "We feel that this escalation is necessary because the existing four-man relay strategy allows the British a recuperation period during which they enjoy a lessening of pressure and can callously prepare for the death of the hunger strikers.

"The escalation will ensure that no respite occurs."

thirty, any government or party that says that young people between the ages of twenty and thirty, starving themselves to death to uphold the dignity of our people, is not a matter of national concern, has no moral right to rule."

The attendance at her rallies was largely youthful, especially in the city of Dundalk, in Louth, where H-Block prisoner Agnew was later elected. McAliskey stated:

"The press is talking about the cynicism of youth toward the big parties. That's not cynicism, that's common sense. They're not about to be fooled. There's no shortage of youth at the H-Block rallies."

She also appealed to workers, getting an enthusiastic response in industrial cities. "Take the trade unions back from those who betray them," McAliskey said. "Put them back in the forefront. The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland."

The success of the H-Block rallies and the vote for the H-Block candidates astounded the politicians and the press, both here and in Britain. Moreover, the visible success of the H-Block candidates is only the tip of the iceberg. The intervention of the H-Block movement in the electoral arena was severely restricted by the opposition of the traditional wing of Provisional Sinn Féin to participation in elections. These forces insisted that the H-Block movement could only support prisoners guaranteed to be unable to take their seats if elected.

In the present situation, it is easy to see the power that could be wielded by H-Block leaders in parliament. If McAliskey and others had stood for election and won, the campaign would have taken a qualitative leap forward.

In fact, H-Block candidates cut into the vote of all the parties. But they did the heaviest damage to parties with false pretenses of republicanism—Fianna Fáil and Sinn Féin-The Workers Party.

Nonetheless, the failure of the H-Block campaign to contest all or a broad range of constituencies allowed two hardened enemies of the prisoners to get into parliament and hold a crucial balance of power—that is, Joe Sherlock of Sinn Féin-The Workers Party, and Jim Kemmy of Socialists Against Nationalism. Another independent, Noel Browne, is talking about blocking with Kemmy and Sherlock.

People's Democracy, the Irish Trotskyist group, stood two candidates on a revolutionary anti-imperialist program—Vincent Dougherty in the premier's constituency, and Joe Harrington in Limerick city.

Against a powerful machine, Dougherty rolled up 1,500 votes out of 55,000, in a five seat constituency.

The likelihood is that the incoming parliament will be unable to elect a stable government and that new general elections will be held in a relatively short time. The anti-imperialist movement will have a chance to consider the lessons of this experience and reorient itself so it can take fuller advantage of future opportunities. It already has greatly increased possibilities for bringing pressure to bear on behalf of the prisoners. □

The drive to oust Bani-Sadr

Ruling class tries to solve crisis with repression

By Janice Lynn

The depth of the crisis within the Iranian ruling class has led to a new and more severe crackdown on democratic rights. The clergy-led Islamic Republican Party (IRP) is attempting to oust Iranian president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr from the presidency and at least six newspapers have been banned.

On June 10 Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini dismissed Bani-Sadr as commander-in-chief of Iran's armed forces. This followed the ouster of one of Bani-Sadr's supporters as head of the Iranian central bank.

In a statement released to Reuters June 12 Bani-Sadr declared, "I told you people that they are carrying out a coup stage by stage . . . and the last stage of it is taking my presidential job as well as my life."

The Islamic Republican Party, faced with increasing discontent over its inability to solve the country's economic and social problems, is seeking to consolidate and strengthen its power and silence all opposition.

The economic problems in the country have been worsening, compounded by the Iraqi regime's war against Iran. The capitalist government is not able to take the kinds of measures necessary to solve the problems of unemployment and inflation, the severe housing shortage, the unequal distribution of land, or the oppression of Iran's non-Persian nationalities.

Nor has it been able or willing to take the kinds of measures necessary for driving the Iraqi invaders out of Iran—measures such as massive arming and mobilization of the population, and the replacement of the army officers who are sabotaging the war effort.

More and more workers in the factories have been coming into conflict with the government on economic issues—such as recent government attempts to revoke the profit-sharing law—and over attempts by the government to restrict the development of independent workers organizations.

There have also been increasing conflicts between the government and peasantry over distribution of land.

Under the impact of rising discontent among the masses, Bani-Sadr had begun to speak out on some of the workers' concerns.

For example, he had criticized some of the economic measures proposed by the Islamic Republican Party wing of the government. He criticized proposals to sign contracts with several big imperialist firms, like the British-owned Talbot automotive company.

Many of the workers *shoras* (committees) have been demanding that the automobile industry be self-sufficient and economically independent from imperialism. Bani-Sadr gave verbal support to these demands.

Bani-Sadr had also criticized the IRP's proposed national budget and its plans to step up oil exports.

And he had been outspoken on the question of democratic rights, criticizing IRP moves to restrict freedom of press, assembly, and demonstrations.

Bani-Sadr has been building his own power base. It has been based primarily on the top officers of the army, government workers, and other pillars of the traditional bourgeois state apparatus. He has attracted around him a wide spectrum of political groupings—from procapitalist forces grouped around the shah's former Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar, to the bazaar merchants and other middle class layers, including intellectuals and professionals, to leftist groups such as the Mujahdeen and the minority faction of the Fedayeen, who have come under sharp attack by the IRP.

Bani-Sadr's appeal to sections of the middle classes has been largely a result of the sectarian practices of the IRP in harassing and purging those educated in Europe and the United States. This has succeeded in driving a dangerous wedge between these petty-bourgeois sectors and the working class, and causing many of these layers to move away from support to the revolution.

Large sections of the Iranian working class still support the Islamic Republican government. They still put faith in its anti-imperialist stance and in its pledge to defeat the Iraqi invaders.

Those workers who have returned from the war front have tended to blame Bani-Sadr for the situation in the army and for the lack of any decisive victories in the war. They are aware of Bani-Sadr's strong base of support among the hated army high command.

Many workers think the Iraqis can be defeated and that the revolution may be able to move forward if Bani-Sadr is replaced.

But the overwhelming sentiment of the Iranian masses is against restrictions on democratic rights, no matter what their differences with Bani-Sadr or other procapitalist figures.

Socialists in Iran indicate that the mood among the Iranian population is in support of freedom of the press and against the banning of newspapers.

In addition to the newspaper *Engelab-e Eslami*, which reflects the views of Bani-Sadr, other newspapers banned as of June 7 include *Mizan* (reflecting the views of former prime minister Mehdi Bazargan), *Mardom*, daily newspaper of the Tudeh Party (pro-Moscow Communist Party), newspapers reflecting the views of the bourgeois National Front, and a pro-Peking newspaper. Newspapers of a

number of leftist groups had previously been declared illegal, although they have been publishing and circulating freely.

Over the last week there have been almost daily demonstrations and armed confrontations between pro-Bani-Sadr and anti-Bani-Sadr forces. Demonstrations in support of Bani-Sadr have been broken up by right-wing, reactionary gangs. They have roamed through the streets of Tehran in groups of 50 to 500, displaying posters of Bani-Sadr in the guise of the former shah.

There have not yet been any mass, united demonstrations in support of freedom of the press, independent of giving political support to a wing of the capitalist government.

Sensing the opposition to the IRP's undemocratic moves, however, and fearing the consequences, Khomeini declared June 14, "The President can carry out his duty as the President." But the issue is yet to be debated in Parliament.

If Bani-Sadr is removed from the presidency, through what is in effect a coup by forces who want to crack down further on democratic rights, it will be a blow to the right of the Iranian workers and peasants to choose their own government. Despite violations of democratic rights, especially in Kurdistan, Bani-Sadr was elected by an overwhelming margin in one of the freest elections ever held in Iran.

The IRP's repressive moves are fundamentally aimed at blocking the formation of nationwide, mass organizations of the working class and peasantry. It is precisely these kinds of organizations that are needed to fight to solve the needs of the majority of people in the country. □

Poll shows support for abortion rights in U.S.

At a time when the U.S. Congress is passing measures to restrict access to abortion, polls indicate that the American people overwhelmingly support a woman's right to choose. A national survey conducted May 18-20 for the *Washington Post* and ABC News indicated that 40% of the population favors abortion on demand and another 34% approves of abortion in most circumstances. Only 10% disapprove of abortion under all circumstances.

More than half those polled indicated that they personally knew a woman who has had an abortion, and 40% knew at least two women who have had one.

Almost three-quarters of those polled believed that women would continue to find ways to have abortions despite any ban.

The poll also indicated how much exposure the American population has had to antiabortion propaganda. Nearly three-quarters of those polled had heard of "Right-to-Life" groups, while only one-quarter had heard of any prochoice organizations. But despite the lavishly financed antichoice campaigns and the media attention showered on antiabortionists, the public remains firm in its support for the right to choose.

Controversy over human rights

Lefever rejection part of bigger problems for U.S. rulers

By Janice Lynn

In a defeat for President Reagan, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 5 rejected Ernest Lefever's nomination for the State Department's top human rights post following several weeks of hearings.

There had been widespread opposition to the nomination of this right-wing opponent of human rights. The June 5 vote in the Senate committee finally forced Lefever to withdraw his name from nomination.

Reagan's inability to get Lefever appointed was due to increasing resistance among working people to the Reagan administration's reactionary policies. In a major U.S. opinion survey, conducted for *Time* magazine May 12-14, some 67 percent of those polled said they opposed "economic and military aid for anti-Communist allies like South Korea if they violate human rights."

This majority sentiment has placed the U.S. ruling class in a dilemma as it tries to carry out its imperialist foreign policy.

During the Senate confirmation hearings, Lefever was only able to cite three violations of human rights he thought were worthy of public condemnation by the U.S. government: the taking of the U.S. hostages in Iran, the imprisonment of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, and the shooting of the pope.

When U.S. senators asked Lefever to mention some of the countries with records of human rights abuses, Lefever replied, "I don't normally name countries. . . . It is not in good taste for me to identify friendly and allied nations. . . ."

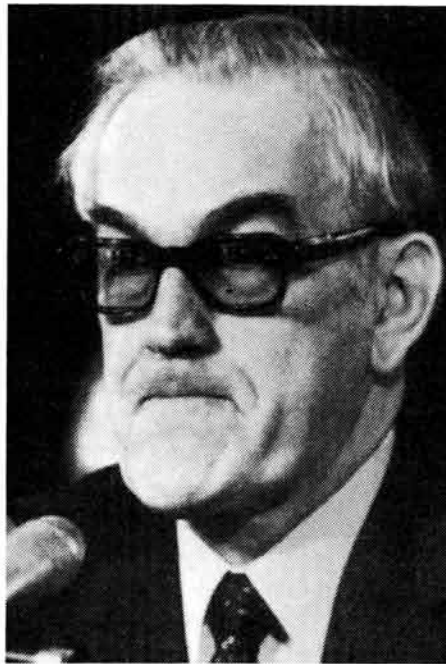
Nor did Lefever have any criticism of the apartheid regime in South Africa. In fact, the conservative policy center Lefever headed—the Ethics and Public Policy Center—was under investigation for its connections with the South African government.

The Washington-based center was also being investigated for the \$35,000 it had received from the Nestlé Corp. in order to campaign for Nestlé's sale of baby formula in underdeveloped countries. Millions of infants have died from the use of such baby formula.

Lefever's two brothers were among his outspoken opponents. They announced that their brother was a supporter of the racist theories of William Shockley, who holds that Blacks are genetically inferior.

The whole Lefever controversy reflected the objective difficulties presently facing the U.S. ruling class over the human rights question.

When President Carter began talking about human rights after winning the 1976 election, he received virtually unanimous support from the U.S. rulers.



LEFEVER: Trying to keep a stiff upper lip.

Carter had come into the White House following U.S. imperialism's historic defeat in the Vietnam war, and in the aftermath of the Watergate scandals where public confidence in the U.S. government was at its lowest point. It was Carter's job to try to refurbish the U.S. government's image, both at home and abroad.

As a result of the Vietnam experience, there was widespread opposition to the U.S. government's support to unpopular and repressive dictatorships and to the U.S. becoming involved in any new Vietnam-type wars to prop up such dictators.

The U.S. rulers had to begin trying to reverse this antiwar sentiment—known as the Vietnam syndrome. They had to try to make American working people go along with their drive towards militarization and war, necessary for protecting their profits and propping up the reactionary regimes that will help them to do this.

But to carry this out, Carter had to make it appear as if the U.S. government was trying to defend humanitarian values. He therefore criticized some of the worst human rights abuses by repressive, U.S.-backed regimes.

"Our human rights policy is not a decoration," Carter declared in December 1978, just a few weeks before spending New Years with the shah of Iran and toasting this bloody

butcher's commitment to human rights. "It is not something we have adopted to polish up our image abroad, or to put a fresh coat of moral paint on the discredited policies of the past," Carter said.

But this is exactly what it was. Carter's much touted human rights rhetoric was an attempt to hide the real role of U.S. imperialism—the worst violator of human rights both at home and abroad. It was an attempt to persuade U.S. working people to put trust in their government's policies.

But sections of the U.S. ruling class began to feel that Carter's human rights strategy was backfiring. Rather than making it easier for Washington to provide military and economic aid to repressive and unpopular regimes, it was arousing greater awareness about them in the United States and undermining the positions of proimperialist dictators in countries like Iran and Nicaragua.

There were loud complaints from right-wing politicians after Carter halted U.S. arms aid to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

They complained that Carter's pressure on the South Korean military dictatorship to let up on its most blatant repression was responsible for the workers and students upsurge in that country against martial law.

Following the victory of the revolution in Iran, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger blamed Carter's human rights policy and Washington's pressure on the shah to be more discreet in the use of torture and blatant suppression of democratic rights.

Kissinger described the collapse of the shah as "the biggest debacle" for American policy. "I would not have recommended that rights be made so vocal an objective of foreign policy," Kissinger said in a February 1979 interview. "Current developments in Iran are one of the results of such a vocal policy."

Human rights policy became an issue in the 1980 elections, with Reagan advocating less criticism of U.S.-backed dictators. But when he proposed Lefever for the human rights post, he ran into trouble.

The editors of the *Washington Post* offered Reagan some advice on how he could have gotten away with continuing to use human rights as a propaganda weapon against the Soviet Union.

"He does not need in the human rights post someone who reinforces that [anti-Soviet] element of his policy," the *Post* editors wrote May 24. "What he needs, we think, is someone who conveys unequivocally that a hard anti-Soviet policy pointed at the large issue of freedom is not inconsistent with a human rights policy designed to enlarge the sphere of

individual rights and liberties—everywhere.”

Thus, the liberals agree with the anti-Soviet thrust of the Reagan administration's policy. They just aren't sure whether it will work without the façade of even-handed concern for human rights.

The majority of American working people think that the U.S. government should be for human rights, against right-wing, reactionary dictatorships, and should condemn the racism of the South African regime.

This opposition was too deep to ignore.

United States

Miners stop take-back demands

72-day coal strike forces bosses to back down

By David Frankel

On June 6 members of the United Mine Workers of America approved a new contract by a margin of about two-to-one, ending their seventy-two-day strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

The context of the national coal strike had been set by the economic crisis of U.S. capitalism and the anti-working-class offensive of the employers and their government.

Already workers in the auto, rubber, and steel industries, and government workers, have been forced to forego negotiated wage increases and improvements in working conditions that they had previously won.

There have been massive layoffs and plant closures without any fight-back being mounted by the unions in auto, rubber, and steel. And in the midst of the coal strike, the leaders of twelve U.S. rail unions agreed to a \$200 million give-back that will cost tens of thousands of jobs on the railroads.

The employers hoped to add the UMWA to this list. About a month before the March 27 expiration of the national contract they distributed a booklet to every UMWA member in the United States outlining their demands.

Among the key company aims were for elimination of the industry-wide pension system and introduction of a seven-day workweek.

But the membership of the UMWA had other ideas. The miners started flexing their muscles early in the negotiating process.

When President Reagan called for slashing payments to victims of black lung disease, he was answered by a two-day work stoppage and a demonstration by 8,000 miners in Washington March 9.

Also while negotiations were in progress, miners helped organize the March 28 demonstration against nuclear power in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Finally, strikes began throughout the coalfields before the expiration of the national con-

The U.S. rulers face the contradiction that a credible human rights policy means that the repressive regimes of “friendly” dictators will be undermined and opposition currents encouraged. But abandoning any human rights pretense at all means increasing the distrust and anger of working people in the U.S. and around the world.

With the Lefever nomination, Reagan was trying to bury the human rights question. But he ran smack into the sentiments of the American people. □

tract as the miners replied to company attempts to arbitrarily impose changes in the workweek and work rules.

This show of militancy and determination by the miners caused the bosses to retreat from their main take-back demands before the contract had even expired.

The strike began on March 27, and in a proposed new contract the bosses dropped their demands for a seven-day week and for replacing the industry-wide pension system with a company-by-company plan that would have gutted retirement benefits.

In addition, the employers agreed to the elimination of a procompany Arbitration Review Board.

To the dismay and surprise of the bosses, the UMWA ranks voted down the first contract proposal on March 31 by a vote of more than two-to-one nationally, and by as much as eleven-to-one in the traditional centers of the union in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and eastern Kentucky.

UMWA members did not want to get rid of just the worst givebacks. They saw no reason for their union to accept any at all, and they objected to contract provisions that would have weakened union control over working conditions, established a forty-five-day probation period for new miners, and eliminated pension-fund payments on nonunion-mined coal processed in union-organized facilities.

The coal miners showed their willingness to fight to protect their union and their standard of living. And they were able to put that willingness into action and to fight back effectively because the ranks of the union had won the right to vote on their contract at the 1973 UMWA convention.

In 1977-78, for example, the miners voted down two proposed contracts and endured a 111-day strike until they got a contract they felt they could accept. Even after they had been on strike thirteen weeks, without strike benefits, they voted down a contract that they felt gave

too much to the coal operators. They also defied a back-to-work order signed by President Carter under the provisions of the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act.

This year, after carefully studying the contents of the first contract, the miners voted the pact down, knowing full well that they would be in for another long and hard battle, again without strike benefits.

But their struggle for a better contract was hampered by the attitude of the union's national leadership under UMWA President Sam Church. The rejection of the initial contract negotiated by Church was a big blow to his leadership. Church himself disappeared for a period after the vote totals were announced.

After reappearing, Church did little to mobilize the membership of the UMWA and the support of other unions behind the fight for a better contract from the BCOA. During the 1977-78 strike, the UMWA received material as well as moral support from many unions and farmers' organizations. This year, however, the UMWA national leadership turned down speaking engagements to explain the issues in the strike and ignored opportunities to raise funds for the strikers and build support among other unions.

Nevertheless, there was massive sentiment in support of the miners, and some solidarity actions organized by local and district union leaders did begin to take place toward the end of the strike.

Fear of a massive solidarity movement developing was one of the considerations that caused the mine owners to offer a second contract proposal when they did. That proposal eliminated most of the points that had aroused opposition to the first contract.

Some 50,000 miners are still on strike despite the approval of the new contract because the coal operators have not yet reached agreement with mine construction workers. The miners are respecting the pickets of the 11,000 construction workers.

While the Church leadership was unwilling to mobilize the UMWA ranks during the strike, local courts issued injunctions to prevent mass picketing of nonunion operations. In Virginia and Kentucky hundreds of state police were used to protect the movement of nonunion coal.

A propaganda campaign was also waged against the miners. Strikers were blamed for rising layoffs among rail and steelworkers. West Virginia Governor John D. Rockefeller IV, whose family has huge coal holdings, cut school budgets in his state, blaming those cuts on the impact of the coal strike.

Despite the pressures from the coal companies and federal, state, and local governments, the courts, the police, and the capitalist media, the coal miners forced the BCOA to retreat in its campaign to housebreak the UMWA.

Most importantly, the miners showed in action that it is possible for working people to fight back against the ruling-class offensive against wages and working conditions and to win. □

The witch-hunters' dilemma

Socialist suit makes government squirm

By Tom Martin

NEW YORK CITY—There is talk today about the shadow of the 1950s hanging over the United States. The witch-hunters are back, and though the code-word has changed from "communist" to "terrorist" their enemy is the same: all those who stand up for the rights of the working class and who oppose the imperialists' drive for war.

Yet this time something is different. The shadow cast by the witch-hunters is just that: it has no substance. America has moved on. Nowhere was this clearer than in the appearance of a shrivelled old man in court here last week.

As President Eisenhower's attorney general, Herbert Brownell more than anyone was responsible for sending Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the electric chair in June 1953 after their frame-up conviction for passing atomic secrets to the Russians.

It was Brownell who stole McCarthy's thunder by accusing President Truman himself of having covered up for communists; Brownell who once boasted that he had 10,000 naturalized citizens under investigation for subversion; Brownell who publicly compared "Communists and fellow subversives" to "mad dogs" who should be "put away."

But how are the mighty fallen! In the 1950s it was the United States government which went after the communists. Today it is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) who are going after the government.

Their suit now being heard here demands \$40 million compensation for illegal acts against them by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other agencies, and an injunction against such acts in the future. And Brownell was reduced to appearing as a witness for the defense.

'Consensus of opinion on subversives'

Brownell's testimony was intended to back up what is now the government's main defense in this trial: that it had every right to do what it did to the SWP and YSA. That is, to get party members fired from their jobs, to burgle SWP and YSA offices, to open their mail, to tap their phones, and generally to disrupt their political activities—all for forty years, and without uncovering evidence of a single criminal act!

Brownell explained that it was all justified because SWP members were "subversives."

How did he define the term? There was no need to, he replied. "There was in general a consensus of opinion on what it meant."

Citing the President's authority "not only as

the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, but also as the person in charge of our foreign relations," he explained how this overrode the constitutional guarantees against arbitrary searches when it came to wiretaps and illegal break-ins.

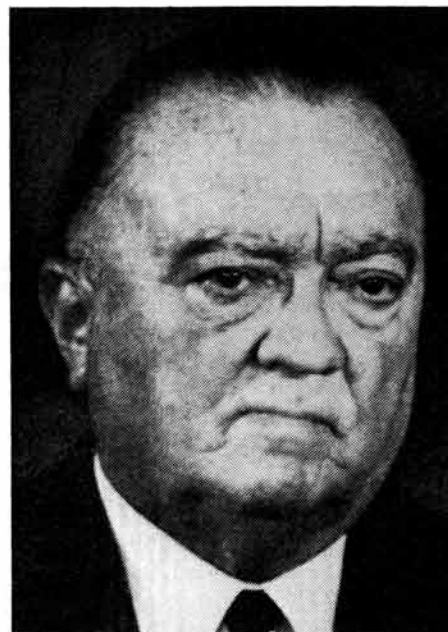
Nor was it just a question of flouting the U.S. Constitution. Brownell further testified that as attorney general he had given the FBI the go-ahead to use these methods even when court rulings appeared to outlaw them.

And this was the nation's chief law-enforcement officer!

Brownell was followed onto the stand by Robert Keuch, a top official in the Justice Department. Keuch expanded on what Brownell had said, shamelessly describing how attorneys general had acted this way at least since the 1930s.

For instance, the Federal Communications Act supposedly prohibits the interception and divulgence of telephone and telegraph messages; but the attorney general told the FBI that it could go on wiretapping and even pass on the results as long as they were restricted to federal employees.

Keuch had earlier been called by the socialists to testify on the government's authority for investigating them. Exposing him for a second time turned out not to have been such a good idea for the defense.



Late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover reported to White House on disruption plans.

Already one contradiction had occurred to Judge Griesa. When asked whether the FBI had been authorized to disrupt the Trotskyists' activities as well as just investigate them, Keuch had said that, "the Justice Department was not aware of those activities."

But Brownell's testimony included production of a 1956 report to a White House meeting by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover which specified that the agency "sought to infiltrate, penetrate, disorganize, and disrupt" the Communist Party.

Did that just apply to the CP, asked the judge, or did it extend to what Brownell had described as "splinter groups"—including the SWP? "I would say the latter," replied Brownell.

So much for the Justice Department being unaware of any disruptive activities.

Keuch could probably have survived this single blow to his credibility. But then a far more serious matter was raised by socialist attorney Margaret Winter.

At the end of his first appearance, Keuch testified that he had only been involved in the SWP case to the extent of once heading a Justice Department section responsible for working with the FBI to produce documents requested by the plaintiffs—"and, in fact, that was even done by attorneys under my direction, not done by me."

But Winter recalled a Justice Department report on an inquiry into how FBI burglaries ("bag jobs" in FBI parlance) of SWP and YSA offices had been concealed from the court between 1973 and 1976. No names were included. But one of the figures mentioned bore a certain resemblance to Keuch.

This individual had attended a meeting about the SWP case on January 30, 1975. The report, citing interviews with agents who were present at the meeting, said:

"FBI agents discussed bag jobs in veiled terms, referring to them under the broad label of 'confidential investigative techniques.' . . . He stated that it was his impression that the section chief, in particular, understood what was being said."

"Is that section chief yourself?" Winter asked Keuch. "Yes, it is," he replied.

Hard times for government lawyers

Nor was that meeting the extent of Keuch's involvement. It turned out that as early as April 1974 he had read a report mentioning a "bag job" against the SWP.

But he "did not make the connection" when he became responsible for the suit later in the year. And of course he denied having "under-

Rally hails suit against FBI

"Defend the Bill of Rights Against the Secret Police!" was the theme of a rally in New York June 6 that drew close to 700 participants. The rally was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is supporting the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) suit against government spying.

Morton Sobell, a codefendant in the witch-hunt trial that resulted in the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953 as atomic spies for the Soviet Union, stressed that "today is not like the fifties," when the U.S. rulers were successful in their attacks on democratic rights.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes declared that the government's inability to define subversion in court has proved that "when the government cannot indict you and make it stick under law, they call you a 'subversive' as the only other way to deny you your democratic rights."

Citing a document released by the government in court a few days earlier which admitted that the program to disrupt the left was personally approved by then-President Eisenhower, Barnes noted, "This is proof positive that what we have is not a runaway FBI but a conscious decision by the president of the United States to instruct the federal police to carry out these activities."

Gwen Ferguson, president-elect of Ironworkers Local 627 at the NASSCO shipyard in San Diego, California, spoke about the FBI/company frame-up of three members of her union. It was "their beliefs versus the FBI," she said, "just as in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, and the SWP."

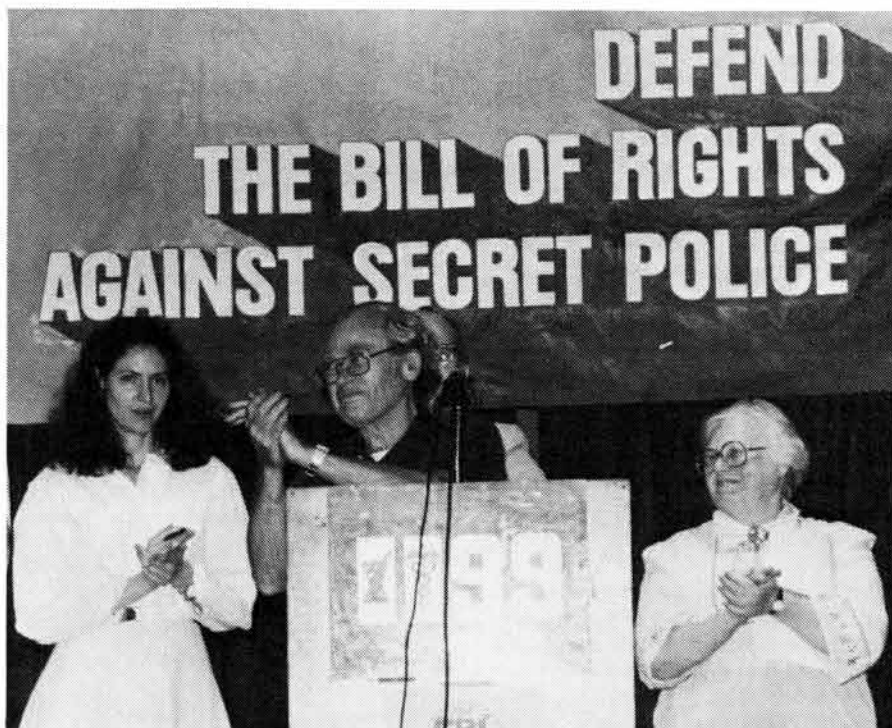
Afeni Shakur, a former member of the Black Panther Party and the victim of a

1971 government frame-up on bomb conspiracy charges, said: "In the name of all Black people who are struggling against repression, I commend your tenacity. For it has taken nothing less than tenacity to continue this case in court all these years. Today, we all see how important this suit is."

The Rev. Phil Wheaton, a leader of the El Salvador solidarity movement in the United States, saw the stakes in the SWP

and YSA suit as the right "to stand up and defend the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador."

There were many other speakers at the rally, including Black comedian and anti-war activist Dick Gregory, but perhaps the best summary of what was involved was given by chairperson Annette Rubenstein, who said: "This case is today what the Rosenberg-Sobell case was in the fifties."



Margaret Winter, chief SWP lawyer (left), with witch-hunt victim Morton Sobell and rally chairperson Annette Rubenstein.

stood what was being said" at the January 1975 meeting.

Nevertheless, the SWP and YSA are gradually forcing the facts of yet another government cover-up into the open. A report on the matter is now being prepared for the judge, who will then decide what action to take. Meanwhile Keuch's credibility as a witness has taken a dive.

This is rather unfortunate for the government, which didn't have much of a case to begin with. Indeed, its defense almost stopped before it started when it called its very first witness, SWP leader Caroline Lund.

Defense attorney Edward Williams was determined to prove that the party kept a secret file of Fourth International minutes. Judge Griesa wasn't really interested. "Let's get to the merits of the case," he kept on saying.

Still Williams nagged away. Suddenly the judge exploded: "I'm not going to have this. If

you don't go on with the merits of the case I'm going to declare you to have rested [your case], Mr. Williams, and I mean that."

"But we don't have anything on the merits," Williams responded. He could hardly have put it better! A few minutes later Lund was allowed to step down.

Watergate no exception

The real merit of this case is that it is exposing before the public the way in which the capitalist state works. Watergate was not something out of the ordinary; Keuch and Brownell more or less testified that this is how the ruling class has always gone about its business.

And as they also explained, the new guidelines and other public restrictions on FBI activity came about not because anyone in the government had a change of heart about what was permissible. The government didn't announce an end to its forty-year-long investigation of

the SWP because it thought the party had suddenly changed. No, it was because, as Keuch testified, "there are different periods and different times and different needs."

What was different in 1976 was that working people were deeply angered about Watergate, deeply angered about the way the government had dragged them through the Vietnam War. Their voice was heard in protest and the ruling class had to retreat for a while. That was what made the whole SWP and YSA suit possible.

Now the ruling class badly needs to seize the offensive again. But its basic problem remains. Working people do not want another war, and are opposed in their millions to even the present level of U.S. intervention in El Salvador. That is the witch-hunters' dilemma. And as the socialist suit is showing, it won't go away.

June 8, 1981

Budget cuts a disaster for U.S. colony

58 percent on food stamps in 'showcase for democracy'

By Nelson González

[The following article appeared in the June 12 issue of the U.S. revolutionary socialist weekly *Militant*.]

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Reagan's proposed cuts in food stamps and other social service funds underscore the colonial subjugation of Puerto Rico by the U.S. government. The cuts will have a catastrophic effect on the already miserable economic situation of that small Caribbean nation of 3.2 million people.

According to Baltasar Corrada del Río, non-voting Puerto Rican representative to the U.S. Congress, the proposed cutbacks amount to \$650 million. He said this 25 percent slash would cause the loss of 30,000 jobs and force up to 500,000 people to emigrate to the United States. Close to two million Puerto Ricans already live in the U.S.

By any standard, Puerto Rico needs massive federal aid—not cutbacks. The official unemployment rate is 18.8 percent, but this figure would double if so-called discouraged workers—those who have given up looking for work—were added.

Fully 58 percent of the Puerto Rican population receives food stamps—a rate much higher than that of any American state—as a result of the astronomical unemployment and low wage levels.

The impact of Reagan's cuts will be much more harshly felt in Puerto Rico than in the United States. That's because Puerto Rico is a U.S. colony lacking any meaningful self-government, with U.S. business interests totally in control of the island's economy. To stave off the economic catastrophe that this domination has caused, in recent years the U.S. government has sent to Puerto Rico increasing amounts of "aid." Today, federal funds spent in Puerto Rico amount to the equivalent of more than 30 percent of the island's gross product.

Where federal 'aid' goes

However, much of these funds go to cover the expenditures of U.S. agencies in Puerto Rico, mostly of the military.

Another big part is made up of military pensions and Social Security benefits. In effect, these are delayed payment for work performed by Puerto Ricans.

Additional funds go directly to the Puerto Rican government. These funds represent a form of colonial blackmail, since the U.S. government dictates how they are to be spent.

Finally, a portion of the funds goes for food

stamps and other assistance programs. It is precisely these that are being cut most savagely.

Although people in Puerto Rico don't pay federal taxes, they pay in other ways for Washington's "aid." The truth is, the small, impoverished island of Puerto Rico *subsidizes* the



Pro-statehood Gov. Barceló begs Reagan for aid.

economy of the United States, the richest country in the world.

Puerto Rico is a key link in Wall Street's world-wide economic empire. U.S. investments in Puerto Rico totaled more than \$14 billion by the mid-1970s. Direct U.S. industrial investment in the small island was 40 percent as much as for the rest of Latin America, and 21 percent as much as all colonial and semicolonial countries.

Corporations extract profits

These investments produce tremendous profits. In 1974, U.S. corporations extracted from Puerto Rico more than \$1.3 billion in profits, out of a gross national product of \$6.8 billion. Fully one-fifth of the wealth created by Puerto Rican workers wound up in U.S. banks.

These superprofits are guaranteed by U.S. political control over Puerto Rico and by the economic stranglehold that U.S. monopolies have on that country's economic life.

In addition, Puerto Rico is a captive market for U.S. products. U.S. companies export more to Puerto Rico, on a per capita basis, than to any other country in the world.

As if this weren't enough, the Pentagon has made Puerto Rico a strategic military fortress in the Caribbean. American military installations blanket the island, occupying 13 percent of its total territory, including a disproportion-

ate amount of the arable land. The U.S. government uses this territory rent free and pays no property taxes since, as U.S. laws state, Puerto Rico is an island "belonging to the United States."

These military installations are a direct threat to the peoples of Latin America. In 1961, Puerto Rico was one of the jumping-off points for the CIA's invasion of Cuba, which met defeat at the Bay of Pigs.

U.S. colony

Put it all together, and it's easy to see why this island is one of the most important remaining classical colonies in the world today—internationally recognized as such by the United Nations and the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

Given the permanent economic dislocation (inflation and unemployment) created by this relationship, the federal funding is nothing more than a cheap glue to hold together the underlying economic and political contradictions.

"The federal funds are artificial respiration to a colony that can't generate its own progress," said Carlos Gallisá, president of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which advocates independence.

Rubén Berríos, leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, compared federal handouts to drugs. "They have made a large part of our society drug addicts. Now they want to take drugs away. The person might even die."

'Showcase for democracy'?

The savage cutbacks now hitting Puerto Rico signal the end of the "showcase for democracy" propaganda launched by the Kennedy administration to counter the example of the Cuban revolution.

The goal was to create an "economic miracle" through an infusion of U.S. investments, turning Puerto Rico into a "showcase for democracy." This would be the model for the rest of Latin America to follow. Capitalism would be made more dynamic than socialism.

The main tool used by Washington in encouraging investments is what today would be called "supply-side economics," the pet theory of the Reaganite budget cutters. U.S. corporations, through their representatives in Washington generously gave themselves 100 percent exemptions from all local and federal taxes for many years. This did produce a transformation of the Puerto Rican economy. The number of factories rose from 717 in 1960 to close to 2,000 in 1970. Unemployment dropped to 11 percent.

But as the post-World War II economic

boom ran out of steam internationally, Puerto Rico's economy went into a nosedive. Washington responded with ever-more-massive infusions of federal funds to maintain the "showcase for democracy" image.

At the same time, the Cuban model was showing itself superior on every count. Despite a crippling U.S. economic blockade (joined by virtually every other country in the hemisphere), Cuba succeeded in wiping out illiteracy, wiping out unemployment, and guaranteeing every man, woman, and child a decent, if still modest, standard of living.

In contrast, even with massive infusions of federal funds, Washington had succeeded in creating only a showcase for colonial misery. Instead, given the political and economic crisis of U.S. imperialism, the Reagan administration has elected to escalate its superexploitation of the Puerto Rican people. The expensive "showcase for democracy" illusion, unlikely to impress anyone in Latin America, has been junked.

But the political repercussions could be far-reaching.

A time bomb

The cuts could make Puerto Rico "the next Cuba in the Caribbean," said Baltasar Corrada del Río.

"It's a time bomb," agrees Miguel Hernández Agosto, president of the Puerto Rican Senate and member of the Popular Democratic Party, the party that helped Washington set up Puerto Rico's present "Commonwealth" status.

"If all this occurs," he added, "unemployment will rise from nearly 19 percent to 30 or 40 percent. It's very dangerous for us."

Since Puerto Ricans are excluded from many U.S. programs such as general revenue sharing and supplemental security income, planned cuts will have twice the impact as in any state with a similar population.

Cutbacks include \$300 million in food and nutrition programs, \$140.6 million in Comprehensive Employment and Training Act funds, \$11.3 million in education grants to students, and \$24 million in Economic Development Administration loans.

In typical Reaganite fashion, administration spokesperson Edward Dale promised, "If Puerto Rico happens to be rather heavy with welfare recipients, the people who genuinely need benefits will get them." He described the 25 percent cuts as "the trim around the edges."

The 58 percent of Puerto Ricans who depend on food subsidies won't appreciate being cast off as "trimmings."

Puerto Rico Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló of the New Progressive Party, the pro-statehood capitalist party, has made several trips to the mainland to plead with the Reagan administration to exempt Puerto Rico from the cuts. He warned of the effects that social unrest in Puerto Rico could have on neighboring regimes.

The leaders of Puerto Rico's proimperialist parties are worried about the growing dissatisfaction and social unrest on the island. Al-

though supporters of independence are at this point a minority in Puerto Rico, pro-independence sentiment will mushroom as the island's economic situation grows worse, as happened in the 1930s.

United States

Haitians face deportation

Presidential panel urges concentration camps

Haitian refugees in the United States and their supporters won a partial victory June 8 in their battle to prevent the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from carrying out mass deportations. On that date the INS stated that it was halting all hearings and deportation proceedings pending a review of its procedures.

The INS procedures in dealing with Haitians have come under heavy fire from the Haitian community in Miami and civil liberties groups.

On June 9, a federal judge in Miami issued an emergency stay on the deportation of seventy-six Haitians who were scheduled to be returned to their native country the following day.

Attorneys for the refugees have pointed out that the INS hearings are held behind closed doors, and that the Haitians are not informed of their right to legal counsel, to political asylum, or to open hearings. In addition the refugees are dealt with in batches of more than a dozen at a time.

The INS's top judge, Joseph W. Monsanto, scoffed at the attorneys' complaints. Monsanto argued that the lawyers' attempts to see the Haitians was simply an effort to solicit business and was in violation of professional ethics. He smugly added that Haitians "have as much of a right not to have a lawyer as to have one."

A spokesperson for the INS in Washington, Verne Jervis, denied that the Haitians suffer any discrimination. "We return more Mexicans in a half hour than Haitians in two years," Jervis maintained.

Despite the temporary victory won by the Haitians in Miami, Washington remains determined to begin large-scale deportations. The INS's get-tough policy involves the more than 6,000 Haitians who have arrived in the U.S. since October 10, when special legal status allowing Haitians to remain in the U.S. was revoked. That status had been granted following protests over the difference in the U.S. government's treatment of Cubans arriving from Marie and Haitian refugees.

The INS's new policy calls for the detention of Haitians upon arrival and their quick return to their country of origin. More than 800 refugees are currently being held at a fifteen-acre former missile storage base outside Miami,

The fight against Washington's attacks will make growing numbers of Puerto Ricans look to revolutionary Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua for alternate models to Wall Street's "showcase for democracy." □



Haitian dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier.

awaiting deportation hearings. In addition, the INS has begun arresting Haitians applying for work permits in Miami.

The U.S. government has been unwilling to grant political asylum to refugees from the U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti, claiming that they are fleeing poverty, not persecution. But a leader of the Haitian community in Miami, Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, warned of "the beatings, jailings, torture, and death that refugees face on return to Haiti."

Despite the temporary stay on deportations, Washington is considering drastic measures against undocumented aliens, including Haitians. A presidential task force has proposed that the U.S. Coast Guard stop boats on the high seas and detain the newcomers in what the task force acknowledges would be seen as "concentration camps." The report also calls for the introduction of counterfeit-proof Social Security cards that would serve as a *de facto* national identity card that could be used for surveillance and victimization of all workers.

Moreover, the present pace of immigration hearings, according to the task force, is needlessly long and complex. According to the report, these "elaborate procedures are not necessary for a fair hearing, and are completely unworkable in the event of a mass inflow of aliens."

But the presidential task force acknowledges that some of its proposals would meet stiff resistance. For example, the report admits that the "appearance of 'concentration camps' which, at the present time, would be filled largely by blacks, may be publicly unacceptable." Despite this, it proposed five sites for the camps around the country. □

Workers chart course

Prepare proposals for democratic future

By Ernest Harsch

It is the working class that will shape the future of Poland.

That is the basic message that Polish workers have been conveying ever since the massive strikes of August 1980 and the subsequent formation of the independent trade union, Solidarity.

It has become clear that the privileged bureaucracy that has misruled Poland for thirty-six years is not administering the country in the interests of the workers—even though it claims to rule in their name. It has also become clear that it is totally incapable of leading the country out of its severe economic and social crisis.

So now the workers are stepping forward with their own solutions. And they are acting through their own independent organization, Solidarity, which comprises the bulk of all Polish workers.

Although Solidarity is organized as a trade union, and its primary function is to defend the workers' rights and interests, it has also acquired the character of a broad social movement concerned with advancing the well-being and aspirations of the Polish nation as a whole. "We do not shirk our responsibility for the destiny of our people and country," the union's draft program declares.

That draft program, which is now being discussed by the union's more than ten million members, outlines Solidarity's basic proposals for social, economic, and political change. Those proposals range from an end to restrictions on democratic rights and the abolition of bureaucratic privilege, to the establishment of workers control in the factories and the active involvement of society as a whole in the making of key economic and social decisions.

Taken together, Solidarity's proposed measures would go a long way toward establishing genuine workers democracy in Poland.

Origin of document

The draft program, entitled "The Course of Union Action in the Country's Present Situation," was drawn up by a commission of Solidarity and discussed at a February 25 session of Solidarity's National Coordinating Committee. With the aim of initiating as wide a discussion as possible among the union membership, the document's full text was published in the April 17 *Tygodnik Solidarność* (Solidarity Weekly), the third issue of the union's national newspaper.

The central aim of Solidarity, the draft program states, is to "defend the rights, dignity, and interests of all workers." It stresses the key importance of workers joining together in collective action in defense of their interests.

"As a trade union," the document points out, "we do not aim to replace the government in performing its tasks, but we do want to represent the interests of working people in relation to the state."

To do that requires more than just action around immediate economic issues. It requires a struggle for the democratization of all spheres of social, political, and economic life in Poland—a struggle, the document notes, that has deep roots in Poland's national history.

The need to combine the struggles for decent wages and living standards with those for social and political rights is today highlighted by the severe economic crisis in Poland. A fall in real wages, shortages of consumer goods, declines in production, a staggering foreign debt of \$24 billion, all have been caused by the mismanagement of the small layer of bureaucrats who function outside of any democratic social control.

"The central feature of this system is the absence of mechanisms for democratic decision-making," the draft program states. All key economic and social decisions are made "by one or another member of the bureaucracy."

Alienated from the masses of the Polish people, these bureaucrats have made "decisions more with an eye to their own personal interests, material privileges, and careers than to the interests of society."

As a result, many incorrect decisions were made that cost the country enormously and that led to growing social inequalities. While agriculture was neglected, large amounts of money were squandered on wasteful investments. While the real income of workers was pushed downward, the bureaucrats increased their material privileges.

It was against this situation that the workers revolted. And it is to combat the continuation of such practices that Solidarity has presented its proposals.

Economic proposals

The most important need on the economic front, the document states, is for society as a whole, and the workers in particular, to be able to participate in a democratic fashion in the making of economic decisions.

On the national level, the central economic plans "should be arrived at through the active involvement of society." This would involve discussions in the Sejm (the Polish parliament), in the various social organizations, local government bodies, and trade unions.

Individual enterprises, the draft program proposes, should be run on the basis of economic efficiency, not according to arbitrary

and unrealistic directives issued from above. Although this would involve the use of some management techniques similar to those used in capitalist countries—such as profitability as a gauge of economic efficiency and the introduction of some competition on the market—the enterprises would remain under social ownership.

In fact, Solidarity proposes that the enterprises come under the direct control of the workers themselves, acting through workers self-management bodies that would have control over key decisions, including the selection of management personnel.

While the economic enterprises would function in an autonomous manner, the government would remain responsible for implementing a policy of full employment and for ensuring that those sectors of the population that are most vulnerable to the impact of the economic crisis receive state assistance.

Solidarity lays great stress on the need to maintain a minimum level of social welfare for the entire population.

At the same time, the extravagant privileges of the bureaucracy must be eliminated. "The maintenance of such privileges for state officials is socially dangerous and in the present situation extremely immoral," Solidarity declares.

To ensure that such reforms do not later get whittled away or distorted, the draft program also proposes a series of measures to democratize the government, administrative apparatus, and political life in general—"guarantees for the future."

These include full respect for the law, with no one allowed to stand above it; the independence of the courts from government interference and the establishment of a tribunal to try high officials who have committed crimes; social control over the police; the recognition of basic trade-union rights; the abolition of most censorship and the opening up of the mass media to society as a whole; the separation of party and government posts and the selection of administrative officials on the basis of competency, not party loyalty; and the holding of "genuine elections" to the Sejm and local government bodies, in which various organizations will have the right to put up candidates.

The last major section of the document covers Solidarity's structure and methods of functioning.

The national union is based primarily on regional bodies encompassing workers from all occupations. It has also begun building up union commissions and organizations on an industrial or occupation basis, to better safeguard the specific interests of workers in particular trades. But the local self-governed factory organization remains the "bedrock of union life."

The decisions and actions of the union are based on full internal democracy, the document states. All members have the same rights. The membership has the right to elect or recall any union representatives, and has the right to complete and accurate information on

union affairs. Once decisions are made, however, members and leaders have the responsibility to abide by the democratic will of the majority, while retaining their right to discuss and criticize.

"We want [Solidarity] to be self-governed and democratic," it declares, "and to be a source for extending democracy into the public life of the entire country."

Above all, the union's functioning is based on the principle of solidarity among all working people, whether they are members of the

union or not. "In our own interests, we decide to act in response to the interests of others."

Ever since the strikes of August 1980, many people in Poland have been talking about a "renewal" of Polish society. But not everyone means the same thing by it. Top party officials, who have been promising a renewal for months now, favor a few cosmetic reforms that will leave their material privileges and authoritarian rule basically intact.

As Solidarity's draft program makes clear, the workers have an altogether different view

of the kind of renewal that is needed in Poland—one that places the interests of the workers and the well-being of society above all else, one that allows working people to take the lead in shaping the country's future on a democratic basis.

Solidarity's initiative in taking up many of the key economic, social, and political questions that affect Polish workers is an example for working people around the world. Its proposals deserve careful study. □

DOCUMENTS

'Solidarity' on aims of Polish workers—I

Draft program discusses need for democratic rights

[The following is the first installment of "The Course of Union Action in the Country's Present Situation," the draft program of the independent Polish trade-union movement, Solidarity. This part covers Solidarity's basic aims, its assessment of the country's economic and social crisis, and its proposals for economic change. Next week we will publish the concluding installment, which will cover Solidarity's proposals for the democratization of social and political life and its definition of the role, structure, and functioning of the union.]

[The text of the document was first published in the April 17 issue of *Tygodnik Solidarność* (Solidarity Weekly), the national newspaper of the union. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I. Basic Values

Our union was formed barely half a year ago as a result of the struggle of the workers, supported by the whole country. Today we are a powerful social force, encompassing millions of members. Thanks to this, all working people in Poland can at last advance their common aims with dignity and effectiveness.

We were born out of the protest against injustice, humiliation, and abuse. We are an independent and self-governing union of working people of all regions and occupations. We defend the rights, dignity, and interests of all workers.

We want to peacefully shape the life of our country in accordance with patriotic ideals, social justice, and democratic rights. As a trade union, we do not aim to replace the government in performing its tasks, but we do want to represent the interests of working people in relation to the state. We will thus defend the rights of the individual, the citizen, and the worker. At the same time, we do not shirk our responsibility for the destiny of our people and

country.

1. The best national traditions, the ethical principles of Christianity, the political banner of democracy, and the social thought of socialism—those are the four main sources of our inspiration.

We feel a deep attachment to the entire legacy of Polish culture, which is rooted in European culture, with a strong tie to Catholicism, but also with links to quite varied religious and philosophical traditions. We feel a very close bond with the generations of Poles who have struggled for national liberation and social justice. They have left us a tradition of open-mindedness and brotherhood, of civic respon-

We want to peacefully shape the life of our country in accordance with patriotic ideals, social justice, and democratic rights . . .

sibility for the Polish Republic and of support for equality before the law. Therefore, we have room for everyone, regardless of philosophy, nationality, or political conviction.

2. The idea that working people should join together means that we rate very highly the values that grow out of collective action. These include solidarity—after which we have named our union—comradeship, the capacity for sacrifice, and the willingness to contribute for the benefit of the union and for the broader interests of society as well. Finally, one of the values must be the idea of brotherhood among working people in a common front against the exploiters, regardless of the banners and slogans under which their exploitation is masked.

3. Our basic task—the defense of working people—is based on the principle of observing social justice. We shall strive to have this principle recognized as the basis for all state activi-

ties. We want it to become the foundation of all solutions in the domains of social policy and the organization of collective life.

To us, social justice is based on the inherent integrity of the individual, the dignity of the worker and his labor. We want the principle of the dignity of the individual to permeate the entire life of our union and to be the basic building stone of a new society.

From the principles of social justice and the dignity of the individual, it follows that all people are basically equal. We shall therefore press for the realization of egalitarianism in society.

We recognize the principle that wages depend on the quantity and quality of labor, as well as the difficulty and hazards of the job ("to each according to their work"), and we strive to correct unjustified disproportions in this regard. However, there is another principle that must have priority over this one—the provision of the "social minimum." This means not only the satisfaction of the elementary needs for food, clothing, and shelter, but also the satisfaction of all those social and cultural requirements that enable the individual to live a satisfying life and to develop as a person.

At the same time that we fight for a fair wage, we call on each other to be honest on the job, to maintain high work ethics, reliability, and good work. Poor work—the production of defective goods or the familiar shoddy items that no one will buy—degrades the dignity of the workers and harms society.

From the principle of equality it follows that full democracy must be assured in public life. Only under a genuinely democratic system will we be able to fight effectively for our interests as workers and as a union. Only under such a system can the principle of authentic participation by the working people in the political and social life of the country to be realized. Therefore, we will press for expansion of the forms of social participation in public decision-making and in control over the activities of the au-

thorities.

4. Our activity as a union requires that the civil rights embodied in the constitution of the Polish People's Republic be strictly observed: the right to express one's own opinions, freedom of speech and the press, the right to accurate information, the right of assembly, and the right to free association. We will defend people facing repression for exercising these rights, recognizing that repression is a violation of law and order. For the same reasons, we will strive for the removal of all restrictions on freedom of association and the restrictions connected with censorship, especially those restrictions that have nothing to do with the higher interests of the public, but that result from manipulations aimed at defending the momentary interests of the ruling circles.

5. Our union recalls the traditions of the Polish workers movement, reviving those aspects of that legacy that strengthen us with the ideals of social justice, democracy, freedom, and independence. We enrich this legacy with the memory of the Poznan workers' demonstrations in 1956 and the bloody sacrifices of the workers on the Baltic coast in 1970 and of the workers of Radom and Ursus in 1976.¹

May Day plays a special symbolic role. We must imbue this holiday with a new content and a new form, so that it becomes our holiday, the holiday of working people, and not the holiday of the state employer. And thus it must become a holiday without a division between the podium and the march; it must become a festive gathering of working people in a spirit of solidarity and equality.

6. We recognize that national values are a precious and living part of our collective consciousness and that Polish patriotism is an indispensable basis for unity and social sacrifice for the sake of the country. We note that national values are the main bonds that hold together our society today, and that in the last analysis they are the guarantee of our national independence and sovereignty. The social protest strikes of last summer, which led to the birth of our union, were also directed against the attempt to expunge national values from our public consciousness.

7. Our union is an organization encompassing many outlooks, open to people of all faiths, as well as those of no faiths. But the immense majority of our members—like the majority of our country's citizens—were brought up as Christians. Christian inspiration was one of the main ideological values included in our program. The cross that hangs next to the Polish

1. In June 1956, a demonstration by striking steelworkers in the city of Poznan, in western Poland, grew into a mass mobilization involving much of the population; it was put down by the military and the police. In 1970, workers in Gdansk, Szczecin, and other Baltic Coast cities struck in response to higher food prices; hundreds of workers were killed by the police. In 1976, again in response to higher food prices, workers at the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, in the city of Radom, and in other parts of the country again walked off their jobs and staged demonstrations.—JP

eagle on the walls of many union offices reminds our members of the origins of their morality and instills in them a belief in the justness of our cause. We want to maintain this source of inspiration, but that in no way means we will abandon the secular character of our organization.

II. The Political Sources of the Crisis

Together, we must all overcome the economic crisis that threatens us with catastrophe. But we will not be able to do that if we do not expose and eliminate its social and political causes. The core of this crisis lies in the disappearance of democratic institutions and, related to that, the abyss that exists between the people and the government in the system of public administration that has existed up to now. Also contributing to this crisis have been the incorrect concepts and decisions relating to agriculture (the aim of eliminating individual peasant ownership), the preference for industry as the core of production to the detriment of consumer goods, and the government takeover of the cooperatives and the small private businesses.

1. The central feature of this system is the absence of mechanisms for democratic decision-making, and the absence of any responsibility for decisions or changes made by people in administrative positions. Decisions affect-

We feel a very close bond with the generations of Poles who have struggled for national liberation and social justice . . .

ing all of society are made by party and administrative organs not subject to any social control. These decisions are not preceded by free discussion, during which alternative ways to solve problems can be brought to light. There is no room for independent expert opinion, and no consideration of essential information on the state of the country and the economy. Thus society is excluded from the process of making decisions. They are made by one or another member of the bureaucracy.

2. Bureaucratic methods of government make it impossible to correct errors. It is often not even possible to warn about the catastrophic results of incorrect decisions. It is impossible to do this because of all the censorship and the laws on state, economic, and official secrets. But it is also impossible because of the entire system, which tends to obstruct every effort to elaborate alternative programs, every independent opinion or analysis. These obstacles are applied not only to questions of political and social importance, but also to economic and purely technical questions. This results in major losses, costing the country hundreds of billions of zlotys.

3. Within the bureaucratic system of government and economic management, there

have been formed a close class of rulers not subject to control by those they rule. People in the apparatus of power make decisions more with an eye to their own personal interests, material privileges, and careers than to the interests of society. Incorrect decisions on investment (such as the construction of Huta Katowice) and the squandering of foreign loans were often the result of the interaction between mutually reinforcing or contending groups within the ruling apparatus, acting in their own interests.

In the years 1976-79, bureaucratic management made it increasingly difficult to take steps to avert the outbreak of a crisis. As a rule, the bureaucratic apparatus was also opposed to all changes or reforms that could have shaken its position, wealth, or influence.

4. As a result of all this, there was no opportunity in Poland for socioeconomic reform to save us from the crisis. The existing political system was incapable, or simply not strong enough, to correct itself. It was only through a grave economic crisis, the explosion of social protest, and the formation of Solidarity that the road toward reform and renewal was opened up.

From this experience comes an important conclusion: that economic reform in Poland cannot succeed and cannot bring the expected economic and social results unless it is accompanied by a deepgoing reform in the system of government functioning—a reform that would eliminate the causes of the crisis inherent in the present social and political system and provide guarantees that the old system would not return.

III. Economic Questions

1. The recurrent economic crisis

The deep economic crisis in our country is manifested primarily in the enormous and growing disproportion between the supply and demand of goods and services found throughout the economy. This crisis did not arise in the last few months or the last few years, but has grown steadily over the past decade. It flowed from a serious deterioration of the productive apparatus that made it incapable of satisfying demand, either in terms of quantity or variety. The crisis has directly affected the living standards of the whole society, the conditions of work, and the real wages of working people. At present, with the crisis still deepening, we face a real drop in these already low wages.

The economic crisis of the Polish People's Republic affects its structure, economic policy, and system. And in the last few years, in addition, unfavorable conjunctural factors have appeared.

A. Defects in the economic structure as the immediate cause of the difficulties

The structural character of the crisis expresses itself in the continual and increasing disproportion between the sector of the economy that serves the needs of the people and the sector that is directed toward developing

industrial production. An excessive part of the country's economic potential is used for the production of machinery and tools to produce more machinery and tools, rather than for the production of consumer goods, which is relegated to a secondary role. This is particularly true of agriculture, a section of the economy that provides for the primary needs of the people and that employs a quarter of the population, but that has been pushed into a subordinate place in the country's economy. It is obvious that an economy with this kind of structure cannot provide working people with even a reasonable standard of living.

B. Long-term defects in economic policy

The structural disproportions in the economy are the outcome of long-term economic policies carried out in an over-ambitious and unrealistic manner by a narrow group of people and institutions that function outside any social control. The concentration of decision-making in the main centers of authority, the absence of accounting, and the chaos in pricing policies make social control totally impossible, in any case.

There has thus been a situation of total economic arbitrariness and irresponsibility, leading to economic decisions that have been harmful. Huge investments have been made without sufficient reason and without first assuring that there was the necessary transport, energy, and linkage to other sectors of the economy to make them feasible. Within this framework, the voluntaristic policies were especially discriminatory against individual farmers, particularly in terms of low prices and the insufficient allocation of machinery.

To try to compensate for these inefficient economic policies and this inefficient system, more and more foreign loans were taken out. The capitalist bankers were expected to finance this economically decrepit centrally planned state economy. But the loans have to be repaid—and with interest—something that can only be done by an efficient economy. Thus, this way of compensating for inefficiency could not be used for long; to the contrary, it would become an additional factor in the economic breakdown.

The final result of this has been the colossal debt of more than \$24 billion. And this is not counting short-term loans and the prospect of further indebtedness. The country must set aside more for the payment of interest and of credit installments than is earned by exports. This means that every import must be supported by additional credits. And such additional credits are becoming harder to get from the foreign banks and have stiffer conditions than before (higher interest rates and less time to repay). Quite simply, we are being rated as bankrupt and are being treated accordingly.

In such a situation, the economy cannot be assured of enough imported goods from the West. There must therefore be a sharp curtailment of raw materials and semi-finished goods and even spare parts—and this above all has been the reason for the underutilization of productive capacity in our economy.



Monument in Gdynia to workers gunned down by authorities during 1970 strikes.

C. Factors built into the system

The deepest causes of the crisis are lodged in the system itself. All economic decisions are monopolized by the main centers of authority, which issue orders to individual enterprises on what, how much, and in what way things should be produced. This is known as administering the economy through a system of command-distribution. In such a situation, individual enterprises do not have any freedom in the determination of the production plan or in the choice of methods, thereby leading to the making of unrealistic economic calculations at all levels of the enterprises. Nor does economic accounting play a prominent role in central planning, since there is a lack of accurate information on real costs. This aggravates the tendency of enterprises to maximize costs and promotes their interest in valuing realization of the plan, including expanding costs. Greater concentration of decision-making ultimately causes complete underutilization of mechanisms for motivating people.

All of this together leads to enormous waste of labor and resources. It is enough to say that in the production of a unit of national income, we must use up considerably more raw materials, energy transport, and labor than do the French and West German economies.

D. Incidental factors

There are also certain factors that are dictated by the conjunctural situation that has plagued our country in the last few years, such as a poor year in agriculture in 1980. From this point of view, it must be kept in mind that any economy must be prepared for conjunctural difficulties and must have reserves, so as not to

break down under the impact of those difficulties. But if it does collapse under the temporary impact of unfavorable circumstances, then they no longer constitute the objective causes of the collapse, but are the result of a faulty economic system, bad policies, and a deeply unbalanced economic structure.

Because of all these factors, the economy of the Polish People's Republic has been functioning badly. One expression of this has been a slower rate of growth in the national income, and for more than two years a sharp drop in the national income. As a result, the country is going through a serious crisis that threatens to bring about a complete collapse of the national economy.

2. Economic reform

A. Support for reform as a condition for its success

This analysis shows that the present economic system does not correspond to the existing social and economic needs. The only way to overcome the crisis on a long-term basis and lead our economy down the road of balanced development is fundamental reform of the system to remove the causes of the constantly recurring crises. Our union fully supports economic reform and thinks that it is in the interests of our members and of society as a whole.

The way in which our support for reform must be expressed includes a broad preliminary discussion of its underlying principles and a clear definition of its direction, form, and aims. By clarifying through discussion the pre-

cise character of the reforms we want, we prevent them from becoming trivialized or distorted.

However, Solidarity will not advance its own reform program, since it thinks that the desired shape of the reforms can be worked out through a discussion of already existing proposals. A question can be asked, however. Should not Solidarity join in actively developing and carrying through the reforms, for example, by working out its own proposals for solving the key problems?

The reforms should be the result of free, public discussion by specialists, but they should be implemented by the government authorities, who control the whole economy. The task of the union, on the other hand, is to see to it that the reforms introduced will actually improve the position of working people. The union thus supports those economic reforms that will be keeping with the principles of social justice and that will bring the greatest likelihood of a long-term—and not just an immediate—improvement in the country's economic state.

In defining the conditions that must be fulfilled in the process of reform, we recognize that to achieve real and far-reaching improvements sometimes means to sacrifice immediate interests. But we can only accept this risk if all decisions concerning the reforms are made in consultation with us and with the entire society, if a full accounting of all the benefits and disadvantages of each particular solution are presented to us, and if the basic principles of the government's social policy are worked out in collaboration with us and strictly adhered to.

B. The character of expected changes

Economic reforms should reshape the structure and functioning of the central planning bod-

There has been a situation of total economic arbitrariness and irresponsibility, leading to economic decisions that have been harmful . . .

ies, the main centers of authority, the socialized enterprises, and the other elements in the economic system.

Central planning should no longer have the character of a commander giving out orders. That is, it must not assign tasks to the enterprises by issuing directives and prohibitions. The ways to induce the enterprises to adopt certain policies must be economic ones (such as the use of prices, taxes, and the like).

Central plans should be strategic in character, not merely concerned with current operations, and should cover a period of several years. The goals of the central plan, which determines the overall direction of economic development, should be arrived at through the active involvement of society.

The participation of society in the planning

process and in control over planning should be ensured by open discussion and decision-making through the medium of the Sejm [parliament] and through social organizations, local self-government bodies, and the trade unions. This control should be concerned with the overall direction of economic development, the rate of growth, and the distribution of the national income between investment and consumption, including the main trends of social consumption. This social control should also safeguard the autonomous socialized enterprises and family businesses from restrictive orders by economic and social administrative agencies. Intermediate links between the enterprises and the central economic authorities, such as the ministries for certain branches of industry or associations of enterprises in certain industries, should be eliminated to a considerable extent.

Socialized concerns should be given the freedom to determine their production plans and methods. In this connection, the centralized distribution of raw materials and other elements of production should be limited and eventually done away with. The concerns should be self-financing, that is, they should be able to cover their costs out of their own earnings. They should be evaluated not on the basis of fulfilling the plan, but on the basis of economic efficiency. An enterprise should be free to dispose of resources it has earned through greater efficiency, and to earmark them for further investment, especially for maintaining equipment.

The way the concern functions, the degree to which it is autonomous, and the manner in which it is administered by society will depend on its character and size. A precondition for the proper functioning of an enterprise under the new system is the de-monopolization of the market and the appearance of competing producers to a certain extent.

Changing the price system will be a serious dilemma for Solidarity. It will be necessary to change it for the efficient functioning of the enterprises, but may be difficult to carry out in cases where retail prices are affected. And change will have to be accompanied by wage compensation; moreover, the entire union and public opinion in general will have to be convinced of its usefulness. There needs to be broad discussion on this question.

Production units under different forms of ownership should have the same legal and economic conditions for development under the new system. Concerns that are owned socially, cooperatively, and communally, as well as by individual families, should be treated equally in terms of market prices, supplies, and employment and tax policies. It is particularly necessary to eliminate all restrictions on the development of family farms and family-owned handicraft and service shops.

One of the key economic tasks facing the country is developing a national food program based on the strength of Polish agriculture itself. The following must become the main elements of this program: full respect for the pri-

vate ownership of land by individual farmers, and a substantial step-up in the provision to them of farming machinery, tools, chemical fertilizers, and other materials needed to increase agricultural production.

The operation of such a free-market planned economy will produce certain social problems on which our union must take a clear position.

The union recognizes that the enterprises will have the right to make changes in their

The goals of the central plan should be arrived at through the active involvement of society . . .

employment level as they need to. But the government authorities will still be responsible for carrying out a full employment policy, although this policy must no longer hinder productive concerns. Enough money must be allocated by the government for the creation of new jobs and to cover the costs of retraining and transferring people from one industry or office to another economic activity or trade. The self-financing of the enterprises may also result in some having to cut back or close down. In that case, however, the union will demand beforehand that the interests of the workforce be protected.

Effective participation of the workforce in the profits of an enterprise may also increase the differentiation in incomes between workers in one concern and another. That is something that should also be discussed within the union.

The extensive introduction of autonomy for each enterprise and reliance on a market system may result in some economic and social difficulties (higher prices, employment problems, etc). The course of the reform will thus have to be watched closely, so that the anomalies that will arise can be eliminated.

The giving of autonomy to socialized enterprises at the same time makes it possible—and necessary—to develop authentic workers self-management. Our union thinks that the establishment of workers self-management bodies in socialized enterprises is an indispensable element of economic reform.

The self-management bodies in these enterprises should have sufficient legal authority to make effective decisions about the functioning and operations of the enterprise. Therefore, they should have the right to exercise control over the assets of the concern, to decide on the aims of production and sales, the choice of production methods, and investment goals. They should also decide on the distribution of the profits of the enterprise.

Particular solutions to these questions will depend on, among other things, the size and character of the enterprise in question. But one thing is especially necessary: involvement of the workers self-management bodies in the recruitment and dismissal of directors (through competitive examinations, evaluation, or di-

rect appointment). The problem of workers self-management should be the subject of wide discussion in the union.

Our union will be socially subsidiary to the workers self-management bodies and will support them fully. But there must be a clear separation between the union organization and the self-management body, based on the principle that the union will primarily defend the interests of the workers while the self-management body will represent and be responsible for the economic and productive interests of the enterprise. The self-management bodies must consult with the union in all matters regarding division of the concern's income that affect the workforce.

The union thinks that economic reform should be carried out as quickly, completely, and democratically as possible. But we especially think that the introduction of reforms cannot be postponed until after our economy has achieved full stability. Therefore a program must be quickly drawn up to halt the tendency toward economic decline. In order to make it possible to begin economic reforms, it is also necessary to restore a normal pace of work and to find areas of real cooperation, such as improving the economic functioning of the enterprise, discovering the most appropriate forms of self-management, combating alcoholism, etc.

3. The main problems of social policy

The danger exists that the living conditions of the population will worsen in 1981. Above all, the foreign trade situation is likely to deteriorate further. It is not certain that our country will obtain the \$10-\$11 billion in additional

It is particularly necessary to eliminate all restrictions on the development of family farms . . .

credits that we need this year, of which \$6-7 billion is needed for repayment of loans, \$3-4 billion for payment of the interest on loans, and \$1 billion to cover the current deficit.

If this credit is not raised, then production can fall considerably, having an immediate impact on consumption levels. The possibilities for increasing consumption by altering the distribution of the national income—that is, by reducing investment in favor of consumption—are extremely limited, since no further restrictions can be imposed on investment in such important nonproductive areas as housing, health care, and education.

There is a threat of a complete disorganization of the consumer market. The financial income of the population grew in 1981 in relation to 1980, but the supply of manufactured goods is unsatisfactory. In addition, 1981 may not be a good year for agriculture, since it has not yet been possible to restock the herds that were depleted in 1980. In practical terms, then, the total annual increase in the income of



Solidarity leader Lech Walesa speaking in Bydgoszcz March 20.

the population will find no corresponding increase in goods available for purchase.

A. The state's legal responsibility for the costs of the crisis and of reform

The view of our union is that the responsibility for the effects of the crisis and for the reforms to be introduced rests with the state, regardless of whether the economic reform assures real autonomy for economic enterprises or what form that takes. This is because the state does, in practice, directly organize the economic life of Poland. The obligation to protect the population from the effects of the crisis therefore rests precisely with the state and its agencies, regardless of what activities the various unions and social organizations undertake. It is on this basis that the union will judge the state bodies.

The government has not presented a program for leading the country out of the crisis. The plan for 1981 recently adopted by the Sejm did not take up the crucial problems. The long promised stabilization plan still does not exist. Our union and the public in general have not even received a report on the state of the economy. This inaction is sure to cause the crisis to deepen. The government should immediately present a program to lead the country out of the crisis and submit this program for nationwide discussion.

Faced with the indifference of the authorities, our union is compelled to launch its own initiative. We do not aim to substitute for the government. We just want to indicate, in principle, the direction that economic and social policy should take—a direction which is of fundamental importance from the point of view of the working people and which at the same time will decisively affect many aspects

of the country's economic situation.

Solidarity—understanding that the country's economy is in really desperate straits—will not advance major wage or social demands in 1981. But it does expect that:

- the basis for the government's economic policies—particularly in areas relating to the union's most immediate interests—will be established in consultation with the union,

- the government will commit itself to consistently carry out a reform program that will guarantee for the future a fairly rapid and balanced pace of economic development (we will present the general principles of this reform in the next section),

- and the economic policy of the government will in fact—and not just in words—respect the principle that the average level of real income of the population will be maintained and that priority will be given to those groups that are in the weakest economic position.

B. The principle of the free market

Seven months after the signing of the strike accords, the main complaint of working people is the disastrous and constantly worsening state of the market. Empty store shelves and commercial warehouses place a question mark over our wage gains. Lengthening shopping lines and the emergence of the black market disrupt family life.

In this situation, increasing the supply of commonly used items is indispensable and necessary. But a rapid improvement in the supply of all rationed items is not yet possible. In this situation, two proposals for immediate solutions should be considered and discussed. The first raises the possibility of broadening regulation of the market (through the ration cards). The second is categorically opposed to

the introduction and maintenance of this system.

The first proposal recognizes the need for a healthy market, and in particular that to pay what farmers demand will change wholesale and retail prices. It views ration cards, however, as a necessary evil. In a situation of substantial shortages, money cannot be the only way to regulate the distribution of goods. Without the ration card, it will be hard to guarantee a minimum supply of basic goods, especially for those with low incomes.

The second proposal is against the extension of rationing to cover more items and ventures the possibility of a rapid elimination of existing regulation, since introduction of ration cards has resulted in hoarding in some households and shortages in others, and this undermines the role of wages as an inducement to good work. According to this proposal, a much better way of regulating the market than use of ration cards is to employ the mechanism of prices, which in each case should be enacted with social approval.

Both proposals should be the subject of broad discussion within the union.

C. The principle of minimum welfare

We demand the complete realization in 1981 of all the government's obligations, stated in the strike agreements, in the sphere of social wages. In particular, we expect very quick action to introduce the principle of a social minimum into the process of income formation in the areas of wages, pensions, and rents, as well as enlargement of family allowances and the extension of maternity leave. We do not, however, want to advance any new changes in wage levels.

It is especially important that the costs of reform not fall in any way on the shoulders of our least well-off citizens. It is necessary to define the minimum average requirements of people depending on their age and family status. This appropriate minimum should be controlled and modified in light of changes in the availability of goods on the market, their prices, and consumption patterns.

The areas of poverty in our society cannot be allowed to expand. We should insist that minimum welfare be guaranteed by the government to everyone in Poland, regardless of whether they work or are unable to work. It is also necessary that every living person under this minimum be assured state financial and material assistance. The union, for its part, will supervise the amount paid to ensure this minimum level and the criteria by which that amount is determined, as well as the implementation by the state of a program to protect the minimum welfare of all citizens.

We are aware that even such a modest program would add to the supply of money in the hands of the population without a corresponding increase in the supply of goods [i.e., be inflationary]. But in our opinion these measures must be undertaken, since that is the only way the material situation of the worst-off part of the population can be improved.

In considering this problem we need to re-

member that—although a substantial amount of money would be involved in raising the standard of living of those who are now below the minimum, enlarging family allowances, extending maternity leave, reevaluating rents and pensions, etc.—this sum would represent only a small part of the money in the hands of the population. Thus, to abandon these programs would contribute only slightly to the stabilization of the market. And that would be accomplished at the expense of those who are in

The costs of the crisis should be shouldered more by those with higher incomes than by those with lower ones . . .

the worst material position. Our union would never agree to that kind of economizing.

A correct practical application of the principle of a minimum level of welfare requires that the public become actively involved in this matter.

Related to the problem of the minimum is the question of the maximum. Of necessity, there must be a limit on income levels, and exceeding that limit will not be tolerated. In this connection, we demand, among other things, the annulment of the 1972 decree that resulted in a departure from our general principles by giving very high pensions and benefits to privileged individuals and their families.

D. The principle of proportional liability for the costs of the crisis

Social justice demands that the costs of the crisis and of the necessary reforms be distributed evenly among all citizens, that is, in proportion to their means. Poland is a country that has a wide range of income levels among different social groups. That is why the costs of the crisis should be shouldered more by those with higher incomes than by those with lower ones. This should be taken into account in the system of wage and tax increases.

There is no one—regardless of the government position he may hold—who may be exempted from the application of this principle. Its implementation should be under the supervision of the union and of other social organizations. That requires a detailed discussion in view of the specific needs, aspirations, and traditions in each individual occupational area. Above all, this means that in the process of applying the correct principle, certain highly qualified and self-sacrificing groups of professional workers must not be deprived of their sense of self-worth and the incentive to increase their productive efforts.

The costs of the program to restore equilibrium should, in the first place, fall on the shoulders of the most well-off groups, especially those who benefit from privileges flowing from the exercise of authority. The union should press this policy calmly but with deter-

mination, for in the 1970s there began a sharp rise in social inequality, and the privileges of those in authority swelled to even greater dimensions. And yet this very group is directly responsible for the current state of our country. The maintenance of such privileges for state officials is socially dangerous and in the present situation extremely immoral. Because of their privileges, the people wielding power are divorced from the realities of the actual day-to-day life of the population. They are alienated from society and are in no position to understand its problems.

In light of the economic situation and the demands of social justice, we feel it necessary to present to the authorities the following demands:

- the introduction of a universal, compulsory, and progressive tax to equalize incomes, in cases where the total family income exceeds the average monthly wage,
- the taxation of exorbitant wealth (luxury cars, vacation homes, etc.),
- the restriction of unwarranted material privileges for those in the ruling apparatus (apartments, official cars, special medical services, etc.) and the publicizing of the incomes and property holdings of people occupying positions in the apparatus.

The measures for redistribution of income proposed above, as well as the system of compensating people for higher prices (providing full compensation only for people in the most difficult material situation) will make possible both the elimination of the inequalities that society will no longer accept and the financing of the most essential social programs. The adoption of all these measures will also open the road toward restoration of a stable market.

The union is aware that the market must be stabilized step by step, but it must be done as quickly as possible. We are also aware that this cannot be achieved only through stepped-up production and increased deliveries to the

Our union thinks that the establishment of workers self-management bodies in socialized enterprises is an indispensable element of economic reform . . .

market. Higher prices are inevitable. We take that into account. But price increases can lead to a decline in real wages.

This situation presents our union with problems in taking a position. Full compensation for higher costs of living resulting from price increases should apply to those with the lowest incomes, and should not, in general, be given to those with the highest incomes. However, on the question of average incomes, which are the majority, it is necessary to consider two alternatives: either to compensate them for part of the higher cost of living and in that way im-

prove the stability of the market, or compensate them in full, thus aggravating the market situation and delaying an end to the crisis. Both solutions should be widely discussed in the union.

It is certainly not proper to provide compensation for higher prices on luxury items, as well as tobacco and alcohol.

The problem of determining compensation for higher prices must be carried out in a comprehensive way, in accordance with the relevant points in the strike agreements. This system of compensation should be worked out in detail with the union and should be presented for a public discussion, since the degree of social acceptance and effectiveness for either

Of necessity, there must be a limit on income levels, and exceeding that limit will not be tolerated . . .

method of calculating and paying compensation for higher living costs will depend on people having a choice as to which is the most appropriate.

E. The universal right to work

The first difficulties on the labor market have already made themselves felt and as the crisis becomes worse we can expect to see the appearance of unemployment in some areas and among some sectors of the population. It should also be kept in mind that during the first period of the introduction of economic reform, this problem will be a source of particular difficulties and will require that the union commit itself to close cooperation with management at the workplace and with the central economic authorities.

The problem of unemployment will demand

a division of labor between the enterprises and the central economic authorities. While the enterprises would have the right to alter their employment levels as they need to, the central authorities are responsible for maintaining full employment for the entire workforce through an active policy of creating new jobs, as well as raising funds to cover the costs of retraining workers and of providing assistance to those workers released by an enterprise. Alongside this, it is necessary to initiate a program of occupational readjustment, financed by the state but subject to the approval and control of the union.

At the same time, an important and very difficult matter is the provision of suitable jobs for graduates from all types of schools. This requires analysis of how to utilize qualified workers, replace those who do not have proper training, transfer experienced workers in a prudent manner, ensure greater mobilization of workers on a national level, and so on. A particular difficulty in the current year and in years to come will be the situation facing young people graduating from vocational and technical institutions.

Implementing the above proposals can be a source of serious strains and even social injustice, requiring advance thought and discussion by particular professional circles, depending on the probable severity of the employment difficulties in each particular sphere. The union should likewise take under consideration the desirability, and perhaps also the necessity, of organizing under its own authority an extensive, long-term program for occupational adjustment.

F. Improving labor conditions

Economic reform leading to the establishment of autonomous enterprises freed from the system of commands and directives must be accompanied by steps to achieve basic improvements in the working conditions of the

labor force. Currently, a substantial number of workers labor under conditions that are strenuous or dangerous to their health. The enterprises should be obligated to set aside a percentage of their amortization and development funds for the improvement of working conditions. This percentage should be determined by the workers self-management bodies, and the minimum level should be defined by law.

In regard to the numerous cases of health and safety violations in workplaces discovered by health supervisory agencies (toxic agents, dust, noise, high temperature, etc.), it is nec-

The maintenance of privileges for state officials is socially dangerous and extremely immoral . . .

essary to demand that Poland ratify the International Labor Organization's convention No. 148 of 1977 on the question of protecting workers against polluted air, dust, vibration, and crowding and that there be strict compliance with existing Polish regulations on the protection of workers according to the terms of this convention.

An important factor in properly organizing work in the enterprises and in the entire economy is to shorten labor time. This will provide a strong stimulus to a more effective organization of the enterprises and encourage workers to work more efficiently. During negotiations on the next stage of shortening labor time, it will be necessary to call on the heads of enterprises and economic administrations to draw up concrete plans for more organizational efficiency and technical undertakings to bring about a reduction in the hours of the work day.

[To be continued]

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New nerve-gas factory approved

Neutron bombs also among Pentagon's goodies

By Will Reissner

The Reagan administration's drive to increase the Pentagon's arsenal of new weapons received two boosts in May and June. On May 21, Congress appropriated \$20 million to build a new nerve-gas factory in Arkansas, and in early June the Pentagon reported that it had begun producing neutron bombs and warheads.

Neutron bombs are enhanced radiation weapons that produce higher levels of radiation and less blast and heat than conventional nuclear weapons. They have sometimes been described as the ultimate capitalist weapon because they kill people while doing minimal lasting damage to property.

The appropriation to build the chemical warfare plant is actually only a tiny part of the Pentagon's plans to increase its stocks of nerve-gas weapons. The U.S. government already plans to spend \$2.47 billion for chemical weapons over the next five years. And the May 24 *New York Times* reports that "in a secret study for the [Defense] department, a panel of the Defense Science Board recommends that this figure be increased by a factor of three or four."

Estimates of present U.S. chemical warfare stocks run as high as 38,000 tons. About one-third of that is contained in chemical land mines, artillery shells, rockets, and bombs, while the remainder is in bulk storage.

The Pentagon stopped producing nerve gas following an executive order by President Nixon in 1969. That decision was forced by the public outcry after the 1968 death of some 6,000 sheep in Utah, killed by a cloud of poison gas that drifted thirty miles from the U.S. Army's Dugway testing site.

In 1975, the United States government finally got around to signing the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which bans the first use of gas or germ warfare weapons. But when President Ford signed the measure, he stipulated that Washington, unlike the other signatories, interpreted the protocol to mean that herbicides and so-called "riot control agents," both of which were widely used by U.S. forces in Vietnam, were not covered by the agreement.

Experience with chemical warfare in World War I, when poison gas was extensively used and caused 1.3 million military casualties, showed that after the first surprise attacks, it was largely ineffective against protected troops. In subsequent gas attacks unprotected civilians suffered the greatest casualties and were the most vulnerable targets.

On June 1, the U.S. Department of Energy, which oversees U.S. stocks of nuclear material, announced to Congress that production had begun on a new Lance missile neutron

warhead, and that production of an eight-inch neutron artillery shell would begin in July.

This announcement indicates that the Pentagon is moving forward with the production of neutron weapons despite the massive opposition to those weapons in Western Europe, where most of the neutron bombs would be placed and used.

In fact, in 1978 the intense opposition to the neutron bomb in Europe and the United States forced President Carter to withdraw his plan to deploy the weapon in Europe. But Carter went ahead with a decision to produce all the components of the neutron weapons, and to stockpile those parts for later quick assembly into shells and bombs.

The Pentagon has not given up its hope of placing the neutron bomb in Europe, despite European opposition. In January, Reagan's Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger told a news conference that he favored both production of the weapons and their placement in Europe.

The reaction to Weinberger's statement was so hostile in Western Europe that Secretary of State Haig publicly stated that Weinberger's comments did not reflect official administration policy. Haig also promised that no decision would be made on neutron weapons without discussion with other NATO alliance members.



U.S. troops in chemical warfare drill.

But the fact that production of neutron bombs is proceeding indicates Washington's real policy.

The decisions to move forward with the production of nerve gas and neutron bombs come at a time when public opinion in Europe is already strongly against Washington's plans to place nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union in Western European bases. These decisions will make it even harder for the NATO governments to convince their people that the current NATO arms build up is a defensive response to Soviet military strength. □

MX supporters keep low profile

Plans to build the \$100 billion MX nuclear missile system in Utah and Nevada have run into a formidable opponent—the population of those two states. The MX system, which would be the most costly construction project in human history, involves 200 MX missiles that would be shuttled between 4,600 shelters in the desert.

While there has been a steady rise in opposition to the MX plan, that opposition received a major boost on May 5, when the Mormon Church publicly opposed deployment of the missiles. Mormons make up 72 percent of the population of Utah and 12 percent of the population of Nevada.

Before the Mormon church announced its position, the population of Utah was divided roughly in half for and against the missile deployment plan. But a survey taken following the church's announcement showed that 76 percent of those questioned in Utah opposed basing the system in the state.

Residents of the area where the missiles would be placed have a long history of being deceived by the Pentagon. During the 1950s

Nevada was the main testing ground for nuclear bombs. Although the armed forces continually reassured people that there would be no adverse impact from the nuclear fallout, the region has seen an epidemic of cancer deaths in recent years.

Public opinion in Utah is so strongly opposed to the missiles that pro-MX forces have concluded that it will be impossible for the U.S. Air Force to change public opinion on the question.

One supporter of the system—an official of the Thiokol Corporation, which has the contract for building the first stage of the missile—stated that "we must still explain the MX to people against the day when it might be deployed in the state. But as far as influencing public opinion in favor of the missile, I think that day is lost."

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